

ALL OVER CREATION AND PART OF TEXAS

**The Civil War Journey of
the 21st Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry**

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On September 9, 1862, the 21st Iowa Volunteer Infantry was mustered into service. Two and one-half years later it had "*travailed all over creation and part of Texas*," said Private James Bethard. A week later Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia and survivors of the 21st Iowa completed their final campaign of the war.

PREFACE

*"It is one thing to think of dead men in the aggregate, but something else again to consider them as individuals, whether Yank or Reb. When one knows something of the real person, a degree of sympathy sometimes develops."*¹

*"Letters written in moments of leisure are probably the best source material for the Civil War historian who wants to know what the soldier did and thought."*²

*"The history of a country is best told in a record of the lives of its people."*³

*"The past presents itself before the eyes of those who know how to see it."*⁴

A news article said *"there were 16 million men and women in the armed forces of the United States during World War II. Don't you think that each one of them had a story?"*⁵ The same can be said of the Civil War. In 1885, Samuel Kirkwood, Iowa's wartime Governor, implored veterans to preserve their wartime memories. *"Write out these stories you so love to tell and to hear,"* he said, *"and place them in our State Historical Society for preservation . . . that in the distant future will excite the smiles of those now unborn."*⁶

It's these stories of real people of whom I now write - soldiers at war, far from home, who suffered hardship, disease, wounds and homesickness - wives and parents and children who struggled to survive and, too often, learned their soldier would not be coming home.

Whether known as the Civil War, the War Between the States, the War of Attempted Secession to Walt Whitman, the War of the Rebellion to Congress, the War of Yankee Aggression, the War of Southern Independence, the War of 1861, the War for the Suppression of the Rebellion of the Seceded States, the Scorpion War, the *"late unpleasantness"* or any of its many other names, America's great internal war was, if nothing else, an interlude, a devastating four year interlude, in the history of a country and the lives of its citizens. It has been chronicled by participants, archivists and historians. It has been dissected and analyzed and debated for more than a century and a half. The memoirs and actions of its Presidents, political leaders and commanding officers have been well-documented. Major battles have been examined, maps have been drawn, films have been made. Diaries and letters, often well-written, emotional and patriotic, have been published.

For almost forty years, I have read many previous works and reviewed thousands of pages of records, personal letters, diaries, newspapers and reels of microfilm. Included were military records of 444 members of the regiment and pension records for 200, all purchased from the National Archives, the original or transcribed journals kept by six members of the regiment, and a total of 206 letters by thirty members of the regiment (including 134 original letters by Jim Bethard). I have visited numerous cemeteries, talked to hundreds of people and followed routes used by Union infantry in the Trans-Mississippi. From all of this, I was most affected by the personal lives and trials and concerns of the enlisted volunteers and their families.

These were the men in the trenches who died by the thousands and left wives and families at home while they followed what most saw as their patriotic calling. Only a few years earlier they had been young boys. They went to school, played together and helped their parents. They became friends without any premonition of what lay ahead but, when their Presidents called, they went to war.

History books are replete with statistics of how many were killed in battle. Others were maimed for life and graphic photographs show piles of corpses and amputated limbs. The story less told has been the personal one - men

1 James Lee McDonough, *War in Kentucky* (The University of Tennessee Press 1994), page 301.

2 Mildred Throne, *Iowa Journal of History* p.153 (April 1958).

3 Macaulay.

4 Lily Deveze, *Carcassonne and the Cather Castles* (2015).

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Harry Ettlinger, translator for the *"Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section of the Allied armies that was charged with safe-guarding cultural treasures threatened by the fighting and retrieving those stolen and stockpiled as future trophies for Adolf Hitler's bizarre conceit: the Führermuseum."* Lily Rothman, *The Art of War. The Monuments Men Recalls Fight at the Museum.* *Time Magazine* (February 17, 2014)>

6 Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, page 397.

doing their duty as they saw it while also worrying about friends and family and crops at home - wives who cared for children, ran households and businesses, entered the classroom and "*followed the plow*" - relatives who grieved for distant soldiers - civilians who died while sons, husbands and fathers were gone - the awful routine of death.

Men in Northern regiments were not always outfitted in pretty blue uniforms with shiny buttons. Thousands of Confederates never saw the grey uniforms with which they are commonly associated. For much of the war, Grant did not command the North and Lee did not command the South. Rarely mentioned are the large numbers of immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, Germany, Austria and elsewhere who willingly went to war for their adopted country. Magnificent battles, daring charges and personal bravery are extolled, but not every battle was a turning point. Brief skirmishes, guerrilla raids and sniping by sharpshooters were a daily occurrence. Of more than 10,000 engagements, only a few have names that are recognizable.

Not every charge was glorious and heroic. Men died, often in great pain, armless, legless, thirsting for water, ravaged by disease. Not all were noble and brave. Desertions were sometimes rampant, the draft was frequently evaded, bounty jumpers were not uncommon and loyalties wavered. They were, after all, human. Mentioned far less than popular battles with dashing cavalry and shining sabers is the low, debilitating death from illness. Many more died from disease than from battle, especially in the west. Rarely mentioned are the long, tedious marches, months between engagements, the frustration and boredom of inactivity. There are too few accounts of what happened to these men after the war, what lives they returned to, how they continued to suffer and die from war-related illness, wounds and injuries, and how they fought new battles for meager pensions. Perhaps this account will fill a void.

Iowa was young and predominantly agricultural when the war began and only a small percentage of those who enlisted from the state were native born. The state's 21st infantry joined the war during its second year when James and Caroline Bethard were working a rented farm along a small stream in the northeastern part of the state. Jim, his brother, an uncle and a cousin enlisted while Cal saw not only her husband, but also four brothers and five cousins enroll.

Jim entered the war as a private and was discharged as a private. His name is in no history books, but he exemplifies the infantrymen who carried the muskets, did what they were told and fought the good fight. In his letters to Cal, he mentions numerous other people - their daughter Nellie, his father Alexander, his brother Jonathan, his sisters and aunts and uncles, and his inlaws, Joel and Sarah Rice. He discusses Union and Confederate officers and enlisted men from his own regiment to the Ohio regiments of his boyhood friends. Most of these people have been identified; only a few remain unknown. While the focus is on Jim's regiment, contemporaneous reference will be made to friends and relatives serving elsewhere. This may temporarily break the continuity, but only a chronological discussion can keep their respective movements in proper perspective.

Figures given for troop strength and casualties were usually estimates that varied greatly depending on who gave them. Names, spellings, dates and other details were frequently wrong even in well known works by respected authors. Men sometimes spelled their own names differently from one day to the next. One person attributes an incident to one date, another to a different date. First person letters and diaries written by men sharing the same tent give irreconcilably different accounts of the same event. Apparently reliable public records, personal documents, family Bibles, government records, obituaries, death certificates, birth certificates and gravestones differ regarding dates of births and deaths. Days of the week do not always correspond with the dates given for those days; was the day correct, or the date, or neither? Sometimes differences can be reconciled, mistakes corrected or reasonable assumptions made; other times they cannot.

Jim's letters and letters by others are presented verbatim. Where capitals or punctuation were omitted by the writers, they have not been added. Misspellings remain. Where words were missing, they are still missing. Where words were repeated, the repetitions remain. The reader can make the corrections as well as I. In addition to Jim's letters, comments of others are liberally quoted, some with attribution, some without, but all believed accurate and all directly related to the incident portrayed although some of these are from transcriptions and appear to have had corrections made.

In the words of Colin Powell, we "*all are the products of our time*" and I hope readers will not be offended by the vernacular of the time or any of Jim's comments. Sometimes writing with a dry sense of humor, his letters exhibit the formality common of the era. He loved his wife but Caroline was "*Dear wife*." His father-in-law was "*father*" or "*uncle Joel*." A "*smutty*" poem might be sent to Caroline's brother, but never to her. From a family of abolitionists, Jim's frustration at the pace of the war becomes evident as he is taken farther and farther from home and wishes "*all the niggers were back in Africa*." Offensive and demeaning today, "*nigger*" and "*negro*" were terms of the times; he should not be blamed for their use. Similarly, it was an age for clear separation of the sexes. What man today would

tell his wife he would not let her cut her hair? What man would tell her, in writing no less, that she looked fat?

Men who thought they would win a war and be back with their families in a few months were gone for years. They suffered from uncommon illness, often had little food, slept on the ground and saw friends suffer and die with regularity. Frustrations surfaced, sometimes verbally, sometimes violently. Furloughs and leaves of absence were stretched from weeks to months. Some men deserted. Stragglers tarried. Some died "*from homesickness*," some wrote sentimental or patriotic poetry and others wrote letters expressing love and yearning for wives and children. However worded, feelings were always expressed with strict propriety. Men cared strongly for their dying comrades, but accepted suffering stoically. Dwelling on death could be self-destructive.

My personal interest does not end with this account and I welcome comments, corrections and additional information. Due to the extent and detail of the material included, errors are likely and I will welcome assistance in correcting the record. The function of a preface is, after all, "*to ingratiate the author with the reader in a naive effort to forestall criticism by a show of modesty.*"⁷ Where information was conflicting, I either omitted it completely or utilized what appeared most likely to be accurate. In most instances, I have omitted considerably more information and documentation than space permits me to include. If readers recognize relatives or familiar names or have their interest otherwise piqued, they should feel free to contact me. My telephone number is listed.

I ask little of the reader, merely that you try to experience the lives of these participants, understand their changing emotions and appreciate their feelings and frustrations. See how their lives and the lives of their families were affected during and after the war. Feel it. Share in their joys and sorrows. It was a very long, difficult and destructive war. And, sometime, stop at a roadside cemetery and visit a veteran or members of his family. I've placed flowers on the graves of Julia and Ida Purdy, Margaret Drummond and Elizabeth Allen whose stores follow and visited the graves of dozens of soldiers who served in the regiment. Each has a story and each deserves our remembrance.

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⁷ G. W. Dalzell.

A NEW CENTURY

The first half of the nineteenth century saw prosperity and rapid growth for the United States. Strong values, religious convictions, dedication to hard work and commitment to education, especially from the New England states, were carried west and men who would be leaders of the upcoming war were just being born. Robert E. Lee was born in Virginia in 1807, Jefferson Davis a year later in Kentucky and Abraham Lincoln eight months later, also in Kentucky. In 1820 a compromise was reached to admit Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state and William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Lancaster, Ohio.⁸ Hiram Ulysses Grant, later known as Ulysses S., was born in Ohio in 1822.

More and more settlers moved west, plowing and fencing the prairie and establishing homesteads, as Indian populations moved, or were moved, even farther west. Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois and neighboring states grew rapidly and large game disappeared. Robert E. Lee was a Lieutenant in the United States Army when he married Mary Custis at Arlington House in 1831. In 1834 Abe Lincoln joined Illinois' House of Representatives and Richard Henry Dana Jr. left Boston at the start of an odyssey that would lead to his famous memoir, *"Two Years Before The Mast."* Two years later Samuel Colt patented his first revolver, Sam Houston's Texans defeated Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna at San Jacinto and Texas became a free territory although Mexico vowed to fight again if it ever tried to join the United States.

In 1838 young men entering the thirty-six year old military academy at West Point included future Union Generals William ("Old Rosey") Rosecrans, Abner Doubleday, John Pope and George Sykes and Confederate Generals Earl Van Dorn, D. H. Hill, James Longstreet and A. P. Stewart. Ohio native Rosecrans would become the first western born graduate to win a prestigious appointment to the Army's Corps of Engineers while other graduates included Robert E. Lee, Andrew Jackson "Whiskey" Smith, Edward Ortho Cresap Ord, Frederick Steele, Edmund Kirby Smith, George McClellan, John Sappington Marmaduke, John Bowen and Nathaniel Lyon. Hundreds of academy graduates would serve in the upcoming war.

In 1845 Jefferson Davis, whose first wife had died shortly after marriage, was remarried to Varina Howell in Mississippi and elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Two years later he was joined by Abraham Lincoln, an opponent of slavery and war with Mexico.⁹ Longfellow published *Evangeline* and Henry Clay laid the cornerstone for a new Customs House in New Orleans. Designed on a massive scale costing millions of dollars, it would be a "vast, unfinished, roofless structure" when the war began and would not be completed for thirty-four years.

In 1848 the Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor for President, Ulysses Grant, a regimental quartermaster who served with Taylor in Mexico, married Julia Dent in St. Louis, a young Scotsman named Andrew Carnegie set sail for America, James Marshall found gold near John Sutter's California sawmill, and Marx and Engels wrote a Communist Manifesto. The Mexican War ended on February 2d with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which, in part, confirmed American title to Texas as far as the Rio Grande. Many who fought in the war would soon be known throughout the country - Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. Jackson, Joseph Johnston, Pierre "The Great Creole" Beauregard, James Longstreet, George Pickett, Braxton Bragg and others who would join the Confederacy and Ulysses S. Grant, George Custer, George McClellan, Joseph Hooker, George Meade and George Thomas who would stay with the Union. In July, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, a Philadelphia "Quakeress, with her gray dress, her white kerchief covering her shoulders, and her poke-bonnet," led a Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, and passed a Woman's Declaration of Independence demanding the right to vote and, on the 4th, the cornerstone was laid in Washington for a monument to honor the country's first President, although its completion would be delayed by controversy, war and a shortage of funds. Attending the ceremony were freshman Congressman Abe Lincoln and President James "54 40' or fight" Polk.

Social upheavels in Europe, a potato famine in Ireland, economic problems and unrest in Germany "unleashed a

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Named Tecumseh by his father who admired the Shawnee Chief, "William" was added by foster parents, Thomas and Maria Ewing, after the death of his father. He would later marry the Ewings' daughter, Ellen.

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While slavery was still legal in many states, importation of slaves was prohibited by an act of Congress passed March 2, 1807. 2 Story's Laws U.S. 1050. Persons of color brought to the United States in violation of the act were to be delivered to the President so they could be returned to Africa. Also see *The United States v. Isaac T. Preston, Attorney General of Louisiana*, U.S. Supreme Court (January term, 1830), regarding the Spanish brig *Josef Segunda* that was seized in the Mississippi by federal officers. The slaves on board were sold for \$68,000 by the Sheriff of the parish of New Orleans.

tide of immigrants" that altered the face of America and played no small role in the issues that would shape the country and its upcoming war.¹⁰ Politically, the nation was divided between anti-slavery, pro-business Whigs, the Democrats who were generally pro-slavery and less supportive of business and banking interests, and a small but vocal Abolition Party, while so-called Nativists rallied against the tide of immigrants. The Secret Order of the Star Spangled Banner, later the Order of United Americans, spread west from New York with membership limited to "native-born male citizens of the Protestant faith, born of Protestant parents, reared under Protestant influence and not united in marriage with a Roman Catholic." Highly secretive, anti-slavery and champions of temperance, they campaigned as the American Party and were lampooned by their opponents as Know-Nothings.

An 1854 recession led to fears of disaster, there was rampant crime and inflation, railroads and cotton mills altered the economy, the Whigs had been badly beaten two years earlier and would soon cease to exist, and the Democratic majority was badly divided.¹¹ Unskilled Irish laborers, hard-working farmers who had fled their country's famine, drove wages down and took jobs from others, even from free Negroes in the North, and the Know-Nothings, who were opposed to immigration and the "good for nothing drunkards" from Ireland, were able to elect more than 100 Congressmen, eight Governors and thousands of local officials. As reactionary as they seemed, they managed to pass legislation protecting workers, giving married women the right to sue, abolishing debtor prisons and opening public schools to children of all races, colors and religions. By 1856 their strength was gone forever while Republicans nominated John C. Fremont as their first Presidential candidate and Democrat James Buchanan, a "Northern man with Southern principles,"¹² became President.

UNION COUNTY, OHIO

Early Ohio settlement was along the Ohio River and Lake Erie but gradually moved elsewhere. Statehood arrived in 1803 and Miami University was chartered six years later in a town named Oxford to promote "good education, virtue, religion, and morality" among its students.¹³ At the turn of the century the entire state had only 45,000 residents, but by 1820 it had grown to almost 600,000 and, by 1830, it was close to a million. Union County, north of Columbus, had seen its first influx of permanent settlers early in the century and by 1815, when the Duke of Wellington met Napoleon at Waterloo and Andrew Jackson defeated the British in New Orleans, much of the county was still a wilderness - turkeys, deer, bear, wolves, wildcats and other game were plentiful.

*"It was a land of calloused hand, of lean and muscular men, of canvas-covered wagons with dry mud flaking from their wheels, of shotguns and hunting dogs, of silent women bending over the fires of cooking, with the smoke blowing in their eyes, of log-house, of wheat growing boisterously in fields full of stumps, of Bibles and poor liquor, of sharp trades, of illiterate lawyers, of hell-fire preachers and innumerable quacks."*¹⁴

It was a land where children attended rustic schools built by parents and friends. Sites were selected, trees cut and logs fashioned. Buildings could be erected in a day. Windows, a door and a fireplace were complete in another day. Doors were held together with wooden pins and hung on wooden hinges. Stone fireplaces were six or seven feet wide and four or five feet high. Students sat on benches, small children in the front near the fireplace, larger children to the rear. Fathers cut paths from home to school and children were instructed to follow trails and blazed trees so they would not get lost. Textbooks included an English Reader, Noah Webster's Spelling Book, Smith's Arithmetic and a

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"Political upheaval" in "1830 and the years immediately following and that of 1848 and 1849," the "Forty-Eighters," caused wide scale emigration to the United States. After Louis Philippe was driven from power in 1848 France, Germans, Austrians, Bavarians and others cried for unity, liberty and freedom, made demands on their political leaders, and change swept Europe. The subsequent "reaction" of established governments and the military caused many to seek freedom elsewhere.

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The Whigs divided into anti-slavery "Woolly Heads" and pro-slavery "Silver Grays" while the Democrats split between "Free Soilers" who sought to restrict slavery and the "Hunkers" who were pro-slavery. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), pages 41-42.

12 Henry Ketcham, The Life of Abraham Lincoln.

13 Laws of Ohio, Volume 7, Page 184 (February 2, 1809).

14 Woodward, Meet General Grant (Horace-Liveright Inc., 1928), page 19.

New Testament while "*schoolmaster of the nation*" William Holmes McGuffey, a Miami University faculty member from 1826 to 1836, worked on Readers.

Cabins had homemade wood furnishings. Barns and stables were built for horses and cattle. Food for livestock was stored for winter but was often scarce by spring and farmers cut sugar trees so cattle could eat small buds and twigs. Clothing also was homemade, usually of local flax or wool. Mills were scarce and far away and settlers ground their own cornmeal for bread or johnny cake. Wheat bread was a luxury.

On the county's eastern boundary was Dover Township, organized in 1838. Its main stream was Mill Creek but smaller streams included Blues Creek, Grass Run and Dun's Run. Land was generally flat with rich, dark, productive soil, soil good for farming. Crops included wheat, corn, oats and potatoes and the township prospered as its few permanent families led development during the 1830's and 1840's. Prominent surnames included Richey, Mather, Rice, Bethard, Farnum, Guy, Tanner, Bowen and others, many related by marriage.

William Richey, Jr., grandfather of Mary Jane Bethard who was a cousin of James Bethard, was a Whig and served Dover Township as Overseer of the Poor, as Justice of the Peace and in the state legislature. A brother, Adam Richey, helped erect a steam saw mill in 1850 along the Marysville Pike where it crossed Mill Creek. Adam and a third brother, James, served variously as Justice of the Peace, Assessor, Trustee and Township Treasurer. In 1854 when the "*Light Brigade*" rode into the "*Valley of Death*" at Balaklava, the Richeys appropriated land, surveyed it and laid out lots and streets for a town called Dover, the only village in the township and, that fall, Adam erected the town's first house. A fourth Richey son, Joseph Kane Richey, had moved to the county in 1819, and worked as a farmer and stock raiser. Joseph and his wife, Nancy Longbrake, would have seven children, the first of whom, Leonard, was born on May 28, 1837. Other sons were Jay, Adam and George and all four would serve in the upcoming war.

The Rice family, descended from Revolutionary War veteran Jeremiah Parmalee, emigrated from Vermont in 1822. Thomas and Lucinda Parmalee Rice farmed and raised a family including Fannie, Philena (aka Philany), Jason, Joel, Hannah, Caroline, Abigail, Nancy and Squire. Nancy married Josephus Reed in 1833 while Joel, only ten years old when the family moved to Ohio, married seventeen year old Sarah Marshall in 1834. Joel and Sarah raised a family of six children including George, James, Caroline, Robert, Marshall (aka Mort) and Tero. Of the five boys, only Tero, born in 1853, would be too young for the war; all four of his brothers would serve.

Abel and Harriet Tanner moved to Dover Township during the late 1830's and by 1850 owned a \$500 farm where they lived with their six children, five of whom, including sixteen year old Alva, were still in school. On November 16, 1850, Harriet died at age forty-seven. Her husband died five days later and William Richey was appointed administrator of their estate. Nearby were David and Ruth Tanner with an \$800 farm and seven children including eleven year old James and nine year old Joseph. Ruth died in 1851. David was remarried to Mary Bowen in 1853, two years later she too died and in 1859 David passed away. With their parents deceased, brothers James and Joseph and their cousin, Alva, would all enlist in the Union Army. Only one would survive.

The Mathers, descendants of New England's Cotton Mather, came to Ohio with a strong religious heritage. Southworth Mather moved from Champaign County to Union County where he married Philena Rice in 1823. A few years later, the Reverend Ebenezer Mather moved his family to Dover Township where Ebenezer became known as an eloquent preacher in the Methodist Church. Southworth and Philena had twelve children, several of whom died young, but one of their sons, Fortner, became a minister and in 1853 moved to Iowa where he served as Pastor of a Clayton County Methodist Episcopal church. Four other Mather boys - Darius, Squire, John and Sterling - would serve in the war but not all would live.

Of New England ancestry, Bethard family members alternated the spelling of their name, sometimes signing "*Beathard*" and sometimes "*Bethard*" which appears to have been preferred. Ebenezer Bethard settled in Union County with his four sons: Jonathan, Thomas, Alexander and William. Ebenezer passed away in 1841¹⁵ and was followed by his son Jonathan. Thomas moved to Illinois but Ebenezer's other two boys, Alexander and William, lived on adjoining farms near Dover until William's death on his forty-fourth birthday in 1859. In 1833, Alexander married twenty-one year old Diana Clark, daughter of a local teacher, and five days later paid \$110 for a sixty-five acre farm in Dover Township. Their first child was a son, Jonathan, born August 19, 1835. Jonathan was followed by James on October 11, 1837, Nancy Emiline on February 1, 1839, Thomas Henry in 1842 or 1843, and Elizabeth "*Libby*" Ellen in 1847 or 1849. Young Jim grew up on the family farm outside of Marysville where he enjoyed swimming in the

¹⁵ Ebenezer is buried in Mill Creek Cemetery, Ostrander, Ohio, Find-a-Grave Memorial #86363700.

summer and ice skating in winter. He and his brother would fight for the North.

On February 19, 1840, Jim was still in his "*terrible twos*" when William Warner, a twenty-one year old native of Yorkshire, England, married Dorothy Hoyt in Hopkinton, New York. Soon they would move to Fayette County in Iowa and join Fortner Mather and many others settling its northern counties. The far west was also seeing an influx of new residents as better trails led to California and Oregon. In the spring of 1843 a Great Migration began as 200 families and 120 covered wagons left Independence, Missouri, left the United States, on a journey of more than five months for Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie and the wilderness of Oregon 2,000 miles away. Far around the world, on November 5, 1843, John Rogman was born in Mecklenburg in northern Germany. While none could then imagine it, Rogman from Germany and Warner from England would soon join Jim Bethard, the Buckeye from Marysville, in the Union army.

In 1844 Samuel Morse transmitted from Washington to Baltimore the first message over the first telegraph ("*What hath God wrought?*") and *The Argus* became Marysville's new weekly paper. Concerned with the proposed annexation of Texas and whether it should be free or slave, it noted on, October 26th, that:

"Messrs. J. H. Bondurant & Co. Slave Merchants at Mobile, inform those who have men, women and children for sale, that the Slave Market will be depressed until Texas is admitted into the Union, after which event they confidently expect to be able to pay liberal prices for Negroes!"

Announcements such as this, said Ohio's Whigs, were all the more reason to vote against Texas statehood but, in December, President Tyler, with the support of President-elect Polk, submitted to Congress a joint resolution for annexation.¹⁶ Polk was inaugurated on March 4, 1845, and four days later *The Argus* announced that Texas annexation had been approved and Iowa was to be admitted with a population of 90,000. Perhaps it was this that renewed the pioneer spirit in Dover Township and attracted more of its residents to the open plains and less expensive real estate west of the Mississippi.

Abolitionists were increasingly vocal and demonstrative, but the agrarian South felt slavery was necessary and proper, and wealthy Southerners included slaves among their major assets.¹⁷ William Townsend, who would soon join Louisiana's infantry, argued that his father's forty-four slaves were worth from \$1,000 to \$2,000 each "*depending on if he was sick or well ... and I didn't want to see Papa's Negroes go free*" while Texan Oran Roberts believed slavery was "*sanctioned by revelation, and by the immemorial custom of mankind.*"¹⁸ With Texas statehood imminent, Zachary Taylor, "*Old Rough and Ready*," massed troops in western Louisiana and by the spring of 1846 he neared the Rio Grande. On May 13th Congress declared war on Mexico and, that same month, Ulysses Grant was at Fort Brown when he first heard enemy gunfire and the Donner brothers led eighty-seven homesteaders west from Illinois to a new home in California. Forty-one would perish during the worst winter on record as they passed through the western mountains.

In Dover Township, Alexander Bethard purchased another forty-seven acres, his boys worked in the fields and the

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An "*act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States from and after the 1st of January, 1808,*" had been passed by Congress on March 2, 1807 (2 Story's Laws U.S. 1050), but it left many questions unanswered (e.g., how to treat people who were brought to the country in violation of the law) and slavery itself was still an institution in the South. It was a minor issue during Louisiana's annexation debates in 1811 but became violent over the "*Missouri question*" seven years later resulting in statehood through compromise.

Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, in 1843, said the Constitution was "*a covenant with death and an agreement with hell*" since it sanctioned slavery. Lysander Spooner in 1845 argued the Constitution did not sanction slavery and presumed all men to be free. Pacific Law Journal (Summer 1997).

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While most slave owners were white, many free blacks were sugar, cotton and rice planters dependent on the labor of their own slaves thus having their own "*stake in the institution of slavery.*"

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Baum, The Shattering of Texas Unionism (Louisiana State University Press 1998), page 42. Albert D. Richardson, a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* described slave auctions he saw while in New Orleans in 1861. Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865), pages 64-70. While discussing the "*Peculiar Institution*" of slavery, he saw New Orleans' signs - "*Slave Dépôt - Negroes bought and sold*" and "*buildings which were filled with blacks of every age and both sexes, waiting for purchasers.*" The slave auction, he said, was "*the most utterly revolting spectacle that I ever looked upon.*"

girls helped their mother around the house. Alexander served as Township Clerk and as a Trustee and Assessor. The 102 acre farm for which he paid \$510 was valued at more than \$1,000 and the family prospered. Nancy and Josephus Reed moved to Iowa in 1849 but others moved even farther west to take advantage of the Donation Land Act granting each American family the right to 640 acres of Indian lands bordering the Oregon Trail.

With no premonition of what lay ahead, young boys and girls entering their teenage years became good friends, played together, attended the log schoolhouse and helped parents with chores. The summer census of the "*white and free colored population*" of Dover Township reflected the boys who would, in another dozen years, be participants in the most devastating conflict ever fought on American soil - Darius Mather age eighteen, Squire Mather age eleven, John Mather age nine, Sterling Mather age seven, Jonathan Bethard, James Bethard, Leonard Richey, Jim Rice, Robert Rice, George Rice and many others.

NORTHEASTERN IOWA

Although some had entered the area much earlier, Iowa was not officially opened for settlement until after the brief war with Makati Keokuk, "*Black Hawk*," Chief of the Sauk and Fox Indians, in 1832, and completion the following year of a government survey.¹⁹ A minor participant in the war had been a young Abe Lincoln whose enlistment was accepted by Army Lieutenant Robert Anderson, soon to gain notoriety in South Carolina. Initial settlers were "*mostly young men, without families*" who had left their homes in the east, and "*with a gun and knife, a bake-pan, tin cup, some corn meal and bacon, all packed on his back,*" explored the country, staked claims and built crude log cabins.²⁰ Most were farmers and there was "*a great scarcity of mechanics, especially carpenters, joiners, masons, and millwrights.*"²¹ Early towns grew first along the banks of the Mississippi and other major waterways.²² Prior to the area being opened for claims, Jefferson Davis had been stationed at Fort Crawford to prevent white settlement and was reportedly "*mild in his treatment of the settlers and was able, in most instances, to get them to move back across the river without resorting to force.*"²³

Lieutenant Robert E. Lee visited in 1837 while surveying the Mississippi for the federal government and a new county was named for John Middleton Clayton.²⁴ The county seat was Elkader, a town that benefitted from "*the excellent water power and the building of the mill*" and was named after Algerian nationalist Abd-el-Kader whose struggles against the French had inspired the town's founders.²⁵ Votes for statehood failed initially, but were finally approved and Iowa was admitted as the nation's twenty-ninth state in 1846, the only state west of the Mississippi to ban slavery.²⁶

By 1850 the state population was 192,214.²⁷ Residents had come from throughout the east, but the highest number was from Ohio which contributed 30,713 and more were on the way. Indian tribes were depleted and even in the far northwest, said Chief Seattle, were "*but a mournful memory*" of their former greatness. California was admitted as the 31st state and Henry Wells and William Fargo formed the American Express Company followed two years later by Wells Fargo with an office in San Francisco.

Published first as a magazine serial and then as a book that sold more than 300,000 copies in its first year, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written by minister's daughter Harriet Beecher Stowe who hoped to "*make the whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is.*" Asking northerners, "*farmers of rich and joyous Ohio, and ye of the wide prairie*

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"*The very name of the State, in the Indian tongue, signifies, 'Here is the place,' of all others, in which to dwell,*" or "*Here is the spot.*" Annals of the State Historical Society of Iowa (Jerome & Duncan 1863). History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

²⁰ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

²¹ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

²² From "*Massa-Sepoy*," "*Father of Rivers*."

²³ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

²⁴ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916), although others say John Caldwell Clayton (1782-1850).

²⁵ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

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Mindful of balancing slave and free states, Florida was admitted at the same time with "*antagonistic provisions on the subject of slavery.*"

²⁷ Vexler, Handbook of the State of Iowa (Oceana Publications, 1978).

states" if this were something "for you to countenance and encourage," Harriet stirred the country's conscience, but "down river" resident John Fletcher expressed the convictions of many in Louisiana that "it appears to us God has decided that slavery is the most effectual" way to elevate the Negroes "to civilization."

Connecticut's Peck & Walter Manufacturing Company issued the country's first illustrated hardware catalog in 1853 and Matthew Perry's four ships reached the mouth of Edo Wan (Tokyo Bay), within sight of a city that had been closed to foreigners for almost 250 years. The Republican Party was formed the following year and the Kansas-Nebraska Act left slavery to the vote of settlers, partially negated the Missouri Compromise, led to an influx, mostly from Missouri to Kansas, of pro-slavery "semi-barbarous ruffians" and Free Staters with "liberty-loving hearts," and angered abolitionists including John Brown who grew early to revere the Bible and abhor slavery.

Iowa's population was booming and "the whole country, from 60 to 100 miles west of the Mississippi, is literally alive with immigrants; where the buffalo and other wild game roamed in comparative security today, tomorrow the cabin of the pioneer, is seen rising in their midsts."²⁸ The "only free child of the Missouri Compromise," said Governor James Grimes in his December 1854 inaugural, the state also had an active "underground railroad," or "grapevine route," assisting slaves, mostly entering from Missouri, and making their way to Canada.

A *Gazetteer* gave instructions to newcomers.²⁹ A settler buying government land went first to one of nine land offices for maps showing vacant or unentered lands. With the help of a surveyor, he then entered his selected land, described the property and made application. The register at the land office issued a Certificate of Application which was given to the receiver together with payment in exchange for a receipt that was legally valid and permitted the occupant to sell the land. A formal patent would be received in another year or two, but tilling the western sod proved far different than working the soils of Ohio. Newcomers usually hired local businessmen to help "break prairie" with large "prairie plows." The driver handled a team often consisting of five yoke of oxen that could cut a furrow two feet wide. Corn might be thrown into every third or fourth furrow where it would hopefully produce without further effort. The next season, after the tilled sod had rotted, the ground was ready for wheat or more corn. Initially, families might live in a hastily built cabin but, in time, fields were enclosed with sawed lumber or rails and a more permanent dwelling erected. Life was difficult, but hard work and dedication were usually rewarded.

Among those emigrating from Ohio were Joel and Sarah Rice who sold their 112 acre Ohio farm and settled near Joel's sister, Nancy, and her husband, Josephus, possibly in time to attend the state's first convention opposing the extension of slavery. Also moving were Alva Tanner and four more of the Mather boys, Darius, Squire, John and Sterling, who settled in Clayton County where local citizens met on July 8, 1854 with residents from Fayette, Winneshiek and Allamakee counties near Postville and it was resolved:

*"That as the people of the state of Iowa have declared in the first article of their constitution that all men are by nature free and equal, we are solemnly bound to stand by these declarations, come what may, by refusing to recognize the existence of any man as a slave upon the soil of Iowa. That which is not just is not law and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed; therefore the Fugitive Slave Law is deserving of neither obedience nor respect. We earnestly solicit all true Republicans to unite with us for the purpose of electing such men as will vote for and maintain the principles contained in these resolutions."*³⁰

This appears to be the first time "Republican," as applied to a political party, appeared in print in the county and additional support came from prominent Democrats. On July 12th, the Clayton County Republican Convention assembled in Elkader and McGregor banker Sam Merrill was elected as a delegate to the State Convention to be held in Des Moines on July 23rd.³¹

On July 14th, H. S. Granger's *Clayton County Herald*, the county's first newspaper, announced "a convention of the people of Clayton county opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise will be held at Elkader tomorrow at 1 o'clock."³² Granger had been a Democrat, but stated editorially that:

²⁸ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

²⁹ H. Howe Parker, *Iowa As It Is in 1855; A Gazetteer for Citizens and a Hand-Book for Emmigrants* (Keen and Lee; Chicago; 1855).

³⁰ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

³¹ North Iowa Times (July 16, 1862).

³² *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

"animation can never be restored to the two great parties until the seed of corruption becomes completely eradicated from what is now known as free territory, and until it becomes completely walled and hedged in to its own legitimate and constitutional limits. Its origin is most clearly traced to the devil himself, and hence it is full of iniquity, and justice demands Congress to say, 'Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther'."

More than 200 attended what was billed as an “*anti-Nebraska*” convention, heard speeches and passed resolutions with a strongly worded preamble:

“We, citizens of Clayton county, recognizing each other as members of different political creeds, have assembled here in mass convention upon the common platform of freedom to demand a restoration of that freedom bequeathed to the territories of Nebraska and Kansas by the solemn act of our forefathers. Resolve, that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise has aroused and strengthened the slave power of the South, who are now demanding a repeal of the act of congress prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa, and who in their late triumphant exaltation unhesitatingly proclaim that slavery is the natural condition of a portion of mankind, and that it is destined, slowly, but with certainty, to override the free institutions of the Union wherever they may exist. That from this time forward we will make no concession to, nor compromises with, the institution of slavery, but will demand, and continue to demand of our law-making representatives, until obtained, a restoration of the Missouri Compromise and a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. That we will support no man for public office - let him be called Whig, Democrat or Abolitionist - who is opposed to the restoration of freedom to the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. We request the nominees of this convention to stump the county. We absolve ourselves from all issues of the political parties with which we have formerly acted, and do now unite upon the common platform of freedom to all mankind.”³³

A vigilance committee was appointed in Clayton County³⁴ and Reuben Noble spoke “*at fourteen points in the county*” as he “*stumped*” the townships. A sizeable minority, however, mostly in the southern part of the state, was strongly pro-slavery and remained so long after the war began. Many would fight for the South while others stayed behind, tried to talk men out of fighting for the Union and agitated for an end to the war.

1855

In 1855 an Iowa university became the first state school to admit women, Elizabeth Jennings (a black woman who had been ejected from a segregated New York streetcar) prevailed in litigation and was awarded damages against the company, a flatboat carried the first locomotive across the Mississippi and a daily stage line was proposed between Clayton and West Union but, on January 26th, the *Herald* noted ominously, “*from one end of the East to the other the cry is of distress and hard times. That we feel somewhat the pressure of the times we do not deny.*”³⁵

On October 5th, Sam and Betsey Knight of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, arrived at their new home in Strawberry Point. Their seven children included three young boys - thirteen year old Myron, eleven year old John and eight year old Albert - all three of whom would serve in the war. Many of the immigrants, including a large influx of Norwegians, settled along or near Roberts Creek meandering through Grand Meadow Township. A rich agricultural area, it had no towns. Some purchased farms while others merely rented what they could afford. They worked hard to develop new homesteads and forge a new life, but were well aware of the civil unrest escalating throughout the country.

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History of Clayton County, Iowa (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

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Members were V. R. Miller, Mendon ; Clark Wood, Farmersburg; A. L. Fuller, Boardman; C. P. Goodrich, Jefferson; F. [98] Hartge, Volga; Jonathan Noble, Lodomillo; Dr. Dunn, Sperry; J. C. Tremain, Cass; D. M. Zearley, Elk; H. L. Schutte, Garnavillo; John Beady, Grand Meadow; B. White, Buena Vista; L. V. Collins, Girard; M. Stahl, Wagner; J. Robbins, Highland; A. Clark, Cox Creek; Alva C. Rogers, Clayton; Joseph McSperrin, Mallory; J. W. Griffith, Millville; P. P. Olmstead, Monona, J. J. Kinzel and E. H. Williams were the secretaries of this convention. History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

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History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

In 1856, McGregor's mail was delivered three times a week by a "mail boat" from Dubuque. When ice prevented river deliveries, the mail came by stage and was often a week in transit. Lawrence, Kansas, was sacked by the slavery party,³⁶ the Republican Party's first nominee for President, John C. Fremont, was defeated despite support from Abraham Lincoln, and the first train crossed the Mississippi River on a newly completed bridge 1,581 feet long from Rock Island to Davenport. On May 6th the "large and splendid" steamboat *Effie Afton* hit the bridge's piers and started a fire and, in the ensuing litigation, the railroad was represented by attorney Lincoln. Also in May, Robert Read resigned as Clayton County's Clerk "and Judge Price appointed the young man, Thomas Updegraff, as his successor. This was the first official position held by Mr. Updegraff, who for many years was prominent in the county and later, as a member of Congress."³⁷ Elijah Odell advertised his services as an attorney and soon would form a partnership with Updegraff.

In Washington, South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks beat Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner (friend of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow) into unconsciousness in a dispute over slavery. Benjamin Butler, "blazing with divine wrath, publicly denounced the act,"³⁸ but all Northerners did not and some gave Brooks "a supper, and stooped even to sit at the table and help him to eat it."³⁹ Nearing the end of his Presidency was Franklin Pierce whose Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, was a firm believer that camels could help open a southern rail line between New Orleans and San Diego. His first boatload, thirty-three camels on the *Supply* captained by David Dixon Porter, arrived at the small Texas port of Indianola on May 14th. In a few more years, Davis and Porter would be enemies and soldiers would die at Indianola.⁴⁰ On the 24th, John Brown gained "wide notice" when he and his Liberty Guards were blamed, rightly or wrongly, for the summary arrest, trial and execution of five pro-slavers in Kansas. Brown, "the sublime madman, or else the one sane man in a nation mad,"⁴¹ had settled near Pottawatomie Creek, about eight miles from Osawatomie, and, on June 2nd, he and his followers attacked pro-slavers in the Battle of Black Jack. "Bleeding Kansas" was truly bleeding and, in another three years, Brown would secure his place in history at Harper's Ferry.

Jim Bethard's mother, Diana, died on October 9, 1856. She was buried in the old Baptist (now Mill Creek) Cemetery near Ostrander⁴² and her nineteen-year-old son decided it was time to strike out on his own. Leaving the family farm, Jim left Ohio for a new home in Clayton County⁴³ where much of the land was unbroken prairie and most of the residents were immigrants from eastern states or Europe. The county's population of 15,187 residents included 2,567 natives of Iowa, 1,722 from New York, 1,545 from Ohio and 1,328 of Pennsylvania. Foreign born included 2,783 from Germany (including Hanover, Prussia and Bavaria), 776 from Ireland, 343 from Canada and others from Norway, England, Scotland and elsewhere.⁴⁴

There were no railroads in the county, but a steam ferry crossed the river at McGregor. The first issue of the

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In response to the sacking, General Thomas L. Ewing issued General Order No. 11 ordering everyone living in designated areas to leave within two weeks.

³⁷ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

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James Parton, History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1864), page 42.

³⁹

James Parton, History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1864), page 42.

⁴⁰

Lewis Burn Lesley, Uncle Sam's Camels (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1929). In six more years Indianola would be visited by the Jim and members of his regiment.

⁴¹

James Parton, History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1864), page 42.

⁴²

Find-a-Grave Memorial #86363784.

⁴³

It was surely no coincidence that he settled near his former neighbors, the Rice family and their daughter Caroline.

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History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

North Iowa Times was published on October 10th with Col. A. P. “Pat” Richardson as editor.⁴⁵ Established as a Democratic paper, it announced support for the Fugitive Slave Law and the election of James Buchanan as President and proudly proclaimed, “*We march with the flag, and keep step to the music of the Union.*”

1857

In 1857 William Quantrill moved from Ohio to Kansas and James K. P. Thompson moved from Ohio to Iowa, a forty-day trip by covered wagon “*through forests and over unbroken prairies, fording rivers, and enduring hardships.*”⁴⁶ On arrival, he found residents coping with the “*Panic of ‘57*” that followed the “*wild and giddy speculation*” of 1856-1857.⁴⁷ As early as January “*hard times began to settle down on Clayton County,*” but the “*soil provided a good living, and the surplus products of the farm could be exchanged for the few simple manufactured articles which the settler was obliged to have.*” For those in debt, however, times were hard. Interest rates were high. Twelve percent was about the lowest rate for farm loans and added to this was the “*wildcat currency.*”⁴⁸

Jefferson Davis landed forty-one more camels at Indianola and the politically divided Supreme Court issued its decision on the fate of the slave known as Dred Scott - the Missouri Compromise prohibition against slavery north of a stated parallel was unconstitutional, slaves did not become free when taken into a free state, Congress could not bar slavery in a territory and Negroes could not become citizens.⁴⁹ In April, Jim's father was remarried to Sarah Jane Lake. By October, the *North Iowa Times*, while acknowledging “*the uproar of bank, railroad and individual failures throughout the country,*” felt McGregor was continuing in an “*active business-like motion.*”⁵⁰ Despite the optimism, even the *Times* was forced to temporarily suspend publication so it could collect enough funds to stay in business. Many debtors were forced into the hands of the Sheriff and grain prices were depressed. Immigrants were returning to Europe. Discharged mechanics were joining the army. Lager and beer saloons suffered and, looming ominously, was “*the great moral question of slavery.*” Surprisingly, the first mention of disunion found in the *Times* was an article concerning a convention to meet in Ohio that was called by Northern abolitionists.⁵¹

1858

The first Atlantic cable was completed in 1858, Roland Macy opened a New York “*all first class*” drygoods store, and John Butterfield established the first mail service across the continent. From St. Louis to California his “*overland mail*” used a combination of railroads and stagecoaches to reduce delivery time, from the four to six months it took wagon trains, to only twenty-five days and his first stage, driven by Warren Hall with reporter Waterman Ormsby as

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History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916) page 108. In 1858, Mr. Richardson sold half the paper to C. C. Fuller. History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916), page 120. While living in Indiana, “*he received the appointment of Colonel of the State Militia; but, being greatly averse to anything like pomp or tinsel show, refused to accept that appointment. He was in consequence of this appointment, however, ever afterward known and addressed by that title.*” History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916), Iowa (1882), Chapter VIII, The Press.

⁴⁶ The Annals of Iowa, Volume 6, Series 3 (1903-5), Page 76.

⁴⁷ Mildred Throne, *Silas Clay Carpenter and Iowa Politics, 1854-1898* (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1974).

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The country's largely unregulated “*free banking era,*” when almost anyone could issue paper money, lasted from 1837 to 1866. By 1860, there were an estimated 8,000 different monies. If an issuer went bankrupt, closed or left town, its currency became worthless. These issuers earned the name of “*wildcat banks*” due to their reputation of unreliability. They were often located in remote, unpopulated areas said to be inhabited more by wildcats than by people. Historians have found that such banks were mostly reliable and few fit the “*wildcat*” definition. The National Bank Act of 1863 ended the free banking era. Wikipedia (12/21/11).

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Scott v Sanford, 19 Howard 393 (1857). The case was lost but for Dred it mattered little. He was sold to Taylor Blow of St. Louis, emancipated, hired by a local hotel and died the following year - a free man at age sixty-three. Iowa's outgoing Governor James W. Grimes and incoming Governor Ralph P. Lowe both “*took a strong and decided ground*” against the case. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page 63.

⁵⁰ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

⁵¹ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

his only through passenger, reached Los Angeles' Bella Union Hotel on October 7th, in only twenty-one days. Using a southern route through Arkansas, Texas and Arizona, Butterfield's service would soon be interrupted by war and rerouted farther north.

By February, the *Herald* and *Tribune* had ceased publication and the *Times* remained as Clayton County's only paper. Notices of Sheriff sales proliferated "*and in every one of these is a tragedy, written with the heart's blood.*"⁵² Elkader tried unsuccessfully to regain the county seat from Garnavillo while McGregor was characterized by "*roughs and desperados*" and streets were lined with drinking places, gambling houses and "*dissolute women.*" On March 2d Mary Jane Bethard and Henry Farnum were married in Ohio and two days, later South Carolina Senator James Hammond bragged:

"without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should the North make war on us, we could bring the whole world to our feet. What would happen if no cotton were furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain, England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No Power on earth dares to make war on cotton. Cotton is King!"

Hammond and many others viewed slavery as "*the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our glorious region.*"⁵³ Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin had transformed a way of life, processing of cottonseed oil had fueled it, slavery supported it, and by year's end the Cotton States were exporting 1.7 billion pounds of cotton, eighty percent of the year's crop, to England. Plantation owners became wealthy, foreign markets flourished and Southerners increasingly questioned whether they really needed Northern mills for their crops.

In May, *The Clayton Co. Journal* was founded in Guttenberg "*on the ruins of the old Herald*" with Republican Willard F. Howard as editor,⁵⁴ while Abel Griffin, an immigrant from New York, was working his farm. In July, Abel and his wife, Marion, had their first child, a daughter named Nellie, and, in August, John Green, a resident of Uniontown, married Melissa Wilson. Young adults were starting families and, despite a poor harvest, life was good, but all too soon Abel and John would fight for the North. One would be wounded and one would die.

In the fall, Republican Lincoln and Democrat Stephen Douglas were in Illinois debating the Dred Scott decision, the powers of the states and territories, and the merits of popular sovereignty. On August 21st they were in Ottawa and on the 27th in Freeport where their debate may have been witnessed by seventeen year old resident Eli Frankeberger and his thirteen year old brother Aaron. Cousins of Caroline Rice, they would fight for the North.

In Clayton County, Democrat W. E. Leffingwell was opposed by Republican William Vendever for Congress. Democrats nominated Elijah Odell for prosecuting attorney, but Robert Read declined their nomination for Clerk and recommended Thomas Updegraff who had tied for the Republican nomination. With joint support, he was reelected without opposition. On December 5th, the Hon. Mr. Iverson from Georgia spoke in the U.S. Senate as tensions rose:

*"Sir, disguise the fact as you will," he said, "there is enmity between the Northern and Southern people, which is deep and enduring, and you can never eradicate it - never. Look at the spectacle exhibited on this floor. How is it? There are Northern senators on that side; here are the Southern senators on this side. You sit upon your side silent and gloomy. We sit upon our side with knit brows and portentous scowls. Here are two hostile bodies on this floor, and it is but a type of the feeling which exists between the two sections. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile States. We have not lived in peace. We are not now living in peace. It is not expected that we shall ever live in peace."*⁵⁵

On December 29th, in Ohio, Alexander Bethard's new wife gave birth to a daughter, Mary.

1859

⁵² History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

⁵³ Hugh Thomas, The Slave Trade (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1997), page 660.

⁵⁴ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

⁵⁵ History of Butler County, page 383.

Amanda and Thomas Leroy Parker moved from Illinois to Strawberry Point in 1859, Charles Darwin published a book *On the Origin of Species*, London's Big Ben chimed for the first time, seventy fugitive slaves traveled the underground railroad from Tennessee to British North America (Canada), a boatload of Negroes left New Orleans for Haiti at the invitation of that country's President, J. J. Jewett opened McGregor's newest drugstore and, on January 27th, two transplanted Buckeyes, Jim Bethard, now twenty-one, and Caroline Rice, seventeen, were married in Clayton County where Jim worked a rented farm on Robert's Creek. Residents voted to move the county seat back to Garnavillo and *The Clayton Co. Journal*, touting itself as an "independent paper" published every Thursday, soon followed.

Abraham Lincoln spoke at Cooper Union in New York and vaulted to national attention, but performer of the year, with headlines as big as those of Lincoln and Douglas, was thirty-five year old Frenchman Jean Gravelet, known to the world as Charles Blondin, who thrilled large audiences by walking a tightrope over the gorge at Niagara Falls.⁵⁶ On August 19th he crossed with his terrified manager on his back. In a few more years newspapers would depict Lincoln as Blondin, a tightrope walker trying to balance the Constitution while carrying a Negro slave on his back.

Kansas women were given the vote, but only "as an experiment" and only on school matters, and the *Journal* advertized "Madame Denaire's celebrated Love Powders" by the use of which any person might gain the affections of the opposite sex.⁵⁷ Articles promoted the *New York Tribune* then seeking to expand its readership in the west, the "well-known and popular" Howard House in Strawberry Point from which stages left daily for the East and West,⁵⁸ and humor reflective of the day.⁵⁹

"Captain, what's the fare to St. Louis?"

"What part of the boat do you wish to go on - cabin or deck?"

"Hang your cabin," said the gentleman from Indiana, "I live in a cabin at home, give me the best you have got."

"Reader did you ever enjoy the ecstatic bliss of courting?"

If you didn't you had better get a little "gal-an-try."

"A fine woman, like a locomotive, draws a train after her, scatters the sparks, and transports the males."

*"A Toast - Woman - to her Virtues, we give love; To her beauty, our admiration; To her Hoops, the whole sidewalk."*⁶⁰

In its early history McGregor had been "a point for storing government supplies destined for Fort Atkinson and goods for Indian traders up to the time the Winnebago Indians were removed."⁶¹ It had been surveyed in 1846 and grown rapidly during the 1850s. With a good steamboat landing, its three stores were thriving and the county had grown to 400 residents with a wagon factory, grist mill, saw mill and steam flour mill able to produce 200 barrels of flour a day. Iowa, Kansas and other western states were lands of opportunity - ground was flat, fertile, easy to clear and inexpensive - and on August 25th the *Journal* tempted its eastern readers with:

SOMETHING FOR EASTERN MEN TO THINK UPON

"There never was and there never will be a better time than the present, for investment in Iowa lands, from the fact that the monetary pressure has radically reduced the price of real estate. Farm lands or town lots, be they improved or unimproved can be purchased at the present time for half the price they were held at three years ago. There was then a fictitious value given to all property, but the reaction consequent on such

⁵⁶ Lincoln credited this speech at Cooper Union and photographs by Matthew Brady as ensuring his presidential election.

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⁵⁸ The Clayton Co. Journal (May 17, 1859).

⁵⁸ The Clayton Co. Journal (August 18, 1859).

⁵⁹ The Clayton Co. Journal (September 15, 1859).

⁶⁰ The Clayton Co. Journal (May 2, 1861).

⁶¹ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

an unhealthy inflation has lessened the price of town lots, farms, & c., and by a small outlay of money, one can lay the foundation for a large and enduring fortune.

“Emigrants to this State, by expending a few hundred dollars in real estate this year will find it the most profitable investment that they could make. Here, in our vicinity land is very cheap, and it is the best of land at that, fertile and easy to clear. If some of the Eastern farmers were but to see these splendid prairies they would clap their hands in wonder and astonishment, and not cease in crying, PRODIGIOUS! PRODIGIOUS! But half the people at the East don't know what kind of land we have here or they would come in larger numbers than they ever have heretofore.... In view of these facts we would invite Eastern men to our beautiful and prosperous State, Iowa, and we bespeak for them wealth, health and happiness. The prairies are wide and long and all can be provided for with land.”⁶²

The *Journal* also noted population shifts in the South - *“The State of South Carolina is taking a census, and in seventeen parishes there is a decrease of over 5000 whites since 1855, while the blacks have largely increased. The Palmetto State will soon be Africanized.”*⁶³ On September 15th it reported, *“at the Chapel Royal, during the thunderstorm on a recent Sunday, several frightened ladies fearing the effect of lightening upon certain steel circumstances, which fashion had girded about them, actually detached these dangerous appendages, and walked away, leaving their hoops in their pews.”*⁶⁴ Presidential frontrunners for the Republicans, Free Soil Democrats and Whigs, included Edward Bates,⁶⁵ Salmon Chase and William Seward and, for the incumbent Democrats, James Buchanan for another term, John Bell, and Stephen Douglas whose proposed running mate, Herschell Johnson, felt it best *“for capital to own its labor.”*

In state politics, Republicans nominated Samuel Kirkwood for Governor and Samuel Merrill and D. C. Baker for representatives while Reuben Noble and Elijah Odell spoke on behalf of Democratic candidates. Results were mixed, but one who prevailed was Merrill.⁶⁶

“Free Soiler” Sam Houston was inaugurated as Governor of Texas to the consternation of Southern *“States Rightists,”* twenty Iowa women cleaned out the whiskey shops (*“the proceedings were disgraceful in the extreme”*) and, on October 24th, the *Journal* reported that *“telegraphic reports state that a tremendous riot occurred at Harper's Ferry on the 18th.”*⁶⁷ *Some journals have attributed it to a political excitement stating that the notorious Brown, formerly of Kansas and a certain Anderson went to Harper's Ferry, to take possession of the armory, the most extensive one in the U.S. and attempted to incite the slaves to open rebellion.”*

Seizing the town, its armory and Hall's Rifle Works was meant to start an uprising of slaves. Self-styled Commander-in-Chief Brown and his Secretary of War, J. H. Kagi, were joined by Jerry Anderson, three of Brown's sons, John Cook (brother-in-law of Indiana Governor Willard), Aaron Stevens aka Colonel Whipple, Iowa Quaker Edwin Coppoc and other *“Liberators.”* They expected *“a mighty conquest”* but acted precipitously, a week earlier than planned, failed to leave as quickly as planned, and were besieged by townspeople. Militia arrived about noon on the 17th and a Marine detachment under Robert E. Lee arrived after dark. With him was cavalry Lieutenant J.E.B. Stuart who had known Brown in Kansas and was nearing the end of a six month leave from Fort Riley. Most of the town was retaken quickly, Brown took refuge in the engine house, efforts to negotiate a surrender failed, and he was attacked and captured. His war had lasted thirty-six hours. The *New York Tribune* viewed him as a saint; the *Journal* as a *“traitor to his country:”*

⁶² The Clayton Co. Journal (August 25, 1859).

⁶³ The Clayton Co. Journal (August 25, 1859).

⁶⁴ The Clayton Co. Journal (September 15, 1859).

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A Missouri resident born in Virginia and married to a South Carolinian, Bates was considered by many as preferable to Seward and Chase whose views on slavery were more extreme and less likely to garner the moderate votes necessary to win the election. Although he had not held public office for more than twenty-five years, Bates became so sure of his nomination that it was not until twenty days before the Convention that he would first mention Lincoln and then only as a possible courtesy nomination.

⁶⁶ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

⁶⁷

Brown's attack started quietly on the night of Sunday the 16th, continued throughout the 17th and ended on the morning of the 18th.

"The affair is too incredible on the face of it, that any sane man should in the least way suppose that a time had come when this country could be revolutionized. We cannot believe that any set of men, if they be not idiots, would undertake such an uncalled for expedition, of entering the very heart of the South, in which Harper's Ferry is situated and to revolutionize it. . . . Captain Brown and his son were both shot.⁶⁸ The latter is dead and the former dying. He lies in the armory enclosure, talks freely and says that he is the old Ossawattomie Brown, whose feats in Kansas had such wide notice. He says his whole object was to free slaves and justified his previous actions; he says he had possession of the town, and could have murdered all of its inhabitants."

The Harper's Ferry prisoners were moved to the Charles Town jail to await a decision of the Grand Jury. Indictments were issued and, on October 31st, the *Journal* continued:

"our latest advices are that the trial of Brown has already begun, and he admits that his desire was to emancipate the slaves in the South, and claims that it is a holy cause, and that God was with him. He does not believe that he will be punished for this last act, for he says, 'twice already have I escaped from death,' and thinks God will protect him this time. It is by some supposed that he is insane and perhaps will be dealt with as such by the hands of justice. We hope they will send him to the lunatic asylum for a life time, or, if he has his senses, hang him at once. Some papers are endeavoring to make a 'party affair' out of it, but it is wrong, we say. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has anything to do with it; it is a scheme of wild, rabid, ranting, fanatic Abolitionists, and we do not believe there is one true Republican that would endorse 'Ossawattomie' in his actions; at least we have not seen one man nor one Republican paper taking such a ground."

By November 2d Brown had been tried and convicted. When asked "why sentence should not be pronounced" he argued that he never meant to commit murder and his sole object was to liberate slaves.⁶⁹ Ralph Waldo Emerson called him a "Saint" whose death "will make the gallows glorious like the Cross." To Henry Thoreau "no man in America has ever stood up so persistently for the dignity of human nature." To a prophetic Brown, the crime of slavery would "never be purged away but with blood" and the poet Longfellow agreed. "This will," he said:

"be a great day in our history; the date of a New Revolution - quite as much needed as the old one. Even now as I write they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue slaves! This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind which will come soon."

Brown was hung on December 2d. Witnesses, mostly military, included West Point graduate and Virginia Military Institute Professor Thomas J. (soon to be "Stonewall") Jackson, Virginia secessionist Edmund Ruffin and, in the ranks of the Richmond Grays, John Wilkes Booth.

On the 8th, Fortner Mather presided at the wedding of Enos Russell and Julia Farr in Garnavillo, but none could foresee that the groom would soon serve in the Union Army with the minister's brothers. Four days later, the *Journal* echoed Longfellow when it concluded its prophetic account of Brown:

"Although John Brown was a rebel, was a traitor to his country yet, you may disguise it as you will, the people of the North sympathize with him, just because his motive was the liberation of the slaves, and the future will witness an agitation of slavery more fearful and dangerous than any that has yet been seen in this country, and the cause of it is the execution of Brown."

The Massachusetts legislature refused to adjourn in recognition of the execution, but 100 guns were fired in Albany, a large prayer meeting was held in Philadelphia and Virginia's expenses were said to exceed \$200,000. A

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Twenty year old Oliver was killed on the 17th. Twenty-four year old Watson was wounded and died two days later. Twenty-five year old Frederick 2d had already been killed in Kansas.

69

The Clayton Co. Journal (November 7, 1859).

man was tarred and feathered in Savannah for expressing abolitionist sentiments and a convention was called for Charlestown in early April,⁷⁰ but Brown was only the most sensational news of the day. Author Washington Irving died in November, President Buchanan filed a libel suit against John Forney editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, R. J. Shannon of Boonsboro questioned the fidelity of his wife and wounded her suitor with an axe, James Sutherland was fined \$20 for kissing Mrs. Maria Bohman against her wishes, a wealthy Mississippi planter was convicted of manslaughter for killing one of his slaves, and the famous Lola Montez was scheduled to arrive in New York by steamer from Hamburg.⁷¹ In just four months after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, 10,000 slaves had poured into Canada and, on December 19th, President Buchanan delivered his State of the Union address:

"I shall not refer in detail to the recent sad and bloody occurrences at Harper's Ferry. Still, it is proper to observe that these events, however bad and cruel in themselves, derive their chief importance from the apprehension that they are but symptoms of an incurable disease to the public mind, which may break out in still more dangerous outrages and terminate at last in an open war by the North to abolish Slavery in the South.... In this view, let me implore my countrymen, North and South, to cultivate the ancient feelings of mutual forbearance and good-will towards each other and strive to allay the demon spirit of sectional hatred and strife now rife in the land...."

The right has been established of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories belonging equally to all the States of the Confederacy, and to have it protected there under the Federal Constitution...."

It is a striking proof of the sense of justice, which is inherent in our people, that the property of slaves has never been disturbed, to my knowledge, in any of the Territories. Even throughout the late troubles in Kansas there has not been any attempt, as I am credibly informed, to interfere in a single instance with the right of the master...."

Re-open the trade and it would be difficult to determine whether the effect would be more deleterious on the interest of the master or on those of the native born slave. Of the evils to the master the one most to be dreaded would be the introduction of wild, heathen and ignorant barbarians among the sober, orderly and quiet slaves whose ancestors have been on the soil for generations. This might tend to barbarize, demoralize and exasperate the whole mass and produce most deplorable consequences.

The effect upon the existing slaves would, if possible, be still more deplorable. At the present he is treated with kindness and humanity. His condition is incomparably better than that of the coolies which modern civilization has employed as a substitute for African slaves. Both the philanthropy and the self-interest of the master have combined to produce this humane result."

Many Northerners accepted slavery, the *North Iowa Times* insisted the Constitutional provision securing the blessings of "liberty to ourselves and our posterity" could not be applied to the slave and colored population of the South,⁷² and even the independent *Journal* published what was no doubt viewed as humorous:

Caesar," said a Negro to a colored friend of his, "which do you think is de most useful of de comets, de sun or de moon?"

Well, Clemens, I don't think I should be able to answer dat question seein' as how I never had much book larning."

Well, I speck de moon orter take de fust rank in dat particular.

Why so nigger?"

Bekase de moon shines in the night when we need de light and de sun shines in de day time, when de light is of no kinsequence."

Well, Clem, you am de most larned darkey I eber seen. Guess you used to sweep out a school house for a

⁷⁰ *The Clayton Co. Journal* (December 12, 1859).

⁷¹

The Clayton Co. Journal (October 31, 1859). "After twenty years as a loyal Buchanan Democrat, Forney split with Buchanan in 1857 over patronage and became a Douglas Democrat. In 1860 he was a Lincoln Republican, later a Johnson Republican, then an anti-Johnson Radical, and finally a Democrat again." Beale, *The Diary of Edward Bates* p. 203 (U.S. Govt. Printing Office 1933).

⁷² *The Clayton Co. Journal* (January 16, 1860).

This was an era of state banks and regulation was loose. The country had “no less than 1,562 state-chartered banks, and almost every one distributed its own variety of bills.”⁷⁴ Iowa's population was almost 675,000,⁷⁵ the financial panic of 1857 had been weathered, three successive years of poor crops had been endured, its Congressional representation had tripled and, on January 11th, forty-six year old Republican Sam Kirkwood took the oath of office as the state's fifth Governor.⁷⁶ Acknowledging the rising “anger and jealousy” that threatened to divide the nation, he was nevertheless convinced that “those who love our Constitution and our Union, have not very great cause for alarm. Passion will subside, reason will resume its sway, and then our southern brethren will discover that they have been deceived and misled, as to our feelings and purposes.”

A Maryland native, Kirkwood had “a varied career in Ohio as teacher, clerk, surveyor, farmer, and lawyer” before moving to Iowa to manage “a brother-in-law's farm and flour mill.”⁷⁷ He had been a member of the state constitutional convention, won a state senate seat in a heavily Democratic district, was an early opponent of state aid to Iowa's railroads, and defeated the “popular Augustus Caesar Dodge” in the gubernatorial election by about 3,000 votes. He was opposed to the extension of slavery, condemned John Brown's actions but admired his “unflinching courage and calm cheerfulness” and, when asked by Virginia Governor Letcher to turn over Brown conspirator Barclay Coppoc, refused the request citing technical defects in the procedure.⁷⁸

When the Clayton County seat was moved to Elkader, the *Journal* followed and wrote that Clerk Thomas Updegraff “is energetic, and enters into a debate with a determination to defeat - and he does it in most instances.” Another attorney, Elijah Odell of McGregor, was walking along Main Street and severely injured when he fell into a cellar whose door had been left open⁷⁹ and, on March 5th, the *Journal* editorialized that “almost everybody has something to say about hoops. It is hoops at morning, hoops at noon and hoops at night.” Fully in favor of hoops, the *Journal* continued:

*“just look at a lady without hoops, and does she not resemble a half starved Japanese woman or, as a wag at our side observes, a 'bean pole? There is no grace in her form. She looks more like a ghost than a living being, unless she wears twenty-five petticoats. Just think of that, ye husbands what an amount it formerly cost to supply the women with these latter mentioned articles and think what a trouble, what a weight and what a nuisance it must have been to them - This evil is entirely done away with by the fashion of wearing hoops. ... hence we say 'Hoops forever'.”*⁸⁰

The Pony Express was inaugurated on April 3rd when the first rider⁸¹ left St. Joseph, Missouri, for the first of 190 relay stations on the route to Sacramento. Soon eighty riders were strung out across the desolate west, forty racing east and forty west, all dressed in the characteristic red shirt and blue pants. The Express would end with completion of the telegraph but, for a brief time, it actively recruited new riders - “Wanted. Young skinny wiry fellows not over 18. Must be expert riders willing to risk death daily. Orphans preferred. Wages \$25 per week.” This was also an

⁷³ The Clayton Co. Journal (February 13, 1860).

⁷⁴ Smithsonian (September 2000).

⁷⁵ Vexler, Handbook of the State of Iowa (Oceana Publications, 1978).

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Governor Kirkwood was born on December 20, 1813, in Hartford County, Maryland. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page 10.

⁷⁷ Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), pages 52-53.

⁷⁸

Coppoc, who had been present at Harper's Ferry, made his way to Kansas, joined the army and was killed in an accident when Confederates burned a bridge causing the wreck of a train on which he was riding.

⁷⁹ The Clayton Co. Journal (March 12, 1860).

⁸⁰ Clayton County Journal (March 5, 1859).

⁸¹ Billie Richardson or Johnny Fry. Historians disagree.

election year and Senator Hammond was at it again when he said:

"I firmly believe that the slave-holding power of the South is now the controlling power of the world - that no other power would face us in hostility. Cotton, Rice, tobacco, and naval stores command the world; and we have sense to know it, and are sufficiently Teutonic to carry it out successfully. The North without us would be a motherless calf, bleating about and die of mangle and starvation."⁸²

On April 23rd the Democrats met in Charleston, but they were badly divided. Northerners supported Douglas. Southerners didn't care as much about the candidate as they did that their platform asserting the right of citizens to settle western Territories with their slaves, a right not *"to be destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation,"* a right to be protected by the Federal government. Northerners knew they couldn't win with such a plank in their platform, seven states withdrew to prevent Douglas from getting the votes necessary to be the party's candidate and the convention adjourned to reconvene in Baltimore on June 18th. In the meantime, a new party, the Constitutional-Union Party, nominated southern slave-holder John Bell and northerner Edward Everett and the Republicans met in Chicago. Despite many differences, Republicans were united on *"putting a stop to the extension of slavery."* Most assumed Seward would be nominated, but weaknesses were seen in his doctrine of an *"irrepressible conflict"* in the slavery debate.⁸³ Edward Bates was proposed by Missouri. Ohio suggested Salmon Chase, Pennsylvania Simon Cameron and Illinois their backwoods debater Abraham Lincoln. On the third ballot he was nominated.

Not far away, working in his father's Galena leather store, was thirty-eight year old Ulysses S. Grant. He had been present at every battle of the Mexican War except one, was distinguished for gallantry and had attracted the attention of General Winfield Scott and his staff officer, Robert E. Lee, but left the military in 1854 and tried working as a wool dealer, farmer and auctioneer, and as a real estate agent at Boggs & Grant, all with little success. Now the ex-military man was working as a clerk for \$600 per year.

In July the *Journal* announced its support for Republicans Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin with Fitz Henry Warren⁸⁴ of Des Moines on the state electoral ticket. The next month, on the 27th, Cora May Scofield was born. The first child born in Strawberry Point, she was the daughter of Norman Scofield, a native of Chautauqua County, New York, and his wife, Victoria. Like most of his neighbors, Norman was a farmer and probably well aware of rising tensions in the South where secession fever had been growing for years, primarily over tariffs, the power of the federal government, a proposed national bank and other economic issues with slavery at the forefront. On October 5th South Carolina Governor William Henry Gist sent a letter to the governors of the other Cotton States, all except Free Soiler Houston. Gist was sure his state would secede if a majority of Lincoln electors were chosen, especially if assured the others would follow.⁸⁵ The seed was sown but responses were equivocal. Alabama and Mississippi responded favorably. Louisiana refused. Virginia *"politely declined."* Others vacillated and on October 25th the *Journal* discounted the rumors.

Our opponents, finding that their popular sovereignty humbug is about worn out, now resort to an old trick, which is peculiar to them every four years, namely, charging disunionism upon the opposition. They say that the Union will be divided if Lincoln is elected President.

Indeed! because a majority of the voters of the United States are in favor of a certain man and invest him with the highest office in their gift, the Union is to be dissolved! Ridiculous! Is there a sensible, an unprejudiced man, in the State of Iowa who believes this?

Bah! No one anticipates such a result - This cry was invented only to frighten the people into voting for

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Louis Bernard Schmidt, *The Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations During the Civil War*, The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (The State Historical Society of Iowa, January 1918) referencing Rhodes, History of the United States, 1850-1877, Vol. II, p. 440, from Life and Letters of Francis Lieber, page 310.

83

Many, even in the South, agreed an *"essential incompatibility"* had arisen. *"It arose from no man, or party or political event, but from the inherent quarrel between two adverse systems."* Secession would come regardless of the election.

84

Also written as Fitz-Henry Warren. His grave marker says *"Fitz Henry Warren."*

85

On November 18, 1863, Governor Gist's son, William, would be killed by a Union sharpshooter during the siege of Knoxville.

*the Democratic candidate. Divide the Union! The people of the United States are not prepared to do any such thing; the mass of the people will not permit a few fanatics to destroy this glorious compact of States. No! the people of the North are not prepared for it; the people of the South will not do it because their commercial and all other interests are too closely and too intimately interwoven with each other. Nor are the Southern people less patriotic than the Northern. We do not believe that because a Northern man is elected that they will secede from the Union. They don't say so now; this is only uttered by a few hot-heads and they are not the South.*⁸⁶

Iowa Republicans held torchlight parades, barbecue picnics and rail-splitting contests for "Honest Abe" and supported his platform of free homesteads, federal aid for railroads and legal prohibition of the extension of slavery. The election was held on November 6th. Lincoln split rails but the Democrats split a party and the Republicans, with only 40% of the popular vote, prevailed over tickets led by John Breckenridge, Stephen Douglas and John Bell. Ominously, 99% of Lincoln's support had come from the North, 1% from five border states and none from the South where his name was not even presented to the voters. The *Journal* exalted, "*Glorious News. Lincoln Elected!*" but Governor Gist had kept the South Carolina legislature in special session so a convention could be called quickly if Lincoln were elected and the *Journal* reported:

THREATENED SECESSION

Charleston, Nov. 13

The largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in Charleston is assembled tonight at the Institute Hall to ratify a call for a Convention by the Legislature. The galleries were filled by ladies. Judge McGrath presided. Speeches were made by McGrath, Spratt, Colcook, Conner and others, when a speaker declared this Union is dissolved. The enthusiasm was perfectly wild; outside meetings were addressed by leading merchants all declaring their readiness to sacrifice all in maintaining South Carolina honors. There is no longer any doubt that South Carolina will secede - Palmetto banners are multiplying. The 'Courier' office displays the Palmetto flag with the words South Carolina has moved and the other states will follow. On the reverse is a single line with room for others as they come in. The Legislature adjourns tomorrow noon. . . . Hill, M.C. from Georgia has taken a decided stand for secession. . . . Lieut. Hammond has resigned. News has been received from the Governor of Mississippi; he will call the Legislature together immediately.

The never-say-die *Journal* was unconvinced. "*We do not believe that the people of South Carolina desire a dissolution of the Union simply because a Northern man was elected President. There are only a few hot-heads in our opinion who make all this disturbance and they cannot effect anything - The rabble perhaps will go with them, but the thinking people will not; those whom we term patriots and free men.*"⁸⁷

President Buchanan saw no need to reinforce Federal garrisons in South Carolina. His Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, resigned. Congressional efforts at compromise tried to save the Union, but the delegation from Iowa was one of only two in the country that voted unanimously against every proposal offered to avert the war.

SECESSION

Governor Gist was succeeded by Francis Pickens, former Ambassador to Russia and husband of Lucy Holcomb Pickens, the only woman to be pictured on Confederate currency and, on December 2d, a year to the day from the hanging of John Brown, a South Carolina newspaper called on descendants of the colonists' great revolution "*to dissolve our present political Union.*"⁸⁸ Alabama Governor Andrew Moore wanted "*no propositions of compromise*"⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Clayton County Journal (October 25, 1860).

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⁸⁸ The Clayton Co. Journal (November 15, 1860). "*Secession had been discussed for fifty years before it occurred, and almost every state in the Union had threatened to secede at one time or another.*" W. E. Woodward, Meet General Grant p.68 (Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928).

⁸⁹ *What True Conservatism Demands of the South*, The Daily South Carolinian (Columbia, S.C., December 2, 1862), as published in The American Historical Association's Southern Editorials on Secession, edited by Dwight Lowell Dumond (The Century Co., 1931).

⁸⁹ Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War (George W. Childs, Philadelphia, 1866), Volume 1, page 101.

while Sam Houston called for a convention in Texas, a convention he hoped would diffuse a secession-oriented "People's Convention." On the 20th South Carolina passed an "Ordinance of Secession" by a vote of 169-0, in essence voting to revoke its earlier agreement to be part of a united country:

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

Washington politicians looked for a solution. The Senate raised a committee of thirteen and Congress a committee of thirty-three. Virginia invited delegates to a "Peace Conference." Most Southerners expected a smooth transition, but military preparation was not imprudent and South Carolina resolved that Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island and Sumter farther out, the ungarrisoned Castle Pinckney and the Charleston Arsenal, should be put under state control. On December 26th, Major Robert Anderson, the same Anderson who had enlisted Abraham Lincoln during the 1832 Black Hawk War, transferred his Federal garrison from Moultrie to the more defensible, although still unfinished, Sumter. The move angered South Carolinians who thought it violated a commitment that no movement would occur while negotiations were underway, but Washington refused to order a return to Moultrie. The South's second largest city with a population of 40,578, Charleston was a hotbed of secessionism and, on December 27th, its residents occupied Moultrie and Pinckney. On the 28th John B. Floyd, President Buchanan's Secretary of War, resigned and on the 30th Charleston residents seized the arsenal. No shots had been fired but fire-eaters were anxious and warned that enthusiasm would soon wane unless Davis "sprinkled blood in the face of the Southern people."⁹⁰

As secessionism swept the South, Philadelphia actor John Wilkes Booth wrote a manuscript sympathizing with their cause, a manuscript he never delivered. South Carolina, he said, was "fighting in a just cause with God Himself upon their side."⁹¹ Disunion was due to the "constant agitation of the slavery question." The newly elected President was not mentioned.

1861

By 1861 Benito Juárez was President of Mexico, Wells Fargo controlled the overland mail on a route west through Salt Lake City, Kansas entered the Union as a free state, Clayton County held the first meeting of its Board of Supervisors,⁹² and Attorney Thomas Updegraff was living in McGregor when his term as County Clerk expired. Returning to private practice, he and Elijah Odell formed Odell & Updegraff, a Law and Collection Office, an office where soldiers would later send letters, goods and money for their families. In January, Governor Kirkwood traveled to Springfield to meet the newly elected President and find out "what manner of man he was," Southern Senators met in Washington, Georgians seized Fort Pulaski, Alabamians took the arsenal at Mount Vernon and Forts Gaines and Morgan on Mobile Bay and Marshall Roberts' steamer *Star of the West* left New York with reinforcements and supplies for the garrison at Sumter.

On January 8, 1861, Federal guards at Fort Barrancas west of Pensacola fired shots, possibly the "first shots" of the war, at "figures lurking" nearby and, on the 9th, shots rang out in Charleston's harbor forcing the *Star* to turn back and Mississippi became the second state to leave the Union.⁹³ Florida withdrew on the 10th, Federals abandoned the

⁹⁰ James Gillespie Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Rand, Avery & Company, Boston, 1884), Volume 1,

⁹¹

Herbert Mitgang, New York Times News Service, *Manuscript by John Wilkes Booth Opens Window into a Disordered Mind*. [The Baltimore Sun](#) (April 26, 1992).

⁹²

Among them was Dwight Chase who, from his appointment on November 16, 1864, to his resignation on May 30, 1865, would serve as Surgeon of the 21st Iowa Infantry.

⁹³

The arsenal was the old Spanish Fort St. Carlos de Barancas and its seizure had been led by Braxton Bragg. Christopher G. Peña, [Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District](#) (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 36. Information regarding the campaign was

Pensacola shipyard and moved to Fort Pickering on Santa Rosa Island, Louisiana seized Forts Jackson and St. Philip downriver from New Orleans and the Baton Rouge arsenal and its "47,372 pieces of small arms." Despite the rapidly increasing friction between North and South, the *Journal* was still not concerned.

WAR BROKEN OUT

The South Threatening to take the Capitol

"Just as we go to Press (January 10th at 8 PM) we learn that war has broken out. The South Carolinians have attack'd the forts and are preparing to march to Washington to take possession of the Capital. The news are deemed reliable, and if so, will cause volunteer companies to spring up in all parts of the North for the suppression of the rebels. If war they want, war they shall have. We hope however our readers will not become too excited over this, because it is not worth while. There are men enough in Pennsylvania alone to subdue South Carolina without the aid of Iowa volunteers. . . .

Late News

*The report that Fort Sumpter was besieged is not true. . . . The Fast Day appointed by the President was generally observed in the South. . . . Guns were fired in the principal cities in the North in honor of Maj. Anderson. . . . Volunteer companies are being organized in Pennsylvania to go to the rescue of Anderson."*⁹⁴

War had come. According to the 1860 Census "thirtythree States and seven Territories, which at that time composed the United States, contained a population of 31, 443,790. Fifteen of these States with 12,140,296 inhabitants were slave-holding, more than four millions of the population being slaves; eighteen with an aggregate population of 19,303,494 were classified as free. Four of the fifteen slave states, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, whose people numbered three and one-half millions, constituted what were known as the Border slave States - West Virginia being added to this list in 1862."⁹⁵ Estimates of those who would ultimately serve in the war vary significantly ranging from 600,000 to 1,400,000 for the South and 1,500,000 to 2,200,000 for the North.

Alabama secession was urged by William Yancey, a fire-eater of the first rank and founder of the League of United Southerners dedicated to slavery. An eloquent 5'6" orator, Yancey loved the South and saw his state withdraw on January 11th. "*Independent Now and Forever!*" was its new motto and, "*if this be treason,*" he argued, "*make the most of it.*" Alabama soldiers headed for Pensacola and, on January 17th, U.S. Army Colonel Robert E. Lee wrote to his cousin:

*"if the Union is dissolved, I shall return to Virginia and share the fortune of my people.... I hope all honorable means of maintaining the Constitution, and the equal rights of the people will be first exhausted.... I am for maintaining all our rights, not for abandoning all for the sake of one. It will result in war I know. Fierce and bloody war.... I cannot anticipate so great a calamity to the nation as a Dissolution of the Union."*⁹⁶

Alabama was followed by Georgia on the 19th and Louisiana on the 26th by a vote of 113 to 17. Bells rang, cannons boomed, people cheered, stars and stripes were lowered, new flags were raised. Most Northerners had been convinced southern states, with a divided Democratic Party, would not secede. Many had laughed at Buchanan's warnings "*as those of a weak and timorous old man.*"⁹⁷ They denounced threats of Southern fire-eaters as "*vaporings of demagogues and braggadocios.*"⁹⁸ Southerners, in turn, thought the North would not fight, especially with a President elected with less than half the vote. The editor of the *Charleston Mercury* said he would eat the bodies of all men slain as a result of secession. James Chestnut, Senator from South Carolina, offered to drink all the blood shed in

also provided by Elliott R. Matthews and R. DeWayne Scott, both of Athens, Alabama, and by David E. Denney Jr., Birmingham, Alabama.

⁹⁴ The Clayton County (January 10, 1861).

⁹⁵ James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress (The Henry Bill Publishing Company, Norwich, Connecticut, 1884), Volume I, page 556.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Brown Pryor, Reading the Man (Penguin Group, 2007).

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James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1864, Page 40 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1864).

⁹⁸

James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1864, Page 40 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1864).

the cause of secession, an eloquent sentiment repeated by Texas zealot Thomas Waul. A Georgia newspaper expressed "no fears" of a Civil War. "Why should there be any strife over it?" asked sugar planter Braxton Bragg.⁹⁹ Secession, he thought, "will lead to a peaceable solution."

A good friend of Bragg from their days at Jefferson Barracks, William Sherman resigned as Superintendent of the Louisiana Seminary of Learning and Military Academy in Alexandria and, more realistically, predicted "only in your spirit and determination are you prepared for war. This country," he said, "will be drenched in blood." Leaving for St. Louis, he declined an offer from Bragg to fight for the South and advised former students that "war is a terrible thing. And this war - should there be a war - why it will bring a frightful loss of life and property, and gain nothing."¹⁰⁰ Sam Houston warned Texans "the North is determined to preserve the Union," but a Commissioner from South Carolina told them "from our common enemy you received ... neglect and insult, and even arson and poison, that your hearthstones might be violated and your wives and little ones tortured and murdered."

Voting 107-7 on February 1, 1861, Texas' "People's Convention" passed an "Ordinance to dissolve the existing union between the State of Texas and other States under a compact entitled 'United States of America' and to establish a new constitution of Government."¹⁰¹ Plans were made for a vote of the people and Robert E. Lee returned to Virginia. On the 4th, at the invitation of the Virginia General Assembly, "delegates from twenty-one states assembled in Willard's Hotel in Washington" to consult on the "unfortunate condition of public affairs" while thirty-eight delegates from South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Florida, the six states already out of the Union, met in Montgomery, Alabama.¹⁰² On the 8th they approved a provisional government to be known as "The Confederate States of America," a union of "one flesh, one bone, one interest, one purpose and one identity of domestic institutions" and, on the 9th, they elected Jefferson Davis as President, fewer than three weeks after his resignation from the United States Senate. Davis preferred the military to politics but, according to Yancey, "the man and the hour have met." As Vice President, they chose Alexander Stephens. As Attorney General, they selected Judah Benjamin, a lawyer and U.S. Senator who had been born in the West Indies, entered Yale Law School at fourteen and helped settle the estate of President Taylor.

On February 11th, Abraham Lincoln left Illinois and Jefferson Davis left Mississippi, each on his way to his own inauguration. Passing through Pittsburgh, Lincoln remarked that "There really is no crisis except an artificial one.... If the great American people will only keep their temper, on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end." On the 14th, George and Mary Perhamus were living in Dyersville when their second daughter, Florence, was born into troubled times as even the Clayton County Journal admitted.

A few months ago we, in common with the mass of the people of the whole North, scouted the idea of the disruption of the Union. We thought it impossible and believed that if such an attempt were made it could at once be subdued. But things are changed now. Nine [sic] States are out of the Union, our forts and arsenals are in the hands of the Disunionists, the United States Mint at New Orleans is wrested from us, the Mississippi River is blockaded so that no Northern vessel can go into New Orleans. Vessel after vessel belonging to us is captured by the South and - war is at our doors! . . .

There has been no real battle fought as yet, but the South has simply attacked and taken possession of United States vessels, Forts and Arsenals, without the least resistance on the part of the government, and hence the South is impressed with the belief that the North is afraid and dare not oppose them....

Louisiana obtained about \$400,000 of bullion and coin by the seizure of the U.S. Mint All government telegraph communication with New Orleans is cut off Governor Morgan received a dispatch from Gov. Brown of Georgia demanding the immediate restoration of muskets seized on board the steamer Monticello ...

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Bragg's 1600 acre Bivouac Plantation on Louisiana's Bayou La Fourche was manned by 110 slaves and produced 1,300 hogsheads of sugar before the war. Christopher G. Peña, Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 36.

¹⁰⁰ Shelby Foote, The Civil War: A Narrative (1986).

¹⁰¹ On Texas secession generally see Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861. (Austin Printing Company, 1912).

¹⁰²

Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 127. Elsewhere it's indicated Texas had also seceded. Christopher G. Peña, Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 29. While the state's Convention had voted to secede, the vote of the people had not yet taken place.

*The result from Virginia shows a probable triumph of Unionists for the Convention. The Senate of Kentucky last week passed a Resolution declaring it inexpedient to take further action in favor of a Convention for Secession purposes The New Orleans Custom House refused to deliver foreign goods to Louisville importers unless the Louisville surveyor will grant cancelling certificates Charleston Volunteers are drilling daily, and they with the aid of laborers are placing Moultrie and the other forts in the vicinity in the best state of defense a fugitive slave woman passed recently through Jasper county from Missouri An old man who had fought in the war of 1812, committed suicide in Hinds county, Miss. recently, because the Union was dissolved - One of the oldest citizens in Mansfield, Ohio, who had done the State some service in time past, proposes the formation of a military company of old men. He says he wants real old fellows who can't run.*¹⁰³

On February 18, 1861, Jefferson Davis was inaugurated in Alabama and, five days, later Texas voters approved their legislature's Ordinance of Secession and Abraham Lincoln reached Washington “*unexpected and unobserved.*” Edward Bates arrived on the 28th after a fifty hour train ride from St. Louis and dined at the “*dingy beyond description*” National Hotel with Lincoln, Hamlin, Seward, Gideon Welles and others who would be prominent in the forthcoming administration.¹⁰⁴ On March 4th, Southern sympathizers raised their version of a rebel flag on the St. Louis courthouse and Lincoln was inaugurated in “*peace and without an accident*” after riding down Pennsylvania Avenue with President Buchanan, their carriage surrounded by protective cavalry. Administering the oath was “*the withered form*” of Chief Justice Roger Taney and recording the event was artist Winslow Homer. Drawing for *Harper's Weekly*, he would soon follow soldiers into the field and sketch them resting in camp, eating, foraging and sitting around campfires. On the same day in the South, delegates in Montgomery authorized President Davis to call for up to 100,000 volunteers and adopted the Stars and Bars as the Confederacy's official flag. With three bars, two red and one white, and a blue field of seven stars for the seven states that had then seceded, the flag was viewed by some as too similar to the flag of the United States. Public lands in Louisiana were declared property of the state and, at the urging of Richard Taylor, son of Zachary, a state army was created under the leadership of Braxton Bragg.

When Lincoln delivered his inaugural address the stars and stripes still flew in only three sites in the South and Washington was a city of shabby brick and wooden buildings.¹⁰⁵ With a population of 63,000 that would soon swell to 200,000, its swamps, stagnant water and occasional floods caused typhoid, malaria, dysentery and other illnesses. Summers were hot and humid, flies, lice, ticks and mosquitoes flourished, family privies were common and hotel flush toilets emptied raw sewage into canals, vacant lots and Tiber Creek. Goats, pigs and cows wandered the streets as the President, an abolitionist sensitive to sentiments of the border states, spoke:

"I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so. . . .

There is much controversy about delivering fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions.

No person held to labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. . . .

No State upon its own mere notion, can lawfully get out of the Union. . . .

I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends; we must not be enemies; though passion may strain, it must not break our bonds of union. The mystic chords of memory, stretched from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our country."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ The Clayton County (February 14, 1861).

¹⁰⁴ Henry Clay had died in the National Hotel in 1852.

¹⁰⁵

The sites were Fort Sumter in Charleston's harbor, Fort Pickens opposite Pensacola's Navy Yard, and Key West at the tip of Florida.

¹⁰⁶ The Clayton County (March 14, 1861).

Copies of the address were carried by train to St. Joseph and the Pony Express, with extra horses and extra riders, rushed it to California in the record time of only seven days and seventeen hours while anxious Unionists in Arkansas paid \$78.00 for a special copy transmitted by telegraph. Although well received by many, especially transplants from the northeast, the *Arkansian* called it an "insulting message" defended only by "political bigots" and "hardened political fossils" supporting "His Satanic Majesty." Abolitionists and Northern sympathizers were threatened. Vigilance Committees, Minute Men, Committees on Safety, were everywhere.

On the 5th the President's department heads were confirmed. Seward would be Secretary of State. Salmon Chase, supported by Governor Kirkwood, would head the Treasury, Simon Cameron the War Department, Gideon Welles the Navy and Montgomery Blair the Post Office. Edward Bates would be sworn in the next day as Attorney General and, on the 9th, was "informed that Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor must be evacuated" although discussions would follow on the feasibility of relieving it. On the 21st, Louisiana ratified the Confederacy's new Constitution by a vote of 101-7 and Vice President Stephens declared "its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition."

WAR

Southworth Mather died on March 30th, his sons assumed responsibility for their mother's well-being and the next morning General Beauregard prepared to fire on Fort Sumter and his former professor, Major Anderson. Beauregard asked for instructions and received them. He was to conduct surveillance, stop all courtesies, prevent supplies from reaching the Fort and permit no one to leave. On April 11th he demanded its surrender and on the 12th, at 4:30 in the morning, he opened fire.

*Then a fierce, sudden flash across the rugged blackness broke,
And with a voice that shook the land, the guns of Sumter spoke*¹⁰⁷

Anderson evacuated the Fort on the 14th and, on the 15th with a regular army of only 16,000, President Lincoln called for volunteers.¹⁰⁸

"Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law: now, therefore, I Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws have thought fit to call forth and hereby do call forth the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000 in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed."

Davis countered Lincoln a day later and irreversible actions had been taken. The conflict no one expected was fast approaching and the War Department asked Northern states to provide infantry or riflemen for a maximum of three months "under the act of Congress for calling out the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, to repel invasion, etc., approved February 28, 1795." Three months seemed plenty of time but "the gravity of the revolt" and the "power and will of the Slave States" were, said Whitman, "not at all realized at the North, except by a few."

Infantry regiments were to consist of approximately 1,000 men, each taking an oath of loyalty to the United States. No man under the rank of commissioned officer was to be younger than eighteen nor older than forty-five although age requirements were not always honored and some men stretched to permit (or prevent) their enlistment. Later in the war, requirements were often eased with minors openly accepted on the signature of a parent who would "freely give my consent to his volunteering as a soldier."

¹⁰⁷ Cutler, *War Poems* (Little, Brown & Co. 1867).
¹⁰⁸

Elsewhere 13,000 Regulars. Christopher G. Peña, *Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District* (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998).

Sumter had galvanized the North and men came quickly. Ulysses S. Grant raised volunteers in Illinois while Ohio's Governor called for thirteen regiments. By Friday of the same week two regiments, 1,700 men, were on their way to Washington and others were in formation. In Ohio, at Oxford's Miami University on April 13th, President John Hall, a Southerner, asked God to "*dispel these gathering clouds of strife,*" but senior student Ozro Dodds "*determined to offer my services to the governor of Ohio*" and organized young men into the University Rifles, soon to be Company B of the 20th Ohio Infantry. Boys practiced drill along High Street, girls sewed red flannel shirts and a squad of Southern students marched nearby. Union County's first "*war meeting*" was held at the Marysville courthouse on the 15th and ten days later a company was on its way to Columbus.

Iowa's Governor was in boots and overalls tending livestock when he received a message hand-delivered "*in hot haste*" by Congressman William Vandever who would soon be named Colonel of the state's 9th Infantry. From the end of the telegraph in Davenport, Vandever had hurried to Iowa City by train along the main line of the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad.¹⁰⁹ The wire from Secretary of War Cameron was dated April 16th and called on Iowa for one regiment, 800 to 1,000 men, for "*immediate service.*" Enthusiasm was high. Residents of Keokuk, the Gate City, recognized "*but two parties, patriots and traitors*" and pledged "*to support the government and flag,*" but the state was ill-prepared for war, "*there was no money in the State treasury and no way of raising money in an emergency.*"¹¹⁰ Only a few years earlier, the Assembly viewed military preparedness as a joke and its Committee on Military Affairs, with mock solemnity, had presented a report on the merits of "*big guns, little guns and pop guns*" and recommended "*the arms of the girls of Iowa, as the most affectionate weapons to protect the peace of the State.*"¹¹¹ Although he doubted Iowa could muster and arm an entire regiment, especially since the legislature was not then in session, Kirkwood issued a Proclamation on April 17th:

"WHEREAS, the President of the United States has made a requisition upon the Executive of the State of Iowa for one regiment of militia to aid the Federal Government in enforcing its laws and suppression of rebellion;

*Now, therefore, I Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of the State of Iowa, do issue this Proclamation and hereby call upon the militia of this State immediately to form in the different counties Volunteer Companies with a view of entering the active military service of the U.S. for the purpose aforesaid. The regiment at present required will consist of ten companies of at least 78 men each, including one Captain and two Lieutenants to be elected by each company. Under the present requisition only one regiment can be accepted, and the companies accepted must hold themselves in readiness for duty by the 20th of May next at the farthest. If a sufficient number of Companies are tendered their services may be required sooner. If more companies are formed and reported than can be received under the present call, their services will be required in the event of another requisition upon the State. The nation is in peril. A fearful attempt is being made to overthrow the Constitution and dissever the Union. The aid of every loyal citizen is invoked to sustain the General Government. For the honor of our State let the requirement of the President be cheerfully and promptly met."*¹¹²

As Kirkwood issued his proclamation, John Rogman, only recently arrived from Germany, was moving in with relatives near Garnavillo.¹¹³ He had moved thousands of miles to establish a new home only to find his adopted country in a state of rebellion. Rallies were held on the steps of the old capital in Iowa City to recruit students to "*Rally Round the Flag, Boys*" and, when asked how many Iowa would send, Kirkwood replied "*I am overwhelmed with applications.*" River towns "*were aflame*" and the *Times* pleaded - "*McGregors arouse,*" "*let the clans assemble,*" "*let every loch and glen send forth its chief ready for the fray.*"¹¹⁴ "*The uniforms of grey cloth are*

¹⁰⁹ Lathrop, *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 115.

¹¹⁰ Ivan L. Pollock, *The Iowa Civil War Loan. Iowa of History and Politics* (September 1917), page 2.

¹¹¹ Cyril B. Upham, *Historical Survey of Militia in Iowa (1838-1865)*, *Iowa of History and Politics*, Volume 17 (1919).

¹¹² *The Clayton County* (April 25, 1861).

¹¹³

Founded as Jacksonville, the name was changed to Garnavillo in 1846. *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹¹⁴ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

ordered, and the busy women, wives, mothers, sweethearts, work together to make uniforms for their boys. Every sewing machine in the town is forced into service."¹¹⁵

The same Presidential Proclamation that caused Iowa's citizens to rally had forced others to make difficult decisions. States that may have stayed out of the fray replied to the President: "*none will be furnished*" from Arkansas, "*Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States,*" "*no troops from North Carolina,*" "*the militia of Virginia will not be furnished,*" "*Tennessee will not furnish a single man.*" Maryland complied with the request after assurance its militia would serve only within its borders, Delaware's Governor Burton said he had no power to send troops but local militias were free to go if they wanted to and Kentucky soon cooled off and bargained for neutrality. To Missouri's Governor Claiborne Jackson, the request was "*illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical*" and would not be complied with. Despite five states refusing to send a single man, the other twenty-one exceeded the total call by almost 17,000.

Sentiment for the South was also strong in southern Illinois ("*Little Egypt*") and, on April 20, 1861, a message from Governor Yates was hand-delivered to General R. K. Swift in Chicago. In a highly secretive mission, Swift was to take control of Cairo but tell residents "*troops are sent there from no distrust of their loyalty to the Government, but under orders from the War Department at Washington, to repel expected invasion from the States.*"¹¹⁶ Swift performed well, but more troops were needed and, on the 24th, Jonathan Bethard's 10th Illinois, not yet mustered into service, was rushed into the field. They went first to Mound City, an old port on the Ohio River and the site of a Federal Naval Hospital and center for the Western Rivers Fleet. Here civil engineer James Eads had established a shipyard for construction of gunboats and mortar boats and conversion of civilian craft to warships.¹¹⁷ Light draft steamers drawing no more than 3½' were adapted for warfare on shallow western streams by adding ½" to 1½" of boiler iron for protection, but the town's cemetery would soon hold 5,000 soldiers, more than half in unmarked graves.

From Mound City, Jonathan went to Cairo, the city of "*mud and mules*"¹¹⁸ at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, a pre-war town of 2,188 surrounded by levees whose riverfront was said to resemble that of Cairo, Egypt.¹¹⁹ Charles Dickens described it as "*desolate*" and "*dismal.*" Another English writer thought it was "*the most desolate of all the towns in America.*" A surgeon from New York viewed it as "*the biggest mudhole in the country*" and a reporter from New York's *Tribune* felt its "*jet-black soil generates every species of insect and reptile known to science or imagination.*"¹²⁰ According to another writer, "*the season here is usually opened with great éclat by small-pox, continued spiritedly by cholera, and closed up brilliantly with yellow fever.*" High praise, indeed. Inundated by thousands of soldiers, Cairo was plagued with malaria, typhoid and diarrhea, illnesses often blamed on water from the Ohio which many felt was worse than the muddy Mississippi. "*Garbage heaps and pools of fluid waste were everywhere*" and Cairo's streets were filled with manure, effluent from pig sties, refuse from houses, overflow from sinks and unending mud.

Here, at the terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad, Jonathan Bethard, almost predictably, entered the hospital. Suffering from diarrhea and typhoid, he soon contracted measles from other patients. Illnesses already contracted by city children who entered the service with immunities, often affected rural farmers with devastating results. Even common diseases, such as measles and mumps, with minor long term effects when contracted and treated in childhood, could lead to serious complications when contracted by adults. The disease rate was twice as high for western troops as for those in the east and, in the confines of a barracks or military encampment, could spread

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History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹¹⁶ Gen. R. K. Swift, *Final Report of the Military Expedition from Chicago to Cairo* (May 15, 1861).

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Eads also built gunboats in South St. Louis with the first being the *Carondelet* launched October 12, 1861. It was followed by *St. Louis*, *Louisville* and *Pittsburgh* and, at Mound City, by *Cincinnati*, *Mound City* and *Cairo*. Before long, Jim would owe his life to the *Carondelet*.

¹¹⁸ Letter to the Editor. *North Iowa Times* (February 3, 1864).

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Southern Illinois, with strong anti-abolition sentiments, was known as *Egypt*. A Cairo newspaper objected to occupation by anyone, but by May the number of Federals exceeded the number of residents.

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Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865), page 141.

rapidly.¹²¹ Measles, mumps and scarlet fever were common. Chronic diarrhea and typhoid were worse with diarrhea being the major cause of illness and typhoid leading to more deaths when it became epidemic. Most doctors treated typhoid symptomatically while diarrhea was treated with Dover's Powders, laxatives, opium, epsom salts, castor oil and other opiates, abdominal pain with cupping or hot fomentations, fever with cold compresses or by spraying the body with water, and ulcers with doses of turpentine.¹²² Doctors recognized the value of fresh fruits and vegetables, but both were often in short supply and doctors frequently recommended furloughs so men could "go north" to recuperate. Some made it; others didn't.

Seven states were out, Virginia became the eighth and John Bell Hood left the U.S. Army to accept a commission in the Confederate Cavalry. On the 20th, Robert E. Lee rejected Lincoln's offer of a Federal command and resigned from the army. Two days later, he accepted leadership of Virginia's military and left his home at Arlington, never to return.¹²³ On the 24th, John Pemberton, torn between his Pennsylvania birth and Virginia bride, his family in the North and hers in the South, resigned to accept a commission in Richmond.¹²⁴

Iowa's volunteers and Soldiers' Aid Societies worked on patchwork clothing while better uniforms were contracted for by the state with Samuel Merrill taking a contract for 3,000 "including shirts, drawers, shoes, caps and stockings." Additional clothing and accouterments were provided on Merrill's personal security and that of Governor Kirkwood, Hiram Price (president of the Davenport branch of the state bank) and Ezekiel Clark (the Governor's brother-in-law). When material from Chicago was exhausted, Merrill ordered more from Boston and the women of Iowa went to work sewing 1,500 new uniforms. Merrill was also one of several who "advanced cash to the State for military purposes and were forced to take depreciated State warrants in repayment, with consequent loss to themselves."¹²⁵

Horace Poole, David Greaves and Charles Morse, under the command of banker Francis Herron, were already in the Governor's Greys, named after Stephen Hempstead, the state's second Governor, and composed of young businessmen from Dubuque. Answering Kirkwood's call, they enlisted for three months in the 1st Regiment of Iowa Infantry and were enrolled in Company H with Herron as Captain. Although billing themselves as a "fully equipped volunteer company," the Greys' original multi-hued uniforms were more designed "for the delight of the ladies when the Company was on parade" than for service in the field. On the 24th, they were ordered into quarters at Keokuk, a "right smart kind of place" according to surgeon John Lauderdale, but a town of 10,000 whose business was "much

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"In general, troops in the West were unhealthier than those in the East, and both morbidity and disease mortality tended to increase the further south the army went." George Worthington Adams, Doctors in Blue (Morningside House, 1985), pages 224-225. Serving in the south, Iowa's 21st Infantry would have at least 153 men die from disease while still in the service. While some died from multiple causes, at least sixty-four deaths were attributed to chronic diarrhea, twenty-four to typhoid, eleven to pneumonia (sometimes a complication due to earlier measles) and six to tuberculosis. The balance died from a wide variety of other illnesses. Some of those discharged for "disease," or "disability" caused by disease, undoubtedly died after returning home and some before they reached home.

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Doctors in Blue (Morningside House, 1985), pages 227. "Overall, disease caused twice as many deaths as battle injuries during the Civil War. Acute diarrhea and dysentery (the distinction between the two was vague) were the most common medical problems, related to spread of microorganisms because of abysmal sanitary practices, as well as to spoiled and poorly prepared foods. . . . In addition to acute diarrhea/dysentery, chronic diarrhea was a constant problem throughout the war, especially when troops were stationary, such as in winter camps, or during sieges. It was second only to 'consumption' as the reason for medical discharge; 211,037 cases of chronic diarrhea/dysentery were diagnosed in the Union Army, leading to 17,748 medical discharges." Scurvy and Chronic Diarrhea in Civil War Troops: Were They Both Nutritional Deficiency Syndromes? Pages 49-50, Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Inc. (1992). The author cites Surg. Gen'l Joseph K. Barnes, Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (Washington Government Printing Office, 1870-88), Medical Vol., Part Third, p. 27.

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On April 17th a Virginia convention had voted 88 to 55 to secede subject to a ratification vote of the people to take place on May 23d. By resigning from the Federal army and agreeing to lead Virginia's troops for the South, Lee "gave the influence of his eminent name" to those lobbying for ratification. James Gillespie Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield, Vol. 1, page 302 (Henry Bill Publishing Company, Norwich, Connecticut, 1884).

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Generally, see Michael B. Ballard, Pemberton. A Biography (University Press of Mississippi, 1991).

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Iowa Journal of History and Politics p100 (January 1918).

diminished."¹²⁶ The Dubuque City Guards, Washington Light Guards, Jackson Guards, Burlington Zouaves, Iowa City Dragoons, Davenport Rifles, Mount Pleasant Grays, Ottumwa Guards, Dyersville Blues and many others answered the call. On the 25th, Joseph Tanner, Jim's boyhood friend, enrolled for three months with Ohio's 4th Infantry and Clayton County's *Journal* reported:

*"Virginia troops to the number of 1500 have possession of the town of Harper's Ferry. Cannons are planted on adjacent hills and soldiers are distributed in all directions. . . . The schooner L. C. Watts has been seized . . . Enlistments at Wilmington are at the rate of from 70 to 700 per day. Delaware will send her full quota of troops A private dispatch from Baltimore says the Union men have no hope unless the Government occupies the city with an overwhelming force. . . . Advises from Norfolk report the frigate Merrimac getting her armament aboard with all possible dispatch under protection of the Cumberland's double-shotted guns. . . . The Texas authorities have fitted out the Matagorda as a war steamer, to intercept the Star of the West."*¹²⁷

As the war escalated in the east, Governor Kirkwood was under increasing pressure in the west. "For God's sake," he wired Secretary of War Simon Cameron on April 29th, "send us arms. I ask for nothing but arms and ammunition. Three regiments are waiting and five thousand guns are required at once."¹²⁸ The *Journal* remained optimistic and, on May 2d, reported:

"in Virginia if our news is reliable the Union spirit is again rising and in Maryland it is the same. Baltimore is now in the hands of the Unionists. Louisiana is wholly sick of war. . . . The best of our news is, however, the blockading of every Southern port which will bring the war to a crisis quicker than anything else. Most of the Southern ports are now blockaded, and the Rebels cannot open them. And as to foreign aid, they cannot have a shadow of hope. . . . Ohio offered 81,000 troops since the President issued his proclamation and 31,000 are accepted The banks of Vermont tendered \$300,000 for war purposes. Good for the Green Mountain Bankers. . . . Nebraska is for the Union. . . . Thirty thousand troops to be concentrated at Washington. . . . Three rebels were caught by the 7th regiment and all three were shot in the evening. . . . Free Negroes of the South are being impressed into service."¹²⁹ The French Government is well posted on American affairs and they have no sympathy for the Southern Confederacy. . . . Our latest news are cheering. They show that the South is coming to its sense. Jeff Davis in his recent message calling the Rebel Congress together is not half as anxious for war as he was a few weeks ago and seems to intimate even that he would like peace."

Despite the optimism, the North's three-month enlistments were shortsighted. The South, only slightly more realistic, sought men for twelve months, although Davis requested a longer term. On May 3d, the Confederacy declared war. President Lincoln called for more volunteers, a call that would raise another 700,680 men, and three days later there was a "blaze of excitement" in the South as Arkansas became the ninth state to secede.¹³⁰ North Carolina and Tennessee followed and Iowa's 1st Infantry was mustered into U.S. service on May 14th.¹³¹ On the 15th

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The Greys were ready a week earlier but Governor Kirkwood "saw no special reason for hurrying them on to the rendezvous before the arrival of arms." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (January 1918).

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The *Star* was later captured by the South and taken up the Mississippi to the Yazoo where it was sunk and not removed until after the war.

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Lathrop, *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 138.

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When asked by Benjamin Butler why they fought for the South, Negroes in New Orleans indicated they "had not dared to refuse" and they hoped "by serving the Confederates, to advance a little nearer to equality with whites." Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* p517 (Houghton, Mifflin & Company 1863).

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An earlier debate had gone against secession but, not wanting to fight against their neighbors, this second vote was 65-5 for secession. Kelly, *Dreams End* p. 61.

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Mary Custis Lee left Arlington and a resolution was passed at Dubuque's Verandah Hall thanking the city's "*matrons and maidens*" for "*aiding us to go forth properly accoutred to meet the enemies of our country.*" Iowa's General Assembly was convened in extra session and an act was passed providing for "*floating of a loan of \$800,000 in bonds bearing seven percent interest and payable in twenty years.*"

The state was so poor the Governor had worked without a private secretary and hoped to avoid the expense of an extra session, but it had cost \$10,000 to raise the first regiment and the bonds were necessary. Due to the state's poor credit, they "*went begging on the market*" and Governor Kirkwood "*became a peddler of bonds and a general purchasing agent for the state. He made contracts for clothing in Chicago, he tried to float the bonds on the New York market, and he begged the people of the state and its banks to buy bonds.*"¹³² He was busy as a bee, pleading with the quartermaster general to furnish arms and supplies, raising soldiers, scraping the treasury bottom to pay them, and trying to keep up his own and his people's enthusiasm" as he strove to build a War and Defense Fund.¹³³ Dubuque tailors and "*the loyal women of the State*" had worked hard to outfit the volunteers. Each Company "*sported a different style or color of uniform*" and the men in Company H were now attired "*each man, hat, frock coat, pants, two flannel shirts, two pairs of socks and one pair of shoes*" although the pants were mostly "*satinet and not of good quality.*"

On the 16th, the War Department asked Iowa for two more regiments and, the following day, John McClerland, Illinois attorney and Democratic Congressman, was appointed Brigadier General in the Union army.¹³⁴ On the 19th, Iowa finally received 2,000 guns from St. Louis, but some argued they should have let the secessionists have them. "*They are the 'old-fashioned-brass-mounted-and-of-such-is-the-kingdom-of-Heaven' kind that are infinitely more dangerous to friend than enemy - will kick further than they will shoot, and are appropriately known from their awkward peculiarities in this and other respects, among our Germans as 'Kuh-fuss' - 'Cow-foot' Their appearance creates intense disgust in the mind of every recruit.*"¹³⁵

Other states had "*the very best arms in use,*" they said, but "*our men are put off with an old rusty machine that is a cross between a blunderbuss and a Chinese matchlock, and is one which would excite the merriment even of a Digger Indian, unless he happened to be behind it.*"¹³⁶ A pro-Union Governor was elected in western Virginia, Maryland voted against secession and, on May 24th, Virginia voters ratified their state's ordinance of secession.

On May 27th, striving to clothe the state's second and third regiments then camped at Keokuk, Governor Kirkwood advised the Senate that he had contracted with the Sam Merrill for hats, coats, pants, shirts, drawers, socks and shoes at a cost of \$21.00 per man to be "*delivered on board cars at Boston*" and, on the 29th, the Jefferson Davis family reached the South's new capital in Richmond. A prosperous town, third largest in the Confederacy with 38,000 pre-war residents and only 100 miles from Washington, the city would soon suffer from a rapid influx of soldiers, politicians, criminals, businessmen, correspondents, spies and prostitutes ("*soiled doves*").

On June 3, 1861, forty-eight year old Stephen Douglas died only months after losing the election to Lincoln and twenty year old Joseph Tanner answered the government's call for "*three years men*" and reenlisted in the 4th Ohio. Two days later he was mustered in at Camp Dennison fourteen miles east of Cincinnati. Stretching along both sides of the Little Miami Railroad, the camp suffered from a poor water supply, but early in the war served as a training camp and mobilization center for Ohio regiments. Another Buckeye was William Rosecrans who had resigned from the army in 1854 despite efforts of then Secretary of War Jefferson Davis who wanted him to stay. Now, seven years

A February vote to call a convention failed in Tennessee. Governor Isham Harris called a special session of the legislature and on May 6, 1861, it voted for secession. A vote of the people on June 8th endorsed the separation from Washington and representation by Richmond but only, said pro-Unionist William Brownlow, "*by rushing Rebel bayonets into East Tennessee from the Cotton States, and by intimidating thousands and running rough-shod over others.*" Brownlow, Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession (1862).

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Discredited by the financial editor of the *New York Herald*, efforts to sell the bonds failed and "*the State was forced to abandon the attempt to furnish equipment and remuneration for its troops until they were mustered into the Federal service. Only the first three regiments of all those raised in Iowa were clothed and armed by the State.*" Ivan L. Pollock, *The Iowa Civil War Loan*. Iowa Journal of History and Politics (September 1917), pages 20-21.

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Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), pages. 174-175.

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As a Whig Lincoln had debated McClerland and as an attorney he had opposed him in court.

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Franc B. Wilkie, Letters From The War (Herald Book and Job Establishment, Dubuque, 1861), page 24. Also see Julie E. Nelson & Alan M. Schroeder, Iowa and the Civil War. A Military Review (The Palimpsest; July/August 1982).

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Id. Page 35.

later, he offered his services to Governor Dennison as an aide to George McClellan, an officer of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad who had recently been named a Major General in the U.S. Regulars and dubbed "*the Young Napoleon*" by eastern newspapers.

On the 13th, President Lincoln approved formation of a U. S. Sanitary Commission to cooperate with military doctors, Iowa's 1st Infantry left for war ("*doubtless the most illy armed and clothed troops that Iowa furnished*"), and Fitz Henry Warren was named Colonel of the state's 1st Cavalry. Politically connected, he had been born in Massachusetts, moved to Iowa, edited the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, served as Assistant Postmaster General of the United States and headed the Washington desk of the *New York Tribune*, but he had no military experience. On June 24th, Ohio residents Ira Homan and Harriet Burrows were married in Marysville and on, July 4th, the 37th Congress convened in Washington. Iowa Senators were James Harlan and former Governor James Grimes. Congressmen were William Vandever and Samuel Curtis, both of whom would resign to enter the army. On July 13th Clayton County residents Charles Wallace and Susan McBride were married across the River in Prairie du Chien.

The Confederacy scheduled its first congressional session in Richmond for July 20th and Washington was pressured to prevent it. Federal troops under Irvin McDowell left on July 16th and, in the words of Horace Greeley, were "*on to Richmond*" to teach the rebels a lesson. With them were friends, wives, girlfriends, politicians and other civilians anxious to witness a Federal victory and, on the 21st, near the Manassas railroad junction overlooking the small stream called Bull Run, McDowell met the enemy. Early newspapers claimed a Northern victory but, with the battle's last shot allegedly fired by Southerner Edmund Ruffin, the battle ended with Union soldiers fleeing in panic.¹³⁷ The next morning, Walt Whitman watched as "*defeated troops commenced pouring into Washington over the Long Bridge, "fearfully worn, hungry, haggard, blistered in the feet."* Congress created a corps of "*brigade surgeons*" and politicians conferred with military officers at the Willard - what had happened? Casualties were estimated at 3,553 killed and wounded with many treated at Yorkshire, family home of Manassas resident Wilmer McLean. McLean had taken his family to safety before the battle and, in two more years, would settle at Appomattox Court House so "*the sound of battle would never reach them.*"

On July 25, 1861, Nathaniel B. Baker, a "War Democrat," replaced Jesse Bowen as Iowa's new Adjutant General and, on the 31st, Republicans nominated Governor Kirkwood for reelection. More volunteers were needed, but Ottumwa's *Weekly Courier* wasn't concerned. "*It is not at all likely that the volunteers will be needed longer than the first of next May, which is the time General Scott has set for the rebellion to be put down. The regulars will be able to finish up what remains of the mutiny after the volunteers have swept through the rebel country.*"¹³⁸ Des Moines Democrats drafted anti-government resolutions and denounced the war, but others rallied and Iowa would soon have 7,000 men in the field and another 5,000 training in Iowa City, Burlington, Davenport, Keokuk and Dubuque.

By August 1st, with enlistments dwindling, the South had 210,000 men in service when Varina and Jefferson Davis and their three children moved into Richmond's White House, a forty-three year old three-story residence purchased by the city in June from Lewis Crenshaw for \$35,000 and leased to the Confederacy. On the 4th, Sam Curtis left the House of Representatives to enter the army. On the 5th, Governor Kirkwood went to Washington to confer with Quartermaster General M. C. Meigs and Congress enacted the country's first income tax, a 3% tax applicable to annual incomes over \$800. On the 6th they adjourned. In twenty-nine working days they had passed seventy-six acts, all but four regarding the war. On the 9th Jonathan Bethard left his Meredosia farm to join Illinois' 10th Infantry, recently reorganized after its initial ninety-day service.¹³⁹ Sarah and their three children would stay behind.

On August 10th, Horace Poole, David Greaves, Andrew McDonald (who was wounded in the right knee), Samuel Osborne and Charles Morse were in Missouri with the 1st Iowa when it fought at Wilson's Creek (Oak Hills). By the 20th, their three-month enlistments had expired and they were mustered out but, within days, many reenlisted. Most of the battle's wounded went to St. Louis where the Ladies' Union Aid Society met them with clothing and bandages. Facilities were stressed, Jessie Fremont, wife of John, urged formation of a Western Sanitary Commission and, on

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While there can be no verification of Ruffin's involvement, it makes for a good story.

¹³⁸

Orr Kelly & Mary Davis Kelly, *Dream's End. Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War* (Kodansha International, 1998), page 4.

¹³⁹

The only Illinois regiment to be mustered into service while in the field under orders, the 10th Illinois was mustered in at Cairo on April 29, 1861 for three months' service at the conclusion of which most, including Jonathan, were remustered for three years after returning home.

September 5th, it was approved to serve the sick and wounded west of the Mississippi and replace the well-intentioned but often irritating “Mrs. Brundages.”

Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather was engaged to Frances Adams but put wedding plans on hold and, with his brother Squire who gave his age as eighteen which he would not be for another two months, enlisted at Castalia. On September 9th they were enrolled in the 9th Infantry with Cal's brother George and the next day, in Illinois, another of Cal's cousins, twenty year old Eli "Bat" Frankeberger joined his state's 46th Infantry. He and his friends called themselves the Rock Grove Squad. Within weeks, Cal had seen a brother, brother-in-law and three cousins join the military. More would follow, but not all would live.

In Ohio, Union County, with an 1860 population of 16,507, had also responded quickly to the President's call and would eventually send 3,548 men to the service. One of its early three year regiments was the 32d Infantry that left Camp Dennison for western Virginia on September 15, 1861. Included was Jim Bethard's boyhood friend, Leonard Richey whose brother George would join the 66th. Comprised mostly of poorly trained farmers, the 32d was led by Thomas Ford, a former state Lieutenant-Governor, and rushed to the field with old equipment and almost useless smooth-bore muskets, but they were not unique and Iowa was also facing problems. A company of Des Moines cavalry practiced with wooden swords while the 9th Iowa was training at Dubuque's recently established Camp Union¹⁴⁰ with "brooms, shovels, or even sticks of wood." George Rice, the Mather brothers and the rest of the 9th went south on the *Canada* and *Denmark* to St. Louis where they received weapons "described by one observer as old muskets, which were undoubtedly in the Revolution, and perhaps have not been shot since." The fact is, said Lincoln, "our good people have rushed to the Government faster than the government can find arms to put into their hands."

On September 18, 1861, Abel Griffin and his wife had a second child, a son named Elmer, and, on the 22d, Charles Wallace joined the 12th Iowa at Clermont (the "Brick City") and arranged for his military pay to be transmitted directly to Susan, his pregnant wife of three months.¹⁴¹ Joining Charles were three Henderson brothers, Thomas, William and David, all born in Aberdeen, Scotland, but now living in Fayette County. David left the classroom at Upper Iowa University and was named 1st Lieutenant. William, an accomplished poet, left a wife and sons, and thirty-nine year old Thomas, the oldest of the brothers, left a wife and four children when he enlisted on 24th. Members of the regiment would range from a fifty-four year old private to a fifteen year old drummer and foreign born members from at least fifteen different countries would comprise almost one-third of its total.

By presidential proclamation, the 30th was a day of fasting and prayer, a day observed with "solemn hearts." The editor of the *Journal*, Col. Joseph Eiboeck, turned temporary control over to A. C. Rogers, and enlisted as a private and other enlistments continued, but this was only one of Governor Kirkwood's concerns. Due, he said, to the "unfortunate condition of public affairs," Federal troops had been withdrawn "from Fort Kearny and other points in the West to the sea-board" and local Indians "saw hope of securing revenge ... when they observed the whites preparing for a struggle between themselves." Rumors of "scalp taking" were rampant and Frontier Guards and Frontier Rangers were organized. Real or imagined, threats were seen from Indians to the north and west and secessionist guerrillas to the south and the governor issued an October circular suggesting more militia were needed to protect Iowa's "exposed borders," militia that would also need weapons.

One of Cal's brothers was already in the field, her brother-in law was in the hospital, her cousin Sterling was on guard duty and her brother James Rice was at home. On October 1, 1861 he married Elizabeth "Lib" Stevenson in Elkader and the newlyweds settled in Grand Meadow Township where James worked as a farmer expecting the war to soon end.¹⁴² Instead, throughout the fall and winter it escalated beyond comprehension and Washington dug in and surrounded itself by a ring of forts. Soon 200,000 men were camped around the capitol, on the campus of Georgetown University, in the Treasury building, in the Patent office, and some in the partially constructed Capitol

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On August 17, 1861, *The Dubuque Daily Herald* reported the "barracks and officer's [sic] quarters are being erected" and the camp was still awaiting its first regiment. The August 25, 1861 *Herald* said "seven of the ten barrack buildings are completed" and "squads of men were being drilled." By August 28, 1862 it was "under thorough military discipline."

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As a volunteer to the Lincoln administration, Theodore Roosevelt's father had created a system of military allotments after seeing soldiers squander their money on gambling. *Blue & Gray* (December 1996).

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Ironically, on the same day in the South, John Pemberton was named commander of "the State of Mississippi and that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River." In ten more months, Jim Rice would be present for Pemberton's surrender.

building itself while politicians and social climbers congregated at the Willard. Louisa May Alcott served as a nurse in Georgetown's hospital, Walt Whitman worked as a hospital orderly, Oliver Wendell Holmes who graduated from Harvard Law School at age twenty came down from Boston, and Clara Barton, the Angel of the Battlefield, left the Patent Office to help the wounded.¹⁴³

The North had suffered devastating losses. Iowa had mustered fourteen infantry regiments and its young men were dying rapidly from battle and disease. Ohio citizens donated clothing and blankets. Newspapers warned volunteers to let beards grow to protect throat and lungs, to buy rubber (or “gum”) blankets, their “india-rubbers,” for wet weather, to avoid strong coffee and oily meat, and to keep as clean as possible - “remember that in a campaign more men die from sickness than by bullet.” Truer words were never spoken.

Alva Tanner and Mary Ann Bolton had been married for two years and lived in Hopewell where Alva worked as a farmer. On October 17, 1861, he joined the 15th Iowa Infantry and four days later the Union suffered defeat at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac. On the 24th, residents in western Virginia approved an ordinance adopted by their Pierpont Government two months earlier and providing “for the formation of a new State,” while the transcontinental telegraph was completed to California thus sounding the death knell of the already troubled Pony Express. On November 8th, the *USS San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent*, a British mail steamer, and removed New Orleans attorney John Slidell and other Southerners on their way to Europe to seek support for their cause and, on the 22d, women of Clayton County met to form a Sanitary Society to help sick and wounded soldiers. Regular contributors to the society were children organized in a Juvenile Mite Society.

The military and financial condition had worsened rapidly for the North and “panicked note holders rushed to banks and demanded gold.”¹⁴⁴ The “reaction came when these banks failed to redeem their currency” and people realized their money was only as good as the bank that issued it.¹⁴⁵ Banks stopped redeeming their notes, gold and silver were hoarded, and paper money depreciated rapidly. The second session of the 37th Congress convened in December with Iowa's Sam Curtis being replaced by James Wilson. Elbridge Spaulding introduced an act “for a national paper currency that became known as legal-tenders, or more commonly, greenbacks. After July 1, 1863, these notes were used for all debts except customs duties, and they could not be redeemed for specie.”¹⁴⁶

On the 10th, John Green enlisted as a private in the 16th Iowa and, in Ohio, William Proctor, a Cincinnati candle maker, and his brother-in-law, soap maker Joe Gamble, owners of a business already thirteen years old, increased their production of candles and soap for the Union Army. In the process, they accidentally discovered a soap that floats.¹⁴⁷

In October, Samuel Kirkwood was re-elected as Iowa's Governor. While an opponent of slavery, he was even more opposed to the on-going war:

*“This war is waged by our government for the preservation of the Union, and not for the extinction of slavery, unless the preservation of the one shall require the extinction of the other. If the war were so prosecuted that on to-morrow the preservation of the Union were effected and secured, I would not now wage the war another day. I would not now spend further treasure or further life to effect the extinction of slavery, although I might regret that the war of its own producing had left in it enough of life to leave it to be our bane and pest in the future as it has been in the past.”*¹⁴⁸

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As the war's first winter dragged on, Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather, became ill and was treated in a regimental hospital where Alva Tanner, his boyhood friend from Ohio, was assisting as an Iowa nurse. Nurses such as Alva were

¹⁴³ After the war she would form a Missing Soldiers Office to help families locate missing or deceased soldiers.

¹⁴⁴ [Smithsonian](#) (September 2000).

¹⁴⁵ [History of Clayton County](#) (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹⁴⁶ [Smithsonian](#) (September 2000).

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¹⁴⁸ “In 1881, at James Gamble's soap factory in Cincinnati, a worker forgot to turn off the mixing machinery, inadvertently producing a batch of soap so air-filled it floated. Gamble claimed his new soap, Ivory, floated because it was pure - in fact, 99 44/100 percent pure.” Richard and Joyce Wokomir, *You Are What You Buy*. [Smithsonian Magazine](#) (October 2000).

¹⁴⁸ Inaugural address. Lathrop, [Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood](#), (self-published, 1893), page 197-198.

usually convalescents, other patients or privates detailed from the ranks, most without medical training, a deficiency that had much to do with high mortality rates.

In January, the 512 ton *Cairo* was commissioned in Mound City, McGregor farmer John Presho married Celena Gereoux in Prairie du Chien, and Edwin Stanton became Secretary of War replacing Simon Cameron who resigned amid criticism for "*disasters in the field and the general impatience for more decisive movements.*" There was "*feverish excitement in both Houses,*" a "*formidable clique*" against Seward, a "*strong combination*" against Secretary of the Interior Smith, and "*battering away*" on Gideon Welles. It was not a good time for the President.

In February his eleven year old son, William Wallace Lincoln, died, Nathaniel Gordon was hanged (the first to be convicted under an 1820 law making the African slave trade piracy), and a poem written on Sanitary Commission stationary by Julia Ward Howe during her stay at the Willard the previous November was published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Titled the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* and sung to the John Brown tune, previously the tune for a Methodist hymn and before that an old drinking tune, it quickly became a military favorite as did *Home Sweet Home*, adapted from an 1823 opera. An "*estimated 2000 titles during the first year alone*" flowed from the presses with other popular tunes including *Yankee Doodle*, *Follow the Drinking Gourd* (ie. the Big Dipper as a guide for escaping slaves), *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, the love song *Lorena*, the slave song *No More Auction Block*, *Listen to the Mocking Bird*, and three by Chicago songwriter George Root, *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp*, *Just Before the Battle Mother* and *The Battle Cry of Freedom* performed for Root by the Lombard brothers, Jules and Frank. In the South it was the pre-War *Dixie*, *The Yellow Rose of Texas* and English-born Harry McCarthy's *Bonnie Blue Flag*. With a blue field and a single white star, the "*bonnie blue*" was never an official flag of the Confederacy and was overshadowed by the better known "*battle flag*," but McCarthy's words and a lively tune lived on.

All over the country men were enlisting, some in the infantry, some in the cavalry. Men already in the military were engaged in combat and suffering from illness while politicians, North and South, planned for a war they said would never happen. Floyd County shoemaker Allen Adams enlisted in what would be Company A of the state's 21st Infantry on February 10th. Jim Bethard's cousin Erastus Kent, who, like Jim, had moved from Union County to Iowa enlisted in the state's 3d Cavalry on the 17th. Southern politicians rushed to Richmond where the Confederate Congress was seated on the 22d and, on the 28th, George Rice and Squire Mather were hospitalized for illness in Missouri. Released a week later, they joined Sterling in the two-day battle at Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern), the biggest battle west of the Mississippi during the entire war, where their regiment was in the thickest of the fight - "*cut up shamefully*" said Vinson Holman. "*There is any amount of legs, arms, hands lying around in Camp that had to be cut off.*" They had suffered the highest casualties of any regiment in the field. Of 560 participating, 218 were killed, wounded or missing. Among the wounded were eighteen year old John Knight, brother of Myron, who was severely wounded in the thigh, and Erastus Kent, in service less than three weeks with the 3d Cavalry eight members of which were scalped by Indian soldiers fighting for the South.

On March 6th, a newly formed Emancipation Society met at Cooper Institute and President Lincoln asked Congress for a resolution offering cooperation and compensation to any state agreeing to gradually abolish slavery. Three days later two ironclads, the *Monitor* and *Virginia* (the Union's old *Merrimac*) fought to a draw at Hampton Roads. On March 20th, John Green, already serving in the 16th Iowa, entered the hospital at Camp McClellan, a wartime training post overlooking the river in East Davenport and, four days later, Jim's cousin, William Bowen, supplied his own horse and equipment and joined the 2d Regiment of the Missouri State Militia Cavalry.¹⁴⁹

In April, James Eads conferred with President Lincoln and predicted "*the army that controls the Mississippi will be the victor in the ensuing conflict.*" His opinion was shared by many but western troops, including eleven regiments from

Iowa, were east of the Mississippi on the 6th, camped along the banks of the Tennessee River near Pittsburg Landing where trees were green, birds were singing and it looked "*like our May weather in Iowa.*"¹⁵⁰ As morning dawned, they

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"In 1860 the United States Army included only 5 regiments of horse soldiers." Winter, The Civil War in St. Louis (Missouri Historical Society Press 1994). "*To some companies horses were furnished by the government; while to soldiers who owned their horses forty cents per day was paid for the use of their mounts.*" Iowa Journal of History and Politics (January 1918). Camp McClellan was also used to confine Indians captured during the uprising in Mankato and New Ulm, Minnesota.

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Leonard Brown, American Patriotism (Redhead and Wellslager, Des Moines, 1869), page 211, quoting letter dated April 5, 1862, by Robert Lindsley, 14th Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Company E.

were "well and in good spirits," most anticipated the normal Sunday inspection and "rumors of large bodies of the enemy marching upon us" were ignored.¹⁵¹ Many were cleaning rifles, others were enjoying breakfast and a bright sun began to shine. Soon, from the direction of the log building known as Shiloh Church, Rebel yells "drove all sanity and order"¹⁵² from the Union soldiers, many facing their first combat, "and heavy to ground the first dark drops of battle came."¹⁵³

Jim's boyhood friend, Alva Tanner, was with the newly arrived 15th Iowa, unseasoned troops, many wearing "a big high hat with a large brass eagle on the side," eating breakfast when firing started "a long distance" away. They had just landed, had only recently received their arms, "had never had an opportunity of learning the use of them until they came on the battlefield," and would fight the enemy "without the support of artillery."¹⁵⁴ Lieutenant Colonel William Dewey took "consolation through the neck of a pint bottle" that seemed to give him "a stronger flow of swear language than before" and moved the regiment to the front, across a field, through timber and down a hill. They met "shells, grape and canister" and many died but Alva was among the survivors. Fighting with the 46th Illinois, Cal's cousin, Eli Frankeberger, also survived. In the 12th Iowa many were bathing in a creek when the battle started. In various stages of dress, they rushed to the front and took a position behind a rail fence, dense timber on the left, a ravine behind. Trapped in the Hornet's Nest and crossing Hell's Hollow, most of the survivors were among 2,885 Union soldiers taken prisoner.¹⁵⁵

Thomas Henderson and Charles Wallace, with a pregnant wife at home, were reported missing. Charles was wounded and among the prisoners, but Thomas' whereabouts were unknown. That night, in a heavy rain, David Henderson and the regimental surgeon searched the battlefield, but the surgeon was not needed. David found his brother, dug a grave and marked the location. Thomas is one of seventeen from the regiment buried in Shiloh's National Cemetery.

The battle lasted two days, more than 10,000 Federals were killed or wounded and hospital ships were full for weeks as they carried men, their bodies "pierced with balls or injured from the bursting of shells," to northern hospitals, unloading one day and returning for more the next.¹⁵⁶ The east had faced the crisis of carnage a year earlier, but Iowa's facilities overflowed when 296 men reached Keokuk on the *Jennie Dean* on the 20th. The medical department reacted quickly and, four days later, established a general hospital.¹⁵⁷ Initially using the five year old Estes House hotel,¹⁵⁸ the hospital would soon include the State University's Medical College, the Leighton House and the

¹⁵¹ Steve Meyer, Iowa Valor (Meyer Publishing Company, 1994), page 86, quoting letter by J. A. Cruzen.

¹⁵²

Dr. Stanley Livingstone.

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Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War, Vol. I, page 65 (The Robert Clarke Company, 1895; reprinted by Bergman Books, Columbus, Ohio).

¹⁵⁴ History of the Fifteenth Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (R. B. Ogden & Son, Print., 1887), page 181.

¹⁵⁵

Several Southern units were detached to take the prisoners to Corinth, thus weakening Confederate strength on the battle's second day. Allen, *Shiloh! Grant Strikes Back*, Blue & Gray (Spring 1997). Major David W. Reed, Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (1903).

¹⁵⁶

"The first Union naval hospital ship was 'Red Rover,' which was converted from a Confederate side-wheel steamboat that had been captured when the Mississippi River stronghold at Island No. 10 fell to the Union on April 7, 1862." Norris, *Seagoing Surgeons of the Civil War*. America's Civil War magazine (January 1999), page 40.

¹⁵⁷

Military hospitals were established at the regimental, brigade, division, corps, post and general level. "General" hospitals were so-named "because admissions were not confined to men of any particular military unit or post." George Worthington Adams, Doctors in Blue (Morningside House, 1985), page 149. Also see Gerald Kennedy, *U.S. Army Hospital: Keokuk, 1862-1865*. Annals of Iowa (Iowa State Department of History and Archives; Fall, 1969). The general hospitals were under the exclusive control of the Surgeon General and governed by regulations approved by the Secretary of War, regulations that were from time-to-time amended. General Orders No. 306, Adjutant General's Office.

¹⁵⁸

"On Wednesday [April 16, 1862] Keokuk Mayor R. P. Creel received a telegram from Iowa Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, then downriver at Cairo, Illinois, informing him that the steamboat Express was en route with 200 soldiers wounded at the Battle of Shiloh. Kirkwood suggested that they be accommodated at the Medical Department of the State University of Iowa, which was then located in Keokuk. However, the hospital there was already filled, so the next day Creel and Lt. Charles J. Ball of the U.S. Army's Thirteenth Infantry Regiment arranged to rent an

Simpson House, with the nearby Pest House reserved for victims of small pox. "Emaciated forms, fevered and pain racked bodies" received the best of care. Citizens donated supplies and bedding; kitchens were filled with "crackers, eggs, butter, dried fruits, jellies, cordials, sugar, dried beef, green tea" and other provisions. Farmers "donated hundreds of wagon loads of stove wood" and Shiloh, if nothing else, convinced Grant to give up "all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest."

On the northern end of the Mississippi the Union had gained control from Lake Itasca's small stream south to Island No. 10 that surrendered on April 7th. By the 13th, gunboats had moved as far south as Chickasaw Bluffs and the fortification known as Fort Pillow, but there they paused, waiting for infantry and, according to Eliot Callender on the *Cincinnati*:

*"in order that General Beauregard might not think we had forgotten him, a mortar-boat, throwing a shell thirty-nine inches in circumference, was made fast to the shore just above the point behind which the fort lay, and every half-hour during the day one of these little pills would climb a mile or two into the air, look around a bit at the scenery, and finally descend and disintegrate around the fort, to the great interest and excitement of the occupants."*¹⁵⁹

On the river's southern end the Federals looked first to New Orleans, largest city in the South with four times the population of Charleston, three iron foundries and a thriving commerce as the world's leading cotton port that serviced more than 3,400 steamboats and \$324,000,000 in goods in the year before the war. David Farragut, sixty year old flag officer of the lower Mississippi fleet, assembled a force in the Gulf of Mexico and Benjamin Butler prepared 6,000 infantrymen to assist him. Seventeen deep-draft wooden ships with 192 guns commanded by Farragut and twenty shallow-draft mortar boats led by David Dixon Porter accompanied by "gentlemen of the press" moved upstream, a trip slowed by submerged shoals and sandbars, "continuous fogs" and "extraordinary lowness of the water,"¹⁶⁰ to bombard the star-shaped Fort Jackson and Fort St. Phillip (formerly San Felipe) guarding the city's southern approach at Plaquemines Bend.¹⁶¹

On April 16th, with the initial twelve-month enlistments coming to an end, the Confederacy passed an Enrolment Act providing for the first military draft in American history. The draft, said Davis, was "absolutely indispensable." Every able-bodied white male between eighteen and thirty-five would be subject to compulsory service for three years. By war's end they would pass two more similar acts.

On the 18th, Porter's bombardment began. Mounted on heavy wood and iron beds, his mortars hurled 220 pound shells on high arcs toward the forts. According to one of the officers, "when their mortar was fired, all of them were obliged to go aft and stand on tiptoe with open mouths to receive the concussion. The powder blackened everything and the men looked like negroes."¹⁶² A chain barrier was cut and Farragut's ships passed the forts with thirty-seven killed and 147 wounded while the bombardment continued. Five days later, after a mutiny inside Jackson, both forts surrendered and Butler moved up to join Farragut while New Orleans' civilians and rebel soldiers burned cotton, sugar, tobacco, steamships and anything else that might help the Yankee invaders. "A pall of black smoke hung over the dismal, rainy sky. Wildly the alarm bell atop Christ Church tolled the dreaded news. Drums beat and soldiers

unfinished hotel, the Estes House, paying its owners \$300 per month. Early Thursday, scores of local citizens fell to work preparing the hotel: cleaning, building cots, sewing bedding, installing stoves, and stocking shelves. Express arrived at four o'clock Saturday morning and next day the Jennie Dean brought in almost 300 more." Annals of Iowa, Volume 40 (1969).

"On April 17, 1862, under orders from headquarters of the Department of the Mississippi to receive three hundred wounded soldiers, Lieutenant J. C. Ball and Mayor Robert P. Creel took possession of the Estes House. Men and women volunteered to clean up the rooms, some of which had not been used since they were plastered. The government spent over a thousand dollars in repairs on the building." Frederic C. Smith, *The Estes House Hospital. The Palimpsest* (State Historical Society of Iowa, September 1929).

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Land-based mortars were primarily for siege and garrison work, but the boats described by Callendar were the brainchild of Gustavus Vasa Fox, Lincoln's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and had only recently come into service.

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James Parton, *History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892), page 219.

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A sandbar in the Gulf of Mexico just off the River's mouth reduced water depth to only eight feet and deep draft merchant ships and gunboats were generally denied access to New Orleans except in high water months. *Engineering News Record* (January 11, 1999).

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Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Volume 2, Page 59.

milled around in wild confusion."¹⁶³

Northern ironclads, Eads' pook turtles, controlled the upper Mississippi as far south as Memphis and Farragut would work upstream from New Orleans to occupy Baton Rouge and Natchez and test the defenses at Vicksburg.¹⁶⁴ Well-fortified and situated on high bluffs, it would not fall for another year, to Ulysses S. Grant and an army including Cal's husband and brother, and the 21st Iowa.

On May 1st, Louisiana Governor Thomas Moore moved the state's capital from Baton Rouge to Opelousas,¹⁶⁵ an early French trading post named for its original Indian inhabitants, while Benjamin Butler and his wife reached New Orleans and established headquarters for the Department of the Gulf at the partially completed Custom House at the foot of Canal Street under an "almost continual mutter of 'Damn Yankee'" and "divers other remarks of a chafing nature, alternating with maledictions." Women were "insolently and vulgarly demonstrative,"¹⁶⁶ wore secession colors on their bonnets, taught rebel songs to school children, and displayed the *Fleurs du Sud*, a floral lithograph artfully crafted to conceal the Stars and Bars. They left pews when Union soldiers entered a church, left streetcars when Union soldiers boarded and left sidewalks when Union officers approached, preferring to walk in the street "with up-turned noses and insulting words." When passing privates, they made "a great ostentation of drawing away their dresses, as if from the touch of pollution."¹⁶⁷ Butler, necessarily ruling with an iron hand, had enough and, in reaction to the emptying of a chamber pot from a French Quarter balcony and onto Admiral Farragut, issued his infamous General Order No. 28:

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall, by word, gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation."

No arrests were made but, said Butler, "all the ladies forebore to insult our troops." Beauregard, perhaps, but likely not, misinterpreting Butler's intent, was incensed at what he characterized as an attempt to treat "the ladies of the South as common harlots." Residents called him Picayune Butler, Beast and Spoons (in recognition of the large amount of silverware that allegedly disappeared during his occupation) and his face adorned the bottom of many Southern chamber pots. He had "a particular penchant for bitter controversy and personal publicity" according to Edward Bates. A pre-war Democrat, Butler said he had been guided "by intelligence" when he disrupted the party's 1860 Convention by voting fifty-seven times for his favorite Presidential candidate, then Senator Jefferson Davis. Now they were bitter enemies as the South was called upon to observe May 16th, in Butler's words, "as a day of fasting and prayer, in obedience to some supposed proclamation of one Jefferson Davis." Churches, he said, could stay open, but there were to be no observances based on the "supposed authority" of Davis. So estranged had the men become that Davis issued a proclamation declaring Butler:

*"a felon deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he shall no longer be considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that in the event of his capture the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging."*¹⁶⁸

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John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Louisiana State University Press, 1963), page 96.

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The ironclads were named in honor of their designer, Samuel Pook, and their resemblance to huge turtles.

¹⁶⁵ The Dupré mansion occupied by Governor Moore while in Opelousas was destroyed by an arsonist on July 14, 2016.

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James Parton, History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892), page 279.

¹⁶⁷ James Parton, General Butler In New Orleans. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862, page 325 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892).

¹⁶⁸ General Orders No. 111, December 24, 1862.

On May 5th, a combination of Europeans and indigenous Mexicans defeated the French in the Battle of Puebla and stalled, for a year, the rule of Maximilian, while war continued north of the border. Charles Wallace and others captured at Shiloh had been confined at Corinth and Tuscaloosa but, on May 22d, Charles was paroled at Montgomery and started north to Benton Barracks where he and other parolees were to await an exchange.¹⁶⁹ The parole was welcome, but the move to St. Louis may have been viewed as a mixed blessing. During his regiment's initial training at the barracks, seventy-five had died from measles, mumps and pneumonia. On June 6th, recruiting resumed in Iowa two months after being suspended.

In Grand Meadow, Jim and Caroline Bethard, married for fewer than three years, were eking a living from their rented farm. A daughter, Mary Bell, had died in infancy and Cal was again pregnant. On her twenty-first birthday, June 9, 1862, Cal gave birth to Nellie ("Ella") Charity Bethard and, far away in Virginia, their childhood friend Leonard Richey fought, and his brother George Richey died, in battle against Stonewall Jackson at Port Republic.

On June 18, 1862, Edward Stinson, President of the Dubuque & Sioux City, R.R. Co., wrote to Governor Kirkwood expressing his understanding that Jesse M. Harrison of that city would apply for a position as Major "*in the 18th or some other Iowa regiment*" and recommended him as "*in all respects well fitted for the position.*"

On June 22d Charles Wallace's wife, Susan, gave birth to their first child, a daughter named Florence whose father was still in St. Louis, sick, confined in the Fifth Street General Hospital and waiting to be exchanged.¹⁷⁰ On the 24th, Englishman David Greaves, discharged after three months with the 1st Iowa, married twenty-four year old Mary Elizabeth Moreing in Dubuque. In another month, he would be commissioned as Captain of Company I of the twenty-first infantry. Enlisting in what would be Company H of the regiment were twenty-six-year-old-Newman Preston on the June 23rd and fifteen-year-old George Parker (who gave his age as eighteen) on the 25th. Both from Delhi, they agreed to be bunkmates. Everything was moving very rapidly. Calls were issued for more soldiers, families made plans for living while fathers, sons and brothers were absent, officers were commissioned and more uniforms, arms and accouterments were acquired.

On July 7, 1862, despite the numerous problems, Governor Kirkwood assured the President, "*the State of Iowa in the future as in the past, will be prompt and ready to do her duty to the country in the time of sore trial. Our harvest is just upon us, and we have now scarcely men enough to save our crops, but if need be our women can help.*"¹⁷¹

On the 8th, Adjutant General Baker arranged for the shipment of more arms to regiments already on their way south. The goods were soon shipped and Frank Noyes confirmed delivery.

*State of Iowa.
Adjutant General's Office.
Clinton July 8th 1862*

To Steamer Kate Cassel

Convey twenty three boxes arms and army stores under charge of Col. Noyes Aide-de-Camp to the Governor from Davenport to Keokuk and charge the same to the State of Iowa, Eight Dollars.

N B Baker

Adj. Genl. of Iowa

I hereby certify that the above transportation was furnished by Steamer Kate Cassel & the goods delivered in good order.

*Frank G. Noyes
A.D.C. to Gov. of Iowa*

On July 9, 1862, the Governor received a telegram asking him to raise five regiments as part of the President's

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Initially, the War Department had processed most parolees and sent them home on furlough until exchanged, but in June 1862 it began holding them in camps to perform garrison duties and other tasks not inconsistent with their paroles. In the west, most went to Jefferson Barracks and later to Benton Barracks.

¹⁷⁰ Fifth Street was later named Broadway.

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Letter from Governor Kirkwood to President Lincoln on July 7, 1862. Henry Warren Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page 216.

call for 300,000 three-year men.¹⁷² If the state's quota wasn't raised by August 15th, it "would be made up by draft"¹⁷³ but, despite the Governor's confidence, enlistments started slowly as "farmers were busy with the harvest, the war was much more serious than had been anticipated, and the first ebullition of military enthusiasm had subsided. Furthermore, disloyal sentiment was rampant in some parts of the State."¹⁷⁴ All men between eighteen and forty-five were listed in preparation for a possible draft.

Hundreds of regiments were in the field and thousands of men were dead. Most Northerners felt losses to preserve the Union could be tolerated, but the President and his Republican supporters were increasingly flexing their abolitionist muscle. Acts to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, confiscate rebel property and free their slaves, and to compensate slave owners in the border states, had passed "by Republican votes alone, the Democratic minority protesting each time." Bipartisan support for the war was wavering. Pennsylvania Democrats met on July 4th to denounce "the party of fanaticism and crime," the party that "seeks to turn loose the slaves of the Southern States to overrun the North." Ohio's Democrats met the same day. Freed slaves, they claimed, would "compete with and under-work the white laborers" and become an "unbearable nuisance." Indiana Democrats said the "honest laboring white man should have no competitor in the black race." Illinois was similar.

One of the state's new regiments was to be raised in the "third congressional district, consisting of Dubuque, Delaware, Clayton, Fayette, Bremer, Chickasaw, Floyd, Cerro Gordo, Worth, Mitchell, Howard, Winneshiek, and Alamahee counties."¹⁷⁵ Soldiers' Aid Societies were formed, fund-raising fairs were held and residents donated money and furniture, lightning rods, real property, equipment, silver and other items for sale. Iowa paid no state bounties, but cities and counties levied taxes to raise funds for volunteers and their families. A year earlier, on June 4, 1861, Clayton County had authorized \$13 per man for each Company of 100 men.¹⁷⁶ Two days later it added \$1 per week for a wife and 50¢ per week for families in need. Other counties were similar, authorizations were extended, amounts were changed and, on August 8, 1862, the Board of Supervisors voted \$60 for each man who answered the President's call "previous to the 25th day of August, 1862."¹⁷⁷

The purpose, said the *Journal*, "is to make up our quota within the required time without resorting to a draft in this county."¹⁷⁸ If a draft became necessary, draftees would receive no bounty and only the normal \$11 monthly pay.¹⁷⁹ Clothing and supplies were distributed and thousands of dollars were paid. In addition to a \$100 Federal bounty, other amounts varied. Dubuque County offered \$50 for men enlisting between August 20th and September 1st and, on September 6th authorized that bounties be "paid to the families of volunteers or those who are dependent on them."¹⁸⁰ Some western counties offered as much as \$1,500 for a three year enlistment and townships frequently added their own bounty or premium. Clinton County printed blank Soldiers Bounty Warrants payable by the County Treasurer when dates and amounts were filled in and the warrants were properly signed and issued. "Our whole state

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Proclamation of the Governor. Lathrop, *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 216.

The Government "in 1862, issued a call for 300,000 men to be enlisted for three years' service, and for another 300,000 to be enlisted for nine months, if possible, but if not then to be drafted. . . . The quota for Iowa in each one of these calls was about 10,500 men. The first was soon filled. As to the second, Gov. Kirkwood said he would not put in a man for nine months." It took that long, he said, for recruits to be of value as soldiers. "So he called upon the patriotism of Iowa to fill this call also with three years' men, and so well was his call responded to that the whole number were so enlisted and sent to the field. . . . But Iowa received at Washington credit only for the number of men sent, without reference to the time of their enlistment."

¹⁷³ A date extended to August 23d. *Clayton County Journal* (August 21, 1862).

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The Enlistment of Iowa Troops During the Civil War. *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (July 1917) Volume 15, Number 3, Page 355

¹⁷⁵ *North Iowa Times* (July 16, 1862).

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The resolution was rescinded when it was learned "that there has since been sufficient funds furnished by the State authorities for support of Volunteer Companies until such time as they may be accepted by the United States authorities." *The Clayton County Journal* (September 12, 1861).

¹⁷⁷ *Clayton County Journal* (August 14, 1862).

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The Clayton Co. Journal (August 14, 1862). See generally, *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹⁷⁹ Monthly pay would soon be raised to \$13.00 for privates.

180 Records of the Board of Supervisors, Dubuque County. Pension records of David Preston, 21st Iowa Infantry.

appears to be volunteering," said Kirkwood.¹⁸¹

Initially the \$100 Federal bounty was to be paid when the soldier completed his term but, on July 7th, Congress agreed, at Secretary of State Seward's request, that \$25.00 could be paid in advance, the balance on discharge.¹⁸² A \$2.00 premium would be paid to anyone who secured a recruit, or to the recruit himself if he appeared in person.¹⁸³ Local meetings were held, enlistments continued and an Iowa draft was not required. Ohio raised 58,325 and Iowa 24,438. Clayton County had 600 volunteer, paid \$8,000 to their wives and children and appropriated additional funds for their weekly support. Although open to widespread corruption and resentment, nearly \$600,000,000 was paid in bounties, half by the Federal government and half locally.

The South was also recruiting and one who answered the call was Abel Hankins whose Virginia family had been early settlers of Tazewell County. The third of nine children of James and Elizabeth Hankins, Abel was born on April 2, 1844, when Jim Bethard was already a six year old Ohio school boy. When war came, the Hankins supported the South and were described as a "*truly Confederate family*" as Abel, four of his brothers, their father and numerous other relatives joined the Confederacy with Abel enlisting in a local cavalry battalion never imagining that, one day, Jim Bethard, an Iowa farmer who fought for the North, would be one of his best friends.

Infantry regiments were led by Field and Staff officers including a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Major together with surgeons and chaplains. Primary officers were frequently political appointees with little or no military experience and qualifications for surgeons were often no better. Many had no medical degree and only rudimentary knowledge of conditions they might encounter in the field. Cavalry regiments had twelve companies but infantry had ten, lettered "A" through "K," omitting "J," with roughly 100 men per company, 1,000 per regiment. Each company was led by commissioned officers including a Captain and two Lieutenants and non-commissioned officers including five ranks of Sergeant (with the 1st Sergeant being Orderly Sergeant responsible for transmitting orders to company officers and men) and eight ranks of Corporal frequently suggested by enlisted men with age, prior experience, popularity and recruiting efforts given consideration.

Except for organization, there was little uniformity among early regiments. Formed locally, they often provided their own arms, accouterments and uniforms of variable style. Iowa's first three regiments had worn gray,¹⁸⁴ often of poor quality, and the 1st Regiment:

"got their thin clothes badly worn out, especially behind, and many of them took flour sacks and made themselves aprons and wore them there instead of in front. When Gen. Lyon saw the first one of these on a soldier, he ordered him to remove it at once, but when he found its removal left the whole fighting force of that soldier without a 'rear guard' and exposed to the jibes and jokes of friend and

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Telegram from Governor Kirkwood to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page 217.

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On July 1, 1862, Secretary of State W. H. Seward wired Secretary of War Edwin Stanton that he thought the \$25.00 advance was "*of vital importance. We fail without it.*" An hour later Stanton wired his agreement and said, "*I will take the responsibility of ordering the \$25 bounty out of the \$9,000,000 at all hazards, and you may go on that basis. I will make and telegraph the order in an hour.*" In his following order to Seward he said, "*Ordered, That out of the appropriation for collecting, organizing and drilling volunteers there shall be paid in advance to each recruit for three years or during the war the sum of \$25, being one-fourth the amount of the bounty allowed by law; such payment to be made upon the mustering of the regiment to which such recruit belongs into service of the United States.*" His order was approved by Congress on the 7th and vindicated as men, assured their families would have financial assistance in addition to salaries to be paid while in the military, enlisted at a greater pace.

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A resolution to encourage enlistments in the Regular Army and Volunteer forces. Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so much of the ninth section of the act approved Aug. 3. 1861, entitled "An act for the better organization of the military establishment," as abolishes the premium paid for bringing accepted recruits to the rendezvous, be and the same is hereby repealed, and hereafter a premium of two dollars shall be paid to any citizen, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, for such accepted recruit for the regular army [as] he may bring to the rendezvous. And every soldier who hereafter enlists, either in the regular army or the volunteers, for three years, or during the war, may receive his first month's pay in advance, upon the mustering of his company into the service of the United States, or after he shall have been mustered into and joined a regiment already in the service. Resolution approved June 21, 1862.

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The state's first three regiments were attired in gray. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page

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foe, he ordered it quickly replaced."¹⁸⁵

Gray had been banned by the summer of 1861 to avoid confusion with the enemy. More uniformity and durability were sought and "*the loyal women of the State responded nobly to the task.*"¹⁸⁶

TWENTY-FIRST IOWA INFANTRY

The ten companies of the 21st Regiment of the Iowa Volunteer Infantry were raised primarily in the northeastern counties with each company being separately mustered as it reached sufficient strength. Four of the companies came primarily from Dubuque County, three from Clayton and two from Delaware while Company A, with men from eleven counties, was more diversified.

Initial commissioned officers included William Hyde, a thirty-three year old doctor born in New York's Adirondacks who had sought the Governor's appointment as surgeon since early June. With judges, a former state auditor, his New York professors and local politicians as references, the Elkader resident prevailed over Epworth physician John Sanborn, Delhi surgeon Albert Boomer, Dr. Alexander who was "*notoriously intemperate*" according to a Dubuque minister, and John W. Finley whose appointment, the governor was told, would have given "*satisfaction to Northern Iowa.*"¹⁸⁷ Commissioned as Hyde's Assistants were Lucius Benham (a "*sound Republican*" born in Ohio who had, said James Hill who proposed him, "*served our cause in getting recruits*") and Richard Barnes (a graduate of New York's College of Physicians and Surgeons). A thirty-three year old Congregationalist minister from McGregor, Sam Sloan, was named Chaplain with letters of support from Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin.

The non-commissioned staff included Sergeant Major William Dickinson, already a veteran at twenty years of age, and Quartermaster Sergeant Judson Hamilton. A harness maker from Waterloo, Judson had accidentally scalded his right hand as a two-year old. As a result, the little finger was permanently rigid and closed and other fingers were impaired. Commissary Sergeant Eugene Townsend, Hospital Steward Edwin Duncan, sixteen year old Drum Major William Matson, and thirty-two year old Fife Major Isaac Large from Mitchell completed the staff.

With them, a year after their discharge, were sixteen veterans from the 1st Iowa. Twelve of the sixteen had served in the Governor's Greys and the 1st's Company I. Among them were Horace Poole, a twenty-five year old Massachusetts-born bookkeeper who was a natural for the paperwork-heavy position of Adjutant and David Greaves who was named Captain of Company I.

George West wrote to Governor Kirkwood on August 11, 1862, asking to be appointed Quartermaster and enclosing a petition signed by twenty-one well known residents of Dubuque. George, they said, was "*an Old Citizen*" who had been in the business of "*Grocer Forwarding and Commission Merchant for many years.*" He had served as a Colonel of Militia in Ohio and was an "*active and public spirited citizen.*" Although well-qualified, George was fifty-three years old. On the 15th, George L. Torbert wrote to the Governor, withdrew his own name from consideration as Acting Quartermaster and said, "*My friend Mr C. R. Morse informs me you have promised him the position of permanent QM of the 21st Regiment. My observation leads me to the conclusion that a permanent QM for a regiment should be appointed at the earliest practicable moment and I sincerely trust you may forward a commission for Mr. Morse at an early day. He is a gentleman of the highest character, a kind soldier and in my judgment his superior for the position cannot be found in this city.*" As George West requested, the appointment went to twenty-four year old Charles Morse. Charles, a "*corn merchant*" and partner in the pork-packing firm of Brackett & Morse before the war, had served four months with the state's 1st Infantry and would have responsibility for the regiment's transportation and supplies.

Butler County resident, William Getchell, had served in Iowa's 3rd Infantry until being discharged for a disability on November 21, 1861. Early in 1862, although no longer in the service, he became an active recruiter in Mitchell,

¹⁸⁵ H. W. Lathrop, The Life and times of Samuel J. Kirkwood (self-published, 1893), page 117.

¹⁸⁶

Arms and Equipment for the Iowa Troops in the Civil War. Iowa Journal of History and Politics, (January 1918), Volume XVI, Number 1, Pages 30-31.

¹⁸⁷

John E. Sanborn was appointed Surgeon and Albert Boomer was appointed Assistant Surgeon of the 27th Infantry on September 16, 1862, while John W. Finley was appointed Surgeon of the 37th Infantry on October 1, 1862. Dr. Sumner Chase of Osage, Iowa, also offered his services to the regiment, but not until August 25, 1862 by which time Dr. Hyde had already been appointed.

Black Hawk and other nearby counties for the 18th Infantry then in formation . When it was over-subscribed, seventy-six¹⁸⁸ of those men were transferred to what would be Company A of the 21st Infantry. Quartered in Waterloo, they were transferred to Dubuque and then Clinton before being sworn into service by Captain H. B. Hendershott. Also among the transfers were two June enlistees, eighteen year old Martin Dolphin and his forty-four year old father “*Old Johnny*,” the first Irishman to enlist from Clinton, who quickly “*hit the stump*” making speeches to “*the boys*.” The other nine companies and the balance of Company A were composed similarly, but without the transfers from another regiment.

On the 15th, two brothers, twenty-five-year-old Edward and twenty-seven-year-old William enlisted in Company G and a news correspondent wrote from Des Moines that:

*“there is a feeling of despondency now pervading this people, such as has not before existed since the commencement of this most unhappy and unfortunate war. There is no want of a feeling of loyalty in Iowa, but the time has arrived when it becomes the people of this country to inquire of the President, and of the administration, the purpose for which this war is being prosecuted.”*¹⁸⁹

After two weeks as a Recruiting Officer's Assistant, Duane Grannis joined Company D on July 18th. Twenty-two year old Cornelius Scott enlisted in Company H, while William Croke, a twenty-five year old born in Yorkshire, England and admitted to the bar in 1862 after studying with Odell & Updegraff joined Company B. John Mather, preparing for his own enlistment, sold forty acres of farmland to William Adams. John didn't need the land, but his mother would need the money to support herself while her sons were gone.

Company B drew most of its members from McGregor, Hardin, Strawberry Point, the Turkey River towns of Elkport, Elkader and Millville, Grand Meadow and their surrounding areas while Company G drew heavily from McGregor, Millville and Buena Vista.

Printer Henry Howard, farmer Barney “*Barna*” Phelps, attorney William Croke and dentist Charles Heath (wounded in the knee at Bull Run during earlier service with the 2d Wisconsin) recruited friends and neighbors to fill the ranks of Company B. In a regiment where the average height was about 5' 9",¹⁹⁰ twenty-three year old Howard, at 6' 3", would be one of the tallest in the regiment, but was now working in Strawberry Point and receiving half his wages in groceries and other necessities he gave to his parents. “*The company recruited by Messrs. Crook [sic], Heath and Howard, was full on Tuesday last. Thirteen from Cox Creek township enlisted that day - and still they come.*”¹⁹¹ Subject to company vote, the men drew straws to see who would be its leaders. William Croke became Captain, Heath 1st Lieutenant, Howard 2d Lieutenant and Phelps 1st Sergeant. On the 25th David Watkins, a thirty-five year old widowed stone mason, joined Company B

Volunteers continued to enroll, although at a slower pace, as husbands, fathers and sons signed enlistment papers and made the best arrangements possible for the dependents they would be leaving behind. Ten companies were being recruited, but none had yet achieved sufficient strength to be mustered into service and, on July 26th, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton wired Gov. Kirkwood.

“SIR: By order of the President of the United States you are authorized and directed to make a draft of militia of the state of Iowa to fill up the quota of volunteers called for by the President, or as much thereof as by reason of the deficiency of the volunteers or other cause you may deem proper.”

On the 28th Alexander Voorhees was named Captain of Company K where he was joined by his eighteen year old son, Charles. Enlisting the same day from Sand Springs was the Rev. Lorenzo Bolles, Jr., a Methodist Episcopal minister who, four years earlier, had been sent west from Massachusetts to establish a colony of “*exodists*.”

On the 29th Perry Dewey, a thirty-two year old New York native with a wife and two young children enlisted in Company B as did William Hall. George Carroll was twenty-four. Arnold Allen eighteen. George's father died when

¹⁸⁸ Two were mustered in on June 4, 1862, and seventy-four on June 11, 1862. Elsewhere reported as eighty-two or eighty-four men.

¹⁸⁹

The Chicago Times (Saturday morning, July 19, 1862). Also considered noteworthy was an announcement that “*Ninety-two different kinds of shin plasters are already circulating in New York City.*”

¹⁹⁰ Based on the average height of 305 members of the regiment as shown on their Muster-In Rolls.

¹⁹¹ The Clayton Co. Journal (August 14, 1862).

George was two years old and George lived at home and supported his sixty year old mother. Arnold's father died in 1853. An older brother had died recently and, by tilling a small portion of a rented farm, Arnold had provided the primary support for his mother, sister and younger brother. George joined Company F and Arnold joined Company C. Both arranged for their monthly pay to be paid to their mothers through the Dubuque branch of the state bank as did William Lorimier who arranged an allotment for his father. At twenty years of age, William had already served four months with Iowa's 1st infantry and was now enrolled as a third sergeant in Company I.¹⁹²

The ranks of the 21st Iowa continued to grow with student enlistments from Bowen Collegiate Institute (changed in 1864 to Lenox College) as Company K was organized in Delaware County where, on August 1, 1862:

"A most enthusiastic war meeting came off at Hopkinton, on Saturday last. J. M. Noble of Delhi, was appointed President, and J. L. McCreery, Secretary. Speeches were made by Rev. Mr. Bolles, Sand Spring (who has enlisted as a private in Capt. Voorhees' company) Rev. Dr. Roberts, Prof. Allen and Mr. Bell, of Hopkinton, and Messrs. Wellman, Watson and McCreery of Delhi. The excitement was unparalleled. A number volunteered during the speaking, and were sworn in at the close. We saw wives, with babies in their arms, their bosoms heaving with mingled sadness and patriotism, telling their husbands to go! and young ladies, with tears in their eyes, urging young men to enlist, or bear the brand of cowards! A subscription paper was circulated, for the benefit of the families of such as should enlist, and over 400 dollars were subscribed upon the spot mostly in \$25 subscriptions. The two principal physicians of the place signed \$25 each, and pledged themselves in addition to attend the families of volunteers for free, till their return. One man had no money and dare not promise any, but said any married volunteer might bring his wife to his house, and his home should be hers till the war ended.

A resolution was passed unanimously requesting the Board of Supervisors of Delaware County, to make an appropriation of \$3,000 for the payment of bounties to volunteers and their families. Also a resolution requesting the Governor of the State to send Commissioners to the camps of the Iowa soldiers, to receive their votes at the coming election, and a petition to that effect was signed by nearly all present, and will be sent to Governor Kirkwood. In conclusion, a resolution was passed requesting the Secretary to furnish a copy of the proceedings of the meeting to the Dubuque Daily Times for publication."¹⁹³

On Aug. 2nd, Governor Kirkwood replied to Secretary Stanton's directive to institute a draft so the state's five-regiment quota would be met by the 15th.

"In the absence of State law, is there any law of Congress regulating drafting? If so, send instructions. We have no sufficient law for drafting in this State. Am satisfied a draft must be made to fill up the old regiments."

Also on August 2, 1862, the Adjutant General's Office made more appointments.

STATE OF IOWA
Adjutant General's Office
Clinton Aug 5th 1862

Aug 2 Cornelius W. Dunlap
of the 18th
promoted to ~~to~~ Maj
of the 21st

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A bill providing for a State Bank with multiple branches had been approved by the voters on June 28, 1858. Throne, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, page 39. Lorimier was listed on the roster as Lorimer.

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J. L. McCreery, editor of the *Delaware County Journal*, Delhi, Iowa. William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 282-283. This and other letters (below) in Corbin's book appear to have been edited for publication either by the referenced newspapers or by Corbin. Most soldiers did not write with the spelling, punctuation, sentence structure and grammar reflected in the published letters.

Perry M. Johnson
1st Lieut of Co A. 18th Rgt
Capt of Co A. 21st

Alfred R Jones
2nd Lieut of the 18th Iowa Inf
1st Lieut of Co A 21st

Jeremiah W Brown
Orderly Sergt 18th
(called Co A) to be 2d Lieut
Co A 21st

On August 3rd, eighteen year old Solomon Collins joined Company F.

On August 4th, Englishman George Crooke, father of a seven month old baby girl, joined his brother in Company B while another Englishman, Frank Dale of Cedar Falls, was appointed 1st Lieutenant in Company C. Dubuque's *Herald* reported that "*Sam Osborn, William Coates, A Y. McDonald and C. Hill, the first two of whom had served with the First Regiment, were authorized to raise volunteers in August*"¹⁹⁴ and soon thereafter:

*"at an election held at Dubuque Aug 4th AD 1862 by Capt Jacob Swivel's Company for the purpose of holding an election for Officers Samuel F. Osborne was elected Chairman and George Henry Hess was elected Secretary, whereupon a motion was made and carried that Jacob Swivel be elected Captain Saml F. Osborne 1st Lieutenant and Andrew Y. McDonald 2nd Lieutenant whereupon the meeting was adjourned."*¹⁹⁵

Swivel, was one of fifty-seven members of Company E who had been born in Germany. In Dubuque, he had served as the lone detective on its police force, but lost his job when the force was disbanded, won an election for city marshal and served two terms before being defeated in April 1862. He then opened a saloon and formed a private detective agency with one of his former deputies. Neither was a success, but he had been instrumental in raising the company and had the respect of its members.¹⁹⁶

Osborne was a successful Dubuque merchant who had already served with the states' 1st Infantry. While many had enlisted, or reenlisted, for the monthly pay they would receive to help support their families, Osborne was an exception.

*Just as many factors had influenced the decision to enlist in the first place, many factors, including the incentives offered, patriotism, and a desire to finish what had been started, affected the decision to reenlist. Nevertheless, with the exception of merchant Samuel F. Osborne and his \$84,000 in total property, all independent soldier reenlistments came from poorer and more working-class elements of the group - a group that was already poorer and, taking persistence into account, more working class than the city's independent male population.*¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ History of Dubuque County (1880).
¹⁹⁵

Letter signed by Samuel Osborne and George Hess on file with records of the Adjutant General with the State Historical Society of Iowa. Swivel's Company would become Company E.

¹⁹⁶ Russell Lee Johnson, Warriors Into Workers (Fordham University Press, New York, 2003), page 116.
¹⁹⁷

Russell Lee Johnson, Warriors Into Workers (Fordham University Press, New York, 2003), page 139. Also see Paul Alan Cimbala & Richard M. Miller, Editors, Union Soldiers and the Northern Homefront (Fordham University Press, New York, 2001), page 67 writing about Dubuque enrollees: "*Men from high-nonmanual backgrounds were particularly underrepresented, and although as a group they owned a large amount of property in 1860, all but \$1,000 of it was owned by one man, Samuel F. Osborne, who served in the 1st Iowa and joined the 21st Iowa Infantry in 1862.*"

On the 5th, Abel Griffin (a thirty-year-old drummer from New York), John Baade (a twenty-year-old German from Mecklenburg) and David Drummond (a Scot from Glasgow) enlisted in Company B. Also joining the Company was Louis Eno, a Canadian born in Montreal who would leave a wife and three children at home in McGregor.¹⁹⁸ Appointed 2d Lieutenant in Company F was Thompson Spottswood, a thirty-one year old who clerked for his uncle in Dubuque and “*part of the time practiced dentistry.*” Thompson had already served three months in the 1st Iowa but all too soon would be the first to die.

On the 6th, two young men, nineteen year old Christian Maxson and eighteen year old William Alloway enlisted. They had known each other for many years and were enrolled together in Company B. With them was 5' 4" Gleason Stringham, a McGregor farmer.

Meanwhile, in Ohio, the 96th regiment was allotted to Union and its neighboring counties. Drums of recruiting officers were heard in every town and gathering and crossroad. The whole county was in a recruiting frenzy and former classmates and neighbors of Jim and Cal answered the call. Ira Homan, thirty-two year old Robert Johnson and eighteen- year-old Napoleon Gibson enlisted on August 6th as privates while James Tanner was enrolled as a Corporal. At twenty-three, he had celebrated his third wedding anniversary only a week earlier but now said good-bye to Mary and their two-year old son, not knowing if he would ever see them again.

On the same day, in Washington, a “*Great War Meeting*” was held, businesses closed, bands played, bells rang and the President spoke. The next day’s *Evening Star* assured him:

*We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more
From Mississippi's winding stream and from New England's shore;
We leave our ploughs and workshops, our wives and children dear,
With hearts too full for utterance, with but a silent tear;
We dare not look behind us, but steadfastly before;
We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more!*¹⁹⁹

On Thursday, August 7th, eighteen-year-old William Boynton (orphaned at a young age and raised by an uncle, Charles Boynton), nineteen-year-old Henry Potter and forty-year-old Jerry Maloney joined Company B. Elisha Boardman, Jr., whose father had settled in the area in 1836 and founded Elkader, enlisted on Friday and, with William Grannis of Strawberry Point, began recruiting men for what would soon be Company D.

In 1856 at Fort Laramie, Englishman Eber Golder had enlisted for five years with the 1st U. S. Cavalry. On June 3, 1862, he married Viola Shippee and on August 9th, listing his occupation as “soldier,” he was enrolled as a 4th Corporal in Company D. Eighteen-year-old Frank Aldrich joined Company B and James Hill was appointed 1st Lieutenant in Company I. A Baptist minister from Cascade, Hill was an active recruiter who enrolled numerous other area residents including Sam Bates and Curtis Dean on the 9th, Martin Heitchew on the 13th, Theodore Dare and Jasper Delong on the 15th, Joseph Rogers on the 19th, James Cottle on the 20th, Charles Elliott, George McFadden and William Wheeler on the 21st, and Edward Bolton and Greenberry Halfhill on the 22nd. In nine more months, Hill would distinguish himself in Mississippi, something for which he would be the regiment’s only recipient of the Medal of Honor.²⁰⁰

Also joining from Cascade were three Loes brothers, twenty-one-year-old John P., eighteen-year-old Jacob and seventeen year old Nicholas. The brothers had been born in Luxembourg and emigrated to Iowa with their parents and

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Jim Bethard in his letters to his wife and records on file with the National Archives consistently spell Eno’s first name as “*Lewis*” instead of “*Louis*.” Since he signed documents with an “X,” he may not have known which was correct. An obituary has his name as “*Louis*.” He’s referred to in this narrative as Louis.

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Written by James S. Gibbons, a Philadelphia Quaker who became a successful banker, financier, philanthropist and abolitionist. Set to music by Stephen Foster. *North & South* magazine (January 2000), page 93.

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“*Medals of Honor authorized by the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1863, are awarded to officers and enlisted men, in the name of the Congress, for particular deeds of most distinguished gallantry in action.*” Extract from Regulations Relative to the Medal of Honor. *Deeds of Valor*, edited by W. F. Beyer & O. F. Keydel (Longmeadow reprint, Samford, CT, 1902), page

other siblings. All too soon one of the brothers would die.

John Goodrich, another Hill enlistee, was born and raised in New Hampshire but, “*at the beginning of the California gold excitement he visited that region, remaining there five years, and obtaining a respectable competence by labor in the mines. Returning, he purchased a farm in Epworth.*”²⁰¹ Now, three days short of his thirty-sixth birthday, John enrolled in Company I on Sunday, August 10th, leaving Marion, his wife of five years, with their three young children. German natives Carl Possehl and John Rogman joined Company B, also on Sunday, as did John Farrand, a nineteen-year-old farmer from Clayton County as “*the quiet artizans left bench and shop, farmers abandoned their fields, ministers their pulpits, professors and students their schools and colleges, and from every vocation in life came the answer: 'We are coming, Father Abraham.'*”²⁰²

Richard Wright and Theophilus Girard joined on the 11th, both in Company B. Richard, a New Yorker who had moved to Wisconsin and then McGregor, had married in 1857 and his wife had their first child the year following. Three months later their baby died. The following year Richard's wife died and he elected not to remarry. At the time of his enlistment he was working as a stagecoach driver and was assigned to initial duty as a regimental teamster. Theophilus had been born in France, emigrated to the United States with his parents when he was twelve years old, and moved to Iowa just prior to the war. He was enrolled at McGregor by William Crooke.

Also enlisting on the 11th were farmer George Dunn at Hardin and John Meyer, John Presho and George Purdy, also farmers, who enlisted at McGregor. Charles Reeves, a painter, enlisted at McGregor and, at Cox Creek, two Scovel brothers, twenty-two year old James and twenty-four year old Christopher, were enrolled in Company B.

Mason Bettys, Robert James Pool, Robert Strane and Alvin Merriam enlisted, as did Seymour Chipman, a twenty-nine-year old operator of a gristmill and sawmill with a wife and five children who enlisted as a fifer in Company B.²⁰³

William Wood had a wife, a three-year old daughter and one-year old son. George Dunn and his wife had two children. William and George enlisted in Company B as did Tim Hayes from Hardin (who was detailed as a Company cook), George Goodman, Oren Follon (a nineteen-year-old from Cox Creek) and Myron Knight (who immediately made the first of many entries in his personal journal - “*enlisted for the war*”). Joining them was Darwin Whipple. A New Hampshire native, Darwin was a thirty-seven year old father of five and his wife was again pregnant, a condition possibly still unknown.

Mary and Brad Talcott had been married in Sorrel Hill, Pennsylvania, but were living in Fayette County when Brad enlisted as a 6th Corporal in Company B and, with baby Ella now a healthy two months old and his wife recovered from childbirth, Jim Bethard enlisted on the 11th. With him were Cal's brother Jim Rice and her cousin John Mather. Alexander Bethard had seen both of his sons enlist. Philena Mather would see four of her sons enlist. Three Tanners, two Scovels, two Frankebergers, three Adams and three Hendersons enlisted. Alonzo and Hannah Brown had three sons who enlisted (Ceylon in the 8th Infantry, Alonzo in the 12th and John in the 16th) while their daughter Amanda married Leroy Parker who enlisted on August 11th and their daughter Exceen married Thomas McNary who enlisted on August 13th, both in Company B.

Henry and Relief Robbins had moved from Canada to Ohio to Illinois and finally to Clayton County. When the war began, their oldest son Charles, called “*Fifer*” in the military, decided to enlist as did his brother John, but their father objected due to John's poor health. The youngest brother was twenty-two year old William, “*a great large overgrown boy.*” Several years previously he had suffered an attack of what his neighbors called “*inflammatory rheumatism.*” With his feet, ankles and knees wrapped in cloths soaked in turpentine, he was sitting near a fire when flames ignited the cloth. Treated by a local doctor, he screamed in pain when lifted or turned in bed, but walked with the help of a two-tine pitchfork used as a crutch and was gradually cured with milkweed and whiskey. By the time the war started, he was back to breaking prairie and chopping cord wood and agreed to join Charles in Company B while John stayed home to help the family.

On August 11th, the same day seventeen year old Sarah Bernhardt made a less than impressive stage debut in Paris, Governor Kirkwood assured Secretary of War Stanton that:

²⁰¹ Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, Page 126 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

²⁰²

Address by William D. Crooke, former Major of the 21st Iowa Infantry, on the occasion of its reunion at Strawberry Point, Iowa, on September 3, 1889.

²⁰³

Seymour's wife was Prudence Maxson whose brothers, Christian and David Maxson, also joined Company B.

*"I will have ten regiments instead of five under your requisition of July 8th. They will be full this week. You must accept them as volunteers. They are enlisted to avoid the disgrace of a draft, as they consider it, and it will not do to refuse them."*²⁰⁴

That same day, with Company B having reached seventy-two, McGregor postmaster Willard Benton was appointed to raise another company, a company that would become Company G. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins and family friends were enlisting and rapidly filling the ranks. Cal's cousin, Darius Mather was named Fife Major of the 27th Iowa and family friend, Wes Nichols, a twenty-three-year-old from New York, joined the 38th Iowa, two other regiments then in formation while recruiting continued for the 21st Iowa.

The ranks of Company D continued to grow on August 12th when Elisha Boardman attended a "*large and enthusiastic*" meeting in Volga City. Citizens from Elkader joined them "*en masse and with flying banners, fife and drums, proceeded to the place of the meeting.*"²⁰⁵ Attorney Odell was one of many speakers as Elisha enrolled sixteen men including two Ohio natives - nineteen-year-old blue-eyed Avery Thurber who had six months to live and twenty-five year-old mason Ebenezer Still who would return in less than a year with a debilitating injury. Also enlisting were Volga City residents John Lowe as a wagoner and nineteen year old George Chapman as a private. George was "*a little wild and rattle headed like other boys of his age,*" said John. George's father, suffering from kidney disease, wanted George to stay home to work the family farm but George, rattle-headed or not, felt he could help the family more by enlisting and sending money home. Also joining Company D was eighteen-year-old Hugh McCafferty who had a still latent aversion to military authority, while Alfred Hall, also eighteen, John Crop and his younger brother George, and Jabez "*Jabe*" Rogers, a thirty-two-year-old carpenter from McGregor, joined Company B.

"*Antrim*" seemed to be the correct surname for twenty-seven-year-old Knox (Company A) and twenty-one year-old John (Company E), both born in Ohio, but regimental documents also had "*Anthrom*" and "*Antaraim.*" As John later explained, they didn't know if their name was or was not spelled correctly "*owing to us not being able to read or write English.*" John Grutcek an Austrian who arrived in the United States when he was fifteen, also had a name no one could spell, including John. At various times he was known as Krutcheck (on the 1860 census), Krujheck, Krushek, Grichae, Gruehae and Gruchae and, on August 12th, he joined Company B. Enlisting with him was German native Othmar Kapler who worked for Jacob Levi on a farm in Grand Meadow Township.

Eighteen year old David Shuck had moved from Ohio to McGregor and was also working as a farmer when he joined Company B. Abram "*Abe*" Treadwell, one of eleven children, was born in Canada to a New York father and Canadian mother. When he was twenty-four, Abram moved to Illinois, but later settled in Clayton County's Lodomillo Township and built Strawberry Point's first harness shop. He joined Company B on the 12th as did forty-one year old McGregor tailor Alonzo Cole. William "*Old Man*" Warner, only a month short of his forty-fourth birthday, joined Company B while George Hess, a nineteen year old clerk, enrolled in Company E where his clerical skills would soon be put to work.

On August 13th, Charles Heath was busy recruiting men in Strawberry Point and ten miles away in Cox Creek. Among those he enrolled that day, all for Company B, were Norman Scofield (a 5' 10" farmer who became 3rd Sergeant), John J. Carptenter (a thirty-eight-year-old with a wife and seven children), Washington Casey (a forty-one year-old farmer with a wife and three-year-old son), Milo Dalton (stretching his age to eighteen with a "*patriotic fib*"), Thomas McNary, and David Wing. Also enrolled was thirty-year-old Cordon Hewitt who left young children and a pregnant wife at their home in Lamont while he traveled the short distance to Strawberry Point to enlist.

*"Troops are arriving by nearly every boat and train which. with those eight hundred Enfield rifles brought over yesterday from Dunleith, give the city a war-like appearance. All day long and half the night the roll of drums and the shrieking fife salute the ear. Captain Horr arrived from Epworth yesterday with a squad of recruits which will make, with these he has already recruited, a very respectable company."*²⁰⁶

Others joining the Company on the 13th were Warren Braman, Dwight Noble, twenty-year-old Frank Farrand,

²⁰⁴ H. W. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood (self-published, 1893), page 216.

²⁰⁵ The Clayton Co. Journal (August 14, 1862).

²⁰⁶ Herald (August 13, 1862). Leonard Horr became Captain of Company F.

Frederick Barnes (a twenty-year-old native of Mecklenberg, Germany) and William Lyons (a farmer from Hardin who was enrolled as 2nd Sergeant). George Brownell and four others joined Boardman's Company D raising its total to forty. Jacob Kephart from Cottage Hill joined Company C and thirty-three-year-old Epworth resident Ephraim Story enlisted in Company F. Company H was ordered into quarters on August 13, 1862, and Salue Van Anda reported.²⁰⁷

I hereby certify that at an election held for Officers of Co H 21st Regiment Iowa Volunteers at the Town of DuBuque in the County of DuBuque the following officers were elected a majority of the members of said Company being present and there being at that time 83 names on the Roll of said Company said election held on the 13th day of August 1862

<i>S. G. Van Anda</i>	<i>Captain</i>
<i>Joseph M Watson</i>	<i>1st Lieut</i>
<i>James B Jordon [sic]</i>	<i>2nd “</i>

Witness my hand this 13 day of August 1862

*S. G. Van Anda
Captain*

Archibald Stuart, a native of Perth, Scotland, had enlisted in Benton's company at Millville on August 12th while Martin Bigler, Thomas Busby, Jonathan Foster and William Flowers were enlisted in Buena Vista. Three more joined on the 13th and McGregor was “*abuzz*” with excitement. Enlisting on the 14th were farmers John Ano, William Wallace Farrand (possibly unaware his wife was pregnant with their second child), John Kain (aka Kane), Christopher Kellogg, Andrew “Judge” Lawrence, Henry Lewis, Edward Murray, Edward Patterson, Robert Pettis, Nelson Reynolds, Oliver Shull (who also worked as a painter), James Withrow and Sam Withrow. With them were Dan Donnahue who had been working as a steward and porter, carpenter Philander Drake, laborer Tyler Featherly, and Timothy Hopkins. Tim said he was a “*cheese maker*,” but was enrolled as a musician. Linus “*Line*” McKinnie enlisted as a Corporal on August 14th. During his service, Linus would write numerous letters that were published in the *North Iowa Times*.

On Thursday, August 14th, the *Journal* reported that, “*Our Board of Supervisors after having provided for the support of the families of volunteers, has now appropriated \$60,00 bounty for each volunteer.*”

“During the session of the board of supervisors on the 8th inst., a large meeting of our citizens was addressed from the balcony of the Martin House, by Messrs. Odell, Uriell, Hammer, Moore, Davis, and others who made flaming Union speeches, urging immediate and prompt enlistment to save the country from the hands of traitors.”²⁰⁸

“The company recruited by Messrs. Crook, Heath and Howard, was full on Tuesday. Thirteen from Cox Creek township enlisted that day - and still they come.”²⁰⁹

Enlisting in Company D on the 14th were Enos Russell, Francis Ruff and two brothers, seventeen-year-old James and twenty-year-old Francis Thompson, James as a drummer and Frances as a fifer. Also volunteering were Samuel Moore, a twenty-four-year-old minister in the United Brethren Church who was enrolled as a 1st Corporal and his brother-in-law Josiah Hardy who was married to Samuel's sister, Mary. In Strawberry Point, William Grannis enrolled Harvey King, a twenty-five-year-old native of New York.

On the 15th, the ranks were further increased when farmers John Birch, Pat Burns (who also worked as a

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Letter on file with records of the Adjutant General, State Historical Society of Iowa. When the regiment was mustered into service on September 9, 1862, Company H had a total of ninety-three men and Salue Van Anda had been promoted to Major, Joseph Watson from 1st Lieutenant to Captain and James Jordan from 2nd Lieutenant to 1st Lieutenant.

²⁰⁸ *Clayton County Journal*.

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Contrary to the *Journal's* report, Company B was not full. With the enlistments of Tuesday, August 12th, it had increased its total to eighty-five. Twelve, not thirteen, enlisted that day in Company B and not all were from Cox Creek Township.

shoemaker), John V. Carpenter, Smith Chernois, Thomas Daniels, William Dunn, Orlen Gates , Peter McIntyre, Maple Moody, George Moore, Knute Nelson, George Penhollow, Robert Risher and Charles Wilson enlisted. Joining them were Edgar Talmadge, John Conant (a sailor and musician) and William Reed (a barber). Brothers William and Edward Warn were enrolled at Council Hill in Company G by Willard Benton while forty-four-year old George Simons and his twenty-three-year old son Thomas joined Company K.

By the end of the day on the 15th, including enlistments at Millville and elsewhere in the county, the ranks of Company G had increased to eighty-three men, all enrolled in only five days. It was also on the 15th that Jim Bethard's uncle, Samuel Satterlee, joined the 99th Illinois. Married for almost twenty years to Jim's aunt, Elizabeth Bethard, Samuel made plans to head south while Elizabeth stayed in Pittsfield with their twelve-year-old son and four-year-old daughter. Frank Dibble, a native of Chautauqua County, New York, joined Wes Nichols in the 38th Iowa. Patrick Burns, Ohio native William Monlux, Canadian Robert Pitt and eighteen-year-old John Lees (aka Lee) enrolled in the 21st. They were joined by eighteen-year-old Cyrus Henderson and his twenty-year-old brother Francis ("Frank") who left a mother and disabled father in Clayton County,²¹⁰ and by twenty-two-year-old John Green. John's earlier service in the 16th Iowa had not gone well and desertion charges were dropped only on the condition that he complete his military commitment, a condition he met by joining Company K.²¹¹ Two of the oldest men in the regiment, thirty-nine year old Aaron and forty-one year old Solomon Story, brothers from Epworth, enlisted on the 15th and joined their younger brother, Ephraim, in Company F

Joining Company H was Matthew King, a thirty-nine-year-old Englishman from Dubuque, and enlisting at Irvington was Charles Dunham - or so the government thought. "Dunham" was Charles Kellogg who had joined the 2d Iowa Cavalry the previous September, deserted in January, and after the war explained:

*"in explanation of my 'alias' of C. F. Dunham, will say that I was sick with pneumonia and left hospital without leave and came to my sister's home in Iowa where I lay sick for nearly 2 months. Was reported as deserted which angered me and I enlisted in the 21st Infantry under the alias above. I left Co. F 2d Iowa Cavalry but in August '62 went to Washington and personally intervened President Lincoln, telling him all about myself and he ordered my discharge from the 2d Cavalry."*²¹²

It was also on August 15th that Jim Bethard and his self-styled Roberts Creek Crowd, six young men from Clayton County left for Dubuque with Company B.²¹³ Their enlistments were for three years but they never expected to be gone that long - a few more months and the war would surely be over. Physically, Jim was in good health with a light complexion, blue eyes and brown hair. He stood 5'8¼" tall and weighed between 160 and 165 pounds. Like his friends, he was a farmer who had never before served in the military.

On August 16th, William McCarty, a miner, enlisted in Company C at Rockdale, Elkport resident James Chiles

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The second wedding in Clayton County was that of Cyrus Henderson (of Prairie du Chien) and Miss Harriet M. Wells (of Clayton County). They were married on April 26, 1840, Justice of the Peace Eliphalet Price.

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"In one respect the rosters here given are not historical. They do not report a single deserter. Undoubtedly, as in every regiment of men ever enrolled, there were some in ours. But they were very few, and in nearly every instance the deserter had done some good service as a soldier. It has been taken for granted, that by common consent of the surviving soldiers of the regiment, whatever stained the honor of any of its members should not be perpetuated here." George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891). pages 4-5.

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Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891). Kellogg will be referred to by his correct name although regimental records refer to him as Dunham. The government verified the alias, but intervention by the President is unverified.

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The six members of the Roberts Creek crowd were James Bethard, James M. Rice (his wife's brother), John H. Mather (his wife's cousin), James Frank Farrand, Robert James Pool and David Shuck, all of whom apparently rented farms along Roberts Creek.

James' letters mention "old man Fay," "Joseph Feay," "David Jacobie," "Wm Barber," "Philip Lown," and "Richard McNally." An 1886 plat map of Grand Meadow Township, near the southeast corner of the township, shows Roberts Creek with farms of "J. M. Fay," "David Jacobia," "Wm Barber," and "P.M. Lown" on the west side and "Richard McNally" on the east side, so it appears likely that's the area where the "Roberts Creek crowd" rented their farms.

joined Company B and, in Washington, the Adjutant General's Office published an order made two days earlier by President Lincoln.

The following order of the President of the United States, dated August 14, 1862, is published for the information of all concerned :

1st That after the fifteenth of this month bounty and advanced pay shall not be paid to volunteers for any new regiments, but only to volunteers for regiments now in the field and volunteers to fill up new regiments now organizing but not yet full.

2d Volunteers to fill up the new regiments now organizing will be received and paid the bounty and advanced pay until the twenty-second day of this month, and if not completed by that time, the incomplete regiments will be consolidated, and superfluous officers mustered out.

3d Volunteers to fill up the old regiments will be received and paid the bounty and advance pay until the first day of September.

4th The draft for three hundred thousand militia, called for by the President, will be made on Wednesday, the third day of September, between the hours of 9 o'clock a. m. and 5 o'clock p. m., and continued from day to day, between the same hours, until completed. G. O. '62 11; 104

5th If the old regiments should not be filled up by volunteers before the first day of September, a special draft will be ordered for the deficiency.

*By order of the Secretary of War
E. D. Townsend
Assistant Adjutant General.*

With deadlines looming, enlistments in the state's 21st infantry continued as men and communities rushed to avoid the draft.

On the 18th, John Strane joined his brother in Company F, Company B drew uniforms and was mustered in, and Boardman's recruits, more than 100 strong, met in Elkader to select their officers.²¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Elisha was elected Captain and was presented with a sword by the ladies' Clayton Aid Society, while the company received a flag which it "*promised to return to them on the close of the war.*"²¹⁵ Elisha led his men as they headed for Dubuque where brothers Charles and George Burge, both working as miners, left wives at home and enlisted in Company E. Australian born Alonzo Moore, a twenty-two year old resident of Dubuque, also joined Company E while James Smith, a 5 foot 3½ inch circus actor who had been born in the West Indies, joined Company C.

On the 20th, George Fisher, nationalized less than two years earlier after emigrating from Württemberg, Germany, enlisted in Company C as did Joseph Baule from Wöltingerode, Germany.²¹⁶ Nineteen-year-old Martin Baal listed in Company E joining his twenty-two-year-old brother, John, who had enlisted four days earlier and eighteen year old William Barber joined Company G. Andrew Hannah, a thirty year old Dubuque bricklayer, joined Company F. Fitz Henry Warren was promoted to Brigadier General and Southerner Richard Taylor rejoined his family in Louisiana.

Taylor was well-educated and already a formidable foe for the Union. As a long-time resident of St. Charles Parish across the River from New Orleans, he was an influential businessman, a strong defender of the Confederacy, a successful sugar planter and a large but compassionate slave owner at his plantation named *Fashion*. Sherman knew him well and regarded him as "*a very plain, straightforward man, of great independence, candid, honest and clear-headed.*" Although he had visited his famous father, Zachery, during the war with Mexico, Taylor had no military experience but was given command of the 9th Louisiana Infantry, served well in Virginia and was promoted to Major General before being ordered back home where his actions would soon influence those of the 21st Iowa.

Albert and Nancy Curtis had eight children. On August 21st, Albert enlisted in Company A. Enlisting the same

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Another two, Henry Thurber and Ceylon Brown, were rejected for medical problems. Volume 1, Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General (1863).

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History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, 1916) referencing the *Elkader Journal*.

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George Lewis Fisher nationalized as Lewis Fisher on November 6, 1860, but went by the name George Fisher and George L. Fisher during and after the war. Joseph Baule was baptized in Wöltingerode as Johann Heinrich Joseph Baule and immigrated with his parents and siblings n 1846.

day were two Patterson brothers from Cascade, twenty-three year old Henry and twenty-eight year old George, who joined Company I, while, possibly spurred by Dubuque's special bounty effective only for the twelve days from the 20th, eighteen-year-old Prussian native John Buckholtz and twenty-three-year-old David Preston joined Company E and Ambrose Fanning, a young artist from Dubuque, joined Company F. Advice for the soldiers came from the *Wapello Republican*:

"the Horrors of War can be greatly mitigated by that sovereign remedy, Holloway's Ointment, as it will cure any wound, however desperate, if it be well rubbed around the wounded parts, and they be kept thoroughly covered with it. A Pot of ointment should be in every man's knapsack."

On August 22nd, Joseph Carter, a twenty-nine year old teamster, joined Company I. Sylvester Sperring left two children and a wife who was six months pregnant when he enrolled in Company A with his brother, George. Enlisting the same day were boyhood friends Alfred Kephart and John Ridler who joined Company H while the *Dubuque Daily Times* reported that:

*"Rev. Mr. Bolles enlisted in Capt. Voorhees company at Hopkinton, and came to town yesterday as a private soldier in the ranks. He was one of the leaders in the celebrated 'Exodus' society which came from Massachusetts and settled at Sand Spring some years ago. He is an active working Christian, and just the person to do good to his fellow soldiers. We sincerely hope that he will be made Chaplain of the regiment. He is the man for the place, and when it comes to fighting he will be found with a gun in his hands whanging away at the enemy with the best of them."*²¹⁷

Forty-nine year old Jesse Harrison, recommended to the Governor two months earlier as a potential Major, was enrolled as Captain of Company C, but his commissioning was threatened and a supportive letter was written on the 22nd to Adjutant General Baker:

*"I herewith report that personal enemies of Capt. J. M. Harrison of the 21st Regt. in camp here are taking steps to prevent him from being commissioned by the Gov. notwithstanding he recd every vote of the Company he had recruited. Such a proceeding is outrageous. Capt. H is one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Dubuque, has for a long time been widely known as one of the most prominent early settlers of the state. He is a man of nerve and sound judgement and makes one of the very best officers in the service." According to one report, "a great many persons thought Captain Harrison was a bombastic sort of an old fellow, when he used to say in his street speeches at the time he was raising his company, 'if you love your country, now is the time to give evidence of it. Come, join my company. You will find that I am no coward. Come with me, and I'll lead you to victory or death!'"*²¹⁸

Meanwhile, the ranks of the ten companies were continuing to fill and the *Elkader Journal* reported;

*"The majority of the townships are doing nobly in the way of volunteering. Some of them are turning out extraordinarily; Little Buena Vista leads the van by sending 50% of all the men in the township liable to military duty. Four companies were full August 15. Capt. William Crooke's company left on Saturday for Dubuque to take its place in the Twenty-first Regiment as Company B, with 104 men. Capt. Elisha Boardman has enrolled about 115 and Lieut. Grannis started with a portion of his company for Dubuque on Tuesday morning, via Strawberry Point and the railroad. . . . Capt. Boardman's company was presented with a banner by the ladies at Elkader, Miss Estella Griswold making the presentation speech, which was replied to by B. T. Hunt."*²¹⁹

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 283.

²¹⁸ *Dubuque Daily Times* (May 23, 1863).

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History of Clayton County, Iowa (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916). When mustered in on August 18th, Company B's total was 99

CAMP FRANKLIN²²⁰

Their rendezvous was at Camp Franklin located "on a sandy plateau on the bank of the Mississippi" "at the upper end of the bottom land adjoining Lake Peosta"²²¹ just south of Eagle Point, a mile or two above Dubuque. Its ten buildings were each twenty by sixty feet and "arranged to accommodate one hundred men each"²²² and:

*"boarded horizontally with pine board with shingled roofs having within on either side three tiers of bunks for the men, with a hallway or aisle through the middle with doors at either end, built on opposite sides of the drill or parade ground. The regimental and company officers' quarters were at one end of the parade ground, and the Quarter-masters and Commissaries buildings of similar construction were located at one side, and the whole with the drill and parade grounds were enclosed by guard-lines, which means simply a line or path whereon a sentry walked his beat day and night while on guard allowing no one to pass either out or in."*²²³

Company B was mustered in on August 18th, Company C on the 20th, Companies A, D, E, F and G on the 22d and Companies H, I and K on the 23rd.

On the 24th, Martin Dolphin was discharged on a Surgeon's Certificate. He returned home, but his father stayed in camp and the regiment received equipment and training under the supervision of Samuel Brodtbeck, formerly a Major with the 12th Iowa. "From reveille at 5:00am to taps at 8:45pm, when not eating or standing guard, men drilled and performed fatigue duty followed by more drill and more fatigue" and William Crooke felt "the process of getting used to restraints of freedom, to inclemencies of weather, to hard beds, and new forms of food, sometimes not well cooked, was not always a pleasant one. Habits of obedience had to be formed, and these to men in the ranks were doubtless the most irksome of all."²²⁴ One author wrote that "a day's schedule in the army was as follows."²²⁵

5:00 a.m. Reveille
5:45 a.m. Squad drill
7:30 a.m. Surgeon's call
7:45 a.m. Recall from morning drill
8:00 a.m. Breakfast
9:00 a.m. Guard mount
9:30 a.m. Squad drill
11:00 a.m. Recall from drill
11:30 a.m. Recall from fatigue

men, officers and enlisted.

²²⁰

The site was known as Camp Union when Jim's friends in the 9th and 12th Iowa trained there earlier. It would later host the 27th, 32d and 38th regiments before being closed by Governor Kirkwood early in 1863 "purportedly because of the 'secessionist taint' of Dubuque." Swisher, Camp Life In Other Days (Palimpsest, October 1941). Hubert H. Wubben, *Dennis Mahony and the Dubuque Herald* (Iowa Journal of History, October 1958). "In the annals of American Journalism there is probably no more colorful yet bitter story than the fight of the popularly designated 'Copperhead' or 'Peace' press against the administration of Abraham Lincoln during this nation's Civil War. Foremost among the Copperhead organs of Iowa was the nationally famous Dubuque Herald." States had a right to secede, it said, if the federal government failed to meet their needs. Ford Risley, The Civil War, page 39. About a month after closing, the barracks were sold at auction and dismantled. Years later, the area was known as Rhomberg Park where houses and apartments were constructed.

²²¹

(1) J. A. Swisher, Camp Life in Other Days (The Palimpsest, October, 1941). (2) Encyclopedia Dubuque.

²²²

J. A. Swisher, Camp Life in Other Days (The Palimpsest, October, 1941)

²²³

Iowa Journal of History p158 (April 1958).

²²⁴

William Crooke, *Address to surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889.* (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Chicago, 1889), page 5.

²²⁵

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 287-288. The author does not say whether this was the schedule for the 21st Infantry or merely for "the army" in general.

12:00 p.m. Dinner call
 1:00 p.m. Fatigue call
 2:00 p.m. Battalion drill
 4:00 p.m. Recall from drill
 4:30 p.m. Recall from fatigue
 5:00 p.m. Retreat; dress parade
 6:00 p.m. Supper call
 8:30 p.m. Tattoo
 8:45 p.m. Taps

The schedule usually changed, he said, on Sundays with a 9:00 a.m. regimental and company inspection, 2:00 p.m. church and 4:00 p.m. dress parade. Another writer said:

“The regiment remained at the rendezvous about three weeks after organization. It was a period of great enjoyment. Captain Perry M. Johnson, and Lieutenants Alfred R. Jones, and J. W. Brown, of Company A, had seen some service - in camp at Clinton. Their uniforms and those of their men fitted to a hair’s breadth all around, and they were anxious to drill. But Captain William D. Crooke, and Lieutenants Charles P. Heath, and Henry H. Howard, of Company B, were in no such haste. The regulation uniforms, having been made for regulars, were ill adapted to the robust volunteers from Clayton. The coats were too short by several inches. The line officers protested against their men going into drill presenting any such aspect as they must necessarily do in such coats . . . with all, there was something the matter with the army clothing, so that drilling could not go on. Perhaps, if the real secret were known, the reason why the regiment did not drill would be found in the fact that the companies had too much company. The rendezvous was so near the men’s homes, that their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, sweethearts, and friends, were too often present to allow either drill or discipline to any great extent. But, whatever the cause, the main fact is, the regiment was not drilled at Camp Franklin.”²²⁶

Clothing was to include an overcoat, uniform coat, pants, blankets, shoes, hat, two sheets, a cap, two pairs of underwear, two pairs of socks, a shirt and blouse but, depending on availability, this was not always consistent. Normal accouterments were a rubberized blanket, mess kit, knapsack, haversack and leather cartridge box containing forty of "Uncle Sam's Little Blue Pills," aka "Forty Dead Men," aka "secession pills."

Early regiments had frequently been armed with unreliable smoothbore muskets, Austrian, Belgian, French and Prussian rifles, Springfield muskets, Garibaldi muskets, Whitworth rifles and a wide variety of personal arms soldiers brought with them including shotguns, squirrel rifles, pistols and other domestic and foreign weapons. Some had "uneven caliber, some crooked barrels, locks out of repair" that were good only for "shooting around hills," "pumpkin slingers" they called them. The 12th Iowa rejected "muskets of an ancient pattern," accepted "improved rifled muskets made by Adam in the year one, and changed by Noah a few days after the flood from flint locks to percussion"²²⁷ and by the time they left Camp Benton had "new Enfield rifles, of which the men were very proud." Many in the 13th regiment started with altered smoothbore flintlocks and even the 14th, with the Governor's nephew, received muskets many of which "burst at the first discharge," but the 21st "was unusually fortunate in the matter of arms. Going into rendezvous the 15th of August, 1862, all the members of this regiment who had not been previously armed were equipped with Enfield rifles on the 9th of September."²²⁸

Enfields they were, but old .577 caliber rifles of the type used by Queen Victoria's legions in the British army.²²⁹

²²⁶ Lurton Dunham Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion* (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Dubuque, 1866), page 458.
²²⁷

William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 213, referencing a report by J. H. Stibbs, Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (1958), page 165.
²²⁸

Cyril B. Upham, *Arms and Equipment for the Iowa Troops in the Civil War*. *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), Volume 16, Page 22.
²²⁹

Elsewhere it's indicated the state received 10,000 58-caliber Enfield rifles from New York of which 942 were delivered to the 21st Infantry.

A good weapon, but not as good as the Springfield, it had first been made at the government armory at Enfield, England, where machinery copied that of the U.S. Armory at Springfield, Massachusetts. Some of the rifles came from Enfield, but most were made by private contractors in London and Birmingham. A hand-made rifled musket, it was a cumbersome fifty-four inches long and weighed almost nine pounds. Firing conical bullets, especially those developed by French Captain Claude Minié, it was most accurate at 200 to 300 yards, but could be effective at longer distances. Bayonets from one rifle frequently would not fit another, but the North purchased 428,000 Enfields in the early months of the war and the South received approximately 400,000 during the first two years.

To lead the regiment as Colonel, Samuel Merrill vied with Dubuque city court Judge Samuel Pollock. Pollock received heavy support from influential friends in Dubuque and was, they said, “*of commanding stature*” with “*clear judgment,*” “*an uncompromising War Democrat,*” “*a strong Union Democrat*” who had stood up to “*traitorous*” and “*disloyal*” Democrats and secessionists and supported “*confiscation and emancipation,*” “*a gentleman who has battled rebellion on northern soil and doubtless will do the same if opportunity offers on southern soil.*” He was supported by the *Times*, but “*subjected to the severest abuse from the Dubuque Herald and its disloyal patrons.*”²³⁰ Also suggested was James Gilbert, a businessman in Lansing whose friends proposed his appointment without his knowledge. He wasn’t a military man, he told the Governor, but thought he could fill the position and was anxious to learn if he was to be appointed since his business required his attention if he was not going into the military.

Merrill had been born in Maine in 1822. His father’s English ancestors immigrated to the Colonies in 1636, his mother’s in 1653. Two ancestors had served in the Revolutionary War; three had served in the War of 1812. Planning a career in teaching, Merrill moved south but said he “*was born too far north,*” his abolitionist views made life uncomfortable, he moved to New Hampshire and was twice elected to the state legislature as a Free Soil abolitionist. Merrill’s first wife, Catherine, died and, in 1851, he married Elizabeth Hill. Before moving west in 1856 they had five children, three of whom died young. In Iowa they settled in McGregor, then a community of only a few scattered houses where Merrill and his brother began a mercantile business dealing in wholesale and retail dry goods and groceries. In 1860 and 1861 he served in the state legislature and then worked in banking and helped provide financial backing to three of the early regiments. The bank’s safe still stands in the building that formerly housed the bank.

Merrill and Pollock were both deserving of a commission, but Merrill had friends in high places. A few years earlier, Nathaniel B. Baker had been a newspaperman and Governor of New Hampshire and Frank G. Noyes had been a New Hampshire attorney while Merrill was in the state’s legislature. All three moved to Iowa where Baker and Noyes formed a law partnership. Now, Baker, perhaps “*the only bright spot in the Iowa scene,*” was the state’s Adjutant General while Noyes was Aide-de-Camp to Governor Kirkwood.

George S. Pierce, who had mustered the regiment into service, proposed Valcoulon Williams for Lieutenant Colonel.²³¹ A commended veteran of the battle at Wilson’s Creek, Williams gained support from influential citizens who admired his “*worth and integrity*” and petitioned the governor on his behalf. Also seeking the appointment was Cornelius Dunlap, a twenty-seven year old lawyer born in Michigan and living in Mitchell, who had been selected early as Captain of Company A. Mustered in on June 11th, he had already been promoted to Major and was commanding the post in Dubuque when he wrote to the Governor on August 17th:

“I understand there are several applications from here for Lt. Col. of the 21st Reg’t among them Mr. Williams of this place. This gentleman as well as the others, is a good man but until they heard that the majority was filled, only looked for a position as Major. I think that appointment you will find will be satisfactory to any of them. I have had a considerable experience in military affairs and I certainly think that if a civilian is to be taken for one of the field officers of this reg’t I am entitled to the preference. I can have the unanimous support of the officers of the reg’t so far and also the united support of the loyal men of my section which has contributed largely to your support and the support of the war. I only ask that you give me the preference if the Lt Col is to be taken from among civilians or from my own regiment.”

Volume 1, Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General (1863).

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See letters on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa. Pollock did not secure the appointment with the 21st Infantry but, on October 21, 1862, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the state’s 6th Cavalry. Later promoted to Colonel and a brevet Brigadier General, he was mustered out of service on October 17, 1865.

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Ohio natives, they were both residents of Dubuque and served together in the 1st Iowa Infantry, Company I.

On August 20th, 1862, James Wright, Clerk of Delaware County, wrote to the Governor asking “*what do you think of John Webb for the Lt. Col. of the 21st. Mr. Webb lives in Fayette. I would ask you what do you think of Capt. S. G. Van Anda for that place. You know him as well as I do.*” A descendent of German immigrants, Van Anda had been born in Pennsylvania in 1835, lived in Ohio, worked on the family farm, graduated with honors from Ohio Western University, read law and been admitted to the Ohio bar. In 1859 he married Lydia Weatherby, an eighteen year old from Morrow County, and they now lived with their two children in Delhi where Van Anda served as a Republican in the lower house of the Iowa legislature. At twenty-eight years of age, 5'8" tall with dark hair and eyes, he had enlisted at Manchester and been named Captain of Company H in recognition of his efforts in organizing the Company. On the 25th, Pierce, already committed to Williams for Lieutenant Colonel, suggested Dunlap for Colonel:

“Major C. M. Dunlap is favorably spoken of in the 3rd District for Colonel of the 21st Regiment. I have for some time been in constant intercourse with him and with the Regt. and I know that he would be the unanimous and enthusiastic choice of officers and soldiers. He has displayed signal ability and faithfulness in the discharge of his duties as commander of the Post. It seems to me that no more popular appointment could be made with the soldiers or people. I make this statement in deference to the wishes of the regiment and without Major Dunlap’s knowledge. I was to say it to you in person this morning but could not get time, hence I write. Major Dunlap I believe is a candidate for Lieut. Col. but I never heard him speak of the Colonelcy, yet from what I know of the people and the regiment I am certain no more satisfactory appointment could be made.”

The ranks were nearly full, Captains and other company officers were in place, and decisions had to be made. On August 26, 1862, the governor sent a note to Adjutant General Baker:

Commission for 21st Regt.

Col. Samuel Merrill Clayton Co

Lt Col. Dunlap now at Dubuque

Major ... Vananda “ ” “

Surgeon Dr Wm A. Hyde McGregor

The top regimental positions were now filled while, in camp, George Goodman was detached to serve with a Pioneer Corps, a corps usually composed of soldiers temporarily released from regular duty. Pioneers cleared roads, erected bridges, built breastworks and dug trenches and other structures. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with civilians, mostly negroes, who were hired or impressed for similar work. On August 27, 1862, the weekly *North Iowa Times* reprinted an article from the *Dubuque Times*.

The Romance of War

There was quite a romantic little incident which occurred in connection with the recruiting of Capt. Boardman’s company which deserves at least a passing notice.

While Lt. Grannis was in the full excitement of recruiting at Strawberry Point, Clayton county, last week, a smooth-faced boy came into the village and proceeding immediately to the recruiting officer enlisted, giving his name as Williams and his age as eighteen. Although his cheeks were as fair as a girl’s, his clear eye denoted health and endurance sufficient for a soldier’s life. After the company was filled and they had repaired to Manchester for the purpose of taking the cars, suspicions were thrown out that the young Williams was sailing under false colors. Good judges of the human form divine fancied that the clothes fitted too close in some places, and were too loose in others, for masculinity.

The good citizens of Manchester gave the company a complimentary ball and there various sharp ones compared notes as to the affairs of the handsome volunteer, and the universal conclusion was that he, she, or it, was a girl disguised as a boy. This matter was submitted to a committee of ladies, and they agreed to an examination, and ascertain from physical proofs whether it was a lady or gentleman. There never was more interest occasioned by the doubtful sex of Ella Zoyara than reigned for a short time in reference to poor little Williams. Why ladies should make the necessary investigation instead of the opposite sex we cannot tell. Supposing their suspicions had been incorrect, what then?

However, the brave little patriot swore that he was a man and brother to the very last, and it was only

when the committee informed it that they should satisfy themselves on the disputed point that it confessed. Yes, it was a woman, and not a bad looking one either.

She was discovered to be a decent, respectable girl, about whom there had never been a breath of harm. She had entered the army from a pure love of country and love of adventure. Perhaps a love for the generous bounty, or a love for some brave young soldier, had some influence; who knows?

The joke of the matter was in the fact that a very straight laced young Methodist had been sleeping with the female volunteer right along for several nights, and never knew the difference. He came near fainting with horror off hand when he learned how unconsciously he had imperilled his immortal soul.

Miss Williams was clothed in her proper attire, and given employment in Manchester, where she now resides. - Dubuque Times.²³²

On the 28th the camp was visited by citizens from Cascade who presented their pastor, James Hill, with a sword and enlisted men with copies of the scriptures²³³ but, in southern Minnesota, residents had a "problem."

Earlier in the month, four branches of the Santee Sioux, the Dakota (the Allies), had been near starvation and frustrated by Federal policies that led to loss of land and confinement on smaller and smaller parcels. On August 20th, 200 Sioux had attacked Minnesota's Fort Ridgley, starting the so-called "Sioux Wars" under the reluctant leadership of Tayoateduta, Chief Little Crow. They raided white settlements at Mankato, New Ulm, Yellow Medicine and Beaver Creek. Whites fled, apprehension crossed state lines and northwest Iowa was "in terrible alarm." Fort Dodge was threatened, citizens were "under constant fear," a Defense Committee was organized and Governor Kirkwood authorized a Northern Border Brigade.²³⁴ "God only knows where this thing will end," said the Vinton Eagle. More than 800 whites had been killed, revenge was demanded and Henry Sibley, a fur trader, former Governor and newly commissioned Colonel in the Minnesota militia, led 1,400 soldiers to crush the uprising. In the east, on the 29th and 30th, Union soldiers led by John Pope were defeated at a second Battle of Bull Run. Pope "did well," said Lincoln, "but there was an army of prejudice against him, and it was necessary he should leave." A week later he was ordered to Minnesota to fight the Dakota.²³⁵

At Camp Franklin, on the 30th, men received a one month advance on their pay and, on the 31st, Strawberry Point's Charles Paige, Company D, wrote to his parents:

Camp Franklin Dubuque Iowa

Aug 31st 1862

Dear Father & Mother

I received yours yesterday & as I have a few lesure moments I will try to answer, my enlisting was quite unexpected to myself as to my friends the time for enlisting was so short that I had to go in at the time I did or lose the bounty & then perhaps be drafted & I never would go as a drafted soldier My health is not as good as it should be for a soldier but I can go & stand it as long as I can & I cant move . . . & if I should die I shall be released from all further labor sorrow or sickness or trouble & dont doubt but that my Heavenly Father who doeth all things well will take good care of me, although I dont pray in public as much as I used

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Blue & Gray magazine (Spring 2004), page 29. Another account was given by Walter Flatt in a letter to his wife on September 14, 1862 (below, page 60).

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William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 287.

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In a letter dated August 29, 1862, to S. R. Ingham, Esq., Governor Kirkwood said he was "informed there is probable danger of an attack by hostile Indians, on the inhabitants of the Northwestern portion of our State." Ingram was furnished with arms, powder and \$1,000 for use as he deemed fit and directed "to proceed at once to Fort Dodge, and from there to such other points as you may deem proper." Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume VI (State Printer, Des Moines, 1911), pages 173-207.

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By the end of the year, Iowa had five Companies originally consisting of 250 enlistees manning its northern and northwestern borders and another ten consisting of 794 enlistees protecting its southern border. Volume 1, Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of Iowa (1863). Also see Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume VI (State Printer, Des Moines, 1911), pages 173-207 (Northern Border Brigade) regarding Indian depredations and pages 211-272 (Southern Border Brigade) regarding secessionist from Missouri and northern Iowa.

to & make as much ado about religion as some yet I recollect that all I have comes from God & I admire & respect him above all things else & feel that he won't permit me to be killed or died without it is best & when he calls for me I have no right to be unwilling to go for I belong to him & he can do as he sees fit with me thank you kindly for your prayers & well wishes for we all need the sympathies of each other it seems that you are recruiting the light infantry some at home That's the way to do it for we are going to want soldiers for some time yet Charlie Reed, aunt Pamela's boy in Dubuque & will soon be here in camp he enlisted in one of the Clayton Co Companies I had a letter from Wm last night his family was well I saw Orville the night before I came away they were all well you can direct your letters to camp Franklin Dubuque Iowa I am glad to hear that you have so much fruit & that you are all well. you can send me those likenesses just as well as if I was at Strawberry Point but I must stop. give my love to all the friends & believe me your affectionate son

Charles H. Paige

While the 21st Infantry had achieved sufficient strength through volunteers, there was still a concern that a draft would be necessary if the state were to meet its full quota. Governor Kirkwood wrote to J. O. Crosby that, pursuant to an August 9th Order No. 99 from the War Department, Crosby was appointed Commissioner for Clayton County and, as such, was required to “superintend the drafting in your county and hear and determine the excuses of all persons claiming to be exempt from military duty.”²³⁶

With so many men in close quarters, illnesses spread quickly and Camp Franklin soon saw a serious outbreak of measles with Thompson Spottswood among the sufferers. Colonel Merrill approved a furlough and, on September 5th, Thompson left to recuperate at the home of his uncle in Epworth.

On the 9th of September, Jim and his fellow Hawkeyes received the \$25.00 advance on their federal bounty and the regiment, with 985 men on the roster, was mustered into service by Captain Pierce.²³⁷ Among those mustered in that day was eighteen-year-old Henry Sawdey. Only a week earlier, his father, Lyman Sawdey, a wagoner with the state's 2d Cavalry, had died of disease in Mississippi. The regiment's 13 field and staff officers were:

²³⁶ *North Iowa Times* (September 3, 1862).

²³⁷

These numbers reflect those on the roster on September 9, 1862, although several were not then present. A few others had enlisted and been mustered into various Companies, but were discharged or deserted prior to the 9th. Three published rosters have numerous errors:

Nathaniel B. Baker, Report of the Adjutant General, Volume 1 (Iowa State Printer, 1863) reported 980 men at muster and 8 subsequent recruits, a total of 988. This was published during the war when records were incomplete.

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891) reported a total of 1,152 but that included recruits who were mustered after September 9, 1862. Published “for private distribution only,” his book is a narrative describing its service during the war and including a record of its members.

The state's Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume 3 (Iowa State Printer, 1910), reported 991 men at muster and 140 subsequent recruits, a total of 1,131.

²³⁸

William Dickinson was promoted from Company H while Rufus Grosvenor, William Matson and Isaac Large were promoted from Company A.

Regimental strength on September 9, 1862 when it was mustered into federal service was:

Company A	101
Company B	99
Company C	101
Company D	97
Company E	101
Company F	100
Company G	87
Company H	93
Company I	101
Company <u>K</u>	<u>92</u>
	972
Field & Staff (above)	<u>13</u>
	985

In addition to these 985 men, the following were mustered in subsequently:

4 were appointed	William Orr as Surgeon, Hiram Hunt as Assistant Surgeon, E. H. Harris as Assistant Surgeon, and Dwight Chase as Surgeon.
141 were recruited	to help maintain sufficient strength, although the regiment would never regain its initial strength of 985. Recruits added from time to time were, for Company A (9), Company B (17), Company C (7), Company D (17), Company (E 6), Company F (7), Company G (14), Company H (8), Company (33) and Company K (23).
4 were recruited	but unassigned; a fifth was also listed as an unassigned recruit, but was transferred elsewhere before joining the regiment. ²³⁹

Seventeen who volunteered were rejected, most due to their age or medical condition, but required physicals were often cursory at best. Gilbert Cooley says they were “*not very rigid by any means.*” “*As a rule,*” he said, “*the men were stood in line and the surgeon walked down between and looked at them.*”²⁴⁰ Burt Snedigar, who was in the same company as Cooley, said “*we were taken into a room about 20 at a time and stripped all but our shorts and were examined closely as to teeth eyes lungs & c.*”²⁴¹ Alfred Kephart and John Ridler, who had gone to school together and enlisted together, said, “*when we were mustered in we were both stripped together and were examined by the Doctor.*” As a result of the mostly cursory examinations, soldiers mustered into some regiments included men with hernias and syphilis, men sixty and seventy years old, men who were underage, and an estimated 400 “*men*” who were women, some of whom completed three years of service without detection. In the 21st Iowa, George Smith had pre-existing epilepsy, but was accepted. He suffered five attacks during training in Dubuque, had four more while the regiment was in Missouri, and would soon be discharged.

Including the subsequent recruits, regimental records, with some errors likely, indicated that members of the regiment were born in at least twenty-four states and eighteen foreign countries. States most heavily represented were New York with 222 followed by Ohio with 145, Pennsylvania with 105 and Illinois with seventy-five. Nineteen men were born in the South - Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia - but only one was still living there when he enlisted.²⁴² Of 275 born abroad, eighty-seven were from Germany, seventy-eight from England, forty-three from Ireland, twenty-two from Canada, twelve from Switzerland and eight each from Scotland and Norway. Still a young state, Iowa had given birth to only seventy-six, less than seven percent of the regiment, and, except for those who had

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The first recruit to join after the September 9th muster was Henry Bollinger who enlisted in Company G on January 24, 1863. He was followed by drummer Roger McCoy on February 4, 1863, but most who joined as recruits came much later, after the regiment had seen large numbers of men transferred, discharged for disability, or die from illness or wounds.

²⁴⁰ August 13, 1885, deposition in pension claim of Edward Snedigar.

²⁴¹ August 7, 1885, deposition regarding his pension claim for sore eyes incurred in the line of duty.

²⁴² Jonathan Dazey was living in Brashear City, Louisiana, when he enlisted on September 24, 1863.

served in the 1st Regiment, almost all were without prior military experience.

Rumors were rampant but orders had not arrived and many received three or four day furloughs to say good-bye to friends and family. Subsequent furloughs, usually authorized by a commanding officer quartered with the company or regiment and approved by superiors, would be granted on a limited basis as circumstances permitted to recover from illness or injury or attend to business or other emergencies. Soldiers were given papers designating regiments, departure and return dates, physical descriptions, pay and subsistence allowances. Leaving arms and accouterments behind, they were to return by the date specified or be deemed a straggler or, worse, a deserter. Of limited duration, perhaps twenty or thirty days, furloughs were often shorter than leaves of absence granted to officers.

Jim Bethard and Jim Rice, brothers-in-law, the two Jims, were among those unable to get leave but, on September 9, 1862, while Iowa's General Assembly met in an extra session to provide "*at the earliest possible moment*" for a force to protect its northwestern frontiers from the "*danger of an attack of hostile Indians,*" they wrote a hurried joint letter in pencil to their wives, Caroline and Elizabeth, hoping they could visit while there was still time.

Tuesday September

Cal and Lib

we have not time to write a letter at present but will say that we have been mustered in as a regiment today and ... pay and all those who before have not had furloughs are getting theirs now and as we are of the number that can't get furloughs²⁴³ ... now and we are expecting to leave here for st Louis next Monday we would be verry pleased to have you come and see us before we leave here the boat is to be here tomorrow that is to take us to St Louis but the regiment will not be ready to leave before next monday if you come have Robert come with you will probbably receive this on Thursday morning in time to come down to Mcgregor the same day There is a Mrs Purdy coming down from Mcgregor on friday you will get with her on the boat and we will meet you at the Mississippi in Dubuque on friday evening good bye until friday evening James Bethard and J M Rice²⁴⁴

Fully armed and equipped, the "*regiment was expected to leave for Cincinnati some time during the present week*"²⁴⁵ and a few were fortunate enough to receive last minute furloughs. Among them was Myron Knight who left immediately, reached home in Lodomillo Township the next day and, on the 11th, loaned ten dollars to Henry Howard, who was also on furlough. Also granted a short furlough was twenty-seven year old Ira Chapman who returned to Strawberry Point, accidentally cut off one of his big toes and would not rejoin the regiment for more than four months. John Woodhouse was granted a furlough on the 10th, "*was at a picknick at Durango*" on the 11th and returned to camp on the 12th. Still in session on the 11th, the state Assembly passed an act giving Iowa's volunteers the right to vote for certain state officers.

McGregor, Iowa, founded by Scotsman Alexander McGregor in 1837, was one of Iowa's early river towns and was connected to Prairie du Chien by ferry.²⁴⁶ Julia and George Purdy lived up the hill by White Springs. On September 12th, as Jim suggested, Cal and Lib joined Julia in McGregor, boarded a steamer and traveled down the Mississippi to visit their husbands who waited at the Dubuque landing. Three-month old Ella accompanied her mother and it's likely that Julia took her two girls, three year old May and Ida who was celebrating her first birthday. In Dubuque, they saw many of the same native limestone buildings they saw in McGregor and Cal had a chance to visit with her husband, brother, cousin and numerous friends. The regiment was under orders and this brief visit would be

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George Crooke says "*immediately following the organization, a brief furlough (of three or four days) was allowed.*" George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 13. This is misleading in that it erroneously implies that all men received the furloughs.

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Many newspapers and authors of books related to the war, took it upon themselves to correct grammar and punctuation in soldiers' letters without indicating the corrections they had made. I have not done so, but the readers should not be judgmental about these errors. This was an era when many, especially those born and raised in sparsely populated areas, had little or no education. Even after the war, many men and women signed their own names with an "X."

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Weekly North Iowa Times (September 10, 1862).

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Other Scots, mostly Glaswegians, had formed a short-lived Clydesdale Joint Stock Agricultural and Commercial Company, founded on socialistic principles and located about five miles west of McGregor's Landing. Katz, Witness to An Era (Viking Penguin 1991).

the last Cal and Jim would see each other for almost three years. Julia and George Purdy would never see each other again.

It was also on the 12th that Colonel Merrill forwarded muster rolls for his field and staff officers to the Adjutant General so their commissions could be issued.

The father of Company E's David Preston had died in 1852 and David was the primary support for his mother. From the \$25.00 federal enlistment bounty and \$13.00 advance on his pay, he gave her \$30.00. On September 13th, he received the \$50.00 Dubuque County enlistment bounty, "Warrant No. 1046," that he also signed over to his mother.²⁴⁷ On the same day, across the river in Prairie du Chien, Mary Ann Sawvell and James Pool, "a white person of Clayton County," were married. On the 14th George Loomis deserted from Camp Franklin and Walter Flatt wrote to his family:

Cam Franklen, Sep. 14, 1862

Dear wife and children

It is with pleasure that I take my pen in hand to write a few lines to you to let you know how I am getting along. In your last letter you give me a pritty broad hint that I did not write my letters long enough. I was a little afraid I should hear something of that sort before I did and consequently I was not much surprised but I must ask leave to make an apoligy on the grounds that camp life is not very changable. It is one and the same thing day in and day out. We eat and drill and what time is not taken up in that way is passed away in reading, writing, playing cards, or any other way thay see fit and therefore I have but very little to write that would interest you at present. But after we leave hear I expect thare will be changes enough to have something to write about.

You say that if you had no children you would be a soldire to. I don't now about that . That games has been tryed to mush that thay are looking out for them. Thare was a young woman tried that a short time a go in a co that is in this rigment but she was found out and discharged. Perhaps you saw an acount of it in the papers but as I found out the pertickulars from the partys them selfs I will tell you how it was. It seems she passed off for a boy prity well for severl days but as thay ware coming to join the regiment thay stopped at a hotell over night and as luck would have it she went to bed with a young Methodest precher and I have no doubt she slept sweetly. But when thay wanted to get up she refused to stir unless he would get up first and leave the room. This he refused to do and, in fun of course, proceded to pull the close off the bed. When lo and behold he discovered what allmost made him faint. What it was I dont know but any way he made a complaint to his captain and told him he could do as he pleased about leting that fellow go along but if he did he should not go any further for he had found out that he was a girl! Some of the boys told me that he was as pale as a gost. Some of them was in favor of leting her go along and sending the preacher home. But when she found out she was discovered she was willing to go.

I am very sorry you did not let me know what kind of cloth you wanted and how mush. I did not know what to get so I got you a dress and Emma one and two handkercheves. I have put 3 shirts and a coat. You may give the coat to Bill if he will take it. I have put in some seceshion pills such as he we intend to feed them prity soon. I thought as you had never seen any you would like to see them. I believe that is all thare is. I want you to cut up them shirts for any thing you want to keep the children warm this winter. I sent 20 dollars by Mr. Dudley. We have over two months pay back yet. I don't know when we shall get it. We expect to leave hear tomorrow but dont know whare we are going. Our Col. is tring to have us go to Saint Paul. I dont think we shall go tomorrow but I think we shall go in a few days some whare. I will write again in a few days if we dont go.

Dear Hannah I have just come in from dress parade and found out that Mrs. Buel is going tomorrow and is waiting for this letter.

Good by for this time. God bless you. Cheer up. Kiss the children.

*Write as before
Walter Flatt²⁴⁸*

²⁴⁷ National Archive pension records.

²⁴⁸ Letter received from descendant, Warren Flatt.

On September 15th, in the east, Stonewall Jackson bombarded Harper's Ferry, Unionists capitulated and 12,000 were taken prisoner. Among them was Leonard Richey, Jim's boyhood friend, and the entire 32d Ohio.

LEAVING FOR WAR

It was a miserable rainy morning, September 16, 1862, when the regiment left Camp Franklin at 10:00 a.m. and marched south through town, while families, friends and local residents watched. Women sent cakes and cheese and others tossed apples. From the levee at the foot of Jones Street men boarded an overly crowded *Henry Clay* and two open barges tied alongside, "*packing ourselves like sardines in a box.*"²⁴⁹ The four-year old 181-foot long, side-wheel steamer commanded by Captain Stephenson was described by an indignant *Dubuque Daily and Weekly Times* that said:

*"We sincerely hope no Colonel from this part of the country will ever allow his regiment to leave our shores upon such a miserable cramped up old tub as that which took the 21st. The poor boys upon the Henry Clay did not have even as comfortable accommodations as the horses upon the boiler deck. Absolutely there was not roof enough on the boat to shelter them all from the storm. We do not know exactly who was to blame in this case, but this much is certain, a great profit is made by Railroads and Steamboat Companies in transporting troops, enough in fact to afford good, decent, and comfortable boats. Three such boats as the Henry Clay would be small enough for a regiment of men. Great indignation is felt by many of our citizens on account of this outrage upon the 21st."*²⁵⁰

John Mather and the two Jims headed for the steamer's top deck where they were exposed to the rain and so tightly packed there was no room to lie down. Ropes were cast off and the huge wheel began to turn as they started a 475-mile river trip to St. Louis.²⁵¹ The crowd cheered and the men sang as they headed south, down the Mississippi to win the war. Food was raw bacon and hardtack and men leaned against each other for support while trying to sleep on their feet. Left behind were Henry Chiles, John Crop, Wallace Farrand, Thompson Spottswood and others too sick to travel. After going to his uncle's house, Thompson had been treated by Epworth physician John Sanborn for "*about twelve days, at first apparently improving, but on the sudden invasion of violent congestion of the lungs, he failed rapidly, & died on the 17th day of December.*"²⁵² He was buried in Dubuque's Linwood Cemetery.

In the 10th Illinois, Jonathan Bethard, Jim's older brother, was also sick and had been transferred from Cairo to the Camp Dennison hospital when he wrote to his sister-in-law, Jim's wife:

*Camp Dennison Ohio*²⁵³
Sept the 16th 62

Dear sister

in reply to yours of the 8th inst just received I will say that I was very glad to hear that you was well and also pleased to learn that you take so much interest in my welfare I return you my most sincere thanks and hope that you may yet live to enjoy the society of your friends (that have enlisted in the service of their Country) from whom you have been separated on account of this terrible war brought on us by traitors I

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Letter by J. F. Merry, President, Horace Poole, Vice-president, and M. W. Harmon, Secretary, of the Regimental Association announcing the regiment's sixteenth reunion (Dubuque, September 9-10, 1912).

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 289.

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"*The distance by river from St. Louis to Dubuque was reckoned at 475 miles.*" *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, page 206 (Franklin T. Oldt, Editor)

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Find-a-Grave Memorial #36474034.

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Initially a training camp, by the end of 1862 "*it had become what would now be called a base hospital.*" Starr, *The Battle of Miamiville* (A Fourth Colonial Trilogy, 1985).

hope they (the rebels) will be annihilated from the face of the earth that slavery is the cause of this war cannot be denied it is the root of the whole trouble and until that is entirely destroyed we never can have a permanent peace and the sooner we turn our attention to it the sooner we will have peace it is our great national sin and this war is our punishment we have favorable news this morning from the armies in the east I hope the fortunes of war are turning in our favor they have been against us for some time back. I think all will come right in due time the north is getting woke up now and sending out her force as the emergency requires that is what I have been wanting to see the cars are running here almost every hour in the day loaded down with soldiers enlisted under the last calls the draft is postponed in this state until the 1st of next month it is probable the number called from Ohio will be furnished without drafting which I would be glad to see although there is a great many in the country I would like to see drafted some on account of disloyalty and others for cowardice there is plenty such people that will stay at home and use treasonable language and discourage enlistments such men ought to be compelled to fight they are enjoying the country that brave men are defending I received a letter from James last night which I have answered today he said that he was well and satisfied I receive letters from home regularly they are all well but Ellen she has the putrid sore throat father says he has the best crop that he ever raised he has fruit in abundance I you will write to me often Direct to Camp Dennison Hospital ward 29 Ohio I cannot tell when I will go to the regiment I have to wait orders I expected to go the first of this month instead of coming I must close no more at present remain your brother

Jonathan Beathard

On the morning of the 17th, Davenport's *Daily Gazette* reported that the *Henry Clay*:

was at Dubuque yesterday morning taking on the 21st Iowa Infantry, Col. Merrill. They will be at the levee early this morning.

According to Company F's Walter McNally,²⁵⁴ they:

got to the head of the rapids at six o'clock on the morning of the 17th There we were put aboard of flat boats to get over the rapids²⁵⁵ arrived at Davenport safe at 12 o'clock the same day went aboard the Boat with guards to keep the buoys from going on shore in the evening we had orders to cross over the river to Rock Island heare we went a shore as we want to there was a chane guard placed all around the Island to keep the buoy s from going to Towne I was detached for guard to night it blowed hard and very cold and not haveing a guard house or shade but the rocky shore of the Mississippi river to lay down on and a stone for my pillow and but one blanket to protect me it was ruff for the first nights solgering from home

The three mile long limestone island at Rock Island, Illinois, was the site of the old Fort Armstrong. Here they were detained, not sure if they would continue south or return upstream to fight the Dakota. The island was peaceful and some used the time to have photographs taken by Shepherd & Smith, the "post artists," but the day itself would be known as the bloodiest of the war as Lee's Army of Northern Virginia met McClellan's Army of the Potomac in the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg). Participating with the 23rd Ohio were postwar Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes and William McKinley. After twelve hours of fighting, 4,710 men were killed, 18,440 wounded and 3,043 missing.²⁵⁶

On September 18th, the *Dubuque Herald* wrote:

²⁵⁴ Quotes by Walter McNally, here and elsewhere, are from his diary that is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.
²⁵⁵

Known as the Rock River Rapids, this was possibly the most dangerous spot on the river for steamboats until the Corps of Engineers dredged a channel. Another account says "The Henry Clay proceeded down the river but the storm grew more intense and it rained continually. The two barges were cast-off below LeClaire and did not arrive at Davenport for several hours after the docking of the steamboat at the levee. Orders were received at Davenport from General Pope that no more troops were to leave the state until further orders were issued from his headquarters. The 21st was sent out to the island to await further orders." William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 289. The rapids stretched 14 miles from LeClaire to Rock Island

²⁵⁶ The battle continues to be the bloodiest day in U.S. history.

*Health in Camp. - We from one of the Hospital Stewards that there are about thirty cases of sickness in camp, four of which are from the 21st Regiment. The prevailing type is diarrhea and measles. Lieut. Spottswood, of Capt Horr's company, well known to the citizens of Dubuque, died yesterday of typhoid fever. Not two weeks ago he was about as usual, and even the fact of his sickness was unknown to almost all of his friends. The funeral will take place to-morrow.*²⁵⁷

At Rock Island, Walter McNally noted that the regimental flag was at "halfe mast in honor of the death of our second Lieutenant Sportswood" while Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap, Rev. Sloane and the state's Adjutant General, N. B. Baker, met on board the *Henry Clay* to express their feelings about Thompson's death "and were named to head a committee for resolutions to be published." With little to do, Cyrus Henderson wrote to his parents:

September the 18 1862

I now take my pen in hand to let you no whare wee are and what wee are doing wee are both well at this time we are at davinport at the old fort called . . . wee came hear last night and esspect leave hear every hour and wee may not go as soon as wee esspect wee came in 15 miles of this place on the steamboa and then wee came on the barge the rest of the way wee had a steamboat load and too barges loaded with soldiers here is a camp of soldiers for to go in to the old regiment frank is on gard & wee are one hundred and twenty nine miles from dubuque there is not a half day in in the crowd can tell which get the . . . a side you need not right un till wee a right again no more present

*to Cyrus Henderson
and hariet henderson*

C M He

Also writing on the Thursday, the 18th (but misdating his letter), Jim wrote a letter in pencil that mentioned Cal's cousin and brother.

Rock Island III

Thursday september the 16th 62

Dear wife agreeable to my promise I am writing to you on thursday but I did not expect then that I should date my letter at Rock Island I am well and as for John and Jim they are writing and will speak for themselves We started from Dubuque last tuesday and reached this place yesterday about noon when we when we received an order by telegraph to remain here until we got further orders we had started for St Louis but it is the opinion of our officers now that we will be sent to minisota I hope they will move us or fix things a little comfortable here before long Jim and John and I slept on hericane deck last night which was not as comfortable as our deer skin bed in Dubuque I am sitting on the ground in the sun and using my knap sack for a desk while my blanket is spread on the ground to dry having got wet with dew last night we got in to camp all right on monday morning I sent your baby blanket to Mrs purdy near the white springs at Mcgregor with some things that Purdy was sending back if you call on her you can get it I shall have to bring my letter to a close as we have been ordered to pack up our things and get ready for dinner which consists of three hard crackers and a little slice of bacon while our hands answer for dishes but you mustnt I am complaining for I am as well satisfied as though we had every thing in style I am not hard to please about my grub so I have enough and that I have here I know you will write often so good bye for this time

your husband JB

Prussian-born John Buckholz wrote a hurried to his family in Dubuque on the 18th. "*Liebe Eltern und Gewschestern,*" he said:

to begin my letter, I hope that my beloved mother is well again and that all of you are alright. Yesterday we arrived at this place around 11 a.m. and are healthy and in good mood. Now we are at Fort Armstrong

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Thompson's death was attributed by his doctor to measles and a "sudden invasion of violent congestion of the lungs." Typhoid was not mentioned.

*and are waiting for orders. They say we either go to St. Louis or St. Paul. The ship and everything is with us. I think we will see St. Louis. At the moment we are lying underneath a bridge on a nice island. The bridge is not dangerous during good weather and is a very nice building. You can trust me, we are having a good time. I wish you could see us here one time, how it looks and everything. Don't worry about me, you can be sure that I am alright and that I'll stay healthy. I hope all of you are alright and that by the time you receive my letter that my mother is well again. Adieu until I write again, your son and brother. John M. Buckholz. Farewell! Take it easy is our slogan. In a rush: we may go to St. Louis today.*²⁵⁸

Although recruited for the South, Jim's speculation about Minnesota was not far-fetched. Fighting between the Dakota and the settlers was continuing, many whites were prisoners, soldiers at Fort Abercrombie were besieged, Iowa's border was threatened and George Davenport, an aide-de-camp to Governor Kirkwood, reported that citizens were "*in imminent danger of an attack.*" On September 9th, the same day the regiment was mustered, the Governor had authorized a mounted force of no fewer than 500 men to guard the border as Sibley started an offensive in the Minnesota River Valley. Many Hawkeyes had already been sent to his assistance and the fighting was far from over, but General Pope wired Adjutant General Baker on the 18th that the regiment "*had best go to St Louis if you have it embarked.*" Regiments still at home were to be "*kept at their respective rendezvous*" while, as John Buckholz predicted, he and Jim and their Rock Island comrades reboarded their transports and, about 2:00 p.m. on the 18th, continued south. According to Walter McNally:

*about noone the Regt was ordered aboard the Boat againe where our flag was out halfe mast in honor of the death of our second Lieutenant Spotswood we got under way againe and moved down to Montrose a Towne at the head of the lower rappid we heare had to go a shore againe at about none on the 19th heare we went aboard the cares and went by raleroad to Kearkuk and went a board the steamer Hawkeye State.*²⁵⁹

It was about 3:00 p.m. on the 19th when they were reunited on the "*more commodious*" steamer, *Hawkeye State*, built in 1860 for the Northern Line Packet Company, and left for St. Louis where Robert E. Lee had constructed jetties and revetments after graduating from West Point. There also, soap manufacturer Eberhard Anheuser had taken control of the Bavarian Brewery and in another few years would hire his son-in-law, Adolphus Busch.²⁶⁰ Traveling separately from the regiment was its colonel, Sam Merrill, who traveled to St. Louis by rail with his wife.²⁶¹

MISSOURI

Missouri was strategically located on major rivers and its residents were strongly divided, generally favoring compromise on slavery and giving Lincoln only ten percent of the vote in 1860. Most voted against disunion, but secessionists adopted a separate resolution and were recognized by the Confederate Congress. Bordered by Kansas,

²⁵⁸ Translated from the German by attorney Elmir Cenanovic, Bamberg, Germany.

²⁵⁹

Diary of Walter McNally preserved by the State Historical Society of Iowa. The fragile diary is small, each page about 5.5" x 2.75". The pages are lined, 22 lines to a page. Occasionally, a small unlined page is on top of the original indicating he apparently re-wrote it.

Diary of John Woodhouse ("*reached Montrose; debarked due to low water; took rail cars to Keokuk; boarded the Hawkeye State*").

"Record of Events" in Cornelius Scott's National Archive records ("*Arrived at Montrose Iowa on the 18th day of Sept. got on board the cars arrived at Keokuk the same day. Went on board the steamer Hawk Eye State*").

Regiment "*did not arrive until noon on September 18. Within an hour the regiment was again on the move and arrived in Montrose the next day. Here they took the railroad cars to Keokuk and at 3 p.m boarded the steamer Hawkeye State which conveyed the 21st rapidly to St. Louis.*" William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 289.

²⁶⁰

Both would serve in the 3d Regiment, U.S. Reserve Corps, under Nathaniel Lyon.

²⁶¹

A newspaperman reported that he visited Dubuque "*a few days ago.*" The regiment was gone before he arrived, but he was able to say "*a farewell to Colonel Merrill and his lady, bound by train for St. Louis.*" *North Iowa Times* (October 1, 1862).

Iowa and Illinois, it was a “*slave peninsula in an ocean of free soil*,”²⁶² the eighth most populous state in the country with a white population of 1,160,000 and an estimated 115,000 slaves, most in Little Dixie, the tobacco and hemp-growing areas along the Missouri River. Resources included lead and iron for cannon, bullets and the plating of ironclads, an abundance of corn and cattle, and its famous mules about which one Iowa soldier remarked, “*there is no animal on earth like the Missouri mule. He has no superior, no equal. His strength is superfluous and inexhaustible. He will pull until he drops. He enjoys profanity, likes a joke, and is a good judge of men. He helped us save the Union.*”²⁶³

Militias included the pro-South heavily-Irish Minutemen (an amalgam of the city's Douglas and Breckinridge Clubs headquartered in the Pierre Berthold mansion) and the pro-North predominantly-German Wide Awakes or Home Guard of Francis (Frank) P. Blair Jr., brother of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair who had argued Dred Scott's case in the Supreme Court. When Lincoln called for volunteers, Governor Claiborne Jackson, aligned with a pro-slavery Central Clique, replied, “*Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man shall Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.*”

To Northerners this was treason, St. Louis' arsenal and its 60,000 muskets, 90,000 pounds of powder, 40 cannon and other ordnance were threatened by Colton Greene, John Bowen, Basil Duke and other Minutemen armed, in part, with weapons captured by the South in Baton Rouge.²⁶⁴ At Jackson's request, siege guns, howitzers and ammunition from Baton Rouge had been crated, mislabeled “*Tamaroa marble*” or “*Baton Rouge Ale*,” and shipped to St. Louis in the name of unsuspecting pro-Union merchants. There they were met on May 8, 1861, by the pro-South sympathizers for whom they were intended and taken to the camp of the Governor's state militia. This provided an excuse for a preemptive attack by General Nathaniel Lyon. Lyon's federals shipped some of the ordnance to Illinois, captured the Governor's militia two miles west of the city in Camp Jackson (formerly Camp Lewis) at Lindell's Grove in May of 1861, renamed it Camp Gamble and held off a civilian mob, a “*ferment of ill-suppressed excitement*,” but killed twenty-eight.²⁶⁵

Witnesses included local storekeeper Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, then President of the Fifth Street Railroad, and his seven year old son, both of whom took shelter in a gully. Thanks to Lyon, the city would remain in Union hands for the duration of the war, but the “*Camp Jackson Massacre*” galvanized much local sentiment against the Union and Jackson named fifty-two year old, 290-pound, ex-Governor Sterling “Old Pap” Price to command his newly organized Missouri State Guard. Lyon's Federals advanced on the capital at Jefferson City, Jackson fled and a Union Governor, Hamilton Gamble, a transplanted Virginian opposed to slavery, was elected. Missouri would raise more than 100,000 troops for the North and 40,000 for the South and, by war's end, be the scene of more than one thousand engagements. Only Virginia and Tennessee would have more.

Violence had escalated for years and war gave misplaced justification to those wanting to settle old scores and personal animosities. “*Missouri*,” said Sam Byers of the 5th Iowa, “*was neither North nor South; she was simply hell, for her people were cutting one another's throats, and neighboring farmers killed each other and burned each other's*

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Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865), page 138.

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Ware, The Lyon Campaign and History of the 1st Iowa Infantry (Crane & Company 1907; reprinted Camp Pope Bookshop 1991).

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In the approximate area of the current Lyon Park, the arsenal was one of only two major arsenals west of the Mississippi, the other being at Fort Leavenworth.

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Elsewhere, thirty-one. Prisoners were confined in the arsenal “*under no writ, process, judgment, decree, committal, or order of any State Court, or State officer, or by virtue of any State Law, proceeding, or power, civil or military.*” When offered their release, Emmet McDonald was the only one who refused to accept a parole that included a pledge not to take up arms against the U.S. Instead, he filed suit in Federal court and won a ruling that the Court had the power to issue a Writ of Habeas Corpus ordering his release. In the Matter of Emmet McDonald, 9 Am. Law Reg. 661 (Case No. 8751, Eastern District of Missouri, 1861). Also generally see, John G. Nicolay, The Outbreak of the Rebellion (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York), Chapter X. Before long, Emmet McDonald would face Jim Bethard and the 21st Infantry in battle.

homes."²⁶⁶ Loosely organized guerrillas, bushwhackers and Partisan Rangers roamed the state, Unionists killed Secessionists, Secessionists killed Unionists, neighbors killed neighbors, outlaw gangs pillaged and killed, often across state lines.²⁶⁷ It was not without some justification that Henry Halleck, commander of the Department of Missouri, equated all guerrillas with outlaws not to be taken prisoner and for many this was an invitation to more and greater violence. Homes were burned, property stolen and crops destroyed. "*The smallest tic in speech or glance, which normally would not be noticed, now might be taken to mean something terrible.... 'There is scarcely a citizen in the county but wants to kill someone of his neighbors for fear that said neighbor may kill him.'*"²⁶⁸ In this climate of "roiling anger" and marauding guerrillas the men from Iowa would spend the next seven months.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI (September 20 to September 21, 1862)

In addition to the arsenal and drill grounds in Lafayette Park, St. Louis had two other major military installations. The older of the two, Jefferson Barracks, "JB" to the military, was established in 1826, sat on high ground overlooking the Mississippi eight miles south of the city and was named after Thomas Jefferson who had died on July 4th of that year. Originally an Infantry School of Instruction and base for the Army of the West, it had played a vital role in westward expansion protecting emigrants starting out on the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails and had provided soldiers for the Black Hawk, Seminole and Mexican wars. Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, William Sherman, Phil Sheridan, James Longstreet, Nathaniel Lyon, Joseph Johnston, Kirby Smith and Braxton Bragg had all served at the barracks early in their careers.

Combat troops had moved out earlier in the year when the barracks were turned over to the Medical Department for use as a hospital. With financial assistance from the Western Sanitary Commission, work started in August on nine 600 foot long pavilions that would be completed early the next year with a capacity for 2,500 patients. Unloaded from hospital ships, the sick and wounded, and those impoverished by imprisonment, reached the hospital by wagon up a bumpy dirt road. Typical meals were tough meat, boiled potatoes, bread and rancid butter, but patients received the best medical care available and the attention of women such as Rebecca Otis who left her Iowa home to serve as their nurse, mother and friend. Before the war was over, its "*small burying ground*" would be expanded and the hospital's staff would treat numerous members of the 21st Iowa, many of whom now lie in its National Cemetery with thousands of other Union soldiers and 1,150 from the Confederacy.

The newer facility was Benton Barracks, named after Missouri lawyer, U.S. Senator and strong Unionist Thomas Hart Benton whose daughter married John C. "*Pathfinder of the West*" Fremont. Beginning in 1861, Union soldiers had camped west of the amphitheater, aquarium and greenhouses of the fairgrounds, appropriated some of its buildings for a hospital and designated the site Camp Benton. When Fremont, then commander of the Department of the West, decided to form a camp for the instruction of new recruits, he selected land including Camp Benton that the government then leased from its owner, John O'Fallon, for \$150 per year. Its 1,200 acres were "*well sewered, and provided with plenty of water from the waterworks, and lighted with gas.*" Wooden barracks, each 740' long with "*an immense soft coal stove in the center*" and large enough to accommodate four companies, were constructed in five long rows "*with three tiers of bunks, head to the wall, on each side.*" In front was the parade ground; behind, the kitchen. Other structures included warehouses, cavalry stables, sutler shops, restaurants, tents, a two-story headquarters for the commanding general and various auxiliary buildings, all surrounded by a high, tight board fence. By April, 1862, it was occupied by more than 23,000 soldiers but the normal contingent was closer to 10,000 to 14,000.

With Colonel Merrill traveling separately, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap was in command when the regiment

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Samuel H. M. Byers, With Fire and Sword (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 14).

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Pro-South Missouri State Guards led by Joseph C. Porter had only recently conducted very successful raids in northeastern Missouri, not far from the Iowa border. Sallee, Porter's Campaign in Northeast Missouri, 1862. Blue & Gray magazine (February 2000).

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Michael Fellman, Inside War. The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War. (Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1989), page 62.

reached St. Louis about 10:00am on Saturday the 20th. After debarking at the river front, they stood on the levee for an hour heavily laden with knapsacks, clothes, blankets, arms and personal accouterments, much unnecessary and later discarded. For men who had received minimal drill at Camp Franklin, the four mile march to Benton Barracks in intensely hot weather was hard to endure. *"A good many of our company gave out and the captain Willard A. Benton halted the company without orders I think to save his men,"* said Company G's Maple Moody. Benton thought *"the Lieut Col in command marched the men to Benton Barracks at an unreasonable speed and Samuel T. Withrow & several other men were overheat and gave out."* *"I halted the company contrary to orders & my company got to barracks a good while after the balance of the regiment got there,"* he said.²⁶⁹ Most reached the barracks about noon and were then forced to stand on the parade ground for another three hours waiting for inspection. A healthy young man before the march, Company G's Sam Withrow arrived exhausted, coughing and spitting up blood. Rarely able to perform duty, he would spend most of his service in hospitals until being discharged the following August. Also among those who suffered was twenty-five-year-old Edward Warn who suffered from sunstroke that, he said, affected his lungs.

Stragglers reached the barracks about nightfall, perhaps finally realizing their knapsacks were less than comfortable. Essentially a backpack, the *"knap"* was made of rubber or heavy painted canvas on a light wooden frame strapped to the back and around the chest. With knapsack, gun, equipment and rations, soldiers carried a weight that *"would have been a respectable load for a mule"* said Sam Byers²⁷⁰ or, as a Massachusetts soldier put it, *"Carry a ... knapsack ... an overcoat and two blankets, and a ten-pound gun with sixty rounds of cartridges, and haversack filled with food, and canteen holding a quart of water, and you have a load that will bow you over."*²⁷¹ Rigid, uncomfortable and fitting poorly, many knapsacks would be discarded, especially in southern heat and humidity, in favor of a haversack and simple blanket rolled lengthwise, ends tied, slung over the shoulder and filled with the bare essentials. At the barracks they drew more equipment and slept on beds of straw.²⁷²

On Sunday morning, the 21st of September, Brigadier General John Wynn Davidson conducted a general inspection. Men were ordered to fall in at 10:30 a.m. with full equipment. In broiling heat, they stood for hours before parading around the square and by evening were exhausted but enjoying supper when ordered to move out. At dusk they started and in darkness arrived about 9:00 p.m., amid cheers from local residents, at the St. Louis depot where they boarded railroad cars usually used for freight and livestock. Railroads had already exhibited their importance in transporting troops and supplies and the North, with 22,000 miles of track and a large supply of equipment,²⁷³ had an advantage over the South whose lines covered fewer than 9,000 miles.

ST. LOUIS TO ROLLA (September 22 to October 19, 1862)

David Shuck and James Pool were among many still in the barracks' hospital when their regiment left St. Louis at midnight. The air was cold and men huddled under blankets as they sped along the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad to its western terminus at Rolla, a town of about 600 residents.

On September 22d, the regiment pitched tents on high ground a mile east of town, Governor Kirkwood arrived in Altoona, Pennsylvania, for a meeting of northern Governors, and the President issued a proclamation of emancipation

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Willard A. Benton, Captain of Company G, and Maple Moody, Private in Company G, in affidavits filed with the Pension Office on behalf of Samuel T. Withrow.

Having previously served almost four months with the 18th Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap was possibly in better physical condition than most and had learned to carry only essentials in his backpack. As the commanding officer at the time, it's also possible, if not probable, that he was mounted, riding at the head of the regiment, and unaware of the strain on those struggling to keep up. Despite this, he was a well-respected and popular officer. In eight months, he would die.

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Samuel H. M. Byers, *With Fire and Sword* (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 28).

271

Lawrence Lee Hewitt, Port Hudson, *Confederate Bastion on the Mississippi* (Louisiana State University Press, 1987), page 67, referencing Henry T. Johns, *Life with the Forty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers* (Pittsfield, Mass; 1864), pages 165-67, and others.

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Deposition of Willard Benton (April 20, 1895) in pension file of Timothy Hopkins.

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Herman Haupt coordinated the northern railroad system while Daniel McAllen was hired to run the U.S. Military Railroad.

scheduled to take effect on New Year's Day. The proclamation, said Governor Kirkwood, "was heartily approved by most if not all" of the Governors in Altoona.²⁷⁴ "The astute Lincoln had cut the ground from under the radicals, and, politicians as they all were, they knew it."²⁷⁵ Kirkwood then joined other Governors who met with the President on September 26th, thanked him and urged him to organize another 100,000 reserves.

Rolla was a young town, originating in 1855 when railroad men built an office and a few warehouses. Two years later, it acquired its name, spelled as a transplanted North Carolinian pronounced "Raleigh."²⁷⁶ Circuit court judge, James H. McBride, a Houston resident, had long since halted legal proceedings and left to fight for the South, but the courthouse served the North as a wartime hospital and facility for storage of hay. Across the street, near the rail line, was the John A. Dillon log house, site of the county's original courthouse and now being used as a hospital.²⁷⁷ Union strength had peaked early in the year to protect the railhead and the town that was serving as a valuable supply depot receiving "ammunition, rations, clothing, and the various necessities of war" by rail from St. Louis and shipping them by wagon to troops in Springfield, Houston and elsewhere closer to the Arkansas border.

The regiment had yet to see a rebel but the county had gone for Breckenridge, Lincoln had received only thirty-seven votes, and men were wary. Some ventured out to shoot squirrels or wild turkeys or pick walnuts and butternuts. Others were afraid to leave camp and Cyrus Henderson wrote to his father:

*Camp Rolla September the 7 1862*²⁷⁸

father I now take my pen in hand to right you a few lines to let you no whare I am and how I am I am well at present and I would be gratly pleased to hear that you all was in joying the same blessing

Wee have tolerable dry times hear wee have to carey our water from one to fore miles and it is bad then it tastes as bad as them pond up thare does

it takes about twelve men steady caring for one company and there is about a dozen sick and it takes about twenty for to ten to the teams and the res hato stand gard

Wee hafto com on gard every third night or oftener

Wee didn't stay but one night in St louis we got thare after night and left thare after night we left st louis Sunday night and got hear monday morning it is one hundred and twenty milds distant I havent . . . a form that I would have

I saw som peaches on a tree and ever since I look in every tree that I see for peaches . . . way out With a . . . We was a bout fore miles from camp We saw nothing of any acount but one orchard it was a big one we heard that our pickets was driven in that day and that they was fired on this is a small place it is hardly worth garding

Wee dont hear as mutch talk hear a bout the war as wee did up thare Wee dont hear as mutch as . . . to say the first night that wee was hear

Some of the boys was afraid to go out at the start that way some of them shot their guns of and tried to make us believe that thar was a man but wee havent ben bothered yet by the rebils in but if some hear a rabit jump it is a rebil our company has not seen any thing to shoo at yet

I like camp life first rait Wee hant got as mutch beef as wee had at camp franklin Wee have ne got some crackers as hard as limestone Wee hav coffy twice a day and hard bred and sugar and molases and some tiny beans and rice Wee . . . and eat Wee are geting fat as hogs on nothing . . . Walker and frank and i all stays in one camp all of the company just lays ther blanket down and lays down on and spreads one over them

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H. W. Lathrop, *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 228. Some claimed the proclamation "was not the deliberate judgment of the President, but that he was largely influenced in issuing it by the action of our convention." This was denied by the Governor, "as the Proclamation was published before we met."

²⁷⁵ Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 257.

²⁷⁶ An alternative version is that residents agreed to the name as long as it wasn't spelled the "funny" way.

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Both buildings are still standing.

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The letter is obviously misdated since the regiment had not been mustered until September 9th. It appears to have been written on or about September 27th.

we all have cloth tents

Wee may have to leav hear soon but i don believe it for wee have got a good many rebils to go threw before wee get to Springfield Wee have got our artilery it came this morning with one hundred twenty men When wee get enuf regiments to gether wee may leave them

Direct your leters camp rolla to the 21s iowa regiment major of co g care of capin William benton no more at present.

*Cryus M Henderson
to Cyrus henderson*

On September 24, 1862, the *North Iowa Times* published what it said was a private letter from an unnamed member of the regiment.

*We are now located at Camp Dunlap, near Rolla, Mo. There have been several of Capt. Crooke's company sick with the measles. Alfred E. Hall is dead.*²⁷⁹

The boys seem to be enjoying themselves patronizing the sutler and pitching quoits after drill hours. The reports circulated at Strawberry Point, of the regiment having been in battle, are of course untrue, the men have not yet all had opportunity to give their guns a maiden shot in a field practice.

Capt. Crook's [sic] Co. is still without their Orderly who was left at home sick. The Captain is laid up with a galled foot, from wearing tight boots, and the 1st Leut. has bee promoted to Post Adjutant at the town of Rolla.

They had a midnight alarm one night which tested the time necessary to find each man ready for service, one of the little diversions used by officers sometimes to try the promptness of the regiment.

On the evening of the 26th, the "long roll" sounded to alert the men to "fall in for battle" and, said Walter McNally, "some of the Boys was scarred a little and some of them was not much alarmed." Colonel Merrill rode along the line and gave orders as if an attack were imminent. It was just a drill, but "it alarmed the Fort and the garrison was up all night expecting an attack" and "the Colonel had orders neaver to do so again."

Meanwhile, Officers were aware of the problem with water that Cyrus Henderson had mentioned, water that "oppressed the senses like the breath of sewers,"²⁸⁰ and, on the morning of the 28th,²⁸¹ the camp was moved to a place Walter McNally called Sycamore Springs, about five miles southwest of town on the Springfield Road, where they camped in a cornfield. The day was hot and dry and some wanted to confiscate the farmer's corn, squash and potatoes, but Colonel Merrill "forbid them the owner being Union." With abundant spring water, men named the site Camp Dunlap in honor of their popular Lieutenant Colonel and spirits already lifted by the better accommodations were heightened further when Quartermaster Morse arrived from St. Louis with wagons and mules "and details were made of men sent to break the mules."

George Brownell "had a pleasant time" at the task and Company F's cook, Andrew Hannah, "was asked if I could drive mules I told them I could I cant say wheather I was detailed or not but can say I went and took 6 mules oute of the lot that they were in with help took them oute hitched them up got them prety well brok."²⁸² Andrew was aided by wagoner George Luck "and he help me hitch them up and they started on the run and he catched the lead mule and held it untill it got quiete and then I staide with the teame and took care of them untill we left Rolla."

Camped across the road was the 3d Missouri Cavalry, at least one company of which was credited by an Iowa soldier with keeping local guerrillas "in wholesome terror" by making it a point "to take as few prisoners as possible." According to one soldier:

"An excellent brass band is connected with the 3rd Missouri, and twice during the past week we have been

²⁷⁹ Alfred Hall had was sick, but he had not died.

²⁸⁰ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 17.

²⁸¹

George Crooke erroneously says the move was on Sunday the 27th. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 17. September 27th was a Saturday.

²⁸²

Affidavit of June 6, 1889, by Andrew Hannah in support of his application for postwar pension.

the recipients of sweet serenades from them, on both occasions of which field, staff and line officers were loudly called for, and appeared and made a few remarks to the 3rd and 21st. Our glee-club has reciprocated, and their voices have more than once broken the stillness of the camp of the 3d Missouri cavalry long after the clear notes of their bugles had sounded 'taps.'”²⁸³

Still affected by the poor water at their first location, many were suffering from dysentery and related ailments in addition to the still prevalent measles. James Logsdon and Nelson Reynolds with measles, William Barber, George Crop, Thomas McNary, Jim Bethard and fourteen men from Company D were among more than 200 men, more than twenty percent of the entire regiment, on the sick list.²⁸⁴

On September 30th, pickets were driven in by guerrillas and Brad Talcott was promoted to Fifth Corporal to replace Jabez Rogers who was reduced to the ranks at his own request.

October 1st, a wagon master stabbed a cook, Myron Knight went into town on business and John Van Kuran was promoted to 5th Sergeant in Company H to replace David Griffith who was promoted to 4th Sergeant. On the 2nd, Cyrus Henderson wrote another letter.

Camp rolla October the 2 1862

dear mother i now take my pen in hand to right you a few lines to let you no whar i am and that i am well at present frank . . . a litle this morning we have had tolerable cool weather for a few days back

i dnt believe that this state is any warmer than iowa food is most all gon there is a litle fruit walluts and buternuts some of the boys . . . but if i had a hog that would eat them id kill him tha are going out to day to gather . . . fruit tha can and kill what tha can find to kill one man got stabed last night the wgon master stabed the cook i heard i did not kill him

Wee have quite a confusion in our company the mackgrager boys has got up a paper to throw john crage out of his office the buene visty boys has gone in with them²⁸⁵ i mayt stop and go out and drill

i now take my pen in hand to finish this leter

the weather is so dry here that when we go out to drill that the dust almost chokes the boys i am horse all the time on the account of the dry we havenot had any rane sense we left the boat

We had wet weather enough on the first boat it was a barg Wee just laid a round the barge any way and took the rain. . . looking When We landed at . . . When We landed at devenport go . . . cut wood away on the bank and . . . loking trops that ever had landed at place We make the sixth regiment that is in my hollow besides one cavilry regiment that . . . the cavilry has gone to day to the jefferson city to whip out the gerillery band

I want you to send me one dollars worth of postage stamps i cant get stamps for money i bought fore in . . . and had to pay twenty cents for them john miller owes me seventy five cents that lent im in dubuque . . . I got a half doler rite how you are geting long with the work tell bill walker he meyt . . . tha meyt it it right and not to wair for me to right Wee have a bad chance to right here Wee have roat. . . but Wee have not got any answer yet Wee look . . . every day right soon and often as you can

direct yore leters to Camp roll masori to the 21 regiment of iowa vollentery Co g care of Captin W bentin

On October 3rd, at Benton Barracks, an Order for Transportation was issued for David Shuck and seventeen others to rejoin the regiment where young Alfred Hall became Company B's first fatality. Suffering from measles, he succumbed to pneumonia and was buried a quarter mile north of their camp while Missouri's band played *The Dead March* and there were many tears when it followed with *The Soldier's Grave* and *Do They Miss Me At Home?*

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 290, referencing “a letter written by a soldier of the 21st.”

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Highly contagious with an incubation period of eight to twelve days, it's likely the outbreak was a continuation of illness that struck the regiment at Camp Franklin.

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Cyrus didn't explain why there was “*confusion*” about Millville resident John Craig, 2nd Lieutenant in Company G, or why residents of McGregor and Buena Vista would have problems with him, but Craig would remain with the company until the regiment was mustered out of service with Craig as Captain.

Personal effects were mailed to his father.²⁸⁶

On Saturday, the 4th of October, it rained, the first in Rolla in five months, and the following day Jim entered the hospital. On Tuesday, the 7th, Hiram Buel was found guilty of having “*passed the Guard without permission using insulting language*” and ordered to report to Colonel Merrill for a “*moderate reprimand*” while Henry Lewis died from measles.²⁸⁷ He was survived by his four children and twenty-nine year old pregnant wife. In three months she would give birth to their fifth child, Flora Emma Lewis. Flora and Forest would die in infancy but the three older children would eventually be placed in Davenport’s Soldiers Orphans Home, also known as the Anne Wittenmyer home on Eastern Avenue.

On October 8th, after receiving a letter from Governor Kirkwood recommending his aide-de-camp, Frank Noyes, for an appointment in the regular army, President Lincoln ordered that Noyes be appointed Commissary of Subsistence if such were needed “*to operate with, or among Iowa troops.*” The appointment was made and, in another year, he would be present in New Orleans when the 21st Iowa was stationed there.

On Thursday, the 9th, Andrew Lawrence “*was compelled to go to stool quite frequently*” and received treatment for diarrhea, but there was uncertainty in the medical department. Due to discontent within the regiment, Surgeon Hyde had been detailed as the post Surgeon, but it wasn’t clear which of his two assistants should then be in charge. On October 10, 1862, John Edwards, acting clerk for the surgeon, wrote to Governor Kirkwood that “*Dr Benhams commission is one day the oldest, but never has been signed by Adjutant General Baker. Dr Barnes has his commission signed by yourself and the Adj. Gen. Now please inform me who has command in the absence of the Surgeon.*”²⁸⁸

Duane Grannis was detailed for ambulance detail on the 11th²⁸⁹ and the next day Chaplain Sloan wrote to members of his Sunday School in McGregor.

Post Rolla, Mo. Oct 12th, 62

Dear Sunday School:

It is Sunday evening, 1/2 past 6 o’clock. here I sit by my little sheet iron stove; for I must tell you I have a stove in my tent. The Quartermaster kindly brought it to me yesterday, and as the mornings and evenings are becoming very chilly and frosty I find it a great comfort. As I sit and warm my feet by it I sometimes think - “God bless the Quartermaster.”

This morning and afternoon we went, as did Christ and the multitudes up upon the side of the mountain to pray and preach. At the close of the afternoon service, I invited all that wished to be in a Bible class to come to my tent at 1/2 past 6 o’clock this evening. At 6 o’clock I went to the hospital to see the sick, - returning a little before the time for Bible class I found a great crowd about the tent door. Making my way through them to the inside I found the tent packed full of men, as thick as they could sit upon the camp cot and the floor, with Bible in hand ready for the lesson. We began at the 1st of “The Acts” after a most pleasant, and profitable discussion, of an hour and ten minutes, found that we had reached the third verse. If we only had a church to meet in we could have the largest Bible class I ever saw. They all seemed so anxious to get in, and many were obliged to go away, without getting near enough to see in.

We have had another death in the camp - Mr. Lewis from Sni MaGill [sic]. We took his body and laid it beside the grave of young Hall. Poor Fellow! He felt it hard to die without seeing his wife and children.

I hear the bugle signal to put out the lights and from the sentinels we hear the cry one post to another, till

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Alfred is reportedly buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery where there is a marker bearing his name and regiment, although records are not available to confirm the burial. Find-a-Grave Memorial #548333256. While the Federals occupied Rolla, “*nearly four hundred soldiers died of sickness, mostly from typhoid, measles, and dysentery. They were buried temporarily in Phelps County before being exhumed in 1866 for reinterment in Jefferson National Cemetery at St. Louis.*” Bradbury, Phelps County in the Civil War.

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Henry was first buried one-fourth mile north of the regiment’s camp which was then five miles west of Rolla. He was apparently reinterred after the war in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery although records confirming the burial have not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54874651.

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Letter on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

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Diary of Gilbert Cooley.

goes clear around the camp, "9 o'clock and all is well." Every half hour through the dead of the night we hear the same, with the hour varied. It makes us feel we are in the enemies' country and that our slumbers would be disturbed by terrible alarms if were not for the faithful sentinels standing out in the dark to guard us. Outside the sentinels, from four to five miles are the pickets, upon every road leading into camp, and beyond the pickets several miles are the videttes. The pickets and videttes are taken from the 3rd Mo. cavalry which is encamped beside us. Captain Call of McGregor, is in the 3rd Mo. The cavalry send out a scouting party every few days who go many miles into the country, to break up squads of guerrillas. They frequently capture prisoners, and sometimes kill several rebels.

*Yours truly,
S. P. Sloan*

On the 14th, Jim Bethard was treated for diarrhea with laudanum, an opium-based alcohol mixture. Small doses of opium, it was thought, would slow action of the digestive tract while larger doses were used as a painkiller for wounds. The 14th was also election day in camp, Company A was sent out on a scouting mission and others played ball.

On October 15, 1862, the regiment was ordered to move to Salem, Charlie Robbins sprained an ankle during a "friendly wrestle" with another soldier and Jim wrote his first letter in a month, being careful to mention Cal's brother (Jim Rice) and cousins (John, Squire and Sterling Mather).

**In camp
Five miles from Rolla Mo
October the 15th 1862**

Dear wife I have commenced trying to scratch you a few lines but you must put up with a short letter this time unless my nerves get steadier before I get through I received a letter from you several days ago which I should have answered right away but I was down with the measles and could not I came down with the measles two weeks ago to day and went into the hospital one week ago last sunday after I had broke out and the measles had begun to disappear I should have been up sooner but I had a severe bowel complaint all the time until the day before yesterday when I stoped it with laudanum I am now gaining strength and have a pretty good appetite and if I get no backset I shall be able for duty again in the course of a few days James Rice and John Mather are well and hearty David Shuck has got well and joined the regiment but James Pool is still in the hospital at St Louis Wm Barber and Nelson Runels have had the measles but are on the mend the hospitals have been full of measles cases for the last two weeks John Mather got a letter from Squire and Sterling a few days ago they were all well they were camped near Helena in Arkansas they were under marching orders but of course did not know where they were going I hear that our regiment is under marching orders but whether it is so or not I cannot say Ill bet I have heard as many as 40 different stories within the last week about where we were going and what we were going to do they have had us going to Springfield back to St Louis back to camp Franklin up to St Paul to fort Dodge in Iowa down the river from St Louis to Dakota teritory and the Lord only knows where all I only mention a few and others have had us going into winter quarters here at Rolla and all other kinds of strange stories and all told by those who profess to have got it from a reliable authority I pay no attention to any thing that I hear any more concerning any future movements of our regiment there has been three deaths in the regiment since we left camp Franklin and one out of our company of the name of Alfred E Hall his complaint was the measles he was about 18 years old²⁹⁰

Cal you must not get out of patience if you dont get letters regular from me I shall write every week when I can but it is some times the case that I cannot write when I wish to sometimes I get out of paper or envelops or something of the kind and being constantly under guard it is some times verry difficult to get such things and besides this we are sometimes call upon for some duty or other just as we are getting ready to write and some times letters do not get through direct by mail I received the

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The three deaths were Thomas Spottswood of Company F who died in Epworth on September 17th, Alfred E. Hall of Company B who died in Rolla on October 3rd, and Henry T. Lewis of Company G who died in Rolla on October 7th.

paper you sent me several days behind the letter I thank you very much for your kind intention in sending me the paper but as they contain nothing much but war matters and that is old before it gets to me I would not put you to the trouble of sending any more We get daily papers by which we get the war news

Tell uncle Joel to do the best he can with those County orders and if he cannot get them off at something near par to keep them until he can unless obliged to use them to pay my debts Let old Mike and Sim go for what they will fetch and if he gets a chance to sell my share of those old farming tools for anything near what they are worth to let them slide

I believe I have nothing more of importance to write so good bye for this time I shall expect letters from you as regular as the mails will bring them there is nothing to hinder you from writing once a week so take good care of yourself and the gal and remember your soldier Husband James Beathard

Although Jim was not aware of it, his twenty year old cousin, Erastus Kent, was stationed only a few miles away in nearby Lebanon with six companies of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, but the day had not gone well for Erastus. When one of his comrades accidentally fired a pistol, the ball went through Erastus' right arm and into his side, but the wound was not serious and he would soon recover.

Susan Margueritte Grandgirard Sloan, wife of the Chaplain, had been traveling with the regiment and on the 15th wrote to the Sunday School in McGregor:

Post Rolla, Mo. Oct. 15, 62.

My Dear Little Friends: After I wrote my last letter I said to myself that it was not necessary for me to write any more, as Mr. Sloan could keep you posted; but when that great, long thick, letter came, and I received it with so much pride, and exultation, I felt that if I did not answer it the very stones would cry out. My little friends it takes an age for our letters to reach you; your communications are received a few days after mailing, but ours seem to perambulate leisurely all over the United states, one would think from the time they consume in getting to McGregor.

Many of the people here are excessively ignorant, the other day one of the Captains went into a log house to buy butter, he asked one of four bouncing girls, standing around if they took a newspaper? Oh no! she said they didn't have no "larnen," well could the Father read? Oh no! he didn't have no "larnen." Was there a school house near? No there wasn't no school house. Was there a school house in the Township? No thee wasn't any as they knowed of. I wish you could see this class of Missouri beauties, guiltless of crinoline, guiltless of soap and water and carefully avoiding too frequent use of comb and brush. Many of these fair ones visit this camp with edibles in the shape of pies and ginger cakes. The pies I can describe in a few words, they are composed of a great deal of flour, very little lard, not much apple and a large proportion of that "peck of dirt," which they say we must dispose of before we died; how the soldiers manage to eat them I cannot tell. I suppose, however, total absence of sweet meats marks even these undigestible compounds, palatable. Then there are the "equestriences," who ride into camp and sell fresh eggs, which are not fresh, new butter which is not new, and apples and peaches and other delicacies. Speaking of ruling, we do not understand the art at all, a horse, may just as well as not answer the purpose of coach and two, for instance, a Missouri mamma mount here Bucephalus, takes baby on her lap, has Sally get on behind and so the trio moves off in fine style. I can tell you nothing about the "durance vile," at Rock Island, the trip from thence to St. Louis, or the triumphant entry into the latter city as I did not "do" that part of the journey.

I must not tell who A. & B. And C. are or you will be flying at me with indignation. We are exceedingly anxious to hear the success of those recruiting officers, and that spectacle class - do tell us of that; what kind of spectacles will give you the sight to join it, must they be glass, or that other kind which we all look through.

My little friends we are just ordered off to Salem, twenty-five miles from here; it is more forlorn, more desolate and farther from civilization than Rolla, what it can be I cannot conceive, so good-bye for the present.

S. M. G. Sloan

On October 16, 1862, Ulysses S. Grant took command of the Department of the Tennessee. In another few months the 21st Iowa would join him but, in the meantime, Company I's Emanuel Silence was discharged after being

unable for duty due to convulsions and, on the 17th, Joseph Hewlet died of lung congestion.²⁹¹ John Goodrich, who had attended Harvard University, wrote a letter explaining that, “*if there had been an abundance of young men in our State ready to enlist, I should undoubtedly have remained at home.*” His wife and children, he said, were “*the source of his greatest earthly happiness*” and he was reluctant to leave them, but:

*“the alternative remained for me to enlist and be removed far away from all the sweet amenities of home, incur all the risks of war in all its varied forms, - and those on the battlefield are not the greatest, - or remain at home in peace, and have my cheek mantle with eternal shame. It was a severe trial for my dear wife, but she endured it with Christian fortitude. It is the hardest trial I have to endure, to think that she may be constantly worrying about me.”*²⁹²

It was also on the 17th that Brigadier General Fitz Henry Warren arrived in Rolla to take command. He had a reputation for being difficult - “*cordially hated*” by his own 1st Cavalry - but Warren was what new soldiers needed and, in later years, most would feel “*peculiarly fortunate*” for having had his leadership. He was, said William Crooke:

*“feeble in health, extremely irritable, even violent in temper ... a hard task master, and the curses heaped upon him were often deep, but never loud. His discipline was rigorous, but healthful, and always more charitably judged when he was not present or in command.”*²⁹³

Immediately on arrival, Warren ordered the regiment to Houston and men were excited.²⁹⁴ Reveille was at midnight, but many made preparations much earlier. By 1:00 a.m. on October 18, 1862, the sick were “*evicted*,” and tents were down, knapsacks packed and wagons loaded. At 1:30 a.m., drums called assembly and the battalion formed. At 2:00 a.m. they gave three cheers for Camp Dunlap and three for their friends in the Missouri cavalry²⁹⁵ as they started a twenty-five mile march in the morning darkness, singing, happy to be on the move, back through Rolla and then southeast on the road to Salem. The evicted numbered approximately fifty men - including Jim Bethard, Will Boynton, Ted Dare, George Brownell, Thomas Busby, Harrison Hefner, and John Rankhart - who were left behind without shelter at the now abandoned Camp Dunlap.²⁹⁶ While they were too sick to travel, Harvey King was suffering from convulsions and was discharged from the military.

At daylight on the 18th, the marchers paused so wagons could catch up. Despite sore feet and aching muscles, they were happy they had beaten the 33d Missouri by two hours but were soon again on the move. It was their first long march and men labored under heavy loads. Many gladly paid to have their knapsacks hauled in wagons and some paused to take aim at chickens in the yard of a roadside farm. Cyrus Henderson “*shot five times and mysed every time some killed and some mysed.*” Not far away, Andrew Hannah was “*driving 6 mules in the team the saddle mule that I was on got skeard from a gun that sum one shot of at sum distance from where I was.*” Andrew was thrown to the ground, landed hard, and suffered a severe rupture on his right side. William Dusenbery “*saw the whole occurrence*” and:

“was Close to the waggon and helped lift him up he Could not Stand and I looked and found quite a Bunch

²⁹¹ Joseph is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, St. Louis, Find-a-Grave Memorial #54833786.

²⁹² Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, Page 126 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

²⁹³

William Crooke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 6.

²⁹⁴

A Company G poster in the Historical Museum, McGregor, Iowa, is dated November 1, 1862 and says they were ordered to Salem on the 15th, although no copy of the order has been found in the Official Records. On October 15th, Mrs. Samuel Sloan wrote from Rolla, “*we are just ordered off to Salem*” and Jim’s letter, also on the 15th, says he heard they were “*under marching orders.*”

²⁹⁵ October 23, 1862, letter by Poole (below).

²⁹⁶

The Historical Sketch says, “*On the 18th of October the regiment moved to Salem. . . .*” Roster & Record of Iowa Soldiers, page 442 (State Printer 1910). It was a two-day march and this is the day they left.

protruding from his Side he Could not walk and was Sick at his Stomach and Very faint he was helped in the waggon and was not able to do Duty for Some time he never Drove a team after."

Andrew rode as the march continued and men "stoped to every house and went in took the victels that tha had on the table and eat them and took all that tha could find about the house some filled their canteens with molases."²⁹⁷ After covering eighteen miles, they stopped for the night at Lake Spring, "a beautiful romantic spot, near which flows one of the finest springs in the State."²⁹⁸

"Brose Fanning," the young artist from Dubuque, was now the regimental artist and had recently been to St. Louis where he procured "a complete lot of photographic stock with a new instrument." Armed with his new equipment, Ambrose was well-equipped to photograph camp life and other activities of the regiment during its upcoming campaigns.²⁹⁹

SALEM, MISSOURI (October 19 to November 2, 1862)

On the 19th, the regiment was again in the lead when they reached Salem³⁰⁰ and pitched tents on high ground near one of its many springs, but Jim was still in Rolla when he wrote to Cal.

Post Rolla Missouri October the 19th 1862

Dear wife it is with pleasure that I again seat myself to scratch a few lines to you I am well with the exception of being a little weak from the effects of the measles all that I fear now is that if my appetite keeps on much longer as it has been for the past four days that I shall eat Uncle Sam poor the regiment has gone to Salem 25 miles south west from Rolla and 30 miles from where we were camped I was not quite stout enough to undertake such a march and am left at the post hospital at Rolla with a great many others in the same fix to be sent on as soon as we are considered able for duty part of the sick were removed the day before we started and a part in the night and about 30 were still left and I was one of that number until three o clock the next day the regiment was routed up about 11 o clock and the sick of course had to get up as the tents were all torn down and removed them 30 that were left were told by the officers and surgeons that there would be teams sent back for us as soon as the regiment got to Rolla we were left also without a bite of anything to eat and there we roosted on our knapsacks around the fires until three o clock the next day and still no teams came but in the mien time we went over to the 3rd Missouri Cavalry and got something to eat and finely the cavalry teams came and brought us to Rolla I suppose if it had not been for them we might have stayed there until this time or walked to Rolla and there were some of them that could not have done that to have saved their lives I have told you where the regiment went I suppose when they get there they will be put into a brigade and then sent where they will have a chance to do something

I have not heard anything from Pool lately the rest of our boys were all well when the regiment left I expect to join the regiment this week sometime if they dont leave salem right off Speaking of my present quarters I have no reason to complain I have a good clean place to sleep on the soft side of a

²⁹⁷ Cyrus Henderson letter to his parents.

Crooke says the two-day move to Salem started on the 18th. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 18. Myron Knight agrees. Elsewhere it's indicated they started on the 19th. Henry Dyer wrote a postwar narrative of his service. The original was retained by Edith Ham Polder who lived in Dyersville. She let a relative, Mary M. Thatcher of Stonington, Connecticut, view the journal and Mary made a copy on a compact disc. Edith died on January 13, 2008. It's not known what happened to the journal which was still in her possession when she died. Henry said they camped at Blue Mills on the Current River. The origins of the Current River are near Salem.

²⁹⁹ *Dubuque Daily Times* (10/19/1862) referencing a letter from a soldier.

³⁰⁰

From all the letters and reports of this march, it seems clear that the march from Camp Dunlap started at 2:00am on the 18th. Men first marched from camp to Rolla and, by daylight, were two or three miles south of town. After a brief rest, the march resumed and they camped for the night at Lake Spring. On the 19th, they marched about fourteen miles and reached Salem in the early afternoon. One account says noon while another says 3:00pm, but this may be accounted for by many not having watches and by some having marched more quickly than others.

pine board and plenty to eat which is tolerably good there are a great many sick and convalescent soldiers here but they are not all in the same building as you might imagine there are a great many hospital buildings here but they are all called the post hospital some are brick some frame but the most of them are log buildings the room where I am quartered is a log building fixed of with bunks like the barracks at camp Franklin there are about 50 in this room mostly convalescents like myself they are carrying some from the differrent wards of this hospital every day to the bone yard but we must not be scared at that men were made to die and where there are so many together we have a chance to see how fast their turns come I want to write a few lines to father on the other side so I shall have to begin to wind this up tell aunt Sarah I should like to see a few turkey tracks of her make I got your letter of the 10th four days in advance of the one dated the 5th Good bye for this time JB³⁰¹

to Mr Joel W Rice

Dear father we received your letter in due time and was verry much grattified to see a few lines in your hand write I can read your writing as readily as print

You seem to be verry much perplexed about what to do with old mike and sim and ask me what you shall do with them but that question stumps me if I was there I should be better prepared to answer it All that I can say is do the best you can with them and take the pay for your trouble and expense out of them and I will be satisfied with the same let it be what it will I believe Cal has never told me whether my small debts were all paid or not I suppose the Lawn³⁰² note and old mike and sim will clear me from debt if they can ever be got into money it would be a great satisfaction for me to know that that I was out of debt please write often and keep us posted about affairs there I have no room for any more so I will bid you good evening J Bethard

Jim speculated they would soon be part of a brigade, a unit composed of two or more regiments. Three or four brigades formed a division and several divisions, a corps. No longer in the District of Rolla, they became part of Fitz Henry Warren's brigade in the District of Southeast Missouri, a brigade to which they would belong for the next five months with the 22d Iowa, 99th Illinois and 33d Missouri infantries, part of the 3d Missouri and three companies of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, and one company of the 1st Missouri Artillery.³⁰³

The regiment's camp was dubbed Camp Van Anda, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap assumed regimental command when Colonel Merrill was detached on the 20th to command the post at Salem, and Frank Henderson entertained with his fiddle. "It sounds like home," said his brother, Cyrus, who wrote to his parents.

October the 21 1862

Camp ~~vandada~~ vananda near salem Mo.

Dear father and mother it is with plesure that I once more take my pen in hand to right you a few lines to let you no that we are well at this time and hope that these few lines may find you enjoying the same plesure and more comfort We have moved from Camp . . . to this place wee started saturday night at too oclock and got hear sunday at three oclock Wee marched twenty miles the first day and thirteen miles the next day Wee caried our napsack seven miles and then . . . a team to hall them Wee paid twelve dollars to get them halled some of the company had to cary them some gave out and some didnt my foot had ben sore for a few days and it made it worse to walk so far on it Wee came to an old rebels house and stoped and went to shooting at chickens I shot five times and mysed every time some killed and some mysed and didnt kill them stoped to

301 "father" was Cal's father, Joel Rice, whom he also called "uncle Joel;" "aunt Sarah" was Cal's mother, Sarah Rice.

302 Philip Lawn.

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Records and effective dates of unit reorganizations vary. One says "the 21st Iowa, the 99th Illinois, 33d Missouri, detachments of the 3d Missouri and 3d Iowa Cavalry, and a section of the 1st Missouri Artillery, were formed into a brigade." George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 18. Another indicates that, on November 20th, the 21st Iowa, 99th Illinois and 33d Missouri infantries were (with four companies of the 2d Missouri Cavalry and three batteries of the 2d Missouri Artillery) in a brigade under command of General Warren in the District of Rolla, Department of Missouri. Another says the 21st and 22nd Iowa, together with the 23rd, were not in the same brigade until they were all in West Plains.

every house and went in took the victels that tha had on the table and eat them and took all that tha could find about the house some filled their canteens with molases some of the houses hadn't a man a bout them the women could not tell whare ther men was gone to . . . that had come to the fort to see ther father he was caught too days before the gard woodnt let them go in to see him that had ben in our camp the day before selling . . . the same too Wimins our general name is fitz henry warn he is a very nice looking man he has ben in our camp and he was out on the drill ground to day he gives us the graitest praise for new soldiers

i guess that wee will stay hear some time but i dont no one day what will be don the next day I might tell you a bout the coller of the citizen cloths tha all ware yellow dressing and pants and and coat hat or cap or bonet that did not what you was when tha sam some in town with our blue close on i guesed that tha never saw any other coller but y mosouri butnernut that is what wee call them the folks hear dos not look like that was able to do a mans days work tha all look thin and pore I havent saw a helthy looking man hear but the most of wimen look fat and helly and ugly too I never want to see any of the iowa folks wairing yellow closes when i get back i might tell you that i saw some niger . . . and i saw three nigers wimen choping wood at once for ther boss times . . . to bee hard with the folks hear that claims to bee union people Wee came clear from rolla hear and und thar was one woman waving her hankerchief one place that we stoped at the boys went to killing the and taring up things and thar was an old mutalo women she catch an old black sheep around the neck and set down and held her till wee left I . . . that wee will bee formed in to a brigade hear there is three regiments hear the twenty ninth ill and the thirty third mosouri and us there is a bout fore hundred cavlry men hear the town is about like . . . or maby biger there is plenty of secesh hear but it is hard to find how tha are but wee take them all to be traters the citizens hear are all most necked and look like tha are half starved tha one that have not enough to eat but wee find enough to eat Whare ever wee go our Cornel says that he would like to have the chance to take some . . . he says that he would not give one comand he would tell us to get he thinks that wee could whip three regiments by ourselves Wee hafto bee garded round our own camp some of the boys is too bad company E toore a good house down yesterday and caried the weather bording to to ther camp and put flowers in ther tents but the cornel maid them cary ther bords all back tha caried them a bout one mile and toore a planke fence down . . . Wee are on the Ozark mountains the ground is hilly and isnot very . . . but . . . i have seen some farms that looked like tha had about a hundred . . . in them but the stony was so thick that i did not see any dirt ther is not many farms hear whare there is farms thare is not mutch on them Wheat stacks is scarce hear frank received a leter from you dated the seventh and he got one from john . . . john said he had got one from home he is well and harty right and tell me wheather dan boy left dubuque or not Wee heard that tha have left and that tha had a fight be fore that left dubuque among them selves that one lieutenant ordered his men in to a line of batle and killed one man and wounded too tell us what the folks is doing now days

I want to no whether bill craye has settled with you or not if he hasn't he is no man tell us what is don a bout our ha at fowlers if you hant got it home i would try to get it home before winter comes on try to get all the wood up you can tell us how you are geting along in helth frank is playing a fiddle now in our tent it sounds like home he roat to alfonso today tell the children tha must be good children till wee get back if we do tell jonny he might right to us tell bob that must not forget us it is now . . . to go to bed so no more at present . . . corect all my taks and excusing bad riting right please right as soon as you get this

. . . to the old folks at home

Direct to Rolla mo 21 iwa vol Co G in care of Benten

Cyrus had two months to live.

Oaths of office were administered by David Henderson, Dent County Clerk, to officers who had not already taken them. James Jordan, 1st Lieutenant in Company H, Elisha Boardman, Captain of Company D, Joseph Watson, Captain of Company H and James Noble, 2nd Lieutenant of Company H, were among those who swore to “*support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of Iowa*” and to faithfully discharge their duties, each “*to the best of my skill and ability. So help me God.*”

When the regiment left Dubuque, John Crop had been among several too sick to travel, but he caught up at Salem and was hospitalized with Thomas McNary and John Presho and many others in a small building a short distance from the main structure. Days were unusually warm, but snow in the hills was several inches deep and some of the men arranged a sleigh ride. At night, temperatures rapidly dropped below freezing, ink froze and soldiers made fires in their tents. It was a dangerous practice for men sleeping on beds of straw and more than one tent went up in flames.

On the 23rd, attorney William Crooke was detached for temporary service with the Judge Advocate for general courts martial, John Ano was “disabled in consequence of having his thumb shot accidentally,” and an unidentified “Sigma” and Adjutant Horace Poole wrote letters to the *Dubuque Daily Times*:

Post Salem, October 23, 1862

Editor Daily Times:

We left about fifty sick in the Post Hospital at Rolla, but they are nearly all here now. The first day we marched eighteen miles before dinner. This is regarded as big “marching,” especially as it was the first regular march the regiment ever made. The first night we camped at Lake Springs, a beautiful romantic spot, near which flows one of the finest springs in the State

Salem has been a much prettier place than Rolla, but the inhabitants here are generally secesh, who have joined the rebel army or are bushwhacking, and their property having been confiscated, the houses are mostly unoccupied. The remains of what were quite fine houses are now used as government stables. All through the country large farms are lying waste and houses tenantless. Over 800 men have gone from this (Kent) county alone to the rebel army. A great many are now returning, having got tired of the war. They come into this post every day wishing to take the oath and give bond. But who would give a fig for a Missouri secesh’s oath? They will regard it as long as it is convenient, and no longer. The guerrillas, too, are coming in since the cold nights set in. Jack Frost drives them from the woods and they become good Union men! until warm weather again permits them to push out. It requires a Solomon to distinguish correctly between Union men and secesh here. The people are so hypocritical. We are convinced that not over one in ten are true Union men.

There are now three infantry regiments here, besides a detachment of cavalry and four sections of artillery, under command of Brig General Fitz Henry Warren. He is organizing a brigade of which the 21st Iowa will be a part. Gen. Warren is well liked by officers and men.

Don’t talk to us about “mild southern climates,” and the “sunny south!” The snow is six inches deep this morning, and falling at a 2:40 rate still. We are to have a sleigh-ride this afternoon.

The boys all have fires in their tents and are comfortable.

*Sigma*³⁰⁴

Post Salem, October 23, 1862

Editor Dubuque Times

On Friday last [October 17th], Brig. Gen. Fitz Henry Warren arrived in Rolla, and immediately after orders were issued to the 33rd Missouri, 21st Iowa, Co. E of 3d Missouri cavalry, to march to this point where a brigade would be organized under the command of our Iowa Gen. The reading of the orders was greeted with three cheers, and cheerfully our boys made the necessary preparations for the march, which was ordered at 2 o’clock the following morning. At midnight the ‘Reveille’ was sounded, and in an hour from that time not a tent was standing, but instead huge bonfires of straw, boxes and barrels which have accumulated within the post these last few weeks. At one and a half “assembly” was beat and the battalion formed, and at precisely two, three cheers for ‘Camp Dunlap’ and then three for our neighbors the 3d Missouri cavalry, were given and the regiment was on the march.

The morning was cool and all stepped off briskly to the tune of ‘The Girl I left Behind Me,’ but certainly not in Missouri. At daylight we halted for rest, and to wait for our train, some two miles southeast of Rolla, having marched eight miles. In half an hour the white covers of our heavy laden wagons were visible, and we again started, the boys in high spirits, at the idea of having beaten the 33d Missouri two hours. Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurred during the march.

Poole

On the 24th, Washington created a 13th Army Corps with Ulysses S. Grant as its commander, Lorenzo Bolles wrote a letter to his wife and, that evening, the Salem weather turned bitterly cold, “it commenced snowing and when it stopped the ground was covered four inches deep. It lasted three or four days,” but, “in the daytime it is most too

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 291-292.

warm for comfort” and the snow melted.³⁰⁵ Also writing was Johan Dietrich:³⁰⁶

Salem, Oct. 24, 1862

Dear Parents

I received your letter on the 12’ and was glad to learn that you are all well. We left ‘Rolla’ on the 18’ and marched 30 miles until we reached Salem where we camped. The \$8 you received from my monthly pay you can draw from the state bank of Dubuque. My kindest regard to all friends from your son.

Johan Ditrich

On the 26th, a forage train left camp looking for corn and other provisions, but much of the land had already been laid to waste and food was hard to find. There were few farms and those that existed had little to offer. Wheat stacks were scarce. Men in camp continued to drill, served on picket, fought illness and wrote letters, lots of letters. Despite their reduced ranks, October mail sent out for the regiment still reached *“the respectable number of 7,136.”*³⁰⁷

On the 28th, in Lamont, Cordon Hewitt’s wife, Mary Elizabeth (Pitman) Hewitt, gave birth to another daughter, Hettie Elizabeth Hewitt.

On October 29th, Elkader attorney S. T. Woodward wrote to the Adjutant General on behalf of W. W. Patch seeking payment *“for subsisting soldiers”* of Company B and Company D before they were mustered into service. Their captains, Crooke and Boardman, were in Missouri and had not responded to his claims and Patch was anxious for reimbursement. On the same day in Missouri, Henry Britton, a private in Company I, wrote:

Camp Van Anda, October 29, 1862

Editor Dubuque Daily Times:

Last Friday evening [October 24th] it commenced snowing and when it stopped the ground was covered four inches deep. It lasted three or four days, and if it had been one fourth as cold in the daytime as it is at night, the snow would be laying upon the ground yet. I have lived in Iowa a number of years but I never saw the weather change from hot to cold so quick as it does in the southern part of Missouri. In the daytime it is most too warm for comfort, but when the sun goes down it commences to grow cold at a double quick, and continues until morning, when our ink, etc., are frozen and spoiled. Then the warm rays of the sun shoot down upon us again and make us altogether too warm. I never saw such cold weather in Iowa at this season of the year, as they have here.

A great many of our boys catch bad colds by being exposed to the cold so much at night. Some of them had to get up and build fires in their fireplaces to keep warm; The most of us have built fire-places out of stones, bricks etc. The fire-place is built under the tent and one side. The smoke goes off through a brick chimney. It is rather careless to have a fire so near our straw beds, but we cannot do without one. Some two or three of our boys have lost their tents by fire, and have built log huts in there place; but since the snow has gone it is getting warmer and more pleasant every day. I hope it will continue so until we go further south. We will probably move in that direction soon.

Last Sunday [October 26th] I was detailed along with the escort to a forage train, after corn, etc. We rode over frozen ground for fifteen or eighteen miles and in all of that distance did not get out of the woody wilderness. There were now and then a few acres of land that had been cleared, but these were surrounded by woods, and the miserable log cabins that stood close by did not add much to its appearance.

There were two splendid farms joining each other, where we confiscated the corn. there was one that had

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William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa 1972), pages 292-293.

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Also known as John; surname as Dietrich, Ditrich, and Didrich. This is an excerpt, translated from German, from a longer letter that was filed with the Pension Office in support of his mother’s postwar claim that she had been dependent on her son for support.

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George Crooke, [The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry](#) (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 19. At the end of October, 969 officers and men were still on the roster, but many were seriously ill. Crooke had been serving as the regiment’s postmaster since September 29th.

a very large crop of corn and our teams have been getting it at the rate of ten loads per day for more than a week. The owner is a Colonel in the rebel army. He is now away from home acting in that capacity.

Most of the land that I have seen around here that has been formerly cultivated is now laid waste, and all you can see upon it is enormous great weeds. I guess that the secesh farmers, ignorant as they are, have long ere this learned what rebellion means. Some of the ignorant classes came inside our lines with a load of molasses to sell. One of the soldiers asked them how they sold it. They replied: 50 cents a gallon, 15 cents a quart, and 5 cents a pint, making it cheaper by the pint than it was by the quart or gallon. Of course we bought only a pint at a time.

H. W. Britton³⁰⁸

On October 30th Myron Knight went out on a scouting mission. The next day he was back in time for a "grand review" of the entire army, but many others, including Oren Follon³⁰⁹ who was confined to quarters, were too sick to participate. General Warren was also ill, but saw the brigade "march to and from the parade grounds and inspected their general appearance, dress movements and martial bearing of the men which was those of veteran soldiers." All soldiers from Illinois, Iowa and Missouri were brave, he said, "but discipline, subordination and thorough drill are comparative and when possessed invariably lead to victory."³¹⁰

They were now in the Ozarks of southern Missouri, a rolling area of rugged mountains. Salem, a "once pleasant country village,"³¹¹ they regarded as prettier than Rolla, but residents were Southern sympathizers, many had joined the Confederate army, much of their property had been confiscated by Northerners, and most houses were vacant. Some residents were disillusioned and willing to swear allegiance to the Union, or so they said. Others were guerrillas, in from the mountains, seeking warmth, and it was in these rocky, tree-covered hills, "restless as the waters of a boiling caldron,"³¹² that the volunteers from Iowa would engage in their first combat.

Reports were received that a rebel attack might be made in southwestern Missouri and, on November 1, 1862, Warren was ordered to move his men to Houston. Wagons and horses were commandeered and added to those already on hand, preparations were made and one by one the regiments started their southwesterly march by filing past Warren's headquarters on the way out of town. Alonzo Macomber, suffering from a "mashed foot," remained in the hospital and later recalled that "all went that could walk. as soon as I could walk with a cruch I helped take care of the sick numbering about 60" who were left behind.³¹³

SALEM TO HOUSTON (November 2 to 13, 1862)

Once again the 21st Iowa took the lead as the regiment left Salem on November 2d with each man carrying ten days' rations and one hundred rounds of ammunition. Meat, they hoped, could be foraged on the way. Jim had received medical clearance in Rolla, caught up with the regiment and joined it on the march, but Thomas McNary still suffering with a severe fever, George Crooke with chronic diarrhea and Oren Follon with "a very bad cold" and "soreness in my breast," joined George Crop, Avery Thurber, William Warner and the brigade's leaders, Colonel Merrill and General Warren who were among the 200 left behind due to illness.³¹⁴ With the absence of Warren and Merrill, brigade command fell temporarily to Cornelius Dunlap while Major Van Anda led the regiment.

308

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 292-293.

309 Listed in the Roster and Record, erroneously, as Orrin Fallon.

310 Special Orders No. 14, Brigade Headquarters, Salem, Missouri (November 1, 1862).

311

Michael Fellman, Inside War. The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War (Oxford University Press, 1989), page 77, referencing a letter from an Iowa soldier.

312

Historical Sketch, Third Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume IV, page 422 (State Printer, 1910).

313 In his July 8, 1897, answer to a circular from the Pension Office relating to an invalid claim made by James Scovel.

314

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 19. Letter from Oren Follon to his sister.

Blessed with good weather, they admired tall pines and covered eighteen rough, hilly, miles on the 2nd and camped at Taylor's Mill where "Sigma" wrote on Sunday, November 2nd.³¹⁵

Taylor's Mill, Missouri
November 2, 1862

Editor Times:

Sunday morning pursuant to orders issued the previous evening, the forces then stationed at Salem were put in motion to march to Houston, and then hold themselves in readiness to support Springfield. The troops made a very fine appearance as one regiment after the other and one detachment after the other filed by headquarters and took up the line of march. The 21st Iowa regiment lead the column. We took ten days of rations and one hundred rounds of cartridges with us. Before leaving, all the meat in the command was turned over to the post, and so far foraging parties have provided us with an abundance of fresh meat

We will reach Houston to-morrow, where we are to remain a short time. We are now on the summit of the Ozark Mountains. As heretofore, we find the country a barren and unproductive region. We have passed through some very fine pineries today. Nor does the condition of the people at all improve. They are the same ignorant, lazy, imprudent people we ever met.

Slavery has entirely disappeared. Not a negro is to be found in the county, but the old prejudices still exist.

Orders have just gone to the regiment for detachments to be ready to move at daylight to-morrow morning. Our trains experience much difficulty in getting up these mountains, so we are obliged to get early starts to make much distance. We were in the saddle this morning at sunrise and as we passed along the moving column towards the lead, we were regaled with the melodious tones of "Old John Brown," echoing through the mountains, which with the enthusiastic cheers of those who could not sing, made a lively scene.³¹⁶

We left Gen. Warren and Col. Merrill, both at Alem [Salem], sick. The whole force is under command of Lieut. Col. Dunlap, and consequently Major Van Anda is in command of the 21st. The Major on his "big white horse" makes a decidedly soldierly appearance. Besides being a good fellow socially, he is an excellent officer. The secesh will have "heavy work" when they attack him.

Water is exceedingly scarce all through this country. Troops have to be very careful in regulating their marches, sometimes making very long and sometimes very short ones in order to find water. Subsistence is also scarce. There is no hay in the whole region. Our stock live on corn exclusively. Plenty of that is found here. Fresh meat is the only food the country affords for men. Everything else has to be supplied from Rolla. You can imagine, therefore, under what difficulties an army labors in Missouri. I think there is work for our forces not far distant. That there is work in the shape of fighting is the prayer of the whole command. There are evidently warm times ahead in Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas. May we be there to see.

Sigma³¹⁷

They covered another eight miles on November 3rd. Heavy wagons loaded with knapsacks and supplies and pulled by mules and oxen had a particularly difficult time. Marches started early but the length of a day's march was often determined more by the availability of water, hay and corn for the animals than by terrain. To ease the march, "a detail of two men was sent out from each Company, to impress teams to haul knapsacks and other impedimenta

315

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 294. Joseph M. Woodhouse, Company I, said the march was twenty miles the first day and seven the next. Historical Society of Wright County, Missouri, Battle of Hartville and Related Events (Schwegman Office City, West Plains, Mo., 1997), pages 150-151.

316

Originally named for Sergeant John Brown, a Scotsman from Boston, *Old John Brown* was quickly associated with John "Osawatomie" Brown and "rolled on like a great snowball" gathering momentum and sung with fervor by soldiers and civilians alike who delighted in creating innovative new verses.

317

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 293-294. The letter was obviously misdated by the writer or the paper or Corbin (possibly misreading a "3" for a "2"). The regiment left Rolla on Sunday, November 2nd, and reached Houston on Tuesday, November 4th.

not essential to be carried on the person” and “they soon procured an ox-team for each Company.”³¹⁸ Except for fresh meat - “beef, mutton and pork,”³¹⁹ driven in daily by a “lieutenant’s party” - all supplies came by wagon from Rolla where John Rankhart died of measles.³²⁰

Still ill in Salem, Oren Follon wrote an undated letter to his sister Sarah.

I have had three letters from home now. I got one last night and you wrote that the folks was all well and hearty well. I am glad to hear that good news from home just as good news as I could wish to hear in this desolate country where there is nothing but hills and rocks, of the darkest age and where the folks are striped of most every thing that they have got ,and left to take care of them self. We are left at Salem, MO. The Regiment has gone (on?) but to what place I can not tell. They gave strict orders for all (?) fall out of the ranks that thought that they was not able for ten days March. Well I have had a very bad cold for a week and soreness in my breast so I skeped out. With the rest of the boys that are agoing to stay.

There is about one hundred and fifty of the boys that is left behind the regiment. They say that the reason that they was so particular about ever morn that was not well a getting out of the ranks was because they expected a battle and that they did not want a man in the ranks that was not able to stand up to the The letter than I got last night was from Sarah, and she wrote that it was Sunday and that they had just got a letter from me. and that Orives (?) folks were there and that they heard the letter read. And you wrote that they were all well and hearty Sarar you wrote that Father had gone to West Union with Ro (?) and house, and you wrote that Father had gone and left you to take care of yourself. Well that was not hardly fair to leave you after I have took his place. Well that may bee all for the best in the end of time for all that I can tell and you wrote that you had not got one barell of molases yet. And that you had to make the mill all over new. Well that will learn them better than to buy our old mill again that is all that I can say to them for I think that I have said quite enough on that point. And you wrote that you had got a letter from aunt Emily and that she was well . I am glad to hear that. I want to heart that about every body is well and you said that Mother was answering it well she must tell aunt Emily that I am in the army trying to doe some thing for my country and those that are left behind to mourn by abcents. The country needs our aid at this preseent time or never. . . . Write me as you get this letter and write all the news. this from your brother Oren Smith Follon to Sarah Follon.”³²¹

On the 4th, Daniel Eldridge was “taken sick,” but the regiment reached Houston before sundown³²² and pitched their tents. Houston was in Texas County, organized seventeen years earlier as the largest of Missouri’s 114 counties. In the highlands of the Ozarks, it had typically rugged hills, springs, meandering streams and caves. The tall pine trees “were exceedingly novel and beautiful.”³²³ A seat of justice had been laid out sixteen years earlier and named Houston for the first President of the Texas Republic but, by the time the Hawkeyes arrived, it was already deserted and most buildings had been ransacked. Dunlap appropriated Judge McBride’s large brick courthouse for brigade

318

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), pages 19-20.
319

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 19.

320

The site of his burial has not been confirmed. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54971524.

321

This from a typed transcription on Find-a-Grave Memorial #79886920. The transcription indicates it’s to his sister “Sarah” but also refers to “Sarah.”

322

Crooke indicates they arrived on the 5th. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 20. Contemporaneous first-person accounts in Jim Bethard’s letter and a typewritten transcription of Myron Knight’s wartime journal seem more reliable than one written 29 years later.

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 19.

headquarters and officer quarters while enlisted men pitched tents or sought shelter in vacant buildings.³²⁴ Edwin Duncan, a thirty-two year old fifer, was discharged so he could accept an appointment as assistant surgeon in the 38th infantry and Jim scribbled a hurried letter in pencil.

**Houston Mo
November the 4th 1862**

Dear wife and friends one and all you must put up with a short letter this time as the mail goes out in the morning and it is now almost time the lights were out we are all well we left Salem last Sunday morning³²⁵ and arrived here this evening a little before sun down being three days on the march distance about fifty miles we all stood the march like old soldiers and are ready for another but we shall in all probability remain here for a few days as the wagon train starts for Rolla in the morning and it will take them at least five days to make the trip they go after provisions We are now within 60 miles of the Arkansas line and when we march again I think we will go to Arkansas

Cal I told you in my last that we were formed in a brigade but that is a mistake that was the way I was informed by our company officers but I find they know but very little more than the privates There was some jayhawking done on our way through in the way of chickens geese hogs sheep beef cattle oxen wagon horses and mules and secesh we took 7 secesh on our way through

Houston is the most Godforsaken looking place that I have seen yet there is about a dozen houses and they are nearly all deserted I don't think there is over three familys in town it is the county seat of Texas county Mo the 33rd Mo regiment infantry part of the 3rd Mo cavalry and the 1st long battery of six guns are with us and the 99th Illinois are on their way from Salem we have good water where we are now

JB and J.M.R

On November 4, 1862, in Houston, Manchester resident Marion Gage, a private in Company H, accidentally discharged his musket causing the loss of the thumb on his right hand. No longer able to adequately handle a cartridge or ramrod, he would soon be discharged. On November 8, 1862, Rachel M. Bolles, wrote to her husband:³²⁶

Dear Husband,

I mailed a letter to you the morn before I received yours of the 24th but I was so bothered with the baby and the neighbors running in that I did not think of half that I wanted to write so I will try again.

In regard to the wheat that Marsh brought to us, it makes very dark flower and I have not made anything

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 20. James H. McBride was born in 1814 in Kentucky. On reaching adulthood he relocated and became a merchant and manufacturer in Paris, Missouri. McBride studied law, was admitted to the bar association of Missouri and married Mildred A. Barnes, a resident of Cooper County. He then moved his family to Springfield where he had a successful law practice and became president of the Springfield Bank. In 1850 he moved to California and in 1853 returned to Missouri. He was elected to the state legislature representing Texas County as a Democrat. In 1859 McBride moved to Houston, the county seat of Texas County, and in 1860 he was elected a circuit judge there. In 1861 Governor Claiborne Jackson appointed him a brigadier general in the Missouri State Guard and with command of its 7th Division, effective May 18. On August 10th McBride and his men first saw action during the Battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield where "his 645 troops were in the thick of the fight on Bloody Hill, suffering 146 casualties." On February 23, 1862, after service elsewhere, he resigned his commission from the state forces, hoping to become a brigadier general in the Confederate Army, but General Price's opinion of McBride had changed because he "found fault with McBride's flouting of regulations and the lax discipline of his state guard division." McBride was ordered to Arkansas to organize a new infantry brigade and then ordered to join Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman, who was recruiting soldiers around Little Rock. In 1863 McBride's health began to fail, forcing him to remain in Arkansas until 1864 even though the area had fallen under Union control. Although he was appointed a colonel in the Confederate Army in 1864, McBride was not fit for duty and headed south with his family, hoping to recover his health. They left their home near Clarksville and got as far as Bluffton in Yell County before McBride became too ill from pneumonia to continue. He died in March and was buried in the town's cemetery in an unmarked grave. Wikipedia (05/28/11).

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Sunday was November 2, 1862. Crooke indicates they didn't leave Salem until November 3d. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 19. The contemporaneous first-person accounts in Jim's letter and Myron Knight's journal, seem more reliable than one written 29 years later.

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This is a copy of a typewritten transcript of a letter for sale on eBay on January 9, 2012.

good from it yet he thinks it is the miller's fault but I don't. I told him that I was not willing to give him 75 cents. It is more than anybody else gives. Campbell pays 65 cents for first quality. You can do as you please about it. The Trasher thought yo very nice except small. I am not partial to poor bread. M says he is going to replace the corn that is fed to the horses from our crib. He sold the largest hog \$2.15 a hundred. 200.88 pounds was what it weighed. There is \$25 due him now. I hope we shall have it for him before he goes home. Mr. Killpatrick has been here collecting his bills. He sold your note to Brother Bell on the note that he holds against you. Brother B called here a week ago Said he wanted to go to Ohio next spring to get a lot of sheep and if you can pay him all or a part of the note he should like it. Pay little at a time if you would like but he said tell Brother Bolles not to feel any anxiety about it if it is not convenient then let it go until you can pay. Charged me not trouble myself about it.

I wish I had a host of news to write but I have not been from the house since I went with you so I don't get much news. I have been invited to Mr. Byington's twice but do not intend to go anywhere this winter. Mr. Byington's folks talk of going East soon to spend the winter. Sell his place then come in the spring and build there. Boy is not well - child is very sick. Poor Mrs. Huslam. I do feel sorry for her. She is very feeble. Has had the Doctor once and ought to again. Mr. Pope wants Devite to get a customer to buy his farm when he gets back east. I don't know what he wants to sell for. Mr. Clausland is going into his new house soon. It is not going to be lathered or plastered this winter. Omsted is going into his one house. Our people keep up Sunday School and meetings yet. From what I hear I don't think Brother B style of preaching Please the people. Youran has closed his business. Say she is going to war but I don't believe it. Since writing the above I hear that you have left Salem. Now I shall feel more anxious about you. Suppose the regiment will have to go into battle soon. It is awful, I hope you will keep out of the way of the Rebels. Please write often for I shall want to hear from you more than ever. We are all well and as happy as we can be without you. We all send a great deal of love to you. Mrs. Haslum had a letter from Mr. H last night. What is the matter with him? I hope you will always tell me just how your health is. You did not speak of it in your last.

Yours with much love,

R. M. Bolles

Mansion House Nov 8th 1862.

While the wagon train was gone, the rest of the regiment stayed in camp, the Secretary of War named Nathaniel Banks to replace Butler in command the Department of the Gulf, and Jim wrote another letter. As a farmer who enjoyed the relatively flat, fertile soils of Ohio and Iowa, he was less than impressed by the late autumn beauty of the Ozark's "crusty limestone and dolomite" hills that were "riddled with caves, springs, and sinkholes."³²⁷

Houston Mo

November the 9th 62

Dear wife I have just finished reading your letter of the 29th Oct and also Morts of Nov 1st which found me and all the rest of our boys well and in good spirits O what a blessing it is that although we are far apart we have a way of hearing from one another I am sorry to hear of your affliction with your tooth but am glad it is no worse and hope it will soon wear off as it has done heretofore I am glad you allways speak of our little Ella in your letters for it does me good to hear from her you and her are always together in my mind your pictures I still retain and look at them often which affords me a great deal of pleasure they bring back to my mind the remembrance of many happy hours they bring to mind the comforts of home which is appreciated by no one better than the soldier but I must change the subject for fear you will think I am homesick but I suppose you know that that is no part of my nature

So let the world wag as it will We will be gay and happy still I have entirely recovered from the measles and am as stout and hearty as ever so you need not give self any uneasings on that score You will see by the date of this letter that we have not moved since I wrote you that hurried letter in pencil we are still at Houston camped upon almost the highths of the Ozark mountains but they do not meet my Idea of mountains by a good deal it was a gradual ascent almost all the way from Salem here but we did not have more than two or three bad hills to come up on the whole route it was the best road

³²⁷ Lisa Moore, *Ozarks Harmony*. National Geographic (April 1998).

and is the best country around here that I have seen in Missouri but that is not saying much in praise of the country here to speak seriously I would not give Uncle Joels farm for all the land I have seen in Missouri and be obliged to live on it I mean after leaving St Louis the land is all rocks and hills and covered with small scrubby trees and brush I have not seen a patch of prairie in the state large enough for an onion bed and the people are in proportion they correspond very well with the country the women make me think of the corn the way it looked last spring the next day after it was frostbitten they wear no hoops but old dirty ragged calico dresses their faces as yellow as a frostbitten tobacco leaf and they look like they was greased from one end to the other and when they come up to a soldier with their jonny cake and milk to sell they come sneaking up like a lop eared hown that had been severly whiped James Rice says to tell Lib that he got a letter from her this evening but as I am writing now he will not write until the middle of the week so that you will hear from us twice a week instead of once
So good evening James Beathard

Letters to and from home were usually received quickly when regiments were near good transportation, but otherwise could take weeks or might not arrive at all. Jim and his brother-in-law had decided to stagger their letters so Cal and Lib could share news on a regular basis. Jim would write every Sunday while his brother-in-law would write mid-week. Each would include news of the other and of relatives and friends known to their wives and, when unable to write, would sometimes ask friends to write for them.

Jim was one of many who expressed their sentiments about the residents of the Ozarks and another Iowa soldier had written from Rolla:

Dear Daily Times:

I am very much disappointed in Missouri, so far as I have seen it. Of all the God forsaken countries this is the worst. The whole section of country, from St. Louis here is not worth the life of a single northern soldier, and were it not for the vital principles involved, would not pay for half an hours defence. As our good natured Major remarked the other day, "It is an absolute crime to kill a secesh in this part, for no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than to compel him to live here." The inhabitants are in keeping with the country. The men are lazy, ignorant, and semi-barbarians. Absence of energy, intelligence and fidelity is their principal characteristic. The women (or rather the female, for it is an abuse of the term, and a reflection on the nobility of the name to call them women) are dirty, ragged and slip-shod - in the later I am mistaken, for they don't wear any shoes. Crinoline, shoes and bonnets are universally spurned among the sex here as wholly unnecessary "ornaments" I would overlook these things, however, because I was always opposed to ornamenting "beauty." The stunner with me is, that they don't wash their faces, and have not learned to use combs. Don't talk to me any more about "Missouri beauties." Give me the Iowa girls.

*Sigma*³²⁸

Outside major cities these were often hard-working frontier women whose attitudes, appearance and attire were not what the soldiers experienced at home and many, women and children, were tobacco chewers. Hiram Crandall recalled the women of Glasgow, Missouri, who watched the soldiers' dress parades and said the "*Iowa troops are gentlemen*," but he was critical of secessionist women who were "*very bloodthirsty*." Company F's Walter McNally said, in his diary, that he was part of a patrol checking local residences near Rolla and:

"the women would ask what is wanting in a gruffey voyce takeing the pipe the same time out of her mouth or prepearing the tobacco to fill a pipe for the most all shew and smoke when asked for there husbands the answer most every place is he is dead at the same time he probely be in the reabel ranks but the supose the are all rite if the say he is dead."

Another wrote that backcountry farm women "*are generally an ignorant set dressed in old fashioned costumes of divers colors and appearing awkward and bashful*" and some felt they combed their hair "*by crawling through the*

brush-fence after the pigs."³²⁹ Susan Sloan, wife of the regiment's chaplain, had joined her husband in Rolla and wrote:

Many of the people here are excessively ignorant, the other day one of the Captains went into a log house to buy butter, he asked one of four bouncing girls, standing around if they took a newspaper? Oh no! she said they didn't have no "larnen," well could the Father read? Oh no! he didn't have no "larnen." Was there a school house near? No there wasn't no school house. Was there a school house in the Township? No thee wasn't any as they knowed of.

I wish you could see this class of Missouri beauties, guiltless of crinoline, guiltless of soap and water and carefully avoiding too frequent use of comb and brush. Many of these fair ones visit this camp with edibles in the shape of pies and ginger cakes.

The pies I can describe in a few words, they are composed of a great deal of flour, very little lard, not much apple and a large proportion of that "peck of dirt," which they say we must dispose of before we die; how the soldiers manage to eat them I cannot tell.

Cyrus Henderson said "*most of wimen look fat and helly and ugly*"³³⁰ and another gave his own opinions as well as relaying opinions expressed by the ladies of Booneville who thought:

"the Iowa boys conducted themselves more like gentlemen than any other troops that had been there. The women were the spunkiest I ever seen and when a squad of us would visit a house we would have to take a few broadsides but our orders were to do things as civil as possible and we had to stand it as best we could but I felt several times like if I could see them strangled."

The Hawkeyes were equally unflattering of the state. Jim found it unsuitable for farming, another thought that "*of all the God forsaken countries this is the worst,*" and Cornelius Scott wrote that it was "*rough and rocky, poor timber and thinly settled.*" On November 12th, "*Sigma*" wrote another letter.³³¹

*Houston, Missouri
November 12, 1862*

Editor Dubuque Times:

Houston, of which Iowa people have heard so much during the war in the States, is emphatically a town where nobody lives. The place is situated on the highest point of the Ozark mountains, and for a Missouri town is pleasantly located. The country around it is more thickly populated than in any section I have yet visited since we left the immediate vicinity of St. Louis. That is there are more places where Missourians once lived, for the country is now thoroughly depopulated of men, and a large proportion have their families with them. There is a large Court House - a fine brick building.

We arrived after a three day's march from Salem, but not a living soul can be fund in the "city." A more perfect picture of the "deserted village" and completely desolation is seldom witnessed. The different regiments and detachment commanders took possession of the "fine corner buildings," while Lieut. Col. Dunlap, commanding the forces, appropriated the Court House for brigade headquarters.³³²

We expect to move on to Hartville in a few days, with the whole command. The 21st is in good fighting trim and are "anxious for the fray."

Sigma.

Jim's Ohio friend Leonard Richey and others captured at Harpers Ferry had suffered defeat and capture, been confined at Camp Douglass near Chicago, and were greatly demoralized. They had seen friends die and had not been

³²⁹ Hirshson, *Grenville M. Dodge* p. 54 (Indiana University Press 1967).

³³⁰ Letter to his parents (October 21, 1862).

³³¹

William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 294-295.

³³²

Colonel Merrill, who had been detached on October 20, 1862 to command the post at Salem, had not yet returned.

paid for eight months. Their Colonel, a former Lieutenant-Governor, was arrested, convicted for neglect of duty and dismissed from the service. His men grew tired of confinement, refused guard duty, “*quickly leveled*” a board stockade and harassed their guards. Before long, an “*exodus begun*” as many elected “*French leave*” and went home.³³³ “*Some few walked most, and some all the way from Chicago to Central Ohio, but usually they would manage to get on some east bound train in squads of sufficient strength to defy the conductors.*”³³⁴ Among them was Jim’s friend, Leonard Richey, who left camp on November 12th.

At the same time, in Missouri, some of the Salem convalescents rejoined their regiment in Houston.

HARTVILLE, MISSOURI³³⁵ **(November 13 to December 2, 1862)**

On Thursday, November 13th, men were, as Sigma had written, “*anxious for the fray*” as they pulled tents and left at 8:00am for Hartville - “*over hilly mountainous roads and poor miserable country*” according to Cornelius Scott, “*ruff and stoney*” according to George Brownell³³⁶ - and ten miles later, about 2:00pm, stacked arms and camped on an old ball field. The next morning they were underway by 6:30am, the road was better, and they covered about twelve miles before camping at noon. On the 15th, Charles Cottle died of tuberculosis in Salem³³⁷ while the regiment resumed its march at 7:00am and soon crossed a small nondescript stream. It’s unlikely they knew its name, it was only one of many, but in fewer than two weeks “*Beaver Creek*” would be etched in their memories forever. Continuing on a good road over hilly ground they arrived in town about 1:00pm. Tents were pitched in the rain, often in pairs for roomier accommodations, some with rock fireplaces on one side, as water dripped through thin canvas.

With rough hills and fertile valleys, Wright County was noted for its fruit, poultry and dairy farms which flourished, especially postwar. Named for New York Senator Silas Wright, it had been organized in 1841. The first white settlers, mainly from Tennessee, arrived during the 1830’s and one settlement, near a natural spring, had grown into the town of Hartville. It soon became the county seat and was strategically important as the junction of the main wagon roads to Houston, Lebanon and West Plains. By the time the 21st Iowa arrived after an all-day march, the brick courthouse was a “*fort*” occupied by members of the state militia to protect the town’s flour mill, two vacant stores and fifteen or twenty houses. Mud and clay were everywhere.

Artillery was positioned around the courthouse while men foraged, practiced daily drills, waited for a much needed supply train from Rolla, and became acquainted with “*Chicken*,” “*the practical joker*,” “*the faithful friend*” “*Hardtack*” and other nick-named locals.

Camp at Heartsville Mo **November the 15th - 62**

Dear wife and friends one and all I find myself seated on the ground once more with my paper on my knapsack making turkey tracks for you we have just finished a three days march distance 38 miles and find ourselfs all right tight round and sound like a babys shirt the same force is with us that was with us at salem and Houston

General Warren says it is probbable that we will remain here as long as six or eight weeks we had a good time to march the weather was fine and the roads dry but not dusty we are camped in a good place on high ground and plenty of good spring water handy Heartsville is about the size of Houston

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A possible reference to the large number of desertions during the French revolution whose records “*showed 120,000 deserters at one time.*” Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 48.

³³⁴ E. Z. Hays, *History of the Thirty-Second Regiment* (Cott & Evans, Printers, 1896), page 37.

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The city of Hartville was reportedly named for Isaac Hart who donated land for the town. [Wikipedia](#). Many manuscripts, letters, early maps, and official documents from the Civil War era spelled it “*Hartsville*” which supports “*the theory that Hartville was named after Hartsville, TN from whence some of the pioneers had come to Missouri.*” *The Battle of Hartville and Related Events* (Schwegman Office City, West Plains, MO, 1997). Many of the letters and other documents referenced in this manuscript, however, refer to it as Hartville which would suggest that it was always known by that name.

³³⁶

[Journal of George Brownell](#). The original journal is maintained by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

³³⁷

The site of Charles’ burial has not been found.

but there are a great many more inhabitants here than in Houston we found the town guarded by about 100 state militia they had a few fortifications stuck around which might be easily battered down by a six pounder loaded with army crackers we saw better country on our march this time than we have ever seen in Missouri before we saw a few verry nice farms but they are few and far between the land is all stone and gravel but we are following a range of mountains and cannot expect any thing else we are now only 45 miles from Springfield but there is no telling where we will go when we start again the report is that Little Rock is taken but it is not to be relied upon Some of our officers are offering to bet that peace will be declared by the first of January I hope it will be the case but it is not best to flatter ourselves with that Idea to much John Mather received a letter this evening from Sterling they were still at Helena and all well he says they are looking for us down there in a few days but I am afraid they will be disappointed we expect to get payed off in a few days we are out of money and have been for more than a month but that makes but little difference as there is nothing here to buy if we had money except of the sutler and we can get anything we want of him without money but we do not patronize him much because he charges 14 prices for every thing he has he sells such tobaccco as we used to get in Iowa for 40cts a pound at \$1.75 and other things in proportion Jim and John and I have discovered that it is a nautious weed and therefore we abstain from the use of it James Rice will write the next time the mail goes out and as it is past bed time and the rest of the boys are all in bed I must wind myself up and go to bed too I will try to write you a better letter next time so Good night
James Beathard

The sutlers were civilians, usually one to a regiment, who supplied newspapers, food, books, tobacco and other approved items including the ever-popular molasses cookies, all theoretically at regulated prices. In practice, they also often furnished alcohol and other unapproved items and prices varied widely, especially near payday, sometimes resulting in raiding of sutlers' tents and wagons by angry soldiers who viewed the sutler as one *"always on hand promptly when his financial interest is benefitted thereby and never to be found when most needed."* One sutler encouraged his friends to give it a try. *I commenced on \$400 and cleared \$1600 the first three weeks,"* this from soldiers making \$13.00 a month.³³⁸

To bolster meager rations or merely make a boring diet more palatable, troops, both North and South, also resorted to foraging or "jayhawking." Officially sanctioned foragers (also called "bummers" and "smokehouse rangers") appropriated meat and grain and gave written receipts to be paid in Rolla on proof of loyalty, but much foraging was not authorized. Hungry men far from home and anxious for action often engaged in wholesale plundering, looting and destruction of property although General Warren imposed heavy discipline on those who were caught.

Rain alternated with cold and frost for several days and cooking of biscuits "like [warm] leather" or cold "lead" was so difficult that some officers paid a penny a biscuit to have them cooked in a nearby house. Enlisted men used small kettles and Company D built an oven. Some cooked pancakes, also called "slapjacks" or "Missouri whetstones," and this on top of "the perpetual boiled beans" led many to the hospital tent.³³⁹

On November 17th, Linus McKinney was detailed as Orderly for fellow McGregor resident, Colonel Merrill, and another letter was sent to the *Times*.³⁴⁰

Hartville, Missouri
November 17, 1862

Editor Dubuque Times:

This place has a brick courthouse converted into a fort, a steam flouring mill, fifteen or twenty homes, two vacant stores, which with any quantity of clay and mud, compose the town. After considerable hard labor, can be converted into camp grounds, and when the command at about two o'clock, entered the place

³³⁸ Hirshson, Grenville M. Dodge p. 62 (Indiana University Press 1967).
³³⁹

Letter by unidentified soldier. George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 21.
³⁴⁰

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 296, citing a letter to the *Dubuque Daily Times*.

the different regiments and detachments were assigned to their positions. The artillery is parked at the court house, so as to be ready in case of any emergency.

The town has been garrisoned by about one hundred State Militia, who, in this country, cannot be depended upon, and who for the past week have been trembling in their boots for fear an attack would be made on this place, as on the 10th inst., a rebel force of one thousand approached to within twenty-five miles of here and captured "Clark's Mills" with it garrison of some two or three hundred militiamen and a few of the 10th Illinois cavalry, who have been released on parole. After completely destroying the place the rebels skedaddled as usual.³⁴¹ When or where they will again turn up remains to be seen, but probably at some place held by the State militia, for they generally manage to have the arms, stores etc. surrendered to them without much fighting, and that is what they like.

Hartsville, is due east from Springfield and fifty miles from that important post, so we are in supporting distance from it, but from papers received to-day we learn that the "Army of the Frontier" has returned, and again occupy the town, and if so, our support will hardly be needed. But this portion of the country is nearly cleaned out of rebels, and in the course of a month, it will not be surprising if we have not crossed the "Father of Waters," and were operating in Mississippi, a consummation most devoutly to be wished for.

Gen. Warren has a fine brigade, and what is requisite to make it effectual viz: the confidence of every officer and soldier of his ability to lead them, and should it be our fortune to take part in any engagement you will hear a good account of Gen. Warren and his brigade.

Myself

On November 18th, Colonel Merrill arrived in camp after a "protracted and painful illness" that caused him to stay behind when the regiment left Salem.³⁴² On November 19th, the regiment participated in a dress parade, an event described by an Illinois soldier:

*"From company to company officers and sergeants barked a few terse orders; a little shuffling of feet, and the line stood petrified at attention. . . . Then the adjutant barked 'Front!' and the parade was formed. Square shoulders, full chests, breathing deep, and slow, and regular as a race-horse; easy poise of body, hands resting on the ordered muskets lightly as they would hold a watch or a pencil, yet so firmly that when the command, 'Der-hmm!' came, every piece swung to a 'shoulder' like the movement of a machine. . . . the click of the hands in one time and two motions, varied by the order, as the piece moved from the old to the new position, or fell with a simultaneous thump on the turf to the 'order.'"*³⁴³

Rain cleared in the afternoon, three more convalescents caught up from Salem, and men speculated on their destination. Previously expecting to continue to the southwest, they were now less certain since the Army of the Frontier had recently returned to Springfield and the Iowa reinforcements might not be needed. One who was no longer speculating was Surgeon William Hyde.

As early as September 2nd, a week before the regiment was mustered into service, Merrill had wired the Governor, "I beg you to transfer the Surgeon & Assistant Surgeon of the twenty-first (21) Regiment Graves will explain all."³⁴⁴ On September 8th, "Many Ladies" of Elkader were of the same mind when they wrote to the Governor, objected to "our husbands and brothers being placed in his care," and complained that "the whole course of himself and family has marked them as secession sympathizers and when asked to contribute to our Sanitary Stores they have replied that if they had any thing to give it would be given to their Southern brothers." On the 11th, Dunlap, Van Anda, seven of the ten captains and numerous other officers expressed their belief that Dr. Hyde was "inefficient," "wholly unqualified" and "personally objectionable and unpopular with the entire regiment from the

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At Clark's Mill (Vera Cruz), John Burbridge and Colton Greene had led a Confederate squad against an out-gunned Union force, burned a blockhouse, and captured and paroled men from the 10th Illinois cavalry.

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November 20, 1863, letter from Chaplain Samuel P. Sloan to his Congregational Church Sunday School as published in the North Iowa Times on November 22, 1863.

343

Burdette, The Drums of the 47th p18.

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Wire by Colonel Merrill from Davenport (September 2, 1862).

officer commanding down to the privates in the ranks.” It would be best, they thought, to move Hyde to another regiment *“where he will be less objectionable.”*

The same day at home, Doctor Duncan of Dubuque, at the request of Colonel Merrill, delivered J. K. Graves’ letter to the Governor *“to arrange if possible for the transfer of Surgeon Hyde from the 21” to the 27”* or some other Regt.”³⁴⁵ On the 12th it was Van Anda’s turn as he wrote to Governor Kirkwood and said Hyde had neither the ability nor the confidence of anyone in the regiment to justify his position. *“Appoint Dr. Horr, Dr. Brown or any other man,”* he said, *“but do make the change.”* To Van Anda, Hyde was an *“incubus.”* To Brigadier General Fitz Henry Warren there was *“great trouble”* in the regiment and, on September 14th, Colonel Merrill wrote that Hyde was *“very unpopular”* and there was an *“utter lack of confidence”* in him. The efficiency of his command was threatened, he talked to Hyde and Hyde agreed to resign if the Governor would commission him to another regiment, a regiment *“where he is personally unknown,”* suggested Merrill. On the 20th, Dr. Hyde accepted a transfer to the 32d Missouri and campaigning began for someone to take his place.

**Heartsville Mo
Nov the 20th 1862**

Dear Cal

Since I finished Roberts letter I have been detailed with 50 men to go out in search of six men of our company who went out foraging and have been gone two days over their time creating considerable of anxiety in camp for their safety it is supposed that they have been picked up by some roving band of rebels we are to start at four o clock with four days rations it is now about two I do not know when the mail will leave here but I will write you a few lines and leave it with Jim and he will send it the first chance he gets I hope we may find some of the butternuts I should like to chance my rifle on some of them but I think it is extremely doubtful about our finding any if they have ventured to take those men they have skedaddled out of our reach before this time but I must quit and go to dinner dinner is over and I am as full as a tick I must hurry up this letter and get ready to go you will have to go to Robert for the news this time it seems there is something to hurry me every time I commence writing to you lately I am glad you sent me that paper it was a verry welcome gift indeed we have got so far out now that we can get no papers excep those sent to us by our friends and old news is better than none at all I should like mighty well to know how the war is progressing there are so many rumors in camp that we dont know what to believe unless it is something direct from home we have had the story here for three or four days that there had been an armistice agreed upon for 60 days to make some terms of peace it is the general belief here that we will all be at home by the early part of next summer but I must quit writing and get ready to go I will write again when I get back to camp kiss the baby for me while I subscribe myself

**Your loving husband
James Beathard**

After several months of marching and drill Jim talked tough and hoped to find some *“butternuts,”* a reference to western rebels, many of whom wore uniforms colored yellow-brown by a walnut and chemical dye used in their manufacture. *“Tha all ware yellow dressing and pants,”* said Cyrus Henderson.³⁴⁶ Also writing on the 20th was Chaplain Sloan.

Hartsville, Mo. Nov. 20, 1862

Dear Sunday School:

This is a clear, bright morning after a long dreary storm, of somewhat less duration than that which Paul encountered in the Adriatic. From Saturday till Wednesday evening, we had almost incessant rain, with high winds part of the time - a regular Missouri storm in all the attributes of its dreariness sited to this doleful

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J. K. Graves was most likely Julius K. Graves who, like Merrill, had moved from New Hampshire to Iowa. A resident of Dubuque, he was a banker and, like Merrill and Governor Kirkwood, a Republican. He helped raise money to equip Iowa soldiers and had served as post quartermaster at Camp Franklin.

³⁴⁶ Letter from Cyrus Henderson to his parents (October 21, 1862).

region of country. We did very well in the officer's tents; they kept us perfectly dry, while our sheet iron Stoves made the temperature delicious. As we sat around our fires listening to the rain pattering on the tightly drawn canvass, there would have been a real luxury in the sound had it not been for the painful reflection that our poor soldiers in their little tents were cold and damp. It has been a hard storm for soldiers in the field, but our boys have borne it cheerfully. They are out in the sunshine this morning airing their blankets, darning their stocking, and cleaning their guns, as merry as if the sun had always shone.

One of our great privations here is the lack of news. Our letters come regularly, at long intervals - our papers do not come at all. I have not seen a paper since we left Houston, and but three or four since we left Salem. After having my daily paper and keeping track of all the movement of the army, and transactions of the government, now to be cut down to a state weekly once or twice a month, seems rather tough. there may have been a big battle fought on the Potomac, and evacuation of Holly Springs, and two or three sea port cities captured with the last fortnight; but if there have, we have not heard it yet, and probably will not till towards the first of December. A McGregor paper I have not seen for two weeks, and then it was fifteen days old. I wish it might be hinted to the Times and the News to keep their papers right on our tracks, and in hot pursuit of us. Colonel Merrill arrived in camp two days ago, after a protracted and painful illness at Salem, greatly improved in health and in fine spirits, he has assumed command of his regiment. Another of our soldiers died at Salem the other day, and another at Houston is thought to be dangerously ill. At this place we had yesterday, thirteen sick; all of them, except one, are doing well. One poor fellow is very sick.

My dear Teachers and Scholars, I fancy you all in your places, looking and listening as the Secretary reads my letter for the interesting part of it. Alas! It will never come! Four days of a storm shutting one up in tent, do not furnish many incidents to write. The only remarkable development during those days was the growth of "camp rumors." One time we hear that we are going back to Houston "to morrow." (We know that can't be so, for our baggage train is all gone to Salem with six days rations.) Next we hear that we are going to Rolla as soon as the train returns. A little after we hear that we are going to St. Louis, and then down the Mississippi. Again we hear that our destination is to winter quarters in Benton Barracks, and so to an endless variety of rumors. I asked some of the boys one day where they heard these things; they said over at the hospital. The same afternoon I heard a re hash of the same thing as the hospital, and asked where they got their information; "heard it in camp." So it goes from hospital to camp and from camp to hospital.

As ever, yours
S. P. Sloan.

Friday was warm and pleasant, some men breakfasted on cornbread and Jim finished his letter.

Nov the 21st - 62

Now Cal if you have had time to draw a long breath I will tell you how the scouting party came out we started at the appointed time and went out about a mile and a half and met the lost men on their return we halted and the captain passed his canteen along the line we then counter marched by file left and arrived in camp about dusk and nary reb did we see I dont know what will be done with the men but the seargeant who had charge of them will probably be reduced to the ranks

The probbability is that the next move we make will be back toward St Louis at least that is the general opinion We are now within 45 miles of the Arkansas line and about the same distance from Springfield this is a fine morning and I feel bunkham So good morning James Beathard

On Saturday, November 22d, Colonel Merrill wrote to Nathaniel Baker, the state's Adjutant General, regarding the commissioning of Rev. Samuel Sloan as the regiment's Chaplain and advising that, "*we move to Houston Mo. Monday.*"

ATTACK AT BEAVER CREEK (November 24, 1862)

As supplies dwindled, Warren had sent wagons to Rolla to pick up mail, arms and other provisions. The large army wagons typically "*carried 4,500 pounds of freight at two and a half miles per hour when conditions were*

favorable,” but, even with less weight, winter weather and bad roads made the round trip a slow one.³⁴⁷ The trip to Rolla was uneventful and they had started their return in two groups. Chaplain Sloan had mentioned the supply train in his last letter and now, ominously would mention it again in another letter to the Sunday school.

Hartsville, Mo., Nov. 23, 1862

My Dear Children:

The sound of the bugle coming from “headquarters” says “go to bed,” but I won’t go. I shall first write you a letter. Here I sit upon my blankets by my warm hearted camp stove, with my candles and inkstand on a camp stool, and my portfolio on my knee. The only sounds I hear are an occasional ha! ha! from one of the private’s tents, and the munching and trampling of my faithful horse, who keeps me company just on the outside of the tent. Poor fellow, I wish it were practicable to bring him into the tent these cold stormy nights, but I give him one of my blankets to sleep in, which is the best I can do.

To day we had formal meeting in the Court House, morning and afternoon; rather I should say in the fort, for the Court House is converted into a fort, with a stockade around it. Last Friday night I preached to the State Militia, who are quartered in the fort, and to the prisoners of whom there are about a dozen - one of them is a Baptist minister, who has been in the “secesh” army.

You often hear of the “butternut clothes” which the rebels wear. It is prevailing color here, with a variety of lights and shades. It would hardly seem creditable to you if I were to tell you how ignorant the natives are. Capt. Benton has found some who never saw a postage stamp and did not know what he meant by it. One old fellow was in camp yesterday, selling molasses, who said he never heard of Lincoln and didn’t know who he was. Some of our boys went for forage and found a man who said he never seen an iron or a steel pitch fork. A man who can read or write is quite an oracle in these parts. In the county east of this I saw but one school house, and that was at the county seat, and was called the Academy. In this county (Wright) I have not seen any, even in the county seat.

We are to counter march from here to Houston as soon as our teams return from Salem, whither they have been gone for a week. We expect them certainly tomorrow. We have heard from Houston we shall join Schofield division and go to Cross Hollow, Arkansas, where the enemy are said to be concentrating a large force. As to the truth of the rumor, you can guess about as well as we can. To night we had mail - the first one for a week; it brought me nothing from McGregor. I received one paper from Davenport, ten days old, which I devoured with keen relish. Until further notice please write me, and direct papers to Rolla. My wife is there and will receive them and send them forward to me wherever I am.

For want of other thoughts and incidents I must cut short my writing here. With every desire for your present and future welfare, I am sincerely Yours,

S. P Sloan

Despite Merrill’s letter to Baker, the regiment was still in Hartville on November 24th. Elisha Boardman and Homer Butler were among the sick and construction of a stockade was nearing completion. The advance section of the supply train reached Houston and turned west. Included, said Henry Dyer, were “fifteen men of the 3d Mo Union Cavalry 15 men of the 99” Illinois Infy & 15 men of the 21st Iowa Infy in all forty five men. besides these we had some twenty five teamsters & their assistants who were of no use in defence being unarmed.” Sixteen miles east of Hartville, they made camp in “Hog Holler” along Beaver Creek.³⁴⁸ About 7:00 p.m. some of the men were cooking, some were resting, some were helping with the horses, others were on picket and the more fortunate were searching for forage when the camp was attacked.

Their attackers, with estimates ranging from 400 to 1,500, both probably exaggerated, were mounted and within forty yards when first noticed as they “came down the road with yells & shrieks firing as they came.”³⁴⁹ Union infantry fired a quick volley and the attackers withdrew, dismounted and charged on foot. “We formed our little band across the road & charged them back three times in succession but they were too strong driving us back into our

³⁴⁷ Bradbury, *Phelps County in the Civil War* (Bradbury 1997).

³⁴⁸

Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer, page 28, reported 15 infantry from the 21st Iowa, 15 infantry from the 99th Illinois and 15 cavalry from the 3d Missouri Cavalry.

³⁴⁹ Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.

coralle which was formed of wagons.”³⁵⁰ George Chapman from Volga City was just leveling his musket, preparing to fire, when “three balls pierced his breast” and killed him instantly.³⁵¹ His death and inability to send money home would force his parents to sell the family farm. “One of the boys,” said Gilbert Cooley, “got in a little trouble. He said he shot 7 or 8 times & then they were all around him. He made a dash & passed right through a company of rebels & made his escape in a shower of bullets.” Cyrus Henderson was shot in the right knee while Phillip Wood, a painter from Clinton, was shot through the lungs. The night sky was lit by musket fire and after a battle lasting “half to three quarters of an hour” the Federals surrendered.

Twenty-eight year old Strawberry Point resident John Robinson was captured with a wound on the left side of his head. Joseph Baker, a comrade in Company D, said, “I washed his wound and did all I could for him,” while Gilbert Cooley said Robinson:

“was wounded in the head & taken prisoner together with the other boys. His wound was not bad just cut up the skin & raked along the skull an inch lower & he was a dead man. He was wounded almost exact as Russell & almost in the same place. John was trying to hitch up the mules under a galling fire. The mules were falling all around. They got to jumping & charging & John dodged under the tongue as he stooped the ball hit him. It was a buck shot. He had to take the oath not to take up arms until regularly exchanged or be shot on the spot. They were drawn up in a line & allowed to take their choice of course they took the oath.”

James Pool, Leverett Stone, Jacob Van Antwerp, Francis Ruff, wagoner John Lowe who had been George Chapman’s bunkmate, Arnold Horton, William Wood, Joseph Gilbert, Pat Burns, Lewis McCrary and Sam Chapman, a twenty-six year old from Dubuque, were among the prisoners. Also killed were three cavalymen³⁵² and Richard Blackburn of the 99th Illinois.

The attacking Rebels, believed by some to be from Arkansas and by others to be from Missouri,³⁵³ paroled their prisoners on the spot, set fire to wagons and supplies they could not take with them, and quickly left the scene. The Federals reported five killed and nine wounded and claimed to have found thirteen Confederate graves in the woods and another fifteen enemy wounded.³⁵⁴

George Luck, a twenty-five year old plasterer from Dubuque, was a teamster and among those who escaped, as did Jacob Haindel. Enos Russell, another teamster, was shot in the head but escaped and was among the first to reach Hartville where the alarm was sounded about 9:00pm. A detachment from the 3d Missouri Cavalry joined Hawkeye infantry as they raced to the scene. Among them were Washington Casey of Company B, Dan Donahue of Company

³⁵⁰ Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.
³⁵¹

Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer. George Chapman “died like a man standing his guard & shooting at them with all of his might.” Journal of Gilbert Cooley.
³⁵²

Historical Society of Wright County, Missouri, Battle of Hartville and Related Events (Schwegman Office City, West Plains, Mo., 1997), pages 150-151.
³⁵³

Ingersoll attributed the attack to “Campbell’s band of roving troopers.”Lurton Dunham Ingersoll, Iowa and the Rebellion (J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866), page 458. L. D .Ingersoll served as editor of the Iowa State Reporter and as librarian of the Interior Department. Years later, George Crooke attributed it to “Campbell’s troopers,” but may have secured his information from Ingersoll’s earlier work (note that neither gave a first name and both referred to “troopers”). George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 22.

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), includes a letter attributing the attack to “Col Berbridge” (pages 296-297) and another attributing it to “Green and Burbags, regular soldiers of the Confederate army” (pages 297-298).
³⁵⁴

Others estimated total Union losses at 5 killed, 6 wounded and 29 captured. Actual casualties in the 21st Iowa were 1 killed (George W. Chapman), 2 mortally wounded (Philip D. Wood; Cyrus Henderson) and 3 non-fatally wounded (John J. Robinson, Enos M. Russell; Nelson F. Simpson), 2 of whom (John J. Robinson; Nelson F. Simpson) were among the 13 captured and 3 (Jacob Haindel; George Luck; Enos M. Russell) who were among the 4 known to have escaped. George Crooke says 23 were taken prisoner, but there is no support for this number. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 22.

In 1991 Jack Crewse found eleven graves on the Crewse farm south of Highway 38, near where the attack occurred, that were separate from the family cemetery, graves he believed to be those of the attacking rebels. These could be the thirteen graves that a Missouri soldier said “were seen the next day in the woods.” See R. Wade letter, below.

G and Quartermaster Charles Morse who wrote the next day.³⁵⁵

A messenger came in last night, saying our train was attacked on Beaver Creek, fifteen miles out. The 21st fell in on the double quick. The noble boys plunged through the swift mountain streams waist deep, without a murmur. The night was cold and dark, but on they plod up the rough mountain and through dark valleys. I was well mounted on my fast horse, and went through with the cavalry, at a break neck pace, our horses under a gallop every foot of the distance. We went through fifteen miles in one hour and ten minutes. We dismounted and left our horses, and crept through the brush until we could distinguish our boys huddled around the burning remains of our wagons. They had been captured and paroled. The rebels stripped them of their clothing, pocket books, and, in fact everything they possessed. Oh what a sight next met our eyes, there lay three of our noble boys cold in death,³⁵⁶ shot through and through, stripped of their clothing even to shoes. Dead mules were to be seen in every direction and the burned wagons was enough to make one sick at heart. The rebels captured and paroled twenty-nine men, killed five that have been found and wounded a number. No one can tell how many more are killed and wounded, as some twenty are missing. The poor fellows are coming in, some wounded and some all right. They escaped by crawling into the bushes. I lost nine wagons and fifty-four mules belonging to the 21st Iowa.

Willard Benton, Captain of Company G gave a similar account indicating it was “a forced march from Hartsville Mo to Beaver Creek Mo. a distance of about 15 miles in about two hours time. In doing so had to ford streams of cold water in some places waist deep getting thoroughly wet.” The exertion of the march coupled with “sleeping on the damp ground” made things worse.³⁵⁷ Walter McNally thought it was “3 hours from the time we left camp.” It was a hard march he said, “and it cost maney a poore fellow his life for there was several caught colds that the never got over for they went where there is no more hard marching.”

Men still in Hartville spent the night in line of battle watching enemy signal lights in nearby hills and fearing an attack. Twenty-five year old Ebenezer Still was corporal of the guard on the Lebanon Road, moving from station to station, checking his men about midnight, when, he said, a “bushwhacker” stepped out of brush only twenty feet away, fired and ran into the timber yelling to unseen comrades that he had shot a “Damn Yank.” “It was a still night and sounds could be heard a long distance.” Homer Butler recalled “3 distinct shots” while Brad Talcott “heard some shooting out on the Lebanon road or in that direction” and “heard some one say to another that he had given one of the Dam Yanks Hell or words to that affect,” but it was not until the next morning that he learned, “by inquiring among the boys,” who had been shot. Ebenezer survived but Dr. Benham was forced to amputate the index and middle finger of his left hand. The other two fingers were permanently contracted.³⁵⁸

The Beaver Creek rescue party reached Hartville about 6:00am the next morning. They had made a round-trip mid-winter night march of thirty miles in only nine hours over rough roads, through icy streams, not stopping to eat or rest, rushing their return for fear the attackers might circle around to attack their camp. For this General Warren called them his “foot cavalry,” but men had suffered and many would never recover. The wagons had carried enough rations to feed 2,000 men for four days.³⁵⁹ Their loss was a heavy blow and Quartermaster Morse feared the second train might also be attacked.³⁶⁰

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Letter to Charles Brackett. William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 297-298. The given numbers are for the entire Union force, not just the 21st Iowa. Some say the force included eight infantry Companies from the 21st Iowa while others claim there were four infantry and four cavalry which seems more credible based on Morse’s report that he rode with the cavalry.

³⁵⁶ Only one of these was from the 21st Iowa.

³⁵⁷ Affidavit by Willard Benton dated February 16, 1891, in pension file of fellow McGregor resident Dan Donahue.

³⁵⁸

“Self-inflicted wounds are not a discovery of the modern factory workman” and a Union medical director reported many “self-mutilated.” Lon, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 158. There was some suspicion that Ebenezer had purposely shot himself to secure a discharge, but his hands were gloved, there were no powder burns and others heard the enemy shouts.

³⁵⁹

Men consumed about three pounds a day but packaging for hard tack, beans and other food weighed as much as the contents so the weight was actually about six pounds per man per day. If they were using standard 6’ by 10’ military wagons, they were apparently lightly loaded, possibly in recognition of the bad winter roads or a perceived need for more speed or mobility if attacked.

³⁶⁰

As soon as they destroyed our train and took what mules were left alive, they started off. We fear that they will take our other train, which camped only twelve miles further out, with the mails and all our trains, and ambulances and rations. If they are taken I will not have a wagon left, and only two two wheeled ambulances. As soon as we arrived at the scene of the conflict and learned they had left, and were 1,500 strong, we returned to camp, making thirty miles from 9 P.M. to 7 A.M., over mountains and through streams waist deep, on the coldest night we have had during our service. We learned that our pickets had been fired upon and one man shot, and all the troops that we left behind were under arms all night in line of battle. Our cavalry are all off on escort duty except eighty men and our infantry could not pursue them. We have very little hopes of our other train. What we are to do the Lord only knows. We are out of rations, and no transportation. The rebels were well uniformed and armed, and under command of Green and Burbags, regular soldiers of the Confederate army. By signal lights one each side of us, we expect an attack any moment, and do not care how soon it comes. The 33d Missouri volunteers are in Houston, so we are left with only 1,350 infantry, 4 pieces of artillery and 80 cavalry; all the balance of the brigade are on detached service. It is cold and snowing to-day.

The 25th continued cold. Snow fell and Phillip Wood died of his chest wound. His remains were sent to Rolla for burial³⁶¹ while others rested from their ordeal and Major General Curtis wired his report.

Saint Louis, Mo. November 25, 1862

*Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck,
General-in-Chief:*

General Warren, commanding at Hartville, telegraphs that a train of 47 wagons was attacked by rebels and destroyed between Houston and Hartville, and 5 men killed. Have ordered cavalry pursuit. Expedition against Arkansas postponed. Low water in White River the cause of too much delay.

*Saml. R. Curtis,
Major-General Commanding³⁶²*

Troops in Hartville were without rations and had no transportation but, fortunately, the second train reached the town without incident.³⁶³ On the 26th, Fitz Henry Warren submitted his report.

*Brigade Headquarters,
Hartville, Mo., November 26, 1862.*

*Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis,
Saint Louis, Mo.:*

Burbridge, Mitchell, and Greene are on the North Fork of White River, with 3,000 men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery (two pieces). They are 35 miles from here. I can take care of myself at Hartville and Houston, but cannot follow them; they are all after trains. Saved 22 wagons, losing only 25. Colonel Pile's arrival at Houston, barely saved it from capture.³⁶⁴

Fitz Henry Warren

Letter to Charles Brackett. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 297-298. The given numbers are for the entire Union force, not just the 21st Iowa. Some say the force included eight infantry Companies from the 21st Iowa while others claim there were four infantry and four cavalry which seems more credible based on Morse's report that he rode with the cavalry.

³⁶¹ The site of his burial has not been found.

³⁶²

Official Records (O.R.), Series I, Volume XXII/1. When General Curtis wrote, two from the 21st Iowa had died. Cyrus Henderson would die later. The other fatalities were from other regiments.

³⁶³

Warren wired a report to St. Louis where Major General Samuel Curtis wired General Halleck on the 25th that forty-seven wagons had been destroyed and cavalry had been sent in pursuit of the attackers. When the remaining wagons arrived the next day, Warren corrected his report to indicate twenty-five were lost but twenty-two survived.

³⁶⁴ Possibly Colonel William Pile of the 33rd Missouri Infantry.

On the 27th, a Missouri soldier, R. Wilde of the 3rd Missouri Cavalry, described the attack in a letter to his brother.³⁶⁶

Hartville, Mo.
November 27, 1862

Dear George,

On the evening of the 24th inst. about 7 o'clock we were attacked by a force of rebels, 1,500 strong. We had twenty-four wagons guarded by forty men, twenty cavalry and twenty infantry. We were taken by surprise. Some of our men were out after forage, others cooking, while others were taking care of the teams. When we first got wind of them, they were within 40 yards coming on a charge. Our boys fell in as quick a possible, to receive them, and the reception was so warm that they, after the first volley, fell back a full 60 yards, dismounted and came at us again on foot, in every direction completely surrounding the wagons and most of our small band. Nothing then could be done but to surrender - for ten or fifteen minutes it was as light as day by the constant blaze of our guns. Some of the boys after the first fire skeddaled and at half past 8 o'clock the alarm was given here (at a distance of 15 miles) and at one o'clock five companies of the 21st Iowa with three companies of our cavalry were on the ground. Such marching as the 21st did never was beat. But by that time the rebels were well on their way to the mountains.

Five of our boys fell dead and nine wounded, two dangerously. One rebel fell about ten yards from where I stood, shot through the head. Thirteen graves were seen the next day in the woods. One of the wounded rebels lies at the same house with our wounded. A citizen came in and reported fifteen wounded rebels five miles from where the fight was. We had some four days rations for about 2,000 men. They used what they wanted, led off what mules were of any service and set fire to the wagons. Some twenty dead mules were left on the field and a great many wounded. Our dead were stripped of everything, and we had to lie by the fires in our shirt sleeves. They stripped us of nearly everything we had. Col. Berbridge, in command of the rebels, said he never saw such a squad for fighting in his life. He remarked that we fought like tigers.

One Captain came up to where I stood and remarked in a swearing way, that those d---d starved rebels would not fight. I told him that he was mistaken for they fought like heroes, and always would when there were 1,500 to 30 or 40. The Captain walked off looking cheap.

Sufficient to say that your humbled servant is a paroled prisoner.

Yours truly,
R. Wade.

As the month neared an end, Jim's brother, Jonathan, was well enough to go south in search of his Illinois regiment, but his cousin, Wallace Bowen, had disappeared from the Missouri cavalry. He had been promoted to corporal, but was now listed as a deserter and before long would surface as an Iowa farmer.

In the 21st Iowa, some men baked bread for a contemplated march while others foraged and cavalry went out "*to spy on the rebels.*" They returned with five prisoners while the foragers searched a house about seven miles out in the hills and "*got about 200 dollars worth of stuff boots shoes hats factory calicoes shirts pants stuff and a lot of baken,*"³⁶⁷ so much "stuff" they had to impress a team and wagon to get it back to camp.

While soldiers in the field continued to forage, people at home were equally active trying to gather supplies for shipment to hospitals and the McGregor Sanitary Society was meeting every Wednesday afternoon in the lecture room of the Congregational Church. Bed sacks, mattresses, pillows, sheets, shirts, socks, gowns, slippers, mittens, drawers and suspenders were shipped to hospitals in Mound City, Keokuk, Corinth and St. Louis. Food items included tomato catsup, peaches, dried fruit, corn starch, peach marmalade and dried fruit. Scissors, tooth brushes, soap, writing paper, envelopes, lead pencils, bandages, compresses, needles, pins and other supplies including a

³⁶⁵ Official Records, Series I, Volume XXII/1. Apparently edited slightly.

³⁶⁶

William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 296.

³⁶⁷

[Journal of George Brownell.](#)

spittoon were sent as were "a number of books, both English and German, and an unlimited quantity of reading matter, consisting of periodicals and newspapers."³⁶⁸

HOUSTON, MISSOURI (December 2 to January 08, 1863)

Hartville was isolated and still dependent on supplies brought long distances by wagons vulnerable to attack. It was decided to return to Houston and on December 2d they started at 7:00 a.m. James Beeks, detailed with a pioneer company during the march, suffered a concussion when a tree fell on him while others continued their march. Covering twenty-two miles in about eight hours, they recrossed Beaver Creek and passed burned wagons and dead horses and mules. In a nearby house the wounded, both Union and Confederate, were being treated by a rebel surgeon.

Rising early the next morning, they had breakfast at 4:30, left at 7:00, covered the final fifteen miles, and reached Houston about 2:00 p.m. "very tired and sore." Tents were pitched and men welcomed new blankets and clothing, both badly needed for the increasingly cold nights.

They would continue to drill for several more weeks, but all were alert and the picket was strengthened. Serving as an outlying guard for the rest of the regiment, a picket usually consisted of several officers and as many privates as necessary. The duty rotated within the regiment and was often hazardous since pickets were usually the first to see the enemy and often the first to be killed, wounded or captured. Other times, if lines were close, opposing pickets often engaged in friendly conversation or spent long nights sitting together, exchanging stories and discussing relatives and friends.

"In every Co. and Regiment, Co. Q were the foragers, the fellows who took everything that they found that they thought they would like and were able to carry."³⁶⁹ David Shuck and Abe Treadwell were among many assigned to forage duty and David Drummond received the honor, the dubious honor, of being appointed color bearer. Like David, most color bearers were Sergeants whose main duty was to carry and protect their unit's flag. Usually unarmed, they were accompanied by a color guard of six to nine armed men who helped guard the flag and rescued it if the color bearer went down.³⁷⁰

Houston Mo December the 7th - 62

Dear wife

I again seat myself this pleasant sabbath to write a few lines to you we are all well John Mather has had a spell of the yellow jaundice but is about well now James Rice is out on picket to day We are back to Houston where we expect to stay until the first of January but it is possible that we may go away in less than three days we are having beautiful weather the nights are tolerable cold but the days are warm and pleasant we drew us some new blankets yesterday and we sleep now as warm as coons I have been in luck since I wrote to you before I found two old friends that I had not seen for ten years one is an Uncle and the other a cousin the cousin is Erastice Kent a young fellow about 20 he is in the 3rd Iowa cavalry six companies of which is with us his parents live in Vanburen county Iowa³⁷¹

The other is uncle Samuel Satterlee he is in the 99th Ill regiment which has been with us ever since we left Rolla but I never found that he was in the regiment until a few days ago you cannot imagine what a pleasure it is to meet old friends and relatives out here in this wild country I received letters from father and Libby a few days ago they were all well I get no news from Jonathan the last was

³⁶⁸ *North Iowa Times* (November 25, 1862).

³⁶⁹ *Iowa Journal of History* p. 264 (July 1958).

³⁷⁰ Most but not all were Sergeants. In some regiments a "Color Corporal" was given the honor.

³⁷¹

Erastus' Company G and five other companies from the 3d Iowa Cavalry were based in Lebanon to help guard wagon trains traveling between Rolla, Lebanon, Salem and Houston and it was no doubt during one of these escort duties that he rode into the camp of the 21st Iowa on December 7th.

that he was on his way to his regiment at Nashville Tenn

Cal I am out of stamps and they cannot be got here for love nor money and if they could it would do me no good for I have got neither I have some owing to me but I dont know whether I can get them or not if I cant I will have to send this letter without a stamp I should like to know what you meant by sending that little narrow strip of paper with my name on it so nicely pined to the envelope in that family letter if there was anything in it it was taken out before the letter reached us the letter came to us in a brown envelope As I have nothing of importance to write I will give way to our friend John

Take good care of yourself and the babe good bye for this time JB

Mrs. Betherd

Dear Cousin

I take this present opportunity to address you Well Cal how-de-do how are thee and thy little Babe I am well all tho I had the yuller gandice purty bad but have ... well I guess that is a nough of that last night James B & I slept together and we had a good old sleep we got us a pair of blankets & we had a pair before we have 4 blankets between us we sleep very warm in our little tents well Cal I have good old times with your Jim & I hope we may still have we often talk of the nights we past last winter playing Chicken & we hope we may spend more such he is a sitting on the flore on the ground mending his pants write me a letter & stick it in with Jims from your affectionate cousin John H. Mather & Co

On December 7th, as Jim and the jovial John wrote to Cal, Oren Follon³⁷² became the second member of Company B to die. Suffering from congestive chills and an inflammation of the bowels, Oren passed away in the field hospital. Personal effects including a blouse, blanket, pair of shoes, uniform coat and overcoat, together with \$1.05 in pocket money, were returned to his father.

On the 8th, Grant ordered Sherman to organize a force at Memphis, move as soon as possible to Vicksburg, and, with Porter, "proceed to the reduction of that place." Two days later, Sterling Mather was promoted to 5th and then 3d Corporal in the 9th Iowa as it prepared to join Sherman, but this would only be the first of many failed attempts before "Fortress Vicksburg" would ultimately fall.³⁷³

In Houston, George Penhollow, a Private in Company G, wrote to his sister.

Houston, Mo. Dec. the 10th 62

Dear Sister, You wrote a good letter this time it was some satisfaction to me read such an one. I was on guard picket last night when the mail came in how many letters do you think France had for me, well as you cant guess I will tell you he had five letters for me yours of the 1st and one from Hellen and Melvin [two of his sisters] wrote the 2nd one from Aunt . . . an girls, a good long letter, one from Uncle Ansel a short one you might know, and one from Levi Stewart of Patch Grove a young fellow I aquainted with while working over there I have had several from him I let France and Fred [probably his cousins Frances H. Palmer and Frederick William Richardson] Read you letter they both grited their teeth and almost swore vengance on those Northern traitors can it be Possible that these United States must all be Drowned in Blood if such is the cace I might as well be here as anywhere else I keep my health first Rate so far much better than I could of expected I am a trouble with my teeth some and with the Dispepsia Also We had our train burnt on the 24th of last mo. & 6 of our boys killed³⁷⁴ I suppose you have heard all about it - so I will not tell you the particulars Cyeno Henderson's leg was broke with a Ball Fred got a letter from George last night he is getting well slowly when you see Hellen and Melvina again you can learn them how to write a letter I wrote an answer to Aunts letter just before I commenced this I have got just one post-stamp and 6 or 8 letters to Ans and It-is the next thing to impossibility to get stamps here I wrote a letter last week to Billy I directed it to Cairo Ill you must excus me this time for is is late so good by for the Pres Fred laughed when he read your millitary Airs at the close of my letter Double Luck time March that must be according Hardy's

³⁷² The surname is also spelled "Fallon." The *Roster & Record* indicates that his father had enlisted in the 37th Iowa Infantry.

³⁷³

Sherman may have felt a special affinity for soldiers from Iowa since his brother, Hoyt, was an attorney and banker in Des Moines and, during the war, was a Paymaster with the rank of Major in the Union army.

³⁷⁴ They had one killed in action and two fatally wounded.

Regulations Direct as before

G W Penhollow

I made raise of two post stamps I got those of . . . 5 cents silver apeace our folks will have to send me some or I will have to stop writing

Geo W

Daytime temperatures continued bearable but it rained frequently, nights were cold and the health of the regiment deteriorated. Perry Dewey was sick throughout much of the winter and John J. Carpenter suffered from jaundice, but Wallace Farrand, previously left in Dubuque, had recovered sufficiently to rejoin the regiment and traveled down the Mississippi to St. Louis. On the 11th he boarded a train for Rolla while, still in Salem, Thomas McNary felt well enough to go for an evening stroll. It was a cold night but Thomas wore only the clothes on his back and, when he failed to return, George Crop and others checked the hospital and searched the surrounding hills without success. On the 12th Andrew Hannah's wife gave birth to a son while, that same morning, the regiment's convalescents were ordered to Houston and, just as they were leaving, Thomas returned. He had a wild appearance and could not account for his absence the night before. He talked incoherently and said he had been lost but joined the others and left by ambulance for Houston.

Far to the east, in Virginia, Ambrose Burnside, son of a Southern slave owner, commanded the Union's Army of the Potomac. On December 13th, at Fredericksburg, he led a superior force against Longstreet and Jackson who defended from Marye's Heights and along a sunken road and stone wall. By day's end Burnside had suffered 12,653 casualties and the Confederates 5,309, but Jim was unaware of the day's slaughter and hoped Burnside would hurry things up so they could all go home.

**Houston Mo
Dec the 13th 1862**

Dear wife

I take my pen in hand once more to let you know that we are all well but I have such an awkward way to write I expect I shall soon get tiered I am sitting on the ground with my knapsack on my knees and trying to write and I have hardly got room enough to draw a long breath there is no less than four writing in the tent and Jim Rice is laying with his feet against my back trying to sleep and every once in a while he gives me a punch in the back with his feet It is raining as hard as it can pour and has been all day or ever since morning it is now about 3 o clock it is warm and thundering verry much like an Iowa summer rain but we are camped upon the mountains in this great day and there is not dirt enough here to make any mud being all rock I received your letter dated Nov the 28th a few days ago James Rice got one from Lib at the same time we was verry glad to hear that you were all well O how I should like to see that little girl that you always speak of in your letters how I should like to kiss her right in the mouth but you know all that without me telling you so I will write about something else (but hold on) you say she looks like my sister Ellen I am glad of that I hope she will look exactly like her I wont take back what I said about being home by the time she can creep but you must write to old Lincoln and Burnside and tell them to hurry up matters at Richmond for the baby can sit alone My uncle Satterlee was over to visit me to day I see him and Erastice Kent almost every day We buried one of our company last sunday evening he died of inflamation on the bowels he was about 20 years old his name was Oran Fallan from cox creek Iowa³⁷⁵ that is the second one out of our company and there is one or two more that look like they would follow soon I thank the good Lord that I am blessed with good health I am as hearty as I ever was in my life and as long as that blessing is continued I shall be contented in the army there are a great many who get sick and have to go the hospital and would soon recover but homesickness sets in and keeps them down that is one of the most tedious diseases with which the army is troubled I was looking over my letters today and came across a question in uncle Joels letter that I ought to have answered some time ago but I forgot when I wrote but it may not be too late yet he asked what I charged Doc Hinkly for drawing that load of lumber it was four

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Oran S. Fallon, the second member of Company B to die, is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #79886920. The family surname is also sometimes spelled Follon.

dollars³⁷⁶ Oh yes I forgot to tell you that I got that piece of the babys dress; I think she has got a verry pretty dress; All right Roger the mail has just come and brought Jim and I each a letter and a paper from our women and a letter for John from Squire and Sterling they are all well they are still at Helena We were much surprised to hear of Mrs Feays death it must be a great breavement to the family and she will certainly be a great loss to Mr Feay in his sickness I pity him and his family I am glad to hear the welcome news again that you and the babe are well but I am sorry you had not spunk enough to have your tooth drawn for I am afraid it will allways trouble you until it is out O Cal you ought to see how neat I patched my pants I put a patch on the seat about a foot square and it is done just as well as though I had done it myself Tell Mort I would send him a button for walking old Smiths girl home if I warrnt afraid somebody would think it was money and tear the letter open and steal it I think he done amazing well and that is all he did do except the freezing of his toes and that was a good joke on the feet

O how it rains and I expect I shall be on picket tomorrow you wanted to know how we liked our officers we like our lieutenants verry well the captain is not so well thought of by the majority of the company as he was when we left Dubuque but he has allways used me well³⁷⁷ I have never asked a favor of any of our officers but what it was granted you wanted to know how often I have been in the guard house I have never been in the guard house nor on extra duty yet and that is not all I dont intend to be but it getting so dark I shall have to bid you good evening

James Bethard

When Jim patched his pants, he had probably resorted to his "housewife", or "Bettie", a small sewing kit "that could be rolled up and carried in the pocket," but the heavy rain continued to fall and it wasn't long before a torrent of water rushed between and into many of the tents scattering men and equipment. It was also on the 13th that Jacob Swivel wrote to the Governor.

Post Houston Missouri Dec 15th 1862

To his Excellency Samuel I Kirkwood

Governor of Iowa

Sir:

There exists a vacancy in my Company of first Lieutenant caused by the appointment of Samuel F. Osborne as Aid-de-Camp to Brig Gen. Fitz Henry Warren and I therefore recommend my second Lieutenant Andrew Y. McDonald to the position of first Lieutenant, and John S. Platt a private of my Company as the most competent to fill the position of second Lieutenant, and I certify on my honor that the persons above recommended does not use intoxicating liquor to such an extent as to interfere with the discharge of his duties as an officer, or as to set a bad example to those under his command.

Your most obedient Servant

Jacob Swivel

Capt. Co. "E" 21st Reg't Infantry Vols

I heartily approve of above recommendations and believe it to be universally satisfactory to officers & soldiers of said Co. E.

Samuel Merrill

Col. 21st Regiment Iowa Infantry

On the 14th, more convalescents arrived from Salem after a two day trip. With them was an unconscious Thomas McNary who was "sick with Lung fever" and taken to the hospital. On Monday, the 15th, the rain stopped, the weather cleared and William Croke and Barna Phelps helpd care for Thomas who was "required and did receive great care and constant personal attention." Barna would later say he became sick by inhaling Thomas' breath and

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"Doc Hinkly" was doctor B. H. Hinkly who owned more than 300 acres in Grand Meadow. While some have spelled his name as "Hinkley," in a pension affidavit for George Redhead (who married the widow of the 21st's David Robinson) he signed his name as "Hinkly."

³⁷⁷ When Jim wrote, the Captain was William Croke; the two lieutenants were Charles Heath and Henry Howard.

"was rendered exceedingly offensive by the disease of said McNary." On the 16th, Thomas died from "pneumonia caused by exposure during temporary insanity" (also listed as "congestion of lungs"). He was survived by Exceen and their two year old daughter.³⁷⁸

On the 17th, General Grant issued his infamous General Order No. 11. Tasked with shutting down the lucrative black market trade in cotton and believing that Jews were responsible for much of that trade, he ordered that all Jews be expelled from the Department of Tennessee (Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee). While not convinced that Grant had issued such a directive, he told Grant that, "if such an order has been issued, it will be immediately revoked." Grant rescinded his order and the President later said, "to condemn a class is, to say the least, to wrong the good with the bad." He promised to not only rid the country of slavery, but also to protect religious freedom.³⁷⁹

On Thursday, December 18th, the 13th Corps was reorganized with command passing to John McClernand. A war Democrat, he was a political appointee whose minimal military experience had come in the Black Hawk War.

On the 20th, Jefferson Davis and Joseph Johnston met in Vicksburg, only twenty miles north of Davis' plantation home named "Brierfield."³⁸⁰ Prophetically, Johnston, "The Gamecock" to his admiring men, was not impressed. After examining the "extensive but very slight entrenchments" he concluded, he said, that Vicksburg was nothing more than "an immense intrenched camp, requiring an army to hold it." "Water-batteries had been planned to prevent the bombardment of the town, instead of to close the navigation of the river." Unknown to both of them, David Dixon Porter was already leading an armada from Memphis as part of Sherman's expedition against the city's northern bluffs. The 96th Ohio with Napoleon Gibson, Ira Homan, Robert Johnson and James Tanner, all boyhood friends of Jim, were crowded on board the steamer *Hiawatha* where horses and mules stood on the deck, heads tied to the sides with a narrow aisle between them. Rations were hard bread, roasted coffee and small quantities of meat. Men had to run a gauntlet of two hundred animals to reach the afterdeck where a small stove provided the only cooking facilities while cold rain drenched all who were not under cover. Suffering from meager rations and bad weather, weakened men with sunken eyes, thin cheeks and tottering steps were treated by surgeons trying to stem the typhoid, measles and erysipelas from which many would die.

On the 22d, 40,000 "started from Helena." With them were Cal's brother, George Rice, and two of her cousins, Sterling and Squire Mather, in an all Iowa brigade under John Thayer. Two days later Vicksburg learned that eighty-one gunboats and transports had passed Lake Providence and, the following day, the 96th Ohio landed on the west side of the river to destroy rail and telegraph lines and one company was detached to escort prisoners to Milliken's Bend. Rejoining the campaign, they reached the bluffs before month's end but an assault failed, in part due to an attack by Earl Van Dorn on Grant's supply base at Holly Springs.

Still in Missouri, Jim had yet to see the enemy and spent leisure time reading letters and newspapers and writing to friends and family.

**Houston Mo;
Dec the 20th 1862**

Dear wife

I received your letter last thursday evening and was of course glad to hear that you was well you was verry anxious about us when you wrote in consequence of having heard rumors that the 21st had been in a fight but I hope your anxiety has been relieved before this time by letters from us. We are still at Houston and all well I am getting so fat that I have to shut my eyes to laugh

I weighed 165 lbs yesterday and James Rice 155 we get plenty to eat such as it is we have hard crackers the most of the time but a part of the time we have flower and our cooks have got so that they can make tolerably good bread they have been making stone ovens to bake bread for the brigade we drew some of the bread this morning for the first it is verry good but a little sour we have plenty of coffee and sugar and sometimes tea but the tea is verry poor stuff it is more like dried ... weeds than tea: we have for meat old bacon about half the time and the other half fresh beef and about once or

³⁷⁸ Thomas is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #81386964.

³⁷⁹

It was later shown that Grant's motives were not driven by religious bigotry, but by a sincere belief that, militarily, drastic action was needed, something akin to the President's suspension of the right to habeas corpus that he said was necessary to end the rebellion. After the war, Grant appointed Jews to many top federal positions and won the majority of the Jewish vote.

³⁸⁰ aka *Brierfield*.

twice a week we have a mess of beens or rice jayhawking is about played out here as there is nothing left here to jayhawk

It is one week yesterday since I wrote to you it was saturday evening and raining it continued to rain all that night as hard as I ever saw it rain and Oh what a time we had it both leaked through and run under our tent I had two blankets and my overcoat under me and then lay in about three inches of water and when ever I moved I could both hear and feel the water squash under me and it continued to rain all the next day so we had no chance to dry our blankets and cloths but we went to work and cut poles and made a corderoy bridge in the tent so we slept out of the water the next night (although our cloths were wet) It cleared off on monday and we have had fine weather this week We have gathered a lot of pine boughs and put on our corderoy bridge and it makes a verry good bed I sleep as soundly and feel as much refreshed in the morning as though I had slept on a deer skin there is no more signs of our leaving here now than there was when we first came here General Warren received a sealed dispatch a day or two ago which he is ordered not to open until the first of January the 33rd Mo reg has gone to Rolla and the 22nd Iowa is on its way from Rolla here to help fill up General warrens brigade I am verry glad the exchange has been made for the 22nd is worth just two such regiments as the 33rd you wanted to know what we were coming away down in this direction for I doubt there being a person in the united states that would answer that question I cannot tell for my part unless it is to stand guard and salute officers and let the rebels destroy our wagon trains and drive off our mules and kill or make prisoners of our men that is all that we have done yet except to keep some of uncle Sams bread and meat from spoiling we have received no pay since we left Dubuque I have heard that Clayton county has refused to take her orders in payment of county taxes if that is the case I hope every ramrod leged big bug snot that helped to get up that county bounty arrangement will be drafted and shoved into the front of battle and the volunteers behind them with fixed bayonets to shove them on they promised to cash those orders at par before we enlisted but now that they have got us off and themselves clear from the draft they wont even take the orders in payment of county taxes they dont care if the soldiers family starves but I may as well drop the subject for the English language will not express my disgust with such men³⁸¹ I believe I have nothing else of importance to write so I will bring my letter to a close and write a few lines on the other side to uncle Joel

Give my respects to all inquiring friends and take good care of yourself and babe while I subscribe myself your affectionate husband James Beathard

Sunday Dec the 21st 1862

Dear father as I have wrote all the news in Cals letter I have not much left to write to you and what I have to say may not amount to anything but it will not cost anything to write it I have just seen Wallace Farrand who has just come from Iowa he says that Philip Lawn is bound to go up fort creek this winter the man that Lawn bought his land of told Mrs Farrand that if he did not get his pay by the first of January that he should push him and whenever he does that Philip is gone up If this is the case you had better come down on him but you can watch which way the rabbit jumps and do what ever you think best about it) Dress parade in fifteen minutes

please write soon

J Beathard

By and large, the time in Missouri was well spent although the regiment was plagued by poor health. Having expected only a few months of service before bringing the rebels to their knees, men were now away from home for the holidays and homesickness was common.

On December 23rd, as Jim predicted, part of the 22d Iowa arrived in the rain about 11:00am and the following

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Jim may have been referring to funds raised by counties for bounties and relief. In 1862 the state's General Assembly specified that funds raised for these purposes had to be segregated and only used for the purposes indicated (ie. residents could presumably not request payments to help them pay county taxes).

day James Scoville, who had been mustered as a 4th Corporal, was reduced to the ranks at his own request. Brad Talcott moved up from 5th Corporal to take his place, David Maxson moved up from 6th to 5th, Henry Chiles from 7th to 6th, and George Purdy from 8th to 7th.

Christmas Day 1862 was the regiment's first away from home and, for most, the first time they had ever been away from families during the holidays. Blessed with good weather, they had a special dinner and the cavalry brought in fifteen more prisoners while Minnesota residents found their own way to celebrate. Chief Little Crow had been defeated and fled west with many of his followers, but almost 2,000 Dakota surrendered. A military commission conducted criminal trials, some lasting no more than ten minutes, and 303 death sentences had been handed out. President Lincoln commuted most but upheld sentences of thirty-eight who had raped or killed white settlers. Now, with peace restored, settlers could enjoy their Christmas holiday, a day of religious services, family gatherings, love, goodwill and anticipation of the following day when three thousand would turn out to witness the death of the Dakota. In Mankato's town square, they were hanged on a gallows specially constructed so all thirty-eight would die simultaneously. It was the largest mass execution in the country's history.

In Ohio, the state's 32d Infantry was ready to reenter the fray and was ordered to Camp Taylor near Cleveland. Within days, 800 returned for duty while officers charged with inciting unrest were dismissed. Leonard Richey enjoyed Christmas at home, but on the 27th rejoined the regiment as one of many returning from "*French leave*."

Letter No. 1

Houston Mo
December the 28th 1862

Dear wife

this seems more like Sunday than any Sunday that I have seen since I have been a soldier it is a beautiful warm sunshiny morning and the boys are singing hymns in the neighboring tents we have just come in from general inspection of arms clothing and bodies and we are now looking for the Colonel who is to be around in a few minutes inspecting the tents we are all washed up clean with clean cloths on and boots and shoes blacked or greased

The colonel and the brigade surgeon has just been around and our tent passed inspection without any words and I resume my pen again we are all in good health and in good spirits I received a letter from you a few days ago containing six postage stamps they came in good time for I had borrowed one to put on the last letter that I sent to you I have paid the one that I borrowed and written two letters and when this one goes it will only leave me two stamps so by the time that you get this I shall want some more if you have money to spare to buy them with I could send letters to you without stamps but it would be handier for you to have them stamped on account of sending by others for your mail I sometimes want to write to others besides you and I dont want to send them without stamps John Mather and I wrote to Squire and George a few days ago you have never told me whether you had what money you wanted to use or not if you have not when uncle Joel get that money drawn if he ever does you must freeze onto what you want of it I dont know when we will get paid off the officers say we will get our pay the 1st of January but we have had too many such promises to put much faith in them we ought to have four months pay if we are paid the first of January and I have 13 dollars coming to me besides which will make 65 dollars coming to me on pay day and if you need money I will send a part of it to you but if not I will not risk sending it by mail but wait until I have a chance to send it some safer way I should like to be there to spend the newyears with you I suppose there will be a dinner somewhere in the neighborhood and while you are enjoying the pleasures of a social visit with our friends and neighbors you will probbably think and talk of your husband who is enjoying the luxurys of a soldiers dinner upon the stony hills of southern Missouri but I do not mean this for a complaint for we had a verry good Christmas dinner in our company we had turkeys chickens and ducks light bread biscuit and fried cakes and coffee and tea and the dinner was well cooked and got up in good style for we have a good set of cooks the fowls were bought by the company and paid for with our rations and the butter and little fixings for seasoning was bought by the captain we made a long table and all ate together as we used to at Dubuque by the way I believe I have never told you that the company was divided into four squads with a cook for each squad we are going to have another company dinner on new years day Christmas was a warm pleasant day and the sun shined about half the time and during the day we had one or two little sprinkles of rain and on Christmas nigh it rained

and blowed tremendously but it cleared off before daylight and we have had warm pleasant weather ever since more like summer than winter James Pool is here with us he will go to St Louis before long the colonel has given the paroled prisoners of our regiment their choice to go to St Louis or take up arms again I believe the most if not all of them will go to St Louis where they will probably have to stay until the end of the war for they cannot be exchanged because they have no copies of their oaths³⁸²

We burried another man of our company last week his name was Thomas C McNary from strawberry point he had been laid up for a long time with the rheumatism but I think the principle cause of his death was homesickness³⁸³ There was one of our regiment died last night but I did not learn his name or what company he belonged to³⁸⁴

Cal I will send you a regulation feather in this letter taken from our bed they make a verry good bed and there is plenty of them here you wanted to know what we were going to do here or where we were going from here that is a question that I cannot answer for we know no more about what we are to do than you do I think it quite probbable that we will remain where we are for some time yet as the officers have taken a great deal of pains lately to have the camp grounds dicked and all filth removed outside of the lines and everything about the camp kept clean so as to make it as healthy as possible As I can think of nothing more that would be interesting to you I will bring my letter to a close I write to you every week and I believe I have received letters from you every week I will number my letters here after commencing with number one and if you will do the same we can easily tell whether we get all of one anothers letters or not when you write to me tell me what numbers you received last and I will do the same No more at present

Take good care of yourself and our little girl and remember him who subscribes himself
Your affectionate husband
James Beathard

On that same Sunday, while Jim was writing his letter, twenty-five year old drummer Jerome Topliff died of "swamp fever" (i.e. malaria) and was buried on a nearby mountain,³⁸⁵ Francis ("Frank") Henderson left for Beaver Creek to visit his brother who had been lying in the creekside hospital for more than a month, and Albert Jones and John Moore were discharged. Dr. Barnes certified that both had been unfit for duty for months due to pre-existing problems, chronic eye problems for Albert and hemorrhoids for John. On the 29th, 1st Lieutenant John Dolson wrote to Cyrus Henderson's father.

Houston, Mo.
Dec 29, 1862

Dear Sir,

I am extremely sorry to inform you of your sons death, C. M. Henderson. He died last night about sunset and was brought in to day and is now laying at the Hospital. Francis was on his way to Beaver Creek when he received the mournful intelligence. I saw him laid out today and got a coffin ordered to have him buried tomorrow, with the honors of war. I can say to you that he was esteemed and beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance & he leaves behind him a large circle of mourning friends. I have confidence

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Before being released, prisoners such as Robert James Poole were asked to give their word or sign an oath not to take up arms against their captors until formally exchanged for one or more enemy soldiers deemed, individually or collectively, of equal rank. Unable to cope with large numbers of prisoners, the paroles were usually processed quickly with parolees going home or to a camp to await their exchange. Unfortunately, the system had so many problems that both sides gradually abandoned it in favor of confinement in over-crowded, disease-ridden prison camps, confinement that frequently meant death.

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The homesickness or nostalgia to which Jim referred was characterized by surgeons as a temporary feeling of depression due to discomfort, hardship and exposure. While not a direct cause of death, its effects were described by Eugene Ware of the 1st Iowa Infantry who said, "*The man gets homesick and dispirited, then everything seems to take hold of him; he gets the diarrhea, his stomach balks, then his courage breaks its halter strap and runs away, then he gets erroneous ideas of the beauties of Kingdom Come, and finally he makes up his mind that if he cannot be an officer he will be an angel.*"

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There were no reported deaths for December 27th.

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History of Dubuque County. The site of his burial has not been located. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55034131.

and faith that he has gone to that place where sorrow & separation is unknown. To his bereaved Mother I console with her for her loss.

In northwestern Arkansas, not far from the Missouri state line, Confederate Major General Thomas Hindman, the “*Lion of the South*,” ordered John Marmaduke, son of a former Governor and nephew of Claiborne Jackson, to lead a force north to attack Union sites in southwestern Missouri. At twenty-eight years of age, West Point graduate Marmaduke had resigned from the Federal army to organize a regiment to fight for his home state of Missouri. He planned his advance in two columns and, on New Year's Eve, while Jim was in Salem for supplies, George Dunn was among the sick and their regiment was camped in Houston, the Confederate left column with Emmet McDonald and the aggressive Joseph Orville “*Fighting Jo*” Shelby and his brigade of Missourians, about 1,870 men under Marmaduke's direct command, left Lewisburg “*indifferently armed and equipped, thinly clad, many without shoes and horses . . . without baggage wagons or cooking utensils . . . The horses were worn by continued and active service of many months; were, for the most part, unshod, very poor, and unfit for any service.*”³⁸⁶ His goal, he said, was “*at least to threaten Springfield, and operate in the country between there and Rolla, and create the impression that the force was sufficiently large to take and hold the country.*”³⁸⁷

As the year came to an end, Company B, having lost one man who deserted before they left Dubuque, two who were discharged and three who died, still had all of its commissioned and non-commissioned officers together with eighty-three privates including its two musicians (fifer Seymour Chipman and drummer Abel Griffin) while Company E's Andrew McDonald reflected:

Written at a camp fire on the evening of Dec 31st 1862.

*Camp Reverie
The Dying Voice of Sixty two*

*My earthly race is run. No more
Shall voice of clamorous mortals, wish
My days, and weeks, and months pass oer
In hopes some promised joy to kiss*

*Like mist in morning sun I pass
To the drear abyss of the Past, away
Nor tears, nor prayers, not hopes to blast
My flight one moment can delay*

*Now where O man thy visions bright
Of wealth, of fame, of lucky schemes
Did flight of days, or longed for flight
Of months eer realize thy dreams*

*Or vanished they like phantom ship
That dreaded spectre of the sea
Forwarning thee of total wreck,
Of ruin blight and misery*

*I've been the most eventful year
The world hath seen in five decades
The maidens sigh, the mothers tear*

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O.R. Series 1, Volume 22/1 [S#32], No. 8; [The Civil War Battle of Hartville and Related Events](#) (Schwegman Office City, 1997). McDonald was the same McDonald captured earlier in St. Louis by Nathaniel Lyon.

³⁸⁷ O.R. Series 1, Volume 22/1 [S#32].

Are mingled with the clash of blades

*From Albions isle the bitter cry
Of starving thousands "give us bread"
Is mingled with the silent sigh
Of those who bear but will not beg*

*Now wretched, that once happy home
Now paled, that once rosy cheek
Do 'st doubt, than ask the dusty loom
In silence doth my words repeat*

*Rome rotten to the very core
Heaves with unseen volcanic fires
And he whose name such prestige bore
I've seen borne off a tyrants prize*

*Columbia fair land of the free
Asylum of the worlds oppressed
My dying look I turn to thee
My last few words to thee address*

*Though youngest noblest loveliest land
Where happiness once reigned supreme
Where industry on every hance
And peace and plenty could be seen*

*How changed art now thy peaceful homes
Few but can point the vacant chair
And thousands of absent ones
May neer again be seated there*

*The merry laugh may neer be heard
Of young ones fondling round their knee
Far far from home 'neath the cold sword
May rest those forms once full of glee*

*Oppression jealous of its power
Saw Progress marching bolding on
Saw fast approach the dreaded hour
When Right must crush the head of Wrong*

*When Slavery would be no more
When Freedoms bright and glorious Sun
Would shed its light from shore to shore
On saxon celt and african*

*It prompted Treason unforseen
Such treason as the world neer saw
With boldest front and hedious mein
To spurn they power defy they law*

It drenched thy peaceful fields with gore

*Yet thinkst thy blood is shed in vain
Ah no tis hastening on the hour
Of Freedoms universal reign*

*Man may enslave his fellow man
But freedom God to all hath given
Man may subvert great natures plan
But Slave and Free have but one Heaven*

*Heaven shall rejoice, though those must morne
Thy suffering thousands good and true
And generations yet unborn
Shall praises sing to Sixty Two*

~~*My dying voice proclaims the hour
Thy slaves shall be forever free
Sing Angels, Mortals join the choir
And welcome glorious Sixty three*~~

*My dying voice proclaims the hour
Thy slaves shall be forever free
Sing Angels, Mortals join the choir
And welcome glorious Sixty three*

*Yet welcome thrice thou glorious year,
Of universal jubilee*

A. Y. McDonald³⁸⁸

The next day, January 1, 1863, the President's five-page Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. Limited in scope, it provided that slaves would be freed in all areas of the South not already under Federal control. Those areas, he said, were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, all except eight Parishes of Louisiana, and all of Virginia except seven designated counties and the counties now known as West Virginia. In other areas, such as the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee and the remaining parishes in Louisiana, the law would remain as if the proclamation had never been issued and slavery would not be fully abolished until ratification of the postwar 13th Amendment.³⁸⁹

Freeing slaves in border states now, Lincoln feared, would drive more states into the Confederacy and delay a Union victory but, in other states, freedom would come slowly as the North regained control of more of the South. Despite its limitations, the proclamation was an important first step and the war to preserve the Union had, in addition, become a war to end slavery. Four days later President Davis, "*conscientiously believing that the proper condition of the negro is slavery, or a complete subjection to the white man,*" would issue his response. Already free Negroes in the South were to revert to slavery and "*deemed to be chattels*" and Negroes captured in states where slavery did not then exist were to "*occupy the slave status.*" The goal, he said, was to place the "*conditions of the white and black*

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Transcribed from original pictured in "Our First 150 Years. A. Y. McDonald Manufacturing Company" (2006), the company founded postwar by Andrew McDonald. The poem was written on the front and back of two sheets of paper. At the bottom of the front of the second page, he apparently realized he would have only a couple of lines for the back of the page, crossed out what he had written and then repeated it on the back.

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Many of the 87,000 unemancipated slaves in Louisiana were foreign-owned and Benjamin Butler argued that French and British law prevented their citizens from owning slaves and this, combined with his enforcement of the Union's confiscation act, was cause for freeing 80,000 of this number.

racess" on a permanent basis so peace would not again be endangered. Northern Copperheads were incensed by the Proclamation *destined to commence a new era in the history of this country*" and deluged Union soldiers with propaganda asserting they were now engaged in an "unconstitutional abolition crusade against the southern slaveholders with the sole object of freeing the negroes from their obligations towards their rightful owners."³⁹⁰

Missouri weather was deteriorating, but the regiment enjoyed a special New Year's meal and another day without a doctor. After William Hyde's resignation in November, many officers had proposed Dubuque's Asa Horr, brother of Company F's Leonard Horr, as a replacement. A similar number preferred assistant surgeon Benham and some suggested Dr. Barnes. In his October 10th letter to the Governor, John Edwards, then acting clerk for the surgeon, said he preferred Dr. Barnes since Dr. Benham, in Edwards' opinion, "cannot write out a prescription according to the rules laid down by the Medical Department." If Benham got the promotion, Lorenzo Bolles suggested Delhi resident Albert Boomer, a graduate of Chicago's Rush Medical College, to fill his spot as assistant surgeon. Colonel Merrill, who had earlier wired the Governor about the vacancy, now wrote to assure him:

"I have no desire to intrude upon your rights. I telegraphed because we were really needy of a Surgeon. I gave the name of Dr. Horr because I believed him an efficient & able Surgeon. It is the first duty of any officer to care for his sick. No good officer can be happy when neglected & inefficiency is found in the hospital. I certainly have no friends to reward. My determination is to constantly do all I can for the comfort & best interest of my command faithfully & honestly. The tone & language of your reply convinced me some evil disposed politicians, whose hope of success lies in breaking down & destroying if possible those in their way, had been writing you & misrepresenting me. I only wish to correct the falsehood. There are those who live on slander & writing newspaper articles for themselves & c & c. I only desire to assure you of my unwavering confidence in your integrity as Governor & cherish the hope you may outlive your enemies. For the good of my command I hope you will appoint a Surgeon personally known to you as a strong & efficient man. This is all I ask."

Perhaps recognizing the deep split among the officers and with a sense of diplomacy, the Governor went outside the regiment and selected William Orr. Orr was an Ottumwa resident who had served eight months as assistant surgeon of the 3d Iowa Cavalry.³⁹¹ Orr was transferred to the 21st Infantry and left Helena, Arkansas, on January 2d, no doubt happy to leave a river town noted for disease and inactivity and described by a Wisconsin officer as looking like "an old broken plate besmeared with molasses and liberally spotted with dead flies."³⁹² The 3d's other doctors stayed with the six companies in Helena, but Jim's cousin, Erastus Kent, was still with the six in Missouri trying to ride a "vicious" and "unmanageable" horse while escorting a mail train between Houston and Rolla. Startled, the horse reared and threw Erastus forward onto the pommel of the saddle causing a severe hernia from which he would suffer the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, the Confederate right column left Pocahontas and started north with 600 to 700 men led by Colonel Joseph C. Porter.³⁹³ Advancing to the east of Marmaduke, Porter crossed into Missouri where Federal soldiers were still unaware of the two enemy columns slowly advancing from the south and Jim, forgetting to number his letters, wrote to Cal and, for the first time, mentioned Vicksburg.

Saturday Houston Mo January the 3rd 1863

³⁹⁰ History of the 15th Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (R. B. Ogden & Son, Keokuk, 1887), page 252.

³⁹¹

While Asa Horr did not get the appointment, he was a worthy candidate who gained acclaim not only as a surgeon, but also as a scientist and for his work in organizing the state's Institute of Science and Art. During the war he was an examining surgeon in the recruiting service and in 1875 was made examining surgeon for the United States Pension Bureau in which capacity he served on many medical boards reviewing pension claims and examining veterans (e.g. William Grannis) who were seeking service-related invalid pensions.

³⁹² Zeitlin, Old Abe The War Eagle (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1986), page 26.

³⁹³

While other numbers differ, those given for Marmaduke and Porter are from Marmaduke's report of January 18, 1863. O.R. Series 1 Volume 22/1 [S#32], No. 8. Porter indicates he started with 825 but sent 125 back to Arkansas "for want of shoes on their horses." O.R. Series 1 Volume 22/1 [S#32], No. 11. Another estimate was a total of 4,000. Horace Greeley, The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion (O. D. Case & Company 1866), page 446.

Dear wife

It is with pleasure that I take my pen in hand once more to pen you a few lines to let you know that I am still in the land of the living and enjoying good health This is not my regular day for writing to you but as I expect to be on guard tomorrow I thought I would rather write today than to let it go until monday I should have been on guard new years but I happened to be the first one on the list and was detailed to go to Salem with the train to be gone four days and as there were two or three fellows anxious to take my place I changed off with Henry Potter and I am to answer to his name when he is detailed for guard which I expect will be tomorrow It is cloudy and raining moderately at present We had just such a dinner on new years as we had on Christmas but new years was not so pleasant a day as Christmas³⁹⁴ it was cloudy with a chilly wind blowing from the south east and occational dashes of rain You see by the date of my letter that we are still at Houston there is no more signs of us leaving now than there was when I wrote you before I hope when we do move it will be in the direction of home I still have strong hopes that the war will be ended this winter Although the news from Richmond is rather discouraging The latest news that we have from the Miss campaign is quite cheering that is that Vicksburg and Knoxville is taken by our forces It was reported here a few days ago that Richmond was taken but has been disputed since As I write I hear the thunder roaring in the west which resembles the sound of the cannon which just ceased firing a few minutes ago at a target The cook is hallowing supper and I must go or I will not get my share Supper is over which was but a short job for a short horse is soon curried but I had a nice piece of cake to finish up with the first I have tasted since I left Dubuque we have been rather short of rations this week for the first time since I have been in the service they say there is plenty of bread and crackers at the comisary but I dont know why we dont get it I think it must be the fault of the quartermaster I wish they would take him away and give us a wholemaster then we might stand a chance to get full rations I received a letter from Nancy a few days ago which as it is all the same price I will send with this letter to you I have answered it and you must do the same

It has almost stoped raining the thunder is now roaring in the east and the sun shining in the west almost down and there is a rainbow in the east Cal you say you like long letters and I want to suit you as well as I can but I am afraid if I write a long letter this time I shall overdo the job and make it rather dry and uninteresting but you neednt read it all unless you have a mind to you say you think you cannot afford to take the times this year if you want it you can send for it and not stop for the difference in the price if I was there I should send for it I think we will get payed off in a few days as the paymaster is at Rolla and has sent a card to our quartermaster stating that he would be here in a few days You wanted me to try to get a furlough and come home on a visit but that is impossible there is no such thing as getting a furlough you might as well ask me to get a discharge for I could as easy get one as the other Cal I dreamed last night that I was at home and saw you leading our Ella around the house by the hand your letters and my dreams almost make me homesick sometimes but it is getting dark and I must close you wanted me to settle the dispute between you and Aunt Philena concerning my uncles wife Aunt Philena is right she is my fathers sister I dont know but what I told you that he was ... Elishas brother if I did it was a mistake he is Lish's uncle

James Beathard

Not surprisingly, rumors in mid-Missouri were not always accurate and Jim was correct about Knoxville but wrong about Vicksburg. Knoxville was controlled by the Union after a failed siege by Longstreet, but Vicksburg, the "Hill City," "Gibraltar of the Confederacy," the "psychological buckle holding together the two parts of the Confederacy," was still held by the South.³⁹⁵ December's Overland Campaign, the one in which Jim's friends from the 9th Iowa and 96th Ohio participated, had failed but early reports erroneously indicating a Union victory had reached

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George Brownell said "we are on half rations now I had not wood to get breakfast".

³⁹⁵ Craig L. Symonds, Joseph E. Johnson p. 204 (W. W. Norton & Company 1994).

Missouri. At Holly Springs, even Grant would read a newspaper, the *Memphis-Grenada Appeal*,³⁹⁶ reporting that Sherman had captured Vicksburg, but the next day would learn the truth.

The 4th was cold and rainy and Jim spent a miserable day on picket.³⁹⁷ On the 5th, a wagon train arrived from Salem while Jim Rice, John Mather, Carl Possehl and several others were sent into the hills on a foraging expedition. On the 6th, another cold rain blew in from the north, two more companies of the 22d Iowa reached Houston, and the 21st Iowa gained a new Chaplain. With apparent dissension regarding the chaplaincy of Congregationalist minister Samuel Sloan, eight of the ten Captains had certified on December 13th that he was elected as the regimental Chaplain but, only two days later, Sloan submitted his “*immediate & unconditional*” resignation citing “*serious & increasing discontent*” that made it impossible to “*faithfully & efficiently*” fulfill his duties. “*He stiffened all our backbones by his sermons,*” Colonel Merrill would say after the war. Sloan resumed his duties as pastor of McGregor’s First Congregational Church and recommended Lorenzo Bolles, a private in Company K and an “*ordained minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church,*” as his replacement. The regiment’s top three officers and nine of the ten Captains agreed. With the support of his fellow M.E. ministers in Dubuque County, Bolles, the reverend capable of “*whanging away*” with the best of them, replaced Sloan and wrote:

Houston, Missouri
January 7, 1863

Dear Rev. Brindle,

The religious interests of the regiment has been as well sustained as could be expected under all the circumstances. A Christian Association was formed three weeks ago, which numbers one hundred and ninety-five members. Some of them do not profess religion, but still consent to conform to our rules. It would startle you to discover how much some members of the Christian Church owe for their semblance of piety, to their surroundings. The camp is full of shameless wickedness, mainly of the tongue, that “world of iniquity which no man can tame.” Still, thank God, some are faithful, and “speak often one to another.” Our greatest difficulty is the want of a place to meet in. While the weather permitted, the groves and seats on the ground answered a good purpose. But this winter, moving so often, all has to be improvised anew at each place.

The officers, though kind and respectful, make war and not religion their concern; so that after all is provided for, if there is anything of time or place left, and the Chaplin pushes things, he gets a hearing of from twenty-five to five hundred just as the weather happens to be, or the men like the preacher, or the extent of guard duty demanded, or number of headaches, colds or other ailments being suffered, clothes to mend, letters to write, etc., will permit.

Attending services is not a duty required by the officers, and seldom encouraged by their presence. I do love to preach to soldiers, and they act as if they were pleased to hear. Let friends at home pray for us, and send us good letters and papers. they are highly appreciated.

Rev. Lorenzo Bolles³⁹⁸

Also on the 7th, Alexander Foster was discharged. He had not recovered from an abdominal injury suffered during the forced march from Hartville to the relief of those attacked at Beaver Creek and left with the best wishes of regimental officers who said he had been “*a faithful soldier and a kind and obliging officer.*” He had the “*kind wishes*” of his comrades and the “*respect of the officers*” as he started a return to his home in Buncombe.³⁹⁹

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The *Memphis Appeal* was “*a notorious Secessionist newspaper, truculent, mendacious, and inflammatory to the last degree.*” When Memphis fell, “*its owner and editor had taken it from there to Grenada, Miss., where his paper became the Memphis-Grenada Appeal.*” Wm. Forse Scott, *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment. The Career of the Fourth Iowa Veteran Volunteers* (1892; Camp Pope Bookshop Edition, , reprint 19922), page 502.

³⁹⁷ George Brownell said the day was “*warm and pleasant.*”

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 292-293.

³⁹⁹

Statement by P. M. Brown, 1st Lieutenant, G. H. Childs, 2d Lieutenant, Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Dunlap, Major Salue G. Van Anda and Adjutant Horace Poole, Houston, Missouri (January 7, 1863).

BATTLE OF HARTVILLE (January 11, 1863)

On the 8th, Marmaduke's Confederates spent thirteen hours in battle with Egbert Brown's Federals at Springfield but night eventually "came down with weary, brooding wings, laid her dark brow across the cloudy sky, and threw her sable mantle over fort and wall and house and men."⁴⁰⁰ Marmaduke withdrew toward Lebanon, but would later turn toward Hartville.

By January 9th, Dr. Orr, the regiment's newly appointed surgeon, had reached St. Louis where he signed the oath of office while, in Houston, James Mull, a private in Company F, wrote to his wife.

"Dear Wife, Take pen in hand to let you know I am well and I hope these few lines will find you enjoying the same great blessing. I have got tired of waiting to get a letter from you... I tell you if you new how much good it does me to get a letter from you you would not wait 4 or 5 weeks to write to me... This is the 3 letter without any answer. I have not heard from father since November. I should like to know if you get any letters from them. I have had my picture taken twice once for you and once to send to Father. They cost 75 cents a peas. Ephram Wright and Thom Putman have got there discharges maid out and will start home soon. It is quite pleasant hear it freeses nites and thaws out days. it looks as if it would rain tonite. I want you to write and let me know how you and the children are a geting a long and all of the folks. The last letter that I got from you was dated the 13 of December. Do write oftener. I would to god that this war was ended so that we could get home to our famileys once more. You must excuse me for not writing this time.

From J. S. Mull to his wife Emma Mull."⁴⁰¹

Meanwhile, Egbert Brown had wired Major-General Curtis in St. Louis "of the advance of a column of 6,000 rebels," Curtis sent Warren a "telegraphic order to send assistance" and Warren ordered Sam Merrill, his senior subordinate, to leave Houston by "forced march to Springfield." "For greater speed and progress" a "heavy transportation train" was to go with them "for use of the infantry" and there was "buzzing in camp" as company orderlies were ordered to furnish twenty-five men each. Volunteers came quickly and a force of 262 men from the 21st Iowa (25 plus one commissioned officer from each company, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap and Colonel Merrill), a similar number from the 99th Illinois, 200 cavalry under Major George Duffield, two howitzers under Lieutenant William Waldschmidt, and assorted wagons, mules and teamsters under Quartermaster Benton was organized for the march.⁴⁰²

"Anxious faces." "Brothers, fathers, sons are left behind" but, for those selected, "the monotonous round of camp life" had ended and there was "romance to be tasted." With Dunlap commanding the regiment, they left before noon on the 9th "in light marching order" with five days' rations and forty wagons to carry "ammunition, rations, knapsacks and men exhausted." Dunlap had, said William Crooke, a "handsome physical presence and military bearing," he had "few superiors," and he was "greatly loved and admired as an intrepid soldier and daring leader,"

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Report of Col. Joseph O. Shelby, Missouri Cavalry (Confederate), Camp Carter, January 31, 1863. Carolyn M. Bartels, The Civil War in Missouri Day by Day 1861 to 1865 (Two Trails Publishing Company, Shawnee Mission, KS; 1992). Another report, says William Quantrill's men, then led by William Gregg, participated in "the battles at Cane Hill and Prairie Grove, Arkansas, and Springfield and Hartville, Missouri, between November 1862, and January 1863." Richard S. Brownlee, Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865, referencing O.R., Series 1, Vol. XXII, Part 1, pp. 55, 58, 200; Gregg Ms., 42-43. Also see Frederick W. Goman, Up From Arkansas, Marmaduke's First Missouri Raid Including the Battles of Springfield and Hartville (Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Foundation, Missouri, 1999).

401 Letter sold on eBay 02/07/09. Transcription from on-line list of sale.

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Others indicate the force included:

500 from the 21st Iowa & 99th Illinois (total), 200 cavalry and 2 pieces of artillery. James Bethard letter to his wife.

250 from the 21st Iowa, 250 from the 99th Illinois, 300 cavalry from the 3rd Iowa, and 2 pieces of artillery. Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

250 from the 21st Iowa, 250 from the 99th Illinois, 200 cavalry under Major Duffield, a "section" of artillery & a "proper complement" of officers who, at Hartville, were joined by 180 from the 3d Iowa and 3d Missouri cavalry. Wm. Crooke, *Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889.* (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 8.

qualities that would soon be tested. *"Few in his presence could resist the fascination of his smile or the charm of his manner."*⁴⁰³ As they rushed to the southwest, *"our portion of the regiment,"* said Alonzo Cole:

*"were on a forced march in wagons to relieve our forces at Hartsville. the mules were driven by one Jabez Rogers and going down hill struck a bowlder which threw us up in the wagon, the soldier sitting opposite me brought the hammer of his gun down on my knee pan cutting clear to the bone on my right leg."*⁴⁰⁴

Soon after starting, they met the foraging expedition on its way back to Houston. The foragers were exhausted after being gone four days, but all wanted to join the march to Hartville - *"can't I go? can't I go? meet with stern negatives,"* said Crooke. Merrill's force was full and in a hurry and tired men were not needed, but *"one brave, resolute heart,"* Carl Possehl, *"finds a less resolute one and effects an exchange."* Carl joined the march while the man he replaced returned to Houston where an attack was expected. All were alert and, said Brownell, there were *"very strict orders not to be knapping."*

After covering twenty-three miles, Merrill ordered a stop for supper about 8:00 p.m. at Beaver Creek, waited for the moon to rise, and resumed his march at midnight.⁴⁰⁵ Wading across the icy stream in the middle of winter, Seymour Chipman caught a severe cold, but the march continued in the early morning darkness of the 10th and reached the Gasconade River where they were warned by scouts that Hartville might be occupied by the enemy. Aware of the strong federal force at Houston, Porter had avoided detection by marching farther west than originally planned and then turning north when almost due south of Hartville. He had occupied the town briefly and destroyed its meager fortifications, before continuing his march about 8:00 p.m. on the road to Marshfield.⁴⁰⁶

Merrill advanced cautiously, halted after covering five miles, rested the infantry in line of battle, sent cavalry ahead to reconnoiter and learned Porter had left. Merrill resumed his march after daybreak and, several hours later, his weary band of Federals entered the town, stacked arms and set their picket.⁴⁰⁷ *"Three loads of dressed pork were stopped by the picket on the Mansfield Road, and on questioning it was found the pork had been sent into Hartville for General Marmaduke . . . The picket told the drivers he would take them to headquarters and brought them into town, turning them over to the Federal forces who appreciated the added ration of fresh pork to their somewhat stalehardtack and bacon"* As they enjoyed their dinner of coffee and meat *"on the street just east of the square"* and endured *"much chaffing of citizens,"* they were reinforced by about 180 men from the 3d Iowa and 3d Missouri cavalries who had been sent by Warren *"to overtake and join them."* About 3:00pm, they continued toward Springfield as *"spectators (mainly women loyal and disloyal)"* looked on with *"huddling children."* *"Little they dream of coming disaster."*

Four miles from Marshfield, Porter formed *"a junction"* with Marmaduke and was ordered back three miles on the road toward Hartville. He camped for the evening, but agreed to march toward Hartville at 3:00 in the morning.

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William Crooke, *"Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889."* (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889).

⁴⁰⁴ Pension application dated May 22, 1880.

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Times given for January 9 and 10 vary in Bethard's letter, Cooley's journal and Crooke's narrative.

01/09	Crooke	after dark after 23 miles, <i>"halted"</i> for supper at Beaver Creek.
	Cooley	8:00pm arrived at Beaver Creek
	Bethard	10:00pm <i>"camped"</i> at Beaver Creek
	Cooley	11:00pm resumed march
	Crooke	11:00pm resumed march
	Crooke	5 miles before Hartville stopped in line of battle
01/10	Bethard	2:00am resumed march
	Cooley	5:00am resumed march; camped on Wood's Fork
	Crooke	after daybreak resumed march, crossed Gasconade, meal in Hartville
	Bethard	10:00am resumed march; meal in Hartville.
	Bethard	2:00pm resumed march
	Crooke	2:00pm resumed march, covered 7 miles, camped on Wood's Fork.
01/11	Crooke	2:00am reveille
	⁴⁰⁶	Elsewhere 2:00pm.
	⁴⁰⁷	Elsewhere it's indicated they arrived in town at 6:00am.

Merrill knew Porter was ahead of him but did not know he had been joined by Marmaduke or that they were heading back in his direction. After marching about ten miles, he camped “*on a knoll covered with timber and brush, the adjacent farm being then and now known as ‘the widow Morrison’s place’*”⁴⁰⁸ near Wood's Fork of the Gasconade River, “*a nice stream of water and plenty of wood for fires.*”⁴⁰⁹ While gathering fodder for the horses from a nearby cornfield “*there is found a pit of cabbage*” that was quickly eaten. Only a half mile away, the Southern enemy was camped along the same creek paralleling the same road.

On that same January 10th, in St. Louis, a requisition was issued for Dr. Orr and his horse to be conveyed to Rolla. Before leaving, Dr. Orr wrote to advise Adjutant General Baker that “*I am now on my way to join the 21st Infantry which I learn is at Houston, Mo.*”

On the morning of the 11th, Theodore Dare, suffering from chronic diarrhea, died in Rolla.⁴¹⁰ His effects were sold and the proceeds “*placed in the hands of government to his credit*” while his comrades near Wood's Fork were roused about 2:00am. “*Fires are lighted, coffee made, jokes and laughter fill the air.*” After a quick breakfast of “*hardtack with the remains of fresh pork*” Union soldiers were ready to march by 3:00am when “*Hark! a shot at the picket post - another, and a volley.*” Porter's advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Wimer had met the Federal pickets. Bayonets rattled as guns were pulled from their stacks. They were “*on open space on the margin of the river, with high swells of ground, covered with timber and brush, surrounding,*” not a good position, as infantry fell in and horsemen rushed forward to get more information. George Bradway, Captain of the 3d Missouri Cavalry, and two of his men were killed and fell “*on the sod which soon shall cover them.*” Three riderless horses galloped through the woods and skirmishers from Companies A and B were sent out by Dunlap “*to dispute the advance.*” With Company A on the right of the road and Company B on the left, they spent several hours searching the woods during the morning darkness. According to Dunlap, “*I immediately got my command in line of battle, and ordered the companies to send their blankets and overcoats to the wagons. I then sent out Companies A and B, under Captains Johnson and Cook [sic], respectively, as skirmishers.*”

Union infantry rushed forward to support the skirmishers. For an hour Confederates “*peppered away and got peppered in return*” and, “*still in darkness, accidentally shot some of their own men.*” Union artillery shelled the woods killing and wounding an unknown number. Fire soon slackened and men waited for dawn when Dunlap “*was ordered to move my command half a mile in advance. I went down on the double quick, and formed on the left of the road. The fight here lasted until 9 o'clock when the enemy withdrew.*” Marmaduke could have “*completely enveloped the command and cut them to pieces,*” but being misinformed that “*a strong cavalry force was in my rear,*” had elected to cross the shallow Wood's Fork on his right (south), loop around the Union left to the Hill Road (the old Springfield Road), reach the West Plains Road and descend on Hartville.

When Union cavalry brought in twenty-nine prisoners who claimed Marmaduke had 5,000 men and was intent on seizing Hartville,⁴¹¹ Merrill's infantry about-faced and started a return on the more direct valley road, the Hartville Road. “*The empty wagons are instantly filled, and mules whipped to their fastest gait.*” Fearful they might be out-flanked, the cavalry raced ahead, artillery followed and infantry ran behind, back down the same road they had covered the day before.

Reports conflict as to which units were the first to arrive, but Marmaduke soon controlled the south and east side of town. McDonald's cavalry was “*thrown out 3½ miles on the Houston Road,*” and five pieces of artillery under Richard Collins were placed on an adjacent hill after climbing a road cut by Warren two months earlier. Infantry was positioned on the approach from Springfield, along the Gasconade south of town, and on the level plain of the village itself. Union cavalry dismounted and occupied a low ridge covered with small trees, undergrowth and brush on the west side of town. Infantry, about 700 effectives, followed and arrived none too soon. Porter was already advancing

⁴⁰⁸ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 27.

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William D. Crooke, “*Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889.*” Printed for private distribution by request of his comrades (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago, 1889).

⁴¹⁰ The site of his burial has not been found.

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Perhaps intentionally, nearly double his actual strength, this erroneous statistic would find its way into subsequent reports and, at least partially, influence Merrill's conduct of the imminent battle.

on a line through town and forming at the bottom of the ridge still being occupied by the Federals. Before long Shelby arrived, dismounted and joined Porter. Women and children took refuge in caves under the town and watched from bluffs to the northeast as battle was joined below them.

Lorenzo Bolles had been Chaplain for only three days when Merrill left for Springfield, but learned a confrontation, somewhere, was imminent, left Houston and rode through the night, alone among secessionist guerrillas. He reached Hartville as fighting began and was, he said, rewarded "by the smiles and greetings he received from his men" as they rushed to get in position and set their howitzers. About 11:00am Rebel artillery opened fire.⁴¹² "The first shot hit the bluff and rolled along the ground, the companies opening up and the ball passing between the lines. The second shot exploded, a fragment striking Col. Dunlap who held a sword in his hand, and pierced the hand, severing his fingers."

The Federals responded, said Shelby, with "well-directed fire, which was so sudden that it almost became a surprise. The men stood its fury well, and it was not until the tornado had passed did they begin to waver."⁴¹³ Sharpshooters were in every house and building but Porter had destroyed the "fort" during his earlier visit and it now gave only limited cover. Union soldiers formed in an arc with the 99th Illinois on the far right and the 21st Iowa in the middle. The artillery, guarded by Companies B and G of the 21st Iowa, was between the two infantry units and the dismounted 3d Missouri and 3d Iowa cavalries were the far left. Below was the village; beyond it, the hill with Marmaduke riding back and forth directing his men. Rebel cavalry and mounted infantry, 700 strong, dashed "through the town into the open ground only to find themselves in front of a position difficult to assail by cavalry" and, said Dunlap:

"I caused all my men to lie down during the engagement, except a few skirmishers, and to do their firing in this position, except when firing volleys or repelling the charges of the enemy. In a few moments they charged on us in large force, and we repelled them with great loss on their part. Several times, with short intervals, they repeated the charge with reinforcements of fresh troops, and every time they were driven back in disorder. Failing in these charges, they formed a line on the opposite side of town, so near to us that we could distinctly hear the commands of their officers, and opened on us a brisk fire of musketry, their artillery at the same time pouring into us a heavy fire; we returning the fire with the most terrible effect. In a short time, a large body of mounted men poured into the town and made a charge, with terrible yells, upon our artillery at my right. When they approached within a few rods, simultaneously with the Ninety-ninth Illinois we poured into their ranks a full volley, causing them to reel and fall back in confusion and disorder. We continued our fire with so much heat as to empty many saddles, and create such a panic in their ranks that they could not be rallied until they got over the hill, nearly a mile distant. Their sharpshooters filled the Court House, and the dwelling houses in the town, who became very annoying to my command. I sent a request to Colonel Merrill, to have the artillery turned upon the town, but not being able to find him I ordered Lieutenant Waldschmidt, commanding the artillery, to shell the town and drive the rebels from their hiding places. He immediately commenced firing on them with briskness."

Waldschmidt's "brass pieces are the terror of the foe, but inspire our own men with confidence and firmness," said William Crooke.⁴¹⁴ As the battle continued, "some of our boys lit their pipes and took a smoke when the enemy were firing on us, and told them not to shoot so close. Some laid down and took a nap when the balls were flying thick. Our men who were wounded did not make any noise, but those of the enemy were awful to hear. They howled and groaned, and made the most awful fuss, I ever heard in my life. It was enough to scare anybody to hear them."⁴¹⁵

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The artillery was described as consisting of either a rifled twelve-pound cannon and four smaller cannon or three rifled guns and two howitzers.

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Quotes and reports attributed to Shelby were frequently ghostwritten for him by his Adjutant, Major John Newman Edwards.

⁴¹⁴ William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 302-303.

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Darius W. Cleveland, Company A, as quoted by William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 303.

Fire from the two-story courthouse, "a large square building full of openings," "the most conspicuous object in the town," had been intense and the "Confederates took a cannon up the stairs in the court house to fire down into the Union ranks," but one of Waldschmidt's shells exploded "in the very heart of it, and dark lines radiate from it in all directions, leaping from windows and fleeing from doors." When McDonald's cavalry charged the federal artillery, Waldschmidt wheeled his horse and said, "Come on you - and I will give you hell now mit grape and shot." Several horses were killed and others wounded and the howitzers might have been lost but the guards from Company B helped pull the pieces out by hand and the Rebel charge netted only "an almost empty caisson, a few small arms and some overcoats." James Russell, recently promoted to 3rd Sergeant in Company F, wrote to the *Dubuque Times*.⁴¹⁶

On Friday, the 9th inst., at 10 o'clock A.M., a portion of Gen. Fritz Henry Warren's brigade under command of Col. S. Merrill, received marching orders, and a part of the 21st Iowa, 99th Illinois, 3d Missouri cavalry, with two pieces of artillery - in all about eight hundred men - for a forced march to Springfield. All was action throughout the camps, all wanted to go, but some were ordered to remain, with part of the officers, to defend the camp in case of attack; and military orders are explicit, and each company furnished twenty-five to thirty men. We arrived at Beaver Creek, twenty-two miles distant, at 8 o'clock in the evening and about 12 o'clock at midnight left for Hartsville expecting to arrive there by daylight, but in consequence of our scouts giving information that the town was occupied by the rebels, we were drawn up in line of battle six miles away (from Hartsville) awaiting the return of a portion of cavalry sent forward to reconnoiter; they returning gave information that they (the enemy) had left the night previous (the Union force continued their march), At daylight, arriving at (Hartsville) 9 o'clock A.M. "Then for the first time we were refreshed with rations of coffee and meat; while there a man came into camp and supposing us to be secesh, gave us valuable information of spies among the State Militia. - Left there at 2 o'clock P.M., arriving at camp for the night at Wood's Fork, eight miles away on the road to Marshfield, whether the enemy, under Col. Porter, had gone.

They (the rebels) were reinforced by Marmaduke, who had been fighting at Springfield, and Gen. McDonald with four thousand mounted men were repulsed there. They encamped on the same creek only one half mile away and did not know of our approach until our bugle call in the morning, which prepared them for an attack, or retreat. At 5 o'clock A.M., as twenty-five of the 3d Missouri cavalry, under Capt. Broadway, were advancing to get information as to certain signs of an enemy, they fell upon a body of rebels who fired a volley among them killing Capt. B., Corp. Boradilla and Thomas Urin. Then we heard another volley and a yell, but the cry was, "For God's sake stop; you are killing your own men," which proved true, as the sixty prisoners taken reported the same facts.

At daylight the artillery was sent forward to draw them out, and commenced shelling the woods; a number were killed and wounded there. Scouts were sent out immediately to ascertain the facts and reported them retreating in a southeast direction and the 3d Iowa cavalry made a dash to cut-off their rear guard and some of their baggage. Soon after orders were given to move (back) to Hartsville. Immediately we rushed forward as we were informed they intended to flank us at that place. They succeeded in reaching there one hour previous and gained a good position near the town on the bluffs and also encircling the place on the east and south side towards Houston and Springfield, cutting off our teams and reinforcements from the former places, proving the fact that if mounted we should succeed much better in this desert and mountainous country, fighting these guerrillas, who are all mounted on the best horses the country affords. They had one rifled 12 pounder and four other cannon, of four and six pounds, and as soon as our cannon and Howitzer came into position we opened the ball at 1 o'clock, and the 21st on the left with the 99th on the right came rushing forward on a double-quick of two miles into line of battle, not a minute too soon to meet the foe who were forming at the foot of the hill to occupy it, - but were soon convinced we had arrived and they as rapidly retreated. In the meantime thousands of our foes were on the opposite bluffs, and their sharpshooters

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William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 300-302. A different version of the same letter appears at page 355 in *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*, Vol. 6, edited by Frank Moore (G. P. Putnam, New York, 1863). Moore's version has "ninth" instead of "9th," "ten" instead of "10", etc.; it correctly gives Warren's name as "Fitz Henry" not "Fritz-Henry" as in Corbin's book and it does not have the parenthetical remarks such as "(Hartsville)" that appear in Corbin's book apparently for clarity but without acknowledging the editorial changes..

occupied every house. But here another disadvantage occurred to themselves (the rebels), as, when Porter's force was last here they tore down a palisade fort which would have provided an almost impregnable position to any infantry force.

Russell

Porter and Shelby continued their assaults "with yells and loud clamor" but, said Shelby, "death's black banner is waving there, and the best and bravest are falling around him ... and all lion-hearted, are badly wounded, and more are falling ... and the banner of the bars waves again high over the lurid light of the fight." Marmaduke's rifled Parrott, brainchild of a Captain at the West Point Foundry, found the range and, according to Crooke, "it is a wild and angry surf which beats upon our shore." He was proud of his company. In their first battle they were "surprisingly steady" and fired "with great rapidity," but were not experienced in rationing their forty rounds of ammunition and continued their fire long after the assaults had ceased. "Enough is wasted to slaughter an army."

Some of Marmaduke's men began falling back about 3:00pm, but Merrill was "ignorant of their movement" and, with ammunition of the 99th Illinois almost gone, ordered his own men to pull back along the Lebanon Road. They were "withdrawn slowly and in perfect order" and Waldschmidt's artillery "very soon follows" "with their whole transportation, losing not even a musket or a cartridge box," but the orderly sent to advise Dunlap was killed. Dunlap was never told of the order to withdraw, remained in position, and looked for Waldschmidt who:

"retired from his position, as I supposed to cool his guns or repair some slight accidents, but he did not return, and, as I afterwards learned, he received orders to retreat by the Lebanon road.... The firing now ceased on my right and left and, as I supposed some strategic movement was going on, I ordered my command to increase the vigor of their fire in order to attract the attention of the enemy, while the remainder of our force changed their position."

Finally, about 4:00pm, he sent twenty-four year old Scotsman Alexander Milne and a party of skirmishers to the right and others to the left to determine Merrill's intent and Milne:

"found parties of 10 or more trying to flank our right. I fired several times among them and came to Col. D. for 12 good marksmen. Double quick, we skirmished until the Col. ordered me to rally on the Battalion, then dark, we several times repulsed and broke up parties trying to flank us and we got within short range so that we could report what the rebels said and break up all attempts to rally their forces."⁴¹⁷

Alerted by his skirmishers that the others had withdrawn, but having received no orders for the 21st to do so, and having only a small detachment to face a much larger force, Dunlap said he was:

"somewhat embarrassed as to the best course to pursue. To retreat then would be to disclose our weakness to the enemy and expose us to destruction; to stay seemed like embracing death. I determined, however, to hold my position until dark, or lose every man in the attempt, and in this I was sustained by the whole command. I then extended my line as much as possible, by scattering my men to the right and left with, instructions to maintain a vigorous fire, in order to prevent the enemy from ascertaining that our force had gone, at the same time pouring into them a hot fire from the main body. After this the enemy made three charges on our front, in one instance coming up in four ranks, but each time was driven back in a various manner by the Twenty-first Iowa. They now withdrew to the other side of the town and the second time they formed a line, not with as strong a force as before, however. My attention was now called to the hill beyond their line, and, to my surprise as well as infinite delight I discovered the rebels rapidly falling back on the road leading north. First their train went over the hill, followed by long lines of cavalry."⁴¹⁸

Marmaduke's withdrawal "continued until sundown," shortly after 5:00pm, "by which time their whole force had

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Report in pension file of Alexander Milne, Company F, of services performed January 11, 1863, as written at Iron Mountain March 6, 1863.
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Dunlap's defense was reportedly aided when the "enemy were purposely deceived by several prisoners whom they captured, who told them that our forces numbered about 7000 men." *Dubuque Daily Times* (March 14, 1863).

gone except a light rear guard. I kept a brisk firing on the town, and a few moments before dark the rebels had vacated the place and left us in triumphant possession of the hard fought battlefield." The Southerners had seen Merrill withdraw and thought the fight was ended, but were surprised by Dunlap's resistance and their "retreat became general at twilight," about 7:00pm. "There will be no more charging or firing to-night," said Crooke, "the women and children may come from their hiding places." The Federals had captured two surgeons, one Lieutenant and thirty-eight privates. Estimates of Confederate casualties ranged from twelve to fifteen dead and seventy to ninety-six wounded to more than 300 dead and wounded.⁴¹⁹ Colonel Thompson was killed. Every Captain but four in Shelby's brigade was killed. Major George Kirtley was killed. Shelby had two horses shot from under him; a metal cavalry badge on his hat stopped a bullet. Lieutenant Colonel Wimer was killed and Colonel Porter was seriously wounded in the right thigh and left hand and fell from "his beautiful white horse, falling into the dust of the street. McDonald attempted to take up a like position," was hit in the chest by cannister and died on the field.⁴²⁰ Marmaduke's horse went down but Marmaduke extricated himself and took refuge in a grove of trees.

Dunlap sent Milne "to find out the runaways, viz all but the 21st Iowa,"⁴²¹ and withdrew an hour or two later. He had fought the last half of the battle alone and:

not deeming it safe or prudent to remain with so small a command in the vicinity of so large a force of the enemy, even while they were retreating, I concluded to withdraw. When we gathered up what loose things we could, about an hour after dark, I left the town and the scene of our victory, taking the road to Lebanon, presuming that to be the way our forces had gone.

Federal losses were 7 killed, 64 wounded, five captured and two missing. In the 21st Iowa, three were killed in action: Charles Carlton from Company H, Harrison Hefner from Company K who was shot through the bowels and, ironically, Carl Possehl, the member of the foraging expedition who had pleaded to join the expedition and was the only member of Company B who was killed. His personal effects were expressed to his father in Elkport. "Alas! for him - Alas! for them, whose only son he is."⁴²² Mortally wounded was William Jones of Company C who would die the next day.⁴²³ Another thirteen, including eight from Company K, suffered non-fatal wounds.⁴²⁴ Among them was George Simons. His skull was fractured by buckshot and both knees were damaged by shell fragments. Another was Ward White who was preparing to shoot when, with his arms raised, he was hit in the right shoulder with a musket ball that destroyed muscles and fractured his arm. Charles Kellogg was the only man reported as missing. Detached

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See Joanne Chiles Eakin, Missouri Confederate Reports (self-published, Independence, Mo.; 1995). The author gives the names of eighteen who were "killed" or "mortally wounded," eighty-four as "wounded" and three as "missing" together with another "supposed to have died same night but still lives." She references a Captain W. J. McArthur as reporting that "the orderly Sergeants were without their rolls, and the reports were made from memory & guess work. Some others wounded & killed, but cannot get their names for want of the rolls."

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Joseph Chrisman Porter died from his wounds on February 18, 1863, at Batesville, Arkansas, although some reports say, erroneously, that he died on the day of the battle. The typical cannister was fired at close range, loaded with twenty-seven 1½" round balls and smashed into an assaulting force like a giant shotgun.

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Report in pension file of Alexander Milne, Company F, of services performed January 11, 1863, as written at Iron Mountain March 6, 1863.

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William D. Crooke, "Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889" (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago, 1889).

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Two weeks later, on January 25, 1863, "a couple of villains broke into the house occupied by two orphan girls named Maggie and Hannah Jones . . . and treated the young women in a most violent and brutal manner. . . . In the struggle, the villains tore every particle of clothing from the girls, and they reached a neighbor's house in a state of entire nudity." The girls had occupied the house since their mother died the previous July. "Their older brother, upon whose pay as a soldier they relied somewhat for a living, went away with the 21st Iowa regiment and was killed two weeks ago at the battle of Hartsville. Since the news of his death reached them, they have been overwhelmed with grief, and have been constantly attended day and night by their kind-hearted neighbors - the night in question being the first one during which a friendly family had not stayed with them." George Murphy, one of the assailants, was captured later that evening during another assault. *Dubuque Daily Times*, January 27, 1863.

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The thirteen men with non-fatal wounds were Major Dunlap, John H. Alexander, John W. Miller, Samuel Wallace Moore, Jacob Hoops, Freeman Fear, David Hiner, Adam Lukesinger, Jacob B. Miller, George Simons, Erastus Smith, Henry B. Stone, and Ward White.

and left behind by Dunlap were Lieutenant Frank Dale, John Goodrich and sixteen others who "bivouacked on the fighting-ground, and received the flags of truce in the morning," and helped treat the wounded while nearby Confederates worked "all night carrying in the wounded and burying the dead. Out NorthWest of town we made a grave yard in the small post-oak bushes. We dug one grave twelve feet by fifteen feet. We laid men in it side by side without box or coffin and threw the dirt in over them."⁴²⁵ Found on the field after the battle was a book by Mason Weems, "The Life of George Washington," that was retrieved by the Federals and read by John Goodrich while tending the wounded.

Company B's William Crooke was proud of his men, but regretted the country had become "accustomed to struggles between great masses of men" and "engagements of smaller bodies acquired little celebrity." As he predicted, the Battle of Hartville⁴²⁶ received only passing notice and little more than a footnote in history. Henry Halleck's annual report said merely that "another skirmish took place at Hartville on the 11th, in which our loss was 7 killed and 64 wounded. We captured 27 prisoners" but, for the 21st Iowa, it was a first taste of combat and death in battle. Approximately 700 Union soldiers had faced about 1,800 Confederates (although other estimates were vastly different).

From the 9th to the 12th, from Friday afternoon to Monday morning, they had marched 100 miles and fought twice, once for three hours and the Battle of Hartville for eight hours during the last three of which approximately 220 vastly out-numbered men held their position against the attacking Confederates. After only two hours sleep on Saturday they had been awake for the next twenty-six. Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap said "every one was a hero" and his men felt the same of him. His horse had been shot from under him, his holster was shot off, his sword belt was cut away and he had been wounded in both the hand and side.⁴²⁷ Despite his wounds "he went up and down our line all through the fight, cheering the boys and telling us to give it to them," said Darius Cleveland.

"He is the bravest man I have ever seen. The boys would sooner have died than to have left him. We tried to get him to lie down so the enemy could not see him, but he said he would not do it - they might shoot at him all they wanted to."

On Monday morning, January 12th, each thought the other controlled the town and each sent a flag of truce so burial details could continue their work. Merrill and those who withdrew with him were nearing Lebanon and Marmaduke, after camping on an open plain seven miles south of town, told one of the locals to "tell General Warren his men fought like tigers." He then "moved rapidly south to the North Fork of White River, at the mouth of Indian Creek, where they paroled and released Lieutenant Brown of the 3d Iowa Cavalry and one other prisoner."⁴²⁸ The "other prisoner" was apparently Charles Kellogg who claimed he had been captured "by Quintrall when near Hartville during the battle," but had been "able to destroy all dispatches, was stripped of all clothing but undershirt and drawers and turned over to Marmaduke's command."⁴²⁹ Military exaggeration knows few bounds and, claiming

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Carolyn M. Bartels, True Tales: Civil War in Missouri (Two Trails Publishing, 2002), page 223. Harrison Hefner and Carl Possehl were among those initially buried in Hartville, but reinterred after the war in Springfield National Cemetery.

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It should, said one, "be termed the 'battle of the Wagons,' for wagons contributed in a large measure to the victory. Gen. Warren, for greater speed, had dispatched all the infantry in wagons. The presence of such an immense train, led Marmaduke to believe that the union force was correspondingly large." John W. Barber & Henry Howe, The Loyal West in the Times of the Rebellion; Also, Before and Since (F. A. Howe, Cincinnati, 1865), page 607. The implies, wrongly, that the entire infantry rode in wagons when, in fact, they permitted men to ride "part of the time." While not full time for the entire force, this nevertheless permitted men to arrive in Hartville more rested than would otherwise have been possible.

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William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 303.

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Official Report of General Fitz Henry Warren, Headquarters, Houston, Missouri, January 16, 1863. Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of the State of Iowa, January 1, 1863, to January 11, 1864 (State Printer, Des Moines, 1864), page 538.

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Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891). W. C. Quantrill was absent, but some from his company, reportedly George Todd and William H. Gregg, were said to be present. Kellogg's notes include a Detachment Muster roll that says he was paroled January 13th, at North Fork, White River, Arkansas, and sent to St. Louis.

victory over a force of 2,500, Marmaduke reported that *"the enemy gave way and retreated in disorder, leaving the dead and wounded, many arms, ammunition, and clothing on the field and in my possession"* while Dunlap described his own exit from Hartville:

"There was not a mounted man left with us on the field, nor a live horse to be found in the vicinity. My horse having been shot in the early part of the engagement, it was impossible to send a messenger to ascertain the whereabouts of the army. Believing, however, that our troops must have retreated in this direction, I moved on, hoping to soon join the main force. As the night was cold, and our blankets and overcoats had been left in the wagons, we could make only short rests until we reached the train. We continued to march on until 3 o'clock the next morning [the 12th], when we came up with our train and force, camped at Osap Fork, 25 miles distant from Hartsville. Finding that the Colonel commanding had gone on to Lebanon the night before, I gave the troops a couple of hours' rest and some refreshments and, taking command of the force, put it in motion."

By mid-morning exhausted Union soldiers began entering Lebanon with Myron Knight and several others from Company B arriving about 10:00am. Others straggled in throughout the early afternoon, many on horses, carts and wagons borrowed from farms along the road and all *"returned to owners who call for them at Lebanon."* William Jones died of his wounds⁴³⁰ but others rested, cleaned weapons, and retired early, unaware the sounds of battle had been heard forty miles away at their base in Houston where a courier had arrived at 3:00am on the 12th. Although Warren's *"health incapacitated me from the fatigue of the expedition,"* a relief column *"with 500 men and two pieces of artillery"* had been formed and Warren, *"although barely able to keep my saddle,"* was in the lead when they left at daylight *"supposing the enemy still in force."* George Brownell, Gilbert Cooley and others in the column were, said George, *"pushed forward with all possible haste on this march & whenever we halted to rest we were in a state of perspiration and heat. when we laid or sat down we were in dampness & mud which we could not prevent taking cold and being sick."* Still in Houston on the 12th, Johan Dietrich wrote to his parents.

Houston, Mo. Jan 12' 1863

Dear Parents,

Your letter of Dec. 26 I received to day, Jan. 12' - it found me well which I hope these lines will find you. It pained me much to know that you, dear Mother, are sick, but I hope by the grace of God that you soon will recover.

You say that you could not obtain the money from the state bank. You must go to the state bank of Dubuque with a person who will swear that you are the one who has the right to draw the money. We are still in the same place and expect to remain here some time yet.

*I remain your true son
Johan Ditrich⁴³¹*

Late in the day, only seven miles from Hartville, Warren was told, erroneously, that Marmaduke was heading for Houston. Reversing himself, he sent a courier ahead to warn the camp, started a return at 1:00am on the 13th and was back by mid-afternoon after a forced march covering sixty miles in only twenty-six to thirty hours. The men in the relief column were exhausted. Some didn't arrive until evening and many were sick. George Brownell and many others would suffer for years, some for the rest of their lives, from rheumatism and other ailments attributed to their march.

In Iowa, Lorenzo Bolles' wife, Rachel, finished a letter she had started two days earlier, unaware her husband had rushed from Houston to Hartville to be with his regiment.

Saturday eve nine o clock

Dear Husband,

I have received my new years present. I thank you a thousand times for it. I havent wanted to do

⁴³⁰ The site of his burial has not been found.

⁴³¹

This is an excerpt, translated from German, from a longer letter that was filed with the Pension Office in support of his mother's postwar claim that she had been dependent on her son for support.

anything but look at it. It looks so much like you. I can't help kissing it. Carrie has kissed it over and over again she let the Baby kiss it and talked to her about it as though she understood all about it. She was so pleased with the picture and the money that she seemed wild with delight. She was so excited that Harriet and I began to laugh. well says she my heart is so full of gladness that I don't know what to do. She didn't stop until everyone in the house had seen them. She says she kisses the other Men sometimes but not as much as she does you. how much I do want to see you. I feel the need of your society. I am so lonesome, but I remember that you used to say & what can't be cured must be endured. Mr. H. says that you are going to leave Huston soon. I hope you will never go where there is to be fighting. I hope you will take good care of your health. don't over tax your strength. I had a letter from Caroline this week. She has heard that you are in the Army and wants to know all the particulars about it. she feels a great deal of anxiety about you. sends her love and wants you to write her. I intend to write her soon. I wish that I had some news that would interest you. it is a scarce article with me. I have been down to Mr. Karston this afternoon, the first time that I have been from home except to meeting since you left.

Monday eve and my letter is not finished. we have been washing to day so I am pretty tired. Lorenzo has gone to the debate this eve he says he wished Father was here to go with him and so do I. Mr. Rattles son was wounded in the fight in the battle at Fredericksburg. Mr. Sherwood has been to visit his brother. he had a leg shot off and so it is all over the country. when will this war close I some times think it never will. I hope you will make up your mind to come Home before many Months if you are spared whether it closes or not. I want to see you more then ever since you sent your Miniature. it looks as though it might speak. I am highly pleased with it though it doesn't keep me warm cold nights. we have had a very pleasant winter so far. Things go about after the old sort not much change. Marsh was up yesterday trading the corn stacks and straw ~~in~~ ~~the~~ in the lower field for three tons of English hay. went down to Byintons at night after the steer but did not make out so he went again this morning got him to the yard and he got away and went back. so much for Sunday work. he told me to day that Warner is going to Doctor Lan. he is to pay him \$5 (will you have any of it to pay) do you want me to send you some stamps I wonder how you get Tobacco down in Dixi or have you left of using it. I see by the picture that you have shaved yet but cannot see any Dickey. good night and one sweet kiss. Yours in love,

R M Bolles

Sand Spring Jan 12th 1863

Mrs Huslum and Willie took supper with me to night⁴³²

In "drenching rain and freezing sleet," said Gilbert Cooley, most of the men in Lebanon started a sixty mile return to Houston on the 13th although Dunlap's return was delayed due to his wounds. With reports of a large force of guerrillas somewhere in the area, the column was "carefully guarded" and camped in sparse woods with few blankets and without "the privilege of a fire." Rain fell, it was bitterly cold, it was impossible to lie down, and men shuffled about trying to keep weapons dry and "mitigate the deathly chill" during a "night of horrors - one never to pass out of memory." By the next morning many could no longer walk, wagons became ambulances, and some of the wounded reached Houston. Most continued to struggle along a muddy road, but the rain stopped by nightfall and fires lit the sky. Tired men in wet clothes and wrapped in wet blankets laid near blazing logs where a "warm steam finds every pore of the skin, producing a delicious sense of comfort".

They woke to a clear sky on the 15th and "a light blanket of snow," but there were still ten miles to go. With blistered feet they crossed numerous swollen streams, some men wading, some in wagons and others on cavalry horses, "those poor jaded beasts being made to carry double, and to cross and recross many times." That afternoon, during a brisk snow, they reached "home again," wet, muddy and very tired. Jim was cheered by two new letters from Cal and Colonel Warren assembled the men on the drill field. They had, he said, "fought one of the finest battles of the war." With 800 men they had repulsed several thousand. The enemy had first choice of location and five pieces of artillery, the Union a less advantageous position and only two pieces of artillery. They had "stood like veterans, without faltering or flinching before volley after volley, and charge after charge". They would be "a glorious memory to those who love you, and an honest pride to your own hearts."⁴³³ That night, "by animated groups around the camp

⁴³² This last part was written sideways along the left margin of the first page.

⁴³³ William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 305.

fires for many hours is told and retold the story of the expedition."⁴³⁴ On the 16th, sutler Oscar Burdick wrote:

*"All quiet at Houston. Col. Merrill and force arrived last evening, and met a welcome reception. Our men that have returned feel proud of the contest in which they have been engaged, and well they may."*⁴³⁵

The toll of such an experience, however, can never be fully known. Casualty sheets showed part of the story, but the "greatly increased list of those appearing on hospital rolls" during subsequent months could, in part, be traced back to the hardships of Hartville.⁴³⁶ Many were permanently disabled. Among them was Calvin Harback, Company K, who suffered from severe rheumatism and a contraction of the hamstring muscle in his left leg. So bad was the leg that "fears were entertained that the limb would require amputation."⁴³⁷ Doctors determined no amputation was required but, incapable of regular duty, he was treated in St. Louis and Keokuk hospitals before being transferred to the Veterans Reserve Corps. Others, less fortunate than Calvin, were "borne to narrow, silent dwelling places before comrades marching with reversed arms and with slow solemn tread."⁴³⁸ General Warren expressed opinions that, at the time, were not shared by many of the enlisted men when he said of Colonel Merrill:

"To Colonel Merrill, in command of the force, I am under high obligations for his prudent firmness and good dispositions of his troops. Nothing could have been finer than their steadiness and discipline.

Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap, Twenty-first Iowa, was conspicuous, much exposed, and wounded. He is worthy of high praise."

HOUSTON, MISSOURI (01/16/1863 -01/26/1863)

The Hartville battle behind them, soldiers rested and foraged for supplies while surgeons tended the sick and wounded, but life in Houston was decidedly different than in the secure confines of Rolla. The picket was tightened and scouting parties were vigilant although Warren was convinced that Marmaduke was "in rapid retreat toward Arkansas." Sutler Burdick said, "the weather is cold; have almost four or five inches of snow; it looks very much like winter in Iowa."⁴³⁹ Seymour Chipman contracted a severe cold, resulting in bad cough, sever pain in head" and was excused from duty by Lieutenant Barna Phelps. Both residents of Strawberry Point, Barna took Seymour into his own tent to help care for him.⁴⁴⁰ Peter Laugenehardt died of typhoid on the 16th⁴⁴¹ and, again forgetting to number his letter, Jim was finally able to tell Cal of his first battle.

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William D. Crooke, "Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889" (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago, 1889).

⁴³⁵ *North Iowa Times* (January 28, 1863).

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William D. Crooke, "Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889" (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago, 1889).

⁴³⁷ Affidavit by David Lovelace, a comrade in Company K.

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William D. Crooke, "Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889" (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago, 1889).

⁴³⁹ *North Iowa Times* (January 28, 1863).

⁴⁴⁰ Military records of Seymour Chipman.

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The family surname is spelled Laugeneckhardt, Langeneckhard and Langeneckhardt.

The site of Peter's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54874452.

His brother, Henry, served in the 6th Iowa Cavalry and would die on November 6, 1864. His burial also has not been found.

Find-a-Grave Memorial #80156439 says their father, "Albert Lageneckhard," died on June 24, 1866, and is buried in Oakwood Cemetery, Independence, Iowa. Hellena, having lost her husband and two sons, applied for a government pension four months later signing with an "x." In 1868 she signed an affidavit as "Hellena Langeneckhard" but other documents relative her application gave her name as "Langeneckhardt."

Houston Mo
Friday January the 16th 1863

Dear wife

You will no doubt hear of the battle at Hartsville before this letter reaches you and will of course be uneasy about us until you get letters from us I will relieve your anxiety at once by saying that we are all right I am the only one of the Roberts Creek crowd that was in the scrape and I came out unscathed although the bullets whistled and the cannon balls howled rather uncomfortably close to my head I felt almost used up yesterday evening from the effects of marching but am all right today; we marched seven days and night almost continuously we had one full nights rest in the time and that is all; resting only a few hours each night I will try to give you a faint discription of the battle although it is so verry cold that I am afraid I shall not make it verry interesting but here goes: Colonel Merrill started one week ago today for springfield with about 500 infantry from our regiment and the 99th Ill, and about 200 cavalry and two pieces of artilery we also along about 50 mule teams and waggons so that the men could take turns and ride about half the time we camped the first night on beaver creek about ten o clock and started again about two in the morning we marched till about four in the morning and had got within about ten miles of Hartsville when our advance guard reported that they had discovered the rebel camp fiers at no great distance from us in the direction of Hartsville we were immediately drawn up in line of battle and the artillery planted in front in the road where we stood until after daylight and the men were almost chilled to death when it was discovered that no enemy was near and we resumed our march reaching Hartsville about ten o clock we found that the rebels had been there the day before and made prisoners of the state militia force quartered there about 100 strong without firing a gun and had left there in the direction of springfield about one thousand strong We halted in Hartsville until about two o clock and then took up our march again for springfield we camped that night (saturday night) about ten miles beyond Hartsvill and were called up about three o clock sunday morning to get ready to march but before we were ready to march our pickets were driven in and the rebels discovered forming in a corn field about half a mile ahead of us on the road our artillery immediately commenced shelling them and soon cleared them from the field companys A and B of the 21st and two companys from the 99 Ill were then deployed as skirmishers and cavalry scouts sent out in all directions We scoured the woods until about 8 o clock in the morning when it was discovered that the rebs had skedaddled our scouts in the mien time picked up about 40 of the rebels scouts and brought them in prisoners and we learned from them that it was Marmadukes forces on their return from springfield where they had got handsomly whiped and the force that was in Hartsville on friday were Porters men on their way to reinforce Marmaduke and that they were now altogether about five thousand strong with six or seven pieces of artillery Colonel Merrell then concluded to hurry back to Houston fearing they would get around and attack that place but before we got to Hartsville it was discovered that the rebs were making for Hartsville by another road then followed a grand race for the position at Hartsville but we beat them there and planted our two guns and began shelling them at a vigorous rate and soon got an answer from their batterys our infantry was brought up as quickly as possible and formed in the edge of the brush so that the rebels were obliged to approach us over an open piece of ground we did not have to wait long til we saw them marching up in splendid style our company and company G both under captain Crook were assigned the duty of defending our artillery + Saturday morning Jan 17th 63 + which we did in splendid stile for 6 long hours we were then ordered to retreat which we did by the way of Lebanon it was some 35 miles the 99th Ill was in the advance the cavalry next the 21st remained on the ground til dark then they fell back & took up their line of March for Lebanon & covered the retreat of the artillery we marched all night got in to Lebanon 2 PM rested until the next morning then took up our line of march for Houston it was 60 miles & very dark we slept one night in open air it rained all night one night it snowed all night but we got home with a loss of 8 killed 16 wounded⁴⁴² one man of Co. B by name Carl Perchell from strawbery pt. was shot dead by my side I have got to go on picket to day and must close by saying the boys are all well my love to you ect. James Beathard

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The actual number was 3 killed in action, 1 mortally wounded, and 13 non-mortally wounded.

Another soldier's letter was similar.⁴⁴³

On Friday, the 9th inst., at 10 o'clock A.M., a portion of Gen. Fritz [sic] Henry Warren's brigade under command of Col. S. Merrill, received marching orders, and a part of the 21st Iowa, 99th Illinois, 3d Missouri cavalry with two pieces of artillery - in all about eight hundred men - for a forced march to Springfield. All was action throughout the camps, all wanted to go, but some were ordered to remain, with part of the officers to defend the camp in case of an attack; and military orders are explicit, and each company furnished twenty-five to thirty men. We arrived at Beaver Creek, twenty-two miles distant at 8 o'clock in the evening and about 12 o'clock at midnight left for Hartsville, expecting to arrive there by daylight, but in consequence of our scouts giving information that the town was occupied by the rebels, we were drawn up in line of battle six miles away (from Hartsville) awaiting the return of a portion of cavalry sent forward to reconnoiter; they returning, gave information that they (the enemy) had left the night previous (the Union force continued their march). At daylight, arriving at (Hartsville) 9 o'clock A.M. Then for the first time we were refreshed with rations of coffee and meat; while there a man came into camp and supposing us to be secesh, gave us valuable information of spies among the State Militia. - Left there at 2 o'clock P.M., arriving at camp for the night at Wood's Fork, eight miles away on the road to Marshfield, whether the enemy, under Col. Porter, had gone.

They (the rebels) were reinforced by Marmaduke, who had been fighting at Springfield, and Gen. McDonald with four thousand mounted men were repulsed there. They encamped on the same creek only one half mile away and did not know of our approach until our bugle call in the morning, which prepared them for an attack, or retreat. At 5 o'clock A.M., as twenty-five of the 3d Missouri cavalry, under Capt. Broadway, were advancing to get information as to certain signs of an enemy, they fell upon a body of rebels who fired a volley among them killing Capt. B., Corp. Boradilla and Thomas Urin. Then we heard another volley and a yell, but the cry was, "For God's sake stop; you are killing your own men," which proved true, as the sixty prisoners taken reported the same facts.

At daylight the artillery was sent forward to draw them out, and commenced shelling the woods; a number were killed and wounded there. Scouts were sent out immediately to ascertain the facts and reported them retreating in a southeast direction and the 3d Iowa cavalry made a dash to cut-off their rear guard and some of their baggage. Soon after orders were given to move (back) to Hartsville. Immediately we rushed forward as we were informed they intended to flank us at that place. They succeeded in reaching there one hour previous and gained a good position near the town on the bluffs and also encircling the place on the east and south side towards Houston and Springfield, cutting off our teams and reinforcements from the former places, proving the fact that if mounted we should succeed much better in this desert and mountainous country, fighting these guerrillas, who are all mounted on the best horses the country affords. They had one rifled 12 pound and four other cannon, of four and six pounds, and as soon as our cannot and Howitzer came into position we opened the ball at 1 o'clock, and the 21st on the left with the 99th on the right came rushing forward on a double-quick of two miles into line of battle, not a minute too soon to meet the foe who were forming at the foot of the hill to occupy it, - but were soon convinced we had arrived and they as rapidly retreated. In the meantime thousands of our foes were on the opposite bluffs, and their sharpshooters occupied every house. But here another disadvantage occurred to themselves (the rebels), as, when Porter's force was last here they tore down a palisade fort which would have provided an almost impregnable position to any infantry force.

Russell

When not writing on the 17th, Jim spent the rest of the day on picket duty while Cornelius Dunlap worked on his report of the Hartville expedition. On Sunday, Joseph Poor, sick with chronic diarrhea, was admitted to a hospital at Jefferson Barracks while the regiment's new surgeon, William Orr, arrived and reported for duty.

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Letter from James Russell to the *Dubuque Daily Times*, January 14, 1863, in William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 300 et seq.

“My first introduction to the regiment was at the picket post, where I joined the picket guard surrounding a fire built in the snow, and one of the number suffering severely with an aching tooth. Having in my pocket a vial of chloroform, I was able to give him instant relief, and that soldier was so grateful for such a simple act of attention, that he was ever after my friend.”⁴⁴⁴

On the 19th, Jim received a letter from Cal in which she enclosed a letter from Jonathan while men from Company D foraged in the rain. After spending the night in an old schoolhouse, they returned to camp the next day. George Lawrence died from typhoid fever on the 20th,⁴⁴⁵ Jim received a letter from his father and sister Libby and, with the regiment under marching orders, surgeons issued certificates of disability for discharge: eight on the 20th (Edwin Clark, George Crawford, William Cumpton, Daniel Dean, Charles Gillman, Herbert Hallock, Elias Johnson and James Logsdon), eight on the 21st (James Beeks, Harrison Bishop, Ennis Blear/Blue, George Blood, Jeremiah Dennis, William Enfield, Oliver Miller and Charles Paige), two on the 22nd (Ira Cole and David Fox) and two on the 23rd (Joseph Baker and Tim Hopkins). Since becoming ill in Rolla, James Logsdon had been under constant care for measles and pneumonia. Herb Hallock, a twenty-three year old from Strawberry Point, had contracted measles in Rolla and subsequent complications had led to other health problems.

On the 21st, Edwin Sparks was accidentally wounded and had four of his fingers amputated by Dr. Orr. One of the Roberts Creek Crowd, David Shuck, was in the hospital and another, Wallace Farrand, was promoted to 3d Sergeant in Company G. On the 22nd, Jim wrote to Cal.

Houston Mo. January the 22nd 1863

Dear wife

this is not my usual time for writing to you but as it may be the last oportunity that I will have to write to you from here I commence a letter and finish it just before we start so as to give you the latest news from Houston we are under marching orders but when we will start I cannot tell we may go tomorrow morning and we may not go this week we was to start this morning but the order was countermanded I do not know exactly where we are to go but I think from the best information that I can get that we are to go to Little Rock in Arkansas if that is the case we will probbably be several weeks on the march and there will probbably be no opportunity of sending letters back until we get to our journeys end I am writing now not knowing whether I will have an oportunity to send it out or not The Roberts creek crowd are all well and ready for the march except David Shuck he is in the hospital verry sick with the Tiphoid fever we have got no pay yet they say the paymaster is on his way here from Rolla but whether he will get here before we leave or not is a matter of uncertainty and if he does not I suppose we may ... on our pay for a while I think from the best information that I can get that we are to join general Blunts force and the whole force to be under command of general McLernard⁴⁴⁶

Cal I forgot to number the last two letters that I sent to you but you will see by the dates that there is two between this letter and number 1 I will try and not forget to number my letters hereafter I received your letter No. 2 last monday containing Jonathans letter and four postage stamps I also received two letters from you the day that I arrived here from the Hartsville scrape containing 6 stamps I believe I forgot to tell you in my last why Jim and John were not with us in the fight they were out on a four day forrage expedition and had not got back to camp when we started we met them on the way but they were too near worn out to turn back there was one of the foragers turned and went with us and he was the only of our company that was killed You wanted to know what I thought of your selling the little stove I think you done well to get rid of it whether you ever get your pay or not if you never get it you will always have something oweing to you oneway

Kiss the baby right good for me and I will lay this letter by for the present

Jan. the 22nd Well Cal they say the last mail that is to go from here goes to night at 11 o clock so I will finish up my letter by candle light and send it along

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Orr, *The Surgeon's Narrative* in George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 159. Orr also said he arrived on the 16th, but military records have the 18th.

⁴⁴⁵ The site of his burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54874305.

⁴⁴⁶ Blunt was in nearby Arkansas, but Jim's speculation would prove wrong.

Cal you have been disappointed once about your regular letter I missed one week writing to you but I could not help it I was in quite different ... that sunday from writing letters we are not likely to leave here before the first of next week but you neant be uneasy if you should get no more letters from us for several weeks but I will write whenever I have an oportunity I got a letter from father and Libby last tuesday evening in which I got Jonathans address if you wish to write to him address Jonathan Beathard company A 10th Ill. Vols in care of capt. Longly Nashville Tenn.⁴⁴⁷ As it is getting late I must bring letter to a close take good care of yourself and our little Ella and give my respect to all inquiring friends and continue to write as before give my respects to Aiken and tell him I should like to go to a Pannerramma with him once more tell him to write to me and I will write to him the first opportunity
ever yours James Beathard

On January 23rd, Nicholas Loes died in the regiment's field hospital. Nursing him at the time of his death was his brother, John Loes. As Captain Greaves reported, Nicholas left no personal effects with the military since "*his Bro who was Nurse in the Hospital by consent of the Surgeon in charge sent the effects home.*"⁴⁴⁸

On the 24th, Missouri resident Henry Bollinger enlisted as a new recruit and was mustered into Company G, Brad Talcott was promoted to 5th Sergeant and George Purdy to 6th Corporal in Company B, and Sam Merrill was given command of the brigade serving under General Fitz Henry Warren. Men "*discharged for disability*" on the 24th included Joseph Allen, Philus Crosby, Cyrus Craig, Marion Gage, James Heath, Narius Matturgley, Jacob Tharp, William Warn and Ephraim Wright.

Augustus Beeber was discharged on the 25th and George Crooke, Tyler Featherly, William Kendall and James Scovel on the 26th. Six months before enlisting, Scovel had engaged in a horse race and accidentally hit his right hip against a tree. Despite having a slight limp, he had been accepted into the military but, during a "*double-quick*" drill the day before leaving Dubuque, he had aggravated the injury. Now, having been unable to perform duty for the past two months, he was free to return home while his older brother, Christopher, continued his work as a regimental teamster. Crooke, who would be the regiment's postwar biographer, had been suffering from chronic diarrhea and discharges of blood, mucous and indigestible food. Constant care was required. In the opinion of the assistant surgeon, George could never get well in camp and a *Certificate of Disability for Discharge* was signed by his brother, Captain William Crooke, who certified that George:

"has never been able to perform the more arduous duties of the soldier in exposure to cold and rain when on guard, in camp, or on the march, has invariably brought on a spell of sickness. He was taken sick at Salem Mo. on the 1st day of November 1862 when in the line of his duty acting as clerk for Col. Merrill who commanded the post and remained in hospital until the 8th day of December when he rejoined his company unfit for duty and has been unfit for duty ever since."

HOUSTON TO WEST PLAINS⁴⁴⁹ (January 26 to January 30, 1863)

The first twenty-five days of January had seen the deaths of eight men, the discharge of thirty-seven and the resignations of two. There were still 905 on the muster rolls, but many were unable for duty and left behind in Houston when those capable of travel left, they thought, for West Plains on the 26th. After covering only five or six miles in "*mud knee deep*" on the Thomasville Road, they realized they were going the wrong way, reversed direction, and returned to camp where, in small groups, they arrived at dark - tired, wet and very hungry. It had been a difficult and depressing day for everyone and Alonzo Rutter, a Hopkinton resident, said he "*gave out and was one of the last to get into camp.*"

In West Plains on the 26th, Brigadier General John Wynn Davidson, commander of Army of Southeast Missouri,

⁴⁴⁷ He had not yet learned of Longley's resignation.

⁴⁴⁸ George is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Lemay, Missouri. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54874912.

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wired General Curtis that, “*if the roads permit, I would like to make a push to Batesville.*”⁴⁵⁰ As with any army in the field, effective communications were essential and he was concerned as to whether an army near the Missouri/Arkansas border could better communicate with, and receive supplies from, Rolla to the north or Pilot Knob to the northeast. Davidson thought it made no sense to have Pilot Knob as a base for his army since “*the roads are absolutely impassable.*”

About noon on the 27th,⁴⁵¹ the regiment again left Houston, this time in sleet and snow on the West Plains Road, but twenty enlisted men from Company B⁴⁵² and many from other Companies, all “*sick and convalescent,*” were left behind. Among them were Joseph Woodhouse, William Downs and Alonzo Rutter who, prostrate with fever and ague, “*was not able to go by reason of exposure and hard marching.*” Recuperating in the Houston hospital were John Crop, Martin Boylin, George Rutherford, Walter O'Brian, John Grutchek who was sick with diarrhea, Avery Thurber still not recovered from the illness contracted at Salem, Daniel Eldridge with a spinal inflammation and Ambrose Fanning who would not be heard from for another seven months. The road south “*was froze hard and was bad to march on,*” said George Brownell, but the weather eventually cleared and they were able to cover ten to twelve miles.

On the same day at home, the *Dubuque Daily Times* published a glorified (and slightly erroneous) account of the battle at Hartville.

“The fight began at two o'clock of the morning of the 11th inst., about seven miles from Hartsville, on the Springfield road. - The first skirmish, for it was nothing more, lasted but a few minutes. Our forces then retired slowly to Hartsville, and took position, while Marmaduke, following, but by another road, effected at Hartsville, a junction with the combined forces of Porter, Green and Burbage. The fight was here renewed. Marmaduke, since the junction of his forces, had about five thousand men, all mounted, besides five pieces of artillery, one of which is supposed to have been captured at Springfield. Our strength consisted of a scant thousand. All day the fight was steadily continued. The effect on the part of Marmaduke was chiefly directed to the capture of our artillery, which was splendidly served by Lieut. Walsmidt, of the 2d Mo. artillery, and did effectual services.

At night, having severely punished and thus far completely baffled all the efforts of the enemy, Col. Merrill started his train toward Lebanon, and shortly afterward commenced retiring on that point himself, for the purpose of protecting the valuable supply trains destined for the Army of the Frontier, which were there halted at the mercy of the enemy. After a forced march, the entire force got through safely, having so severely punished the enemy, that no pursuit was made. Our loss was trifling, while that of the enemy is known to have exceeded three hundred. Meantime, Gen. Warren, informed of the fight at midnight, was on the road at daylight with a force to reinforce Merrill and drive back Marmaduke at all hazards. By night yesterday he had marched to within four miles of Hartsville, only to learn that Marmaduke, satisfied with his punishment, had again taken up his line of march for Dixie.”⁴⁵³

Continuing their march south, the regiment started at sunrise on the 28th and covered about eighteen miles. On the 29th they walked another fourteen and passed vacant cabins of the “*half civilized 'poor whites' of this region*”⁴⁵⁴ while butchers with a mounted escort foraged for beef, pork and other supplies. From Southern sympathizers they took what was needed, but residents expressing Northern sentiments were given papers so payment could be claimed later. On the 30th they paused briefly, unfurled the colors, struck up the band and proudly marched the final distance into West Plains, a town located on the “*plains west*” of Thomasville. It had been incorporated in 1861 and grown to

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Personal accounts from those present differ as to the date they left with some saying it was the 28th. Distances traveled each day should also be considered estimates.

452 January 25, 1883, report of the Adjutant General in the pension file of John Grutchek.
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The *Times* published a more lengthy account of the battles at Springfield and Hartville the following day. On the 29th, it published a long letter from Darius Cleveland, Company A, and a copy of Cornelius Dunlap's report to General Warren. On March 14th it published a letter from a correspondent who had discussed the battle with Colonel Merrill.

454 George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 41.

150 by the outbreak of the war, but became a ghost town in 1863 and would remain so until the 1870s. On arrival, James H. Russell wrote:⁴⁵⁵

*West Plains, Missouri
January 30, 1863*

The 21st, 22d, and 23d Iowa with artillery and cavalry, are now encamped on a beautiful ridge, southeast of the town, on the Batesville road, and will compose one Brigade of the 2d Division.

To-night the Southern sunset is in all its beauty, and the grasshoppers came forth to share its warmth, which, to an Iowan, is a novel sight in mid-winter. The brass band of the Army of Southeast Missouri sounded charmingly, even to the tired and foot sore soldiers, who, with the heavy knapsack, has been cheerfully moving forward the last four days through mud, rain and cold.

Russell

They were now only eighteen miles from the Arkansas border and thought they would continue south, but they were unaware of ongoing communications among their superiors. On the 30th, the same day they reached West Plains, Major General Samuel Curtis had replied to Davidson that “*we must rely on the Pilot Knob route as the proper line of communication to Batesville*” even though “*we have the old telegraph poles on the Pilot Knob route.*”⁴⁵⁶ On the 31st, Davidson wired Zarah Curtis, Samuel’s son, that he now had a large body of troops concentrated in West Plains including:

“Warren’s troops, from Houston; my own, from Alton, flanking the supply trains, and the supply trains from Van Buren, via Thomasville, all reached here within a few hours of each other.

*I have sent up for shoes. The paper soles the contractors now furnish render their frequent renewal a matter of vexation. I have sent wagons to Houston for the subsistence stores left there, and a train to Rolla. I have put the troops on half rations, filling the balance with what can be gotten from the country, and very little it is. I have drained the country from Pilot Knob to this point of cattle and corn. . . . We cannot remain here long; we must keep moving for forage. My people are in good heart, and ready for your orders, but, I must confess, the problem of food, over such roads, has put some gray hairs in my head.”*⁴⁵⁷

Meanwhile, a separate campaign was being organized elsewhere. Ulysses Grant was at Young’s Point starting “*the real work of the campaign and siege of Vicksburg.*” The Army of the Mississippi was reorganized into a 17th Corps under James McPherson, 16th under Stephen Hurlbut, 15th under Sherman and 13th under McClernand.⁴⁵⁸ “*A real sane notion had gotten hold of Grant, and scarcely anyone else,*” said Sam Byers.⁴⁵⁹ Grant’s “*notion*” would soon involve the 21st Iowa in one of the great campaigns of the war.

WEST PLAINS (January 30 to February 8, 1863)

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Excerpt only. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 307.

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Major General Samuel L. Curtis, St. Louis, letter to Brigadier General J. W. Davidson, “*in the field*” (January 30, 1863). O.R., Series 1, Volume XXII/2 [S#33].

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As “*one of the most influential Democrats in the Union army,*” McClernand disliked West Pointers and his relationship with Grant was “*beginning to strain.*” Stacy Allen, “*Shiloh!*” *Blue & Gray* magazine (February 1997). Although inexperienced and at times inept in the handling of troops, Grant still felt, or hoped, McClernand could and would fight if necessary. Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat* (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 19.

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Samuel H. M. Byers, *With Fire and Sword* (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 54).

At West Plains they "stood in ranks about one hour" before camping on a ridge half a mile southeast of town. The march had been hard, many needed shoes, supplies were limited and the ground was cold and wet but, as James Russell had said, a brass band provided entertainment while men rested, enjoyed a southern sunset and watched grasshoppers not seen during the colder winters back home. The town was described by Wisconsin doctor, E. P. Strong, as a typically shabby country village and "like all the principal towns in Missouri consists of a small tavern, a court house and a few poor dwellings" and the people, he said, were dressed in "the ever-lasting butternut clothes."

Eighteen regiments were present, but many had been in service for a long time and were far from full. The total present approximated 10,000 to 12,000 men and about eighteen pieces of artillery, all under the command of General Davidson, "the same officer who had kept the regiment in the broiling sun for review at Benton Barracks, and whom it did not love."⁴⁶⁰ He was disliked by most, "thoroughly detested" by some, and only made matters worse when he prohibited fires and, out of necessity, kept the men on short rations. The food shortages were largely beyond his control as "snow closed the road from Rolla and not a wagon moved for several days during the winter of 1863."⁴⁶¹ For many years, men would remember "the gloom which pervaded the regiment at West Plains"⁴⁶² where Davidson, said Gilbert Cooley:

*"secured to himself the lasting condemnation of both officers and men of his command by the severity of his orders. He had about ½ of his men on picket when the weather was the most severe of the winter and there was not an armed body of the enemy within 130 miles of the place a fact he must have known, as his cavalry were scouting the country daily."*⁴⁶³

At West Plains they were visited by a newspaper correspondent who met with Charles Morse and reported that "his portly dimensions, acquired since his promotion to Quartermastership, justifies the suspicion that he is fattening on his office." A resident of Dubuque, Morse, perhaps considering resigning, asked the correspondent to let readers know of his interest in "the first vacant Aldermanship." Looking for a paper to read, the correspondent was referred to Colonel Merrill whom he found to be "a gentlemanly and obliging person and yet accessible and courteous to those of every grade." Spending an hour with the colonel and watching him handle "every question which came up for decision," he decided Merrill's "administrative abilities were of a high order."⁴⁶⁴

On January 31st, Brigadier-General John Schofield wired Major-General Curtis from Springfield:

*"cannot transports with supplies be sent, under convoy of gunboats, up Arkansas or White River in time to meet us at Little Rock or Batesville? My force, Warren's and Davidson's would thus be in position to assist the army before Vicksburg or elsewhere on the Mississippi River. I believe the rebel force in Arkansas has all gone in that direction. Is it not possible for us to join in the final struggle for the Mississippi? Pardon the suggestion."*⁴⁶⁵

Schofield sent a similar telegram to Major General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief in Washington, D.C. He saw no need to keep such a large force in West Plains since:

"there is no considerable force of the enemy north of the Arkansas River; indeed, I believe they have all gone or are going as rapidly as possible, to Vicksburg. Ten thousand infantry and artillery can be spared from Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas, and can easily reach Vicksburg in twenty days from the time the order was given. . . . The war is, of course, ended in this part of the country, at least for a long time to come,

⁴⁶⁰ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 41.

⁴⁶¹ Bradbury, Phelps County in the Civil War (Bradbury 1997).

⁴⁶²

William Crooke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 6.

⁴⁶³

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

⁴⁶⁴ Dubuque Daily Times (March 14, 1863).

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*and I am impatient of this long idleness.*⁴⁶⁶

As the regiment waited for orders in West Plains, Lorenzo Bolles, after much campaigning and letter-writing, had received the position he wanted as regimental Chaplain due to the resignation of Samuel Sloan but now, less than a month later, his wife wrote on February 1st imploring him to resign.

Dear Husband. This is a delightful day as ever I saw. if you was here I think I should be very happy, but I am so lonesome I feel like crying just as hard as I can but there is no use. tears will not bring home so I must try to be patient til Spring. Then I want you to come and stay. you can resign if you want too and I think you had better for I need you at home. It would be better for the Children to have you here. they are pretty good usually though L takes the advantage of me more than he would of you. every Boy needs his Father with him. perhaps you will say that you want a little more money before you come home but I think with what you will earn by April or first of May will be enough for our comfort til you can earn it some other way. I am willing to get along with very little if I can only have you at Home, and more than this I fear that when warm weather comes on you will not stand it in that warm Climat There is no prospect of the War closing very soon unless the Lord interferes in a more powerful manner than he ever has yet. I long to se peace restored on some turms I have been very well since I last wrote. the children are well, little Anna is growing pritty every day. she has a little face rather a long head. she makes me think of little Eliza. The Byingtons family spent the day here yesterday. Erwin seemed well but he was taken sick in the night the Doct says he has Diphthere. Mrs. Yarun came to visit me this afternoon but Mr .Bains family came over so she had to go home again. the Children have gone to the Office. I expect a letter from you this afternoon. I wrote to you last Sunday and Mr. H. to let him know that he had a boy at home. Mrs H is quight smart. the Baby has had the erysipelas pritty bad on his face but is some better now Mrs. King wanted me to ask you if Mr. Toplif's things will be sent to her and if his body can be sent on.⁴⁶⁷ sayed the Mrs. Toplif had written you but had got no answer.

Carrie has come with your letter of 25th it is comfort to know that you are well and appear to be in good spirits. I think you and Haslam have nice times.⁴⁶⁸ I heard about that twenty dollar bet against a pare of Boots, you just look out or you will have no Money to come home with.

we have aboutgt a hundred bushels of Corn to sell. shal I ceep it or sell it. it is bringing 20 cts all kinds of Grain is bringing more now

Late eve, what a change in the wether. it has blown a gale all day and so cold that we cannot ceep warm with a shull on. there as den no meting to day. it was so cold Mr. Bell did not come over. People do not like him very well he is so noisey. I guess you will have to come back. he report about Mr Farwell was falts they wer not in the fight Mr Russel went on to se them but was not permitted to go to the Reg because they wer not wounded, so Mrs yarun sayes

I hope you and Haslam will not be seperated whilst you both stay in the Arme y and yet I don't want you to go any further from Home it takes so long to get the letters. I shal continue to write every week don't look at the poor spelling,

*your Affectionat Wife,
R. M. Bolles
Sand Spring Feb 1st 1863.*

Thomas Henderson's widow requested a pension for herself and her four children, Abe Treadwell was detached for service as an orderly in the Chief Quartermaster's Department and serious illness continued. James Chiles was one of many on the sick list and Dwight Noble was admitted to the hospital in Houston while their Colonel had problems

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Jerome B. Topliff, age 25, born in New Jersey and a resident of Sand Spring enlisted on August 15, 1862 as drummer in Company K, and was mustered into the Company on August 23, 1862. As indicated above, he died on December 28, 1862 of "swamp fever." His burial is unknown.
⁴⁶⁸

William Haslam, age 25, born in New York and a resident of Delhi enlisted on August 14, 1862 as a Private in Company K. He was mustered into the Company on August 23, 1862 and would be killed in action at the Big Black river on May 17, 1863.

of his own. To many it appeared that Sam Merrill had acted improperly at Hartville by withdrawing from battle, leaving for Lebanon and letting members of his own regiment face the attacking Confederates by themselves. He was heavily criticized. Politically vocal Iowa newspapers took sides and the issue was hotly debated. At West Plains, he was arrested and sent to St. Louis to face charges⁴⁶⁹ and, on a frigid February 1st, his regiment was assigned to the 2d Brigade of the 2d Division of the Army of Southeast Missouri with brigade command passing, due to the absence of Merrill, to thirty-five year old William Milo Stone, Colonel of the 22d Iowa.⁴⁷⁰ Stone had been a prewar judge and court was in session two years earlier when a telegram arrived announcing the bombardment at Fort Sumter. "Mr. Sheriff," he said, "*adjourn the Court sine die! I am going home to raise a Company for the war.*"⁴⁷¹ This he did and, as Major of the 3d Iowa Infantry on September 17, 1861, had suffered a head wound at Blue Mills Landing in Missouri. On regaining consciousness he reportedly sat up and shouted, "Mr. Sheriff, adjourn the court!" Now he led a brigade, which also included the 23rd Iowa and its pet dog, during an impressive Grand Review. That evening Jim wrote to Cal.

Letter No. 5

West plains Mo Sunday February
the 1st 63

Dear wife

after a five days march we find ourselves at westplains which is 55 miles from Houston we are all well and in good spirits we started from Houston last monday about noon in the rain and marched about five miles and encamped for the night we had just got rails piled up for fiers and some straw for beding when the order came to counter march we arrived at the old camp at Houston about dark of the same evening tierd wet and hungry but our cooks were not long in geting us up some coffee which with a few crackers and some bacon made us a sumtuous supper and we slept that night in our old nests and on tuesday morning we were again ordered to march the rain by this time had turned to snow we started about noon on tuesday and marched about ten miles that day taking a differrent road from the one we started on the day before nothing of importance ocured on the way it cleared off tuesday night and we have had nice weather ever since our whole rout was over a hilly stony country and the houses from ten to twenty miles apart we had enought to eat and there was plenty of water all along the road we allways manage to camp near a plantation so as to get corn for the horses and mules and rails for camp fiers we slept just as comfetable on the march as in camp

We are now in general Davidsons command which we met at this place last friday I do not know how long we will stay here but I think not long there is now about 12,000 troops at this place including artillery and cavalry there are 16 or 18 pieces of artillery here our regiment is brigaded with the 22nd and 23rd Iowa regiments our brigade if I understand it right is the right wing of the 2nd division of general Davidsons army which is called the army of South East Missouri this may not be interesting to you but I am trying to explain it to you so that you can hear from us if we should ever get into an action by the news papers but it is getting dark so I will have to bid you good evening and finish in the morning Well Cal I will bid you good evening and go at it again by candle light I have just been to supper and found out that there is a mail going out tomorrow morning at 9 o clock and the letters must be in the adjutants office by 8 o clock this evening but I dont know as I have much more to write after all We had a grand review to day which lasted about 5 hours and it was a sight worth seeing to see so many men together and to see them maneuvered in such good order by the will of one man we fierd two rounds by divisions and the artillery fiered several rounds which sounded verry much like the noise

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See James Bethard's letter of March 18, 1863. Merrill was apparently not gone very long since he was reported present on rolls ending January 31 and February 28, 1863.

⁴⁷⁰ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 42.

⁴⁷¹

Or, "*Gentlemen, Fort Sumter has been fired upon. This court stands adjourned until this matter is adjusted. By God, I'm going to war!*" Schroder, William M. Stone, Iowa's Other Civil War Governor (Palimpsest, July/August 1982). Or, maybe something else.

at Hartsvill three weeks ago minus the howeling hissing and whizzing of misiles We also had a brass band which brought to mind old fashioned fourth of July celebrations we get no reliable war news now so we know but verry littl about what is going on in the east and south but if I could believe the rumors afloat among us I should think the war was fast coming to a close Jim Rice will write the middle of the week if there is any chance to send a letter out I must quit or I shall be too late for the mail excuse bad writing and mistakes for my fingers are so cold that I can scarcely write at all

kiss the babe for me. good night

Your husband James Beathard

Also writing on February 1st was Colonel Merrill who wrote to Robert Grant:⁴⁷²

West Plains, Feb. 1st, 1863

I intended to have written you long ago but time, that precious article has been very scarce. I am now commanding (in the absence of Gen. Warren) a division of seven regiments and two batteries. When he or some other General comes and relieves me, I then assume the command of the prettiest brigade in the army, to wit: - the 21st, 22d, 23d Iowa regiments and one section of battery. They are now stationed on a fine ridge in form of a half circle; the noble 21st on the right, next the 22, then comes six "dogs of war" twelve pounders, then the 23d, commanded by Col. Kindman [sic]. The three Iowa regiments are all uniformed alike, all full regiments, well disciplined and all have the Enfield rifle. They will view with each other in strength and bravery. They all seem happy and glad to be together. I am proud of them and were I a vain man should be somewhat stuck up. But none of these things move me. I labor and toil, sleep on the ground and live on half rations, that the glorious old flag may proudly waive over "the land of the free and home of the brave." I am very clear as to the duty in the matter of war - terrible as it is, tis clearly the imperative duty of all patriots to labor in every possible way for victory and the maintenance of our government. We rise or fall with this government, and all our future hopes rest there. I believe God reigns and will finally suit all things to the good of this people.

Give my regards to all my friends in McGregor - tell my newspaper friends and enemies that I like to be kindly remembered.

*I remain as ever yours,
S. Merrill*

On February 2d they woke to ten inches of new snow and on the 3d had a sham battle. According to Myron Knight they "*had quite a nice time of it*" as snow melted quickly under a hot sun. On the 4th it snowed again, accumulating eight inches by nightfall, and seventeen year old Roger McCoy was mustered in by David Greaves. He had been with the regiment since Rolla but no mustering officer was present so David did the honors while William Brownell spent the day in his "*tent shivering with the cold and coughing continually.*" The next morning a foraging party was sent out to look for provisions. Pickings were slim but they found four hogs and men dined on pork as they shivered through the coldest night they had yet experienced. On February 6th, Brigadier-General Davidson wired Major-General Curtis:

*"I am glad you sent me Colonel Stone. I had trouble with Kinsman's regiment before; now I have none. I found Stone a ready soldier and a gentleman, and I put the Iowa people in one brigade, the 'Iowa Brigade,' under him, and he manages everything, to my great relief."*⁴⁷³

Privates Benson Bennett and Peleg Blanchard, previously left behind at Houston, and Joseph Gegauff, at Rolla,

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The letter was published in the *North Iowa Times* on February 18, 1863, that said it had been "*permitted by Robert Grant, Esq.*" to publish these extracts from a private letter.

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O. R Series 1, Volume XXII/2 [S#33]. Sam Merrill in the 21st Iowa and William Stone in the 22nd Iowa and been appointed Colonel on August 1, 1862. William Kinsman was appointed Colonel of the 23rd Iowa. on December 1, 1862.

deserted on the 6th, while Elisha Boardman and many others were sick and confined to quarters. Payrolls were signed on the 7th, Charles Heath submitted his resignation, marching orders were received and General Davidson ordered excess commissaries burned.

WEST PLAINS TO IRONTON (February 8, 1863-February 21, 1863)

The men began leaving camp about 7:00 a.m. on the 8th - but not toward Arkansas as they expected. Instead, with the Hawkeyes in the lead, they marched ten difficult miles to the northeast on a muddy Thomasville Road - "*mules and wagons, guns and caissons, were constantly mired*" - "*details of men with ropes and chains being constantly employed to pull them out.*"⁴⁷⁴ Company F was rear guard with Company D reinforcing them later in the day. The advance camped about 2:00pm. The rear guard arrived three hours later. Dinner was coffee, hard crackers and bully beef.

On the 9th Hiram Buel was detailed to buy cattle for the brigade while infantry followed wagons and artillery as the march resumed. Twelve miles later, in mid-afternoon, they reached Thomasville. With the teams well behind, supper was delayed until almost 11:00 p.m. and, with no tents or blankets, men tried to get as much rest as possible. Passage of wagons, artillery and ambulances had been almost impossible. Roads were increasingly bad, "*so bad that six mules can hardly draw an empty waggon.*"⁴⁷⁵ For two more days fatigue parties worked with picks and shovels to build a better passage over soft ground and form wagons into bridges across icy streams. Men slept on cold wet ground, many suffered from exposure and they were often on half rations supplemented by cornmeal and occasional meat brought in by foragers. There was "*considerable of our camp and garrison equipage lost and thrown away*" and their patience was tried as they remembered that "*large quantities of commissary supplies had been burned before leaving West Plains, after the troops had been kept on short rations in that camp.*"⁴⁷⁶

Epworth resident Charles Willson, Company F, was one of those assigned to picket duty. Returning from his outpost to the reserve picket fire on a dark and stormy night, he was about to lay down when, he said, "*I stepped on some object which rolled from under my feet throwing me down on the gun the hammer of the gun struck on a stone causing it to go off and wounding me in the right thumb.*"⁴⁷⁷ For the next few weeks he would be treated in quarters by Dr. Orr.

On February 12th, they left Thomasville about 6:00am and marched fifteen miles, mostly through a dense forest of large pines, and again dinner was delayed until 11:00pm.

On the 13th, they started about 7:00am and covered thirteen miles through a valley before camping on the banks of Jack's Fork of the Current River where wood and water were plentiful and teams arrived early. At this point Jack's Fork was about fifty yards wide, three feet deep and running fast.

On the 14th, fatigue parties constructed a bridge of trees that were piled across wagons placed end to end. "*Soldiers climbed into the wagonbeds and by constant climbing from wagon to wagon crossed the stream*" and marched another thirteen miles "*through a very ruff country*"⁴⁷⁸ with "*high mountains*" on both sides before camping by the side of a large cave.

On Sunday, February 15th, they marched five more miles and camped in the woods not far from Eminence - "*this 'city of hope' was composed of a mill and one solitary house, and this house had been built for a jail!*"⁴⁷⁹ Eminence

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Another said they covered fifteen miles but, considering the circumstances, all distances had to be rough estimates. The distance from West Plains to Thomasville was about 50 miles, so estimates given by the soldiers were undoubtedly wrong if they covered that distance under difficult conditions in a day and a half.

⁴⁷⁵ Diary of George Brownell.

⁴⁷⁶ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 44.

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Charles Willson, *Declaration for an Original Pension Application of an Invalid* (April 12, 1876). Military records did not reflect the injury. He said the injury was at Thomasville on February 14, 1863, but the regiment was not in Thomasville on that date. Many years after the war, it was not unusual for soldiers to forget the dates of specific incidents.

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Journal of George Brownell.

⁴⁷⁹ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 44.

had been settled during the 1820's by pioneers from Kentucky and Tennessee along the Current River north of its present location, became the county seat of Shannon County after its organization in 1841, was burned by guerrillas during the war and would later be laid out in its new location on Jack's Fork. The day proved memorable for many, those who had not been at Beaver Creek or Hartville, as they were marched along a road and into the woods to view a dead Confederate, the first many had seen. According to William Brownlow, "*there was a rebel smoke out of a cave and when he came out was shot.*" He had been killed by Union cavalry and tears were shed by many as they wondered if he had a family.⁴⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the captains of seven of the companies (all except Companies A, H and I), signed a letter to Colonel Merrill, expressing their support:

*"Col. The undersigned officers of the 21st Regiment Iowa Vol. Infantry believing that a conspiracy has existed for more than four months to destroy your influence in our Regiment, take this opportunity of expressing to you our entire confidence in your ability and integrity and bravery as our commander. We know you well and assure you that we will stand by you to the last."*⁴⁸¹

Similar sentiments were expressed by M. E. Cole in a letter dated at February 16, 1863, at Chicago and published by the *North Iowa Times*:⁴⁸²

We McGregor people welcomed the familiar faces of Messrs. Noble and Drummond a few days since, on their way to Iowa City. They report favorably for the "Narrow City" . . .

I saw Tim Hopkins a short time since, he having received his discharge and returned to civil life. He reports favorably for the 21st, and spoke well of Col. Merrill and his conduct in action, but says there is a clique whose desire of promotion allows their better nature to be smothered while they try and instigate some plan whereby deserving men shall be thrown out, and they raised to positions obtained by fraudulent means. Let them do their worst; if reports are true, Col. Merrill will live to see them die military deaths.

On the 16th, the paymaster arrived with four months' pay, the first they had received. While it was of minimal use for men in the field, "*it was for absent and dependent families that this money, which had been so hardly earned and was so justly due, was most ardently desired.*"⁴⁸³ Some of the men worked on a bridge and many not on duty explored a large cave with a roomy cavern, stalagmites and stalactites.

On the 17th, they left Eminence at 4:00 a.m., crossed the Current River north of town, passed a large well and marched nine miles to the northeast, crossing and recrossing the same creek fifteen times.

On the 18th, they started at 7:30 a.m. with Dunlap in charge, but the road was bad, the mules were tired and they covered only eight miles before stopping so the supply train could catch up. By now they were in Reynolds County where the four Carty brothers were the local terrors,⁴⁸⁴ but the band of Federals was no doubt too large to attract the

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Jacob Switzer of the 22d Iowa recalled the same march and "*the sight of the first dead rebel*" seen by most of his regiment. He described a "*tall red-headed 'bushwhacker' dressed in butternut clothing, lying dead in the middle of the road, with his wife and children crying over his remains.*" This may have been a different incident or, perhaps, the same incident with only some of the men having seen the family.

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The absence of signatures by three of the captains did not necessarily indicate they disagreed with it. Perry Johnson, Captain of Company A, was discharged on March 10, 1863 in St. Louis. Joseph Watson, Captain of Company H, was at home on a medical furlough. He and Merrill had earlier agreed on who deserved a promotion in Company H, while Van Anda had disagreed, bypassed Merrill and written directly to the Governor. Watson would now presumably have been supportive of Merrill. David Greaves, Captain of Company I, was a consistent supporter of Merrill. Indications of a possible "*conspiracy*" went back to mid-October and suggested friction between Colonel Merrill and Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda. Evidence of the friction would continue in the postwar years.

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M. E. Cole was not a member of the regiment and has not been identified. The letter was published by the *Times* on February 25, 1863. Tim Hopkins had been discharged for disability on January 28, 1863. On the Company Muster Roll for the period ending , James Noble was reported as being sick in a hospital at Houston, Missouri. For the same time period, David Drummond was reported as being present at Iron Mountain.

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George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 45.

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Michael Fellman, *Inside War. The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1989),

Cartys or other guerillas and the passage was uneventful.

On the 19th, George Albert, Fredolin Luhsinger, Henry Miller and John Putman were transferred to the Mississippi Marine Brigade,⁴⁸⁵ Martin Boylin with typhoid fever and George Rutherford with “*brain fever*” died in Houston,⁴⁸⁶ Myron Knight recalled that he was missing “*Pa's birthday*,” and the regiment covered fifteen more miles. They camped about 9:00 p.m. in a big hollow in the woods and, that evening, Jim, George Purdy, Jim Rice and seventeen others were detached to escort an ambulance and baggage wagons bearing the sick to Ironton, still sixty miles ahead. The assignment was welcomed by the escorts, but travel was difficult for patients. Union transport was usually the responsibility of the Quartermaster Corps, not the Medical Department. Most escorts had no medical training and patients were frequently packed tightly together in ambulances, wagons, ships and railroad cars. Sometimes they were virtually forgotten until reaching their destination, often receiving no food or medical treatment for days, and many died en route.

On February 20th, the regiment passed a grist mill and covered about sixteen miles while the ambulance escort veered off on a more direct route to Ironton.

On the 21st, snow fell throughout the day. Movement was difficult, but the ambulance detail reached town while the balance of the regiment covered about eighteen miles before camping on a large plantation at “*Shepardstown*” where some found shelter in an old log barn. The plantation covered 7,000 acres with a large vineyard, plenty of pork and beef, and lots of hay.

The march from West Plains had taken a toll on the regiment. According to George Crooke, “*many of the men, half starved and without shoes, marked the line of march by their bleeding feet, which they had continually but fruitlessly endeavored to shield from the rocky frozen ground, by tying them in the remains of their worn-out clothing.*” With the bad roads and winter weather, he said, “*the seeds of disease were sown broadcast, which afterwards yielded a harvest of death.*”⁴⁸⁷

IRONTON TO IRON MOUNTAIN (February 21 to March 9, 1863)

Pilot Knob, Ironton and Arcadia, known “*for its flourishing academy for young ladies,*”⁴⁸⁸ were in the Arcadia Valley of Iron County with Iron Mountain a few miles to the north. The area had grown rapidly during the mining boom of the 1840's and 50's, was “*noted for its picturesqueness*” and had been occupied by Federals early in the war to protect its eighty-six mile rail link to St. Louis. Grant's first command after his commission as Brigadier General had been here in August 1861 when he saw it as a valley “*situated among hills rising almost to the dignity of mountains.*” Occupied at various times by both North and South, it was in Union hands when the 21st Iowa arrived.

On February 22d, the regiment struggled another six miles, stopped due to bad roads and camped in the mud about 6:00 p.m. while Jim was warm and comfortable inside the courthouse enjoying letters from Jonathan, Cal and her brother Robert. Charles Heath's resignation was accepted and he was discharged on the 23rd.⁴⁸⁹

page 27.
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The brigade was an army command operating under the direction of the U.S. Navy and consisting of artillery, cavalry, infantry and a fleet of boats for transportation. It was organized in early 1863 and consisted of about 350 officers and men, including boat crews which used nine small light-armored boats fitted as rams, and did good service during the Vicksburg Campaign. [Wikipedia](#).
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The site of Martin's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54680372. The site of George's burial also has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54923498. Brain fever was used to describe a medical condition where a part of the brain becomes inflamed and causes symptoms that seem like fever. Such conditions include encephalitis (an acute inflammation of the brain commonly caused by a viral infection) and meningitis (inflammation of the membranes covering the brain and spinal cord). [Wikipedia](#) (06/29/11).
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George Crooke, [The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry](#) (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 45.

488 Britton, [The Civil War on the Border](#) (G. P. Putman's Sons, , 1899), Volume II, page 395.

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Special Orders No. 49, Headquarters, Department of Missouri. While the reasons for his resignation are unclear, Charles had apparently been detached from the regiment to serve as an Acting Assistant Adjutant General on the staff of General Fitz Henry Warren. Warren, however, wrote on January 28th to the Colonel commanding the District that “*I never saw him and had no knowledge of him until I arrived in Rolla in October last to assume command of the Brigade . . . I shall at once relieve him from duty. . . . I thank you for bringing these facts to my knowledge and allowing me to relieve myself of any suspected complicity or knowledge of such transactions.*” Relieved of duty, Charles tendered his resignation to Colonel Merrill ten days later saying “*some of the reasons being known to yourself.*” He did not elaborate.

The morning was sunny and warm but was followed by afternoon rain, the ground was saturated and Company B was assigned to rear guard as the regiment advanced another five miles. Roads were liquified and wagons and artillery cut deep ruts through oozing mud while men tried to pick their way through vegetation between the road and parallel lines of fencing. That night they camped in brush five miles from Pilot Knob while the ambulance detail stayed in court.⁴⁹⁰

Letter No. 6.

Ironton Mo February the 23rd -63

Dear wife after so long a time I have an oportunity of writing to you once more It has been just three weeks yesterday since I wrote to you I received two letters from you while we were at West plains I received four letters yesterday two from you and one from Robert and one from Jont we are all well we have had some tall old marching through the mud the way we came we marched 180 miles in coming from West plains here there was 20 of us left the regiment last thursday morning 60 miles out and came through to escort an ambulance with some sick we came through in three days arriving here last saturday evening the regiment will be in camp 5 miles from here this evening and we will join them in the morning we have good quarters here and I dont care if we dont go to the regiment for a month we are quartered in the court house in a good tight room with a stove in it and we have plenty to eat which we have not had before for the last six weeks We leave here this week for a point on the Miss river 50 miles below St Louis and 40 miles from here they say there is a plank road the most of the way so I hope we are done marching in the mud I think we are to go down the river but to what point I do not know unless it is to Vicksburg but they say there is more troops there now than they want⁴⁹¹

We got payed off at Eminence one week ago yesterday up to the first of January we received \$47.60cts I will send you \$40 James Rice is going to send \$20 he has gone down town and left his money with me I will put it all together and express it to Odell in Mcgregor and send you an order to get it from him Cal you wanted to know if I had socks and under cloths enough we draw all the cloths we want from the government I have never been in want for any thing in the line of clothing the government clothing is all verry good except the shoes and socks and they are verry poor but when we wear out one pair we can get more You wanted to know why I did not finish letter No. 2 myself if I have never told you I will tell you now I had got to where I left off when I was detailed unexpectedly for picket guard and had to report immediately I knew I would not get off for 24 hours and as the mail was to go out that evening I got George Purdy our bunk mate to finish the letter and mail it I have written letters for several of the boys to their wives that is nothing uncommon but I had rather write my own letters when I can⁴⁹² I received two letters from you No. 6 and 7 yesterday I received No. 3 and 4 at West plains and No. 5 is back I think I will get that when I get back to the regiment I have received no papers since we left Houston you can tell by looking over some of my old letters whether I have received all the stamps you have sent or not for every time that I have received stamps I mentioned it in my letters I dont think that I have received over 20 if I have that many but there may be some on the way now I dont know whether I can get them here or not there is a railroad from here to St Louis but there are so many soldiers with plenty of money that the town is almost cleared of everything you neednt send me any more stamps until I write for them

I promised to pay Phillip Lawn for two side straps that were lost off the harness when he got them

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Distances marched are from letters and diaries of the soldiers and indicate they covered a total of 11 miles on the 22d and 23rd and still had 5 miles to go before reaching Pilot Knob. Today, the distance from Ironton to Pilot Knob by road is less than 2 miles. It's possible the regiment's camp "outside" Ironton made the march longer, that men over-estimated the distances traveled, that the distances given for the 22d and 23rd were actually for the same day with one of the men confusing the dates, and that they camped closer to Pilot Knob than they thought.

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"They" were wrong but Jim's comments were prophetic. President Davis had named Joseph E. Johnston to command the Department of the West with authority over John C. Pemberton, previously commander of the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana, and they were intent on holding Vicksburg.

⁴⁹² It was the unnumbered letter of January 16th that George finished for Jim, not "letter No. 2."

**but as for paying back the five dollars I made no such promise I told him if he would pay me five dollars of the 15 that was due I would wait for the other ten until the note was due and if the horse did not get well by that time that I would throw off the other ten Tell bob I will write to him when I have more time no more at present but remain
ever yours James Beathard**

The brigade spent most of the 24th in camp while Norman Scofield died in Ironton. His burial has not been located,⁴⁹³ but Norman's personal effects (a blanket, great coat, blouse, shirt and pair of drawers) were inventoried and expressed to Victoria in Strawberry Point while Jim continued the letter he had started the previous day.

PS Feb 24th I am in a query about what to do with my money I was going to express it but I found that I had to run my own risk so it was no safer than sending it by mail and as there is so much money being sent by mail at present I do not like to risk it that way George Purdy of our company is going home to McGregor if he can get off if he goes he will probably start today or tomorrow and I will send the money by him James Rice will send his the same way that is if we get the chance I received your letter No 5 yesterday evening containing six postage stamps you wanted to know if James Pool was dead I have not heard from him since I left the regiment last thursday he was then marching in rank with knapsack on his back looking as well as ever I saw him

Wm Barber has been with the regiment ever since we came from Hartsvill to Houston he has his health tolerably well David Shuck was at Houston the last I heard from him he had a verry severe spell of the tiphoid fever but is getting along verry well now I have not desided how to send the money home yet Purdy has not gone and I do not know whether he will go or not⁴⁹⁴ I have been delaying this letter ever since Sunday on that account but I will delay it no longer I will start it through and when I send the money I will write again

my love to you and the babe forever

**James Beathard
(C. F. Beathard)⁴⁹⁵**

Also on the 24th, by order of Major Van Anda dated at "*Head Quarters 21st Regt. Iowa Vol. Belleview Valley,*" Alvin McIntyre was appointed 1st Sergeant of Company F.⁴⁹⁶

The road from Ironton to Pilot Knob "*passed through a gap between Shepherd's Mountain on the west and Pilot Knob Mountain on the east,*" but the scenery was not appreciated by the regiment as bad roads got worse in a steady daylong drizzle on the 25th.⁴⁹⁷ From there they continued north, six miles closer to Iron Mountain, and camped near an iron mine a quarter mile from town where they "*found good quarters and plenty of supplies and the men enjoyed themselves finely the few days we were here.*"⁴⁹⁸

No longer with the regiment was nineteen year old John Merry. Suffering from chronic diarrhea and what the doctor called "*bilious remittent fever,*" he had been conveyed by ambulances and other conveyances ever since they left Salem and doctors said "*there was no help for him that he could live but a short time.*" His captain, Alexander Voorhees, "*carried him some distance in my arms to get him to Post Hospital and wrote to his Father if he wanted to*

⁴⁹³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #54972995.

⁴⁹⁴ The reason for George Purdy's hoped-for visit home would be explained in Jim's next letter.

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Cal's full name was Caroline Frankeberger (Rice) Beathard. When he started the letter on the 23rd, Jim said he was in Ironton and the regiment was five miles out of town, but he did not mention in what direction He said they would be joining the regiment the next day but, when he wrote on the 24th, he did not mention such a move. Major Van Anda said the regiment's headquarters on the 24th was in the Belleview Valley which would seem to indicate he was already past Pilot Knob (see letter in Isaac Bolton file).

⁴⁹⁶ The town of Belleview is about eight miles from Ironton but the valley stretches much farther..

⁴⁹⁷

Pilot Knob "*was named for a volcanic cone of iron, sixty per cent pure, rising six hundred feet*" above its nearby fort. Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border 1854-1865* (Bonanza Books 1955).

⁴⁹⁸ Diary of Gilbert Cooley, 2nd Lieutenant, Company D.

*see him alive to come at once.*⁴⁹⁹

By now, Jim had been away from the regiment for a week and on the 26th took the train from Pilot Knob to visit his comrades at Iron Mountain and greet the arrival of the 23rd Iowa. Like Myron Knight and most of the others, he enjoyed their leisure time in the valley, rested, visited the foundry to watch workers cast iron and walked to the top of the knob to enjoy the view. On February 27th, Charles W. Wilson wrote to his parents.

From Mountain Mo Feb the 27th /63

Dear Parents

I sit down to write a few lines to you to let you know how we are getting along I am not . . . well at present i have a very bad cold . . . that I can not . . . so hoarse but I bought a bottle of Dr Wistars Balsam of Wild Cherry⁵⁰⁰ & I think I will soon be over it I wrote you a letter when I was at west Plains we staid at west plains just a week & then we started for Thomasville whish was 25 mi & from there to eminense which was 40 mi there was where we got our Pay up to the first of Jan we got paid a Sunday night about 10 oclock there we crossed the Current River & traveled to Caola there it snowed like fury & we had to scrape the snow away make our bed right in the mud the roads were awfull muddy we have been marching very near 3 weeks tell Wm he dont know anything about Soldiering if he wants to know what it is let him take a march like the one I have we are camping right on the Iron Mountain R.R.⁵⁰¹ six miles from Pilot Knob there is the greatest Iron . . . that are laying all over the ground Digging there is solid chunks as big as your house & they have to blast them they have a large furnace here I sent you a picture of our Co with all the names I want you to take good care of it & get a frame for it tell Wm that Thomas Dolson & Fred Richardson have been appointed Seargeants. G. White P. McEntire Wm T Reed are Corporals J. P. Witherow was awful mad to think he want to sergt - but I am tired & must close I will write more next time I will send \$5.00 in this letter to father. I would send more but I dont like to risk it so no more at present

Charley

Wm I sold my watch to John Jones for \$20.00 that was doing well enough want it I will send \$10 in stead

Avery Thurber and several others who had been detained with him in a Houston hospital had recovered sufficiently to rejoin the regiment but, on arrival at Iron Mountain, Avery was rehospitalized. On the 27th, he died of congestive chills⁵⁰² while Jim read a letter from Cal, a letter only three days in transit due to their mutual proximity to the Mississippi.

On the 28th, Christopher Himmel's wife, Mahala, gave birth to a son in Delhi, the regiment was mustered for pay, Richard Wright and Thomas Daniels were sick in quarters, and James Hill was granted a seven day leave. Jim went to church in the morning, was selected "to escort a dead soldier to his last resting place and fier three volleys over his grave" and confirmed the death of Julia Purdy and Ida, the younger of her two daughters. Cal had read of the deaths and asked if that were the same Julia Purdy with whom she had traveled from McGregor to Dubuque the previous

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Affidavit by Alexander Voorhees, July 1, 1885. John Merry was discharged on March 23, 1863, went north and recovered sufficiently to accept a commission on May 18, 1864, as 2nd Lieutenant, Company F, 46th Iowa Infantry, a 100-day regiment.

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Dr. Winstar's Balsam of Wild Cherry was a mélange of cherry bark, alcohol and opiates. Sales were enormous and it was on the market for over 100 years. Its bottles are still highly prized by glass collectors. The label on one of the bottles said, "Dr. Westar's Balsam of Wild Cherry for Consumption of the Lungs, coughs, colds, asthma, bronchitis, whooping cough, croup, influenza, hoarseness, pains or soreness in the chest, & c." (www.BottleBooks.Com). Heavily advertised, it was often featured in large placements in newspapers up and down the eastern seaboard and throughout Canada. In its heyday, it was the best selling nostrum on the market. "No Quackery! No Deception! The Physician may boast of his skill in many diseases, the Quack may puff his wonderful cures, but of all the remedies ever discovered for the diseases of the Pulmonary Organs, it is universally admitted that nothing has ever proved as successful as that unrivaled medicine- Dr. Winstar's Balsam of Wild Cherry, which has effected some of the most astonishing cures ever recorded in the history of Medicine." (www.FootnotesSinceTheWilderness.WordPress.Com).

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"The St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad was created on March 3, 1851, by a special act of the Missouri Legislature. The first shovelful of dirt was turned in 1853. The line was completed from St. Louis to Pilot Knob, Mo. on April 2, 1858." Bob Adams, *St. Louis Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad Co. Iron Mountain Gazette* (1989).

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The site of Avery's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55038344.

Letter No. 7

Iron mountain. Mo
March the 1st - 63

Dear wife

It is with pleasure that I seat myself on the ground in my tent this pleasant sabbath day to inform you that I and the rest of our boys are all well this is truly a pleasant day for the 1st day of march the roads are verry muddy yet but it is clear over head and the sun shines verry pleasantly on the side hill where we are camped it is not muddy in camp for the ground is almost a solid mass of iron oar the rocks or rather chunks of iron lay some three or four inches deep all over the ground and how deep it goes into the ground I cannot tell but several feet and when you go to the top of the hill you will see large rocks piled up on top of each other resembling some the rocks on the bluffs around Mcgregor only they are not quite so rough and are of a different color for they are from 75 to 80 percent iron there are a lot of men constantly at work here quarrying out the oar I was at the smelting furnace and saw them melting the oar and casting kettles and molding it into pigs which was quite a curiosity to me but perhaps I am tiring your patience with my discriptions of the iron works so I will change the subject we came down here from Pilot knob last thursday on the car a distance of about six miles Pilot knob is the termination of the St Louis and Iron mountain rail road it is a thriving and business place about the size of hardin and if peace is ever restored it is bound to be a city Pilot knob Ironton and Arcadia all in a string about 1 1/2 miles apart and all about the same size James and John and Frank Farrand and I were on the highest pinnacle of the little mountain called Pilot knob from whence we could see in all directions as far as the eyes could reach this mountain is also a solid mass of iron oar this is a verry rich country indeed

Well Cal I guess I will lay this letter aside a few minutes and attend divine service I hear them singing and the preach is about to commence Preaching over I will resume my pen and make a few more turkey tracks I received your kind letter No. 7 which should have been No 8 last friday evening it was mailed at Clermont the 24th and came to hand the 27th being only three days on the road I was truly glad to hear from you for I have had a great deal of anxiety about little Ella since I heard that the measles was in the neighborhood I think she has escaped remarkably well so far but it is not too late for her to have it yet I hope if she does she will have it light which I am sure she will if if good care and attention can make it so for I know she is in good hands with her mother and grandmother I dreamed a few nights ago that I was just getting home and had stoped at the spring to get a drink when I looked up toward the house and saw little Ella toddling down the hill toward me I started toward her and held out my hands to her but she was afraid of me and commenced crying her cries awoke me and I found myself laying in my tent on my bed of iron oar and a few oak leaves and brush I have had a great many visits home in my dreams but such visits are always terminated verry abruptly I have some hopes of making a visit to you before many months that will be of longer duration although my hopes may be disappointed that is not at all unlikely but affairs seem to be coming to a crisis which will soon decide whether the war is to end soon or whether it is to be protracted for many months and perhaps years to come; let us live in hope for hope is our only consolation The advertisement that you saw in the papers of the death of a Mrs Purdy was George Purdy's wife He got the news of the death of his wife and child while we were at Ironton and started home the same day that we came to the regiment he could not get a furlough but but he got leave of absence from the captain and colonel and got some

The "dead soldier" was Avery Thurber. Julia Purdy and eighteen-month-old Ida died of small pox. On February 18th the *North Iowa Times* reported the deaths: "In this city, on the 2d last., Mrs. Julia L. Purdy, aged 22 years. Also, on the 3d inst., Idah Purdy, aged eighteen months, daughter of the above." While "Idah" is a possible spelling for her daughter's name, the family spelled it "Ida." They're buried in Giard Cemetery, Farmersburg.

papers from the sutler and by putting on citizens cloths he hoped to pass as a sutlers clerk⁵⁰⁴ James Rice and I sent our money home by him I never felt so much sympathy for a man as I did for him when he got the news of the death of his wife and child it seemed as though his heart would break he was with us two nights after he got the news and he did not pretend to lie down to sleep at all but walked to and fro in the hall of the court house as steady as a sentinal on his beat the whole night Mr Purdy is a good fellow and is well liked by the majority of the company he has the true and full sympathy's of the whole company in his trouble I hope he will soon return to the regiment as that he says is where he would rather be than anywhere else but I fear he will never be so jovial and cheerful and full of fun as he used to be

Norman Scofield 3rd sergeant of our company was burried last week his disease was quick consumption I was one of an escort this forenoon to escort a dead soldier to his last resting place and fier three volleys over his grave as the last honor to his remains he belonged to co D I did not learn his name We were mustered for pay yesterday being the last day of the month they say the pay master is here and we are going to be paid up to the 1st of March in a few days I cannot tell when or where we will go from here there are rumors of our being sent from here to Rolla and from there to Springfield but I hardly think that is true I hope not at least for I am tiered of running around over the stony hills of Mo with my knapsack on my back

Supper is ready and I must go and eat my crackers and bacon so good evening
Your husband JB

On the 2d, William Goodrich died of lung fever and, at his own request, his body was sent home for burial in Epworth's Highview Cemetery.⁵⁰⁵ Elisha Boardman was detached to serve on a court martial, James Pool returned to duty after being exchanged and Jim wrote to Cal.

Iron mountain. March the 2nd 1863

This is another pleasant morning and as I have not answered your last letter satisfactorily and having nothing else in particular to do I will write you a few lines this morning and your questions that you asked in your last letter which I have now before me Dick Wright's wife has not been with us since we left Dubuque she is living in Wisconsin with some of her friends Dick is still with us as full of the old harry as ever John Farrand is also with us but he is not so well thought of by the company as he was at first he is a great calf: full of gass and a brave boy when there is no danger he has been the captains waiter since the captains nephew went home Frank Farrand gets along verry well he is a good honest boy he minds his own business and has no enemys that I know of I believe he has never been excused from duty on account of sickness since he has been in the service Wallace Farrand joid the regiment long before we left Houston and was with us in the Hartsville fight and stood up to the rack like a man John Mather is verry well liked by the majority of the company James Pool is here with us and in tolerably good health all paroled soldiers have been exchanged and ordered to return to duty and Pool has shouldered his musket again

Your last letter contained 4 postage stamps and a letter from Jonathan⁵⁰⁶ I was verry glad you sent his letter although I have received two letters from him since I came to Ironton I have received ten letters and two papers since we came to Ironton four letters and two papers from you two letters from Jont one from father one from Libby one from the boys in the 9th and one from my cousin Martha Satterlee in Illinois and one from Robert which makes eleven I think I have been highly favored in

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By now, desertions had become such a problem that the government had taken steps to confront. On September 24, 1862, Secretary Stanton had created the office of Provost Marshall General and George risked arrest if he were caught without papers. Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 173. It could also cause a problem for Colonel Merrill who knew the family and authorized the absence despite being under orders to grant no leaves.

⁵⁰⁵ Find-a-Grave Memorial #85832522.

⁵⁰⁶

Postage was \$.02 an ounce. The cost was not prohibitive but it was often difficult for soldiers to buy stamps if they were away from big cities and the sutlers had run out.

that respect which is a source of great satisfaction to me as it is a verry good assurance that I have friends who remember me when I am absent I hardly know what to say about the difficulties between our field officers it is a disagreeable affair and I am sorry it took place Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap has always been a favorite with the 21st and has stood higher in the estimation of his men since the battle of Hartsville than ever for he behaved like a brave man he was in the thickest of the fight all the time he rode along the lines in front of his men cheering them and giving orders all the time until his horse was shot from under him and then he took on foot he fired several shots at the enemy with his revolver he received several slight wounds in the engagement it is my humble opinion that he is entitled to more honor for the success of that battle than anyone else but I am afraid he has acted a little to rash in regard to Colonel Merrill I have no doubt but what Colonel Merrill is a well meaning man but I think he is better calculated for a merchant than a military officer No more at present but remain Yours until death James Beathard

On the 3d, William Lyons' wife gave birth to their second child, Myron Knight received a pass, walked six miles to Pilot Knob and returned by rail, and Salue Van Anda sent a wire to Brigadier General Davidson in St. Louis requesting permission to visit the city for a few days. Since he was not far away and was already relieved from duty due to illness contracted the previous month, he did not think his absence would cause a problem.

In Washington, Congress adjourned but not before passing a conscription act that exempted Negroes but included a controversial commutation clause permitting draftees to provide a substitute or pay \$300.00 to the provost marshal in lieu of personal service. Until now the North had relied on volunteers and state militias to supplement the regulars, but enlistments had dwindled, voters were impatient, the 1862 elections went against the Republicans, peace candidates had done well and the President was described as "*haggard & care-worn*."⁵⁰⁷ The South had passed a conscription act a year earlier but the concept was new in the North and its mere threat increased discontent both within and without the military. It was a "*rich man's war and a poor man's fight*," said the Peace Democrats. According to Grant, "*there was nothing left to be done but to go forward to a decisive victory*," but time was limited since the Congress convening in December was not likely to be friendly.

Abe Treadwell returned from detached service on the 4th and, with his good friend Myron Knight, was sent on a "*very cold and stormy day*" on business three miles away to Middlebrook.

The 5th was also cold and windy and Epworth's Arnold Allen wrote to his mother from a "*mountain*" in Missouri to assure her he was well.⁵⁰⁸

*Iron Mountain Missouri
March the 5th 1863*

My dear Mother I take this present oportunity to inform you that I am well at present hoping these few lines may find you all well I wrote A letter the other day to Billy and having told you all I new in that and A little more I have nothing to write at present the weather is tolerable cold at present and A verry high wind is blowing for this country I suppose you have heard that William Goodrich is dead he died with the lung fever and was sent home to his friends at his request well the folks around there may say what they may for some time.

having nothing more to write I must close

Arnold Allen

*Elizabeth Allen
Arnold Allen.*

*I will send Cynthea a song to please her so she will keep still.
if you can't read this send it back and I will try to*

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Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and even the President's own state of Illinois had gone Democratic after voting for Lincoln in 1860.

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This letter by Arnold Allen and his other letters referenced below are in his mother's pension file with the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

On the 6th, William Crooke wrote to Colonel Merrill recommending Henry Howard as 1st Lieutenant to fill the vacancy created by Charles Heath's resignation two weeks earlier and, he said, "*I most cheerfully comply with the requirement of Gov Kirkwood when I certify on my honor that the person above recommended does not use intoxicating liquors to such an extent as to interfere with the discharge of his duties as an Officer or as to set a bad example to those under his command.*"⁵⁰⁹ With rank from February 24th, the recommendation was approved. Barna Phelps was promoted to take Howard's place as 2d Lieutenant, William Lyons was promoted to take Phelps' place as 1st Sergeant, David Drummond was promoted from 4th to 2d Sergeant to take Lyons place, Brad Talcott was promoted to 3d Sergeant to take the place of Norm Scofield, Perry Dewey was promoted to take Drummond's place as 4th Sergeant, and so it went.

It "*rained all night*" on the 6th and continued on the 7th, so bad, said George Brownell, that "*it drown me out of my tent and I went in the cook tent and slep on two cracker boxes.*"

On the 8th, Myron Knight and Abe Treadwell visited Pilot Knob while Charles Wilson wrote another letter.

Iron Mountain March the 8th 63

Dear Parents

I sit down here in my lonely tent to write a few lines to you to let you know how I am well I am not very well I have a Very bad cold but still i guess I shall be better in a few days I have written one letter since I came here & sent \$10.00 in it and sent you a Picture & register of our Co I have no news to write except that we are a going to morrow for St. Geneveve on the river 45 miles from here tell bill to keep quiet & the bird will feather by the 1st of May or june you know what I mean bill but keep still and say nothing ed is in St Louis he will join us at the place we are going to he has got pretty well O bill did you tell Phil to write to me - and Mother to W. & E. Bakre to write to me if you knew how much good it done me to get a letter you would write every day almost tell Sniders folks to write if they want to & if they dont they needent give my love to all write soon Direct to St Louis

From Charley

to

All that take the pains to enquire after him

☛ THE END

Also writing on the 8th was Jim Bethard.

(Letter No. 8)

**Iron Mountain Mo.
March the 8th 1863**

Dear wife

I seat myself to answer your kind letter No. 8. which I received yesterday evening I was glad to hear that you was all well and that little Ella had not got the measles I guess she is bound to make my prophecy prove true about getting home by the time she could crawl You must have cut quite a wide ... a mule to Clermont you have taken such a liking to mules I guess I shall have to buy a span of government mules and bring home with me when I come you wonder that we did not catch our death cold by lying on the ground and in the mud while on the march it does seem tough to you I have no doubt but I am inclined to believe the old saying is true that a man can get used to any thing but let that be as it may I have been troubled less with bad colds this winter than any winter that I ever passed in my life I expect if I ever get home it will take me as long to get used to sleeping in a feather bed as it did to get used to sleeping on the ground No one but a soldier can fully appreciate the luxury of a knap on the ground with the breech of his gun for a pillow and the blue sky for a shelter They do say that such usage is wearing on a mans constitution but I have experienced no inconvenience from it yet but let this be as it may it is not the physical constitution that we are striving to preserve but the

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Discipline for alcohol abuse "*was not to modify behavior but to rid the Union Army of incompetents.*" Selcer, *Fighting Under the Influence, America's CivilWar magazine*, page 38 (January 1998). The certification regarding the extent of alcohol use was standard language, but in another few months would be noticeably absent from another recommendation.

constitution of the united states and that must and shall be preserved⁵¹⁰ if it takes every cow in dads barn I guess the yankees can be a pesky wags futher ahead than most folks they can even see around on tother side of Vicksburg but I am afraid some of them have hurt their eyes by it and that is the reason why the Queen of the west went up fort creek instead of going up red river her pilot had probbably hurt his eyes and could not see straight through spectacles hense his excuse for running aground instead of backing out as he was ordered to do Cal this is a cold raw day and it is verry uncomfortable writing so you must put up with a short letter this time We are ordered to march tomorrow morning at 9 o clock we go from here to St genieve which is 45 miles from here and 50 miles below St. Louis on the Mississippi river where or when we will go from there I can not tell Give my respects to all inquiring friends and when you kiss our dear little Ella think of he who subscribes himself your ever true and loving husband

James Beathard

To Mrs. C. F. Beathard.

The *Queen of the West* to which Jim referred was a sidewheel steamer, a freight boat purchased in Cincinnati at the request of Secretary of War Stanton and converted to a ram by structural engineer Charles Ellet, Jr. In May and June 1862 it had helped capture Fort Pillow and Memphis and in December participated in the Chickasaw Bayou expedition on the Yazoo. Outfitted with new guns, the *Queen*, now a pseudo-gunboat, had run past Vicksburg on February 2d and served on Louisiana's Red River under its nineteen year old Colonel, Charles Rivers Ellet. On February 14th, near Gordon's Landing, only 400 yards from Fort Taylor, the *Queen* had run aground, been disabled by four Confederate 32-pounders, and thereby, according to Jim, gone up "fort creek."

IRON MOUNTAIN TO STE. GENEVIEVE (March 9 to March 11, 1863)

On March 9th the brigade left Iron Mountain about 9:00 a.m. with Seymour Chipman traveling by ambulance along an old plank road. Before construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad, ore had been hauled over the forty-two mile long road, longest of its kind in the United States, built in 1843 to connect the Arcadia Valley to Ste. Genevieve. Now the 21st Iowa followed the road sixteen miles through what Jacob Switzer described as "*a very old settled country and the finest Country I saw in Missouri.*" Camp that night was near Farmington, "*a beautiful little Country town*" according to Robert Strane.⁵¹¹

On the 10th President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring that "*all soldiers improperly absent who would report at certain designated rendezvous by the first day of April, would be restored to their respective regiments without punishment, except forfeiture of pay and allowances for the period of their absence.*"⁵¹² German native Thomas Busby died in Rolla⁵¹³ and the brigade passed Valley Forge and Georgetown during a twelve mile march.

Gilbert Cooley thought the march had been through "*a most beautiful country.*" Others agreed and felt "*the people also have the appearance of thrift and being well to do*"⁵¹⁴ and, on the 11th, they led the brigade as it covered the final sixteen miles and camped about 3:00 p.m. "*in a beautiful grove*" on a ridge overlooking the Mississippi one-half mile north of Ste. Genevieve. As was often the case, competition between regiments had raised its head and "*the Twenty-second boys thought that the Twenty-first marched too rapidly, thereby trying their pluck, and this was resented by the Twenty-second boys bulging forward so that when we came into camp in the evening, the two regiments were commingled so that the first impression was the predominance of the Twenty-second Iowa. There was much good*

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In this, Jim was echoing a Northern rallying cry and a sentiment that had become "*as familiar as household words.*" While giving a toast on April 13, 1830, Andrew Jackson reportedly said, "*our federal union, it must be preserved.*" Subsequently, others purporting to quote Jackson said, "*the federal union, it must and shall preserved,*" but this, said the New York Times (August 8, 1862), was a "*mutilated*" version of Jackson's actual "*compact, simple, and yet all-embracing sentence.*"

⁵¹¹ Quotes and letters, here and below, by Robert Strane are from original letters as transcribed by a descendant.

⁵¹² Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 169.

⁵¹³ The site of Thomas' burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54672314.

⁵¹⁴ Samuel C. Jones, *Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (1907; Camp Pope Book Shop edition 1993), page 22.

natured chaffing and some real downright hard feeling."⁵¹⁵

The 11th was also a day for numerous promotions, a total of fourteen at various levels, but one caused a problem. In Company H, James Jordan resigned as 1st Lieutenant and James Noble was promoted from 2nd Lieutenant to take his place, but that created a new vacancy. Merrill and the company's captain, Joseph Watson, thought Sergeant Major William Dickinson deserved the job even though he was outranked by 1st Sergeant Willie Brown, but Van Anda disagreed. This was one of many disagreements they would have.

STE. GENEVIEVE to MILLIKEN'S BEND (March 11 to April 10, 1863)

Ste. Genevieve has been called the first permanent settlement in Missouri. Founded on the east bank in 1725 by Frenchmen from Canada, it had been moved to the west bank for better access to salt and as a better shipping point for lead and other minerals being brought from the west for export to France. Its residents were *"almost all French and are rebel at heart,"* but it was no longer on the water due to shifts in the river and even Mark Twain wrote that he could no longer see the spires of *"the little French town of Ste. Genevieve"* when passing by steamer.⁵¹⁶ *"At this place,"* said Dr. Orr, *"we had renewed evidence of the results of exposure. Cases of inflammation of the lungs were numerous and several deaths occurred."*

With northbound transport readily available, many of the sick and injured left the regiment. Some were hospitalized at St. Louis' Jefferson Barracks while others were given furloughs or leaves of absence to recuperate at home. Some recovered and rejoined the regiment and some did not. Some died on the way north and others after they arrived. For men still in camp, local *"hucksters"* arrived daily to peddle their wares. Convinced they were all spies or rebel sympathizers, the soldiers were less than gracious and only the females received cordial welcomes. One man showed up with a fully loaded wagon, but his barrel of apples was *"accidentally"* upset and his oxen somehow became unattached from the wagon and ran away and, while he was picking up the apples, a box of pies happened to come open and soldiers rushed to the rescue. On another occasion soldiers in the 22nd Iowa found a local cellar filled with large vats of beer. First filling themselves and then filling empty kegs, they started back to camp but *"as they proceeded, at first the keg was hard to roll, it being full, at last the keg became empty, and the man became full, so he could not roll."*⁵¹⁷

Five months earlier, Company K's Francis Hefner had been left sick in Rolla. Many others had rejoined the regiment, but Francis's whereabouts were unknown and he was reported as having deserted at Harris Mill. On March 12th, the Provost Marshal in Rolla reported that Francis, whose wife was with him, was at the Lamb Hotel, near 4th and Main in Rolla, and would be taking a train in the morning to rejoin the regiment. Meanwhile, John Field deserted from Company G. While reasons for his desertion were not given, he soon enlisted in the 1st Minnesota Cavalry, served his entire enlistment and received an honorable discharge.⁵¹⁸

On March 13th, George Brownell *"had apple pie for dinner and chicken pie for supper,"* Jim received more letters, Quartermaster Charles Morse was granted medical leave due to *"remittent fever,"* and Zwingle's Robert Strane wrote to his sister, Eliza, explaining their arrival in Ste. Genevieve: *"we marched through the city in great splendor under observation of many witnesses, both white and black"* and camped about one-half mile north of town *"in a very beautiful and healthy place, about 100 feet above the level of the Miss. river in a very nice grove where we have a view of the old Mississippi River for about 2 miles."* Giving news of others, he said John Strane *"is on guard today down at town on patrol guard that is to go round through the town and arrest all soldiers that haven't passes,"* Robert Miller *"just got here this morning. He came down the river. He is still lame yet,"* and Tobias Miller *"is not very*

⁵¹⁵ Samuel C. Jones, Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1907; Camp Pope Book Shop edition 1993), page 22.

⁵¹⁶

Many of its pre-war buildings, some no doubt visited by Union soldiers, still exist including the Felix Valle house built as a residence and store in 1818 by a Philadelphia merchant and his brothers, the 1821 courthouse, and the 1850 Anvil Saloon with its original front and back bars.

⁵¹⁷ Samuel C. Jones, Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1907; Camp Pope Book Shop edition 1993), page 24.

⁵¹⁸

Pursuant to an Act of March 2, 1889, Section 3, the charge of desertion was removed and John was considered to have been discharged effective April 30, 1863. For such a charge to be removed the soldier must have (1) reenlisted within four months of desertion, (2) not for the purpose of obtaining another bounty payment or gratuity, and (3) faithfully fulfilled the obligations of the subsequent enlistment.

well." Robert, he said, had sent \$40.00 home with George Schollian.⁵¹⁹

In and about Ste. Genevieve, a force approaching 5,000 men under William Benton and Eugene Carr continued to wait and watch as transports from St. Louis passed on their way south. Finally, in mid-March, they received their orders and Jim wrote a rare Saturday letter to Cal.

Letter No. 9

**St Genevieve. Mo.
March the 14th 1863**

Dear wife

this is one day ahead of my usual time for writing but it is a warm pleasant day and tomorrow it may be raining and it is possible that we may move tomorrow so I will commence a letter to you to day and as the mail will not go out til monday I will finish it tomorrow and give you the latest news I was a little disappointed last night when the mail came in at not getting a letter from you Sergeant Lyons of hardin received a letter last night from George Purdy the man that he and James Rice and I sent our money home by he stated that he had found his circumstances at Mcgregor verry different from what he had expected that the sickness and death of his wife and child had been attended with a great deal of expense and that he had used our money to pay up his expenses incurred thereby and that he was going from there to detroit Michigan to leave his youngest child with its grandmother and get some money that was coming to him there and that he would return to the regiment the first of next week and make the matter satisfactory with us I told him before he left us that if he needed more money than he had to use mine as far as it would go I sent \$40 with him and James Rice sent \$20 I also sent a letter to you by him it was sealed and had a stamp on so that if he should be detained on the road he might send it on by mail I do not doubt Purdy's honesty and am not uneasy about the money

Since writing the foregoing I have heard upon good authority that we are ordered to report immediately to general Grant at Vicksburg we will start just as soon as we can get transportation there are eight transports now at St Louis which are coming to take us down: the 23rd Iowa started yesterday afternoon the 21st and 22nd will probbably go next I saw four transports pass here yesterday loaded with troops from St Louis on their way to Vicksburg

Cal I have 12 stamps on hand and when they are gone I shall be dependent on you again for stamps as I cannot buy them here but you neant send any for some time yet nothing more of importance at present but remain your affectionate husband

James Beathard

We are all well

Dwight Noble died on the 15th. Previously hospitalized in Houston, he succumbed to chronic diarrhea, was buried in the Ste. Genevieve burying ground and was survived by his twenty-three-year-old wife and three young children.⁵²⁰

With the Vicksburg campaign ahead of them, Colonel Merrill notified the Governor "*we start for Vicksburg or vicinity today. Hope to earn or at least sustain the proud name worn by your brave troops, newspaper articles to the contrary notwithstanding.*" The next day he wrote a similar letter to Adjutant General Baker:

"I write you as an old N.H. friend a word asking you to hold your fire vs me until you are made acquainted with the other side & all the circumstances of that famous Hartsville fight. any quantity of blowing & lying through newspapers vs me has been circulated, a clique formed in Dubuque on my arrival to take command on my only enemies. The matter is not settled. I have demanded a trial & will show up the conspiracy. At present I am in command of the Iowa Brigade. You know Gen. I am not that style of a man to make a big fuss

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In 1991, materials regarding the Strane family were donated to the State Historical Society, Iowa City, by his granddaughter, Jeanette Titus Miller. Robert P. Miller would die May 20, 1863, in St. Louis. He is buried in Harmony Cemetery, Zwingle, Iowa. Tobias C. Miller enlisted at age thirty-one as a drummer and would serve for the duration of his enlistment. He died on June 26, 1872, and, like Robert, is buried in Zwingle's Harmony Cemetery. George Schollian enlisted at age twenty-three as a fifer and would be discharged for disability on April 17, 1864. George died on October 18, 1912, at seventy-two years of age. He is buried in Way Side Cemetery, Chapin, Iowa.

⁵²⁰ He was likely reinterred after the war but the site, if any, is not known. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54917225.

& consequently would never get much military praise however much I might be entitled to it. If my health will hold out I will show my slanderers a mistake they have made. With high regards General, I am very truly Samuel Merrill."

George Purdy rejoined the regiment as promptly as possible after taking three-year-old May to her relatives. On his return, he and Jim were assigned to guard duty at the residence of a local widow. Daniel Eldridge, with a chronic inflammation of the spine, was discharged on March 16th and William Downs died of pneumonia on the 17th while in the general hospital at Benton Barracks. Sam Marsh, a forty-year-old private from Cascade, also died on the 17th while Mason Bettys died of chronic diarrhea at Ste. Genevieve on the 19th.⁵²¹

On the 20th, John Goodrich rejoined the regiment after serving "with two others, on detail, to take charge of the wounded men" at Hartville⁵²² and a transport left to go north. On board with twenty-day furloughs were Francis Stevenson, John J. Carpenter and Orderly Sergeant William Lyons. Lyons was escorting the body of Mason Bettys to Luana and was no doubt anxious to see his own sixteen-day-old son. Among the sick was William Appleton who was "very low with chronic diarrhea." John Carpenter was suffering from Jaundice and said Appleton "was in such a low condition that our officers considered it necessary to send him home in order to save his life. And I being in poor health was detailed to take him home. we had to convey him on a stretcher from camp to the boat. I went with him from Iron Mountain to Farley Iowa."⁵²³

Still in Ste. Genevieve, Jim got a letter from his brother and John Mather received one from his mother. John Farrand was promoted to 8th Corporal to take the place of William Perkins who was promoted to 6th Corporal, Abe Treadwell was promoted to 7th Corporal to take the place of Corodon Hewitt who was promoted to 5th Corporal, and George Purdy was promoted to 5th Sergeant to take the place of Brad Talcott who had been promoted to 3d Sergeant two weeks earlier. Near Vicksburg, the Confederacy was reinforcing Chickasaw Bayou and an Alabama infantryman wrote to his wife that, "unless they do something within the next thirty days, Grant's army would perhaps do well to pack their Knapsacks & journey back to Yankeeland." A year earlier Lincoln had called Vicksburg "the key." "The war," he said, "can never be brought to a close until that key is in our pocket." Capturing New Orleans was important, but "Vicksburg would be more so." Even Davis admitted it was "the nailhead that held the South's two halves together" and General-in-Chief "Old Brains" Henry Halleck told Grant, "the great objective on your line now is the opening of the Mississippi River, and everything else must tend to that purpose. The eyes and hopes of the whole country are now directed to your army. In my opinion, the opening of the Mississippi River will be to us of more advantage than the capture of forty Richmonds."⁵²⁴

On March 21st Rhoda Farrand gave birth to a son named William Wallace after his absent father, a father who had only two months to live. In Missouri weather warmed and peach trees blossomed, more and more regiments left town and Jim wrote to Cal mentioning the "two deaths" of Dwight Noble and Mason Bettys.

St Genevieve Mo March the 21st 1863

Dear wife one week has rolled around since I told you that we were expecting hourly to be called upon to move and we are still here on the river bank awaiting transportation and expecting every hour to have to go the Roberts creek boys are all well there is a great deal of sickness in the regiment the principle diseases homesickness and chronic dierrhea I was sadly disappointed last night at not getting a letter from you Jim nor I have neither of us received a letter from home for two weeks what in the world is the matter we cannot think that you have neglected to write our letters must have been misscarried but the rest of the boys get their letters and why shouldnt we get ours I received a letter last night from Jonathan he is still at Nashville. Tenn. he was well when he wrote John Mather received a letter from his mother yesterday evening and also one from Dock he is at Jackson Tenn and

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The burial sites of William Downs and Samuel Marsh are not known.

Mason Bettys is buried in Grand Meadow Cemetery west of Luana, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #75927173. On September 13, 1863, Mason's older brother, Phillip, a member of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, would die at Culpepper, Virginia.

522 Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, Page 127 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

523 Affidavit of John J. Carpenter, Company B (February 13, 1888). William rejoined the regiment on May 5, 1863, east of Port Gibson.

524 A. A. Hoehling, Vicksburg. 47 Days of Siege (The Fairfax Press, New York, 1969), page 5.

well there has been two deaths in our company this week you will probably see Mr Lyons our orderly sergeant who went home with the dead body of Mason Bettice before this letter reaches you as he promised me that he would go over and make you a visit I hope he will keep his promise it would be more satisfaction for you to see him and talk with him than to get a letter from me and it will also be a great satisfaction for me to talk with him after he has returned from there

Cal they have commenced giving furloughs there is two 20 day furloughs granted in each company every two weeks but I am afraid by the time my turn comes we shall be so far down the river that it will take the best part of 20 days to go and come: but if we are at any place from which we can make the trip in any reasonable time James and I will try and make you a visit but do not flatter yourself too much with the Idea for there is no telling what day the furlough business may be stopped

O how I should like to see you and little Ellie once more the priveledge of visiting you would give me more pleasure than anything in the world and I hope to have that priveledge before long Cal if my letters of late are to short to suit you I cant help it for there is no news to write the prospects seem favorable at present for staying here a while we had our knapsacks all packed yesterday ready to move at a minutes warning but there are a lot of men detailed to day to dig sinks and clean up the camp ground preparatory to staying here some time there has been some talk of our being sent up the river either to Iowa or Minisota to keep the Indians and copperheads down⁵²⁵ I hope this may be the case but I am afraid the chances are rather dull

Give my respects to all inquiring friends while I subscribe myself

Yours forever James Bethard

Kiss the babe for me right slap in the mouth

On March 22, 1863, James Hill became acting brigade Quartermaster and the 23rd Iowa left Ste. Genevieve.⁵²⁶ On the 26th, a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer" in the South, the balance of the 22nd Iowa left and the 21st Iowa began to leave although diaries, letters and military records create considerable confusion as to who left when and on what transports.⁵²⁷ On March 27th, Eber Golder's wife gave birth to their first child.

Letter No. 10

St Genevieve Mo

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At the outbreak of the war Iowa had a Republican majority supporting the President and an opposition divided between Peace Democrats and War Democrats (also known as Union Democrats). The term Copperheads usually referred to the Peace Democrats but broadly included any Northerner who was disloyal to the war.

⁵²⁶ Some members of the 23rd Iowa reportedly left Ste. Genevieve on March 15th on the *Chouteau*.

⁵²⁷

George Crooke says a "detachment" left on the *Argonaut* on the 26th, a second detachment a few days later on the *Groesbeck*, and a third detachment after about a week, but he had already been discharged by then and his account was written 28 years later. Other accounts were contemporaneous:

-Company D George Brownell said he boarded the *Argonaut* on the 26th and left on the 27th.

-Company D Gilbert Cooley said he boarded the *Argonaut No. 2*.

-Company F Flavius Patterson said he left on March 27th on the *Argonaut*.

-Company B Myron Knight did not mention Company A, but said:

-E, H & K left on March 26th (without naming the vessel),

-D, F & I left on March 27th (without naming the vessel) and

-B, C & G left on April 1st on the side-wheel *Ocean Wave* then owned by the Northern Packet Line.

-Company B Jim Bethard said all except B, C and G were gone by the 28th, while B left on April 1st; reached Memphis on April 3rd, three other Companies (presumably D, F and I) were there, and others had gone farther south.

An unidentified soldier said he "left" on the *Ocean Wave* on April 1st. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 308.

There is no mention of Company A but two (Bethard and Knight) say B, C and G were the last to leave. One (Knight) says E, H & K left first and D, F & I left second and one (Bethard) arriving last says "three" companies were waiting when they arrive while others had gone farther ahead it seems logical that the "three" were those that immediately preceded him (i.e. D, F & I) and the others that went ahead would have included Company A. It's possible Company A went separately but about the time of the first group and then went ahead with them.

In July the *Ocean Wave* was reportedly "on the ways for repairs at an expense of \$7,000. Her cabin is to be taken off and she is to have new decks above and below and otherwise refitted for a first class freight boat." *North Iowa Times* (July 20, 1864.)

March the 28th 1863

Dear wife I seat myself to write you once more from St Genevieve the troops have all left here except three companies of our regiment (G. B. and C.) the boat that was to take us down passed here yesterday but she was so heavily laden that she could not take us we do not know when we will get off but probably not before the 1st of next week we are all well and having good and easy times I received your letter No. 11 last thursday but No. 10 has not come to hand there was a large mail for our regiment went down to Memphis last week and No. 10 was probably with that you seem to be a little uneasy in regard to the money that we sent home by Mr Purdy nor can I blame you for being so not knowing the man nor the circumstances but my letter No. 9 which you must have received by this time I hope has explained the matter satisfactorily to you I received a letter from sister Libby at the same time that I received yours she wrote that they were all well and that she had received a letter from you a few days before she wrote your last contained a letter from mother which was read with much pleasure tell her I thank her for past favors and hope she will confer many more such favors hereafter I love to get family letters I consider them tokens of friendliness and sociability Mother you wanted to know if Colonel Merrill was under arrest he was sent to St Louis under arrest while we were at West planes but when he arrived there; there was no one there to sustain the charges against him and therefore he was acquitted and returned to the regiment he has not been in command of the regiment since we first arrived at west plains. he is now a member of a court martial and went down the river several days ago the charges against him at the time that he was sent to St Louis under arrest if I have been informed right was cowardice at the battle of Hartsvill and swindling the government the last I know nothing about and I hope I shall never be sworn as a witness on the first but if I should be I am afraid the weight of my evidence would be against him there has been a great deal said and a great deal printed in Mcgregor and also in other parts of clayton county about Colonel Merrill and Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap and it is my opinion that Col Dunlap has been shamefully slandered for the purpose of sustaining the character of Col Merrill by taking the Pocket city news⁵²⁸ you have got one side of the story and not the other I have seen pieces in that paper against Col Dunlap that I know to be lies but let that be as it may Dunlap is the favorite of the regiment and if voted on would be there choice for commander Well, Cal I am living at the top of the pot just now George Purdy and myself are guarding the residence of a young widdow whose husband died at Memphis in the union army we are to stay here until we go down the river we have a nice comfortable room to stay in plenty of everything that is good to eat and drink and all we have to do is to pass away the time as we choose which we do by reading and talking and eating and sleeping

JB

They were far from home and getting farther and thoughts of parents, children, wives and girlfriends often led to poetic reverie. As one postwar writer put it, *"the woods were vocal with songsters, and the entire surroundings seemed so appropriate for a young man who had left his girl behind him to indite her a few words, that at least one young man on the Cincinnati that morning was engaged in that very occupation. While deep in logical argument proving that beyond question the stars paled whenever she stepped out of an evening, the hurried shuffle of steps on the deck overhead ended his reverie."*⁵²⁹ Still at Ste. Genevieve, Jim was similarly engaged when he copied a poem and sent it to Cal.

**Deep in her soul pure love is found
In woman's soul the world around
In every place, lot, rank, or clime**

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The McGregor newspaper was published as the *Pocket City News* by Willis Drummond from December 1861 to late 1862 when he enlisted in the army and sold the paper. The town was so-named since it sits in a "pocket" or "natural amphitheater" in the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi.

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Eliot Callender, *What a Boy Saw on the Mississippi* (read October 10, 1889). Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Illinois, Military Essays and Recollections, Volume 1, Page 60 (A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, 1891).

Where course the chasing sands of time

**Where the sun shines or the wind blows
Midst tropic heats or polar snows
Where want or ill or grief are known
Her generous sympathies are shown.**

**In princely halls in prison cells
Life's faithful guardian angel dwells
In loves or mercy's noble sphere
She gives a smile or sheds a tear**

**The greatest good that man e'er knows
Is that which womans heart bestows
If in its bliss he has no share
His lot is joyless every where**

**But if it brightly on him beam
A desert then a heaven doth seem
And let the world rail all it can
He is indeed a happy man⁵³⁰**

**St Genevieve Mo
March the 29th 1863
James Beathard**

The Vicksburg campaign was starting well, but earlier expeditions had failed and demonstrated the obstacles that lay ahead. Despite those failures, Lincoln believed "*I am the only friend Grant has*" and decided to "*try him a little longer*" while Grant, who claimed to have "*never felt great confidence that any of the experiments*" would work,⁵³¹ now pursued a new plan to capture "*Jeff Davis' slaughter-pen.*" Infantry would move along levees west of the river to the area of New Carthage with naval support from Porter who would run his gunboats and transports south past the Vicksburg batteries. On these narrow western rivers, virtually all boats were shallow-draft steam-powered paddle-wheelers with iron muzzle-loading cannon that fired both solid shot and explosive shells, but their passage would be risky. They would be exposed to fire from the bluffs and, below the city, would be trapped between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. When reunited, they would capture Grand Gulf, help Banks take Port Hudson thus opening a supply line downriver to New Orleans, and then move on Vicksburg from the south and east. Porter operated independently of Grant but agreed to the plan.

While the final three companies waited in Ste. Genevieve, the *Argonaut* continued downstream, reached Cairo at dark on March 27th and spent most of the 28th taking on coal ("*the mouth of the Ohio is full of steamers today,*" said George Brownell). Walter McNally "*went a shore and mailed a letter to Mother,*" but was back on board when they left about 4:00 p.m. Staying behind and admitted to the general hospital were Charles Wilson and Joseph Woodhouse.

The *Argonaut* tied up for the night at Columbus ("*a stragglng collection of brick blocks, frame houses, and whisky saloons*") and resumed its trip at daylight on the 29th, the same day Jim was copying the poem in Ste. Genevieve, Canadian John Kain died of "*typhoid pneumonia*"⁵³² in Cairo and Grant ordered McClernand to open a road south from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage. Sherman felt the plan was "*desperate and hazardous*" and

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Acton, or the Circle of Life (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1849), Page 220.

⁵³¹ Ulysses S. Grant. *Memoirs and Selected Letters*. (The Library of America, 1990), page 297

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He is reportedly buried in Mound City National Cemetery, Mound City, Illinois, although that has not been confirmed. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54860252.

preferred to drive south from Memphis. McPherson agreed with Sherman, McClernand agreed with Grant, Grant called for reinforcements, and the campaign began.

On March 30th, the *Argonaut* tied up at Memphis about 9:30 a.m., unloaded supplies and gave men a chance to visit "*the monument of Andrew Jackson and the tame squirrels*" but David Greaves and the rest of Company B were still in camp north of Ste. Genevieve and David's wife was at home where she gave birth to their first child, a son named Charles. On the 31st, the *Argonaut* continued to off-load flour, Jim's cousin, Wallace Bowen, who had earlier deserted, signed on as a new recruit in the 3d Iowa Cavalry and work got underway on a Louisiana canal known as the Duckport Canal or Pride's Canal. Hoping to connect the Mississippi with Walnut Bayou and through it reach New Carthage, fatigue parties worked with picks and shovels while McClernand started south. Regiments were strung out, but steadily advanced by foot and transport, thousands and thousands of men with wagons, artillery and supplies.

Gideon Potter, a private in Company H, died of lung disease while on a hospital boat⁵³³ and Company B moved into Ste. Genevieve to spend the night in a local tavern. Downstream at Young's Point, Grant and Sherman planned an expedition to Greenville to be led by Frederick Steele. Leaving almost immediately, Steele's division included the 9th Iowa but Cal's cousin, Squire Mather, was not with them. The regiment had been ravaged by small pox and Squire was one of many who contracted the disease and would stay at Young's Point until well enough to rejoin the regiment on completion of its mission. Steele would have occasional skirmishes for most of the month, but the main benefits of the expedition would be the diversion of attention away from Grant, the seizure or destruction of livestock, corn and other crops that could have supplied Vicksburg, and the recruitment of men, mostly Negroes, to fight for the North.⁵³⁴

Twenty-five miles south of Vicksburg near the mouth of the Big Black River, the old French town of Grand Gulf had served as a railroad terminus and shipping center for the larger town of Port Gibson. Prosperous plantation owners enjoyed presentations by touring theater companies and shipped cotton from Grand Gulf to textile mills in the north. The town's 1,000 citizens had been served by two newspapers, a hospital, school and numerous churches until its entire business section, fifty-five city blocks, was eaten away by the meandering Mississippi. With a wartime population of only 158, it had been largely forgotten by the military but Carter Stevenson, Confederate commander in Vicksburg, received permission in early March to fortify it with a token force. He sent thirty-two year old Brigadier General John Bowen, a West Point classmate of McPherson and pre-war engineer and architect in St. Louis where he had become a friend of Grant, with a force of 2,968.⁵³⁵ Moved to assist him were twenty-pound Parrott guns, twelve pound howitzers and other cannon brought down from near Vicksburg. Martin Green, one of Bowen's brigade commanders, was to stay east of Vicksburg at a bridge over the Big Black with another 2,523. Bowen's other brigade commander was twenty-eight year old attorney Francis Cockrell, a veteran of battles west of the river.

On April 1, 1863, Englishman William Fern died of disease in Cairo⁵³⁶ and Thomas Willson, still in Ironton, was discharged for disability caused by tuberculosis,⁵³⁷ while Company D's George Brownell reached Memphis where he "*went to the theater.*" Companies B, C and G under senior Captain William Crooke boarded the *Ocean Wave* at Ste. Genevieve and traveled downstream about twenty miles before stopping for the night while Company B saw another round of promotions. Two weeks earlier 1st Corporal Daniel Eldridge and 2d Corporal Willard Adams had been discharged for disability, thus creating vacancies at the top of the eight Corporal ranks. With two vacancies above them, David Maxson, despite being absent on furlough, was jumped from 3d to 1st Corporal, Henry Chiles from 4th to 2d, Corodon Hewitt from 5th to 3d, William Perkins from 6th to 4th, Abe Treadwell from 7th to 5th and Frank Farrand from 8th to 6th. Now the vacancies were at the bottom and were filled from the ranks by James Adams who was promoted to 7th Corporal and Darwin Whipple who was promoted to 8th Corporal.

On April 2d, the *Argonaut* waited in Memphis while the *Ocean Wave* started at daybreak, reached Cairo about

⁵³³ Gideon Potter is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #48449135.

⁵³⁴

When Benjamin Butler was directed to "*hold New Orleans by all means*" despite limited manpower, he had approached "*the free colored men of the city*" who willingly agreed to fight. "*Orders were issued,*" "*enlistment offices were opened*" and "*colored men were commissioned.*" Now, a year later, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas arrived at Milliken's Bend with the government's authorization, for the first time, to organize Negro regiments and 500 of Steele's recruits would soon be in training. Iowa's Governor Kirkwood also argued, if Negroes were "*willing to pay for their freedom by fighting for those who make them free, I am entirely willing they should do so.*" Hesselstine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 288.

⁵³⁵ He had also been among those captured at Camp Jackson and, on his release, organized the 1st Missouri Infantry at Memphis.

⁵³⁶ William is buried in Mound City National Cemetery, Mound City, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #22912713.

⁵³⁷ Thomas died on March 30, 1917. He is buried in Tecumseh Cemetery, Tecumseh, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #57048663.

2:00 in the afternoon, stopped for two or three hours and then resumed its trip. Columbus, Kentucky, had been in Union hands for more than two years when they arrived about sundown and half an hour later continued south before tying up for the night at Island No. 6 where the cooks went ashore for beans and meat. The river was treacherous and stopping was often necessary not only for provisions, but also for safety. Twenty years earlier Charles Dickens had described the river's "*strong and frothy current choked and obstructed everywhere by huge logs and whole forest trees.*"⁵³⁸ The river, he said, was "*a slimy monster hideous to behold.*" Nighttime travel was risky, even where channels had been cleared and especially in fortified areas where Confederate "*torpedoes*" (mines) might be waiting near the surface.

On April 3d, Pennsylvania-born John Pemberton told his superiors he thought the Federals opposite Vicksburg were leaving to reinforce Rosecrans,⁵³⁹ the *Argonaut* stayed in Memphis and the *Ocean Wave* left at daybreak. After stopping for a few minutes at Island No. 10, it passed New Madrid about 8:00 in the morning. Here soldiers saw a town established in 1789 as capital of one of Spain's districts in Upper Louisiana, the oldest American city west of the Mississippi. At the tip of New Madrid Bend, an almost 360 degree curve at one of the widest points on the river, early growth had stopped in 1811 when the terrain was reshaped by earthquakes that are still considered among the largest in U.S. history. With a magnitude estimated at 8.4 to 8.8, the Mississippi flowed backward and church bells rang as far away as Boston.

Continuing south, the *Ocean Wave* reached Fort Wright at 1:00 in the afternoon and Fort Randolph a few minutes later. At 5:00 in the evening, after passing an ironclad with twenty-six cannon, they reached Memphis, a "*fine place*" with "*a great deal of Government business*" thanks to Sherman who arrived a year earlier and "*found the place dead, no business doing,*" but "*caused all the stores to be opened, churches, schools, theaters and places of amusement to be re-established.*" Here the regiment found "*a perfect beehive of women of ill fame*"⁵⁴⁰ and here they were reunited with John Goodrich, detached in January to care for the wounded at Hartville.

Only a week earlier, the 22d Iowa had marched through Memphis "*to let the citizens know that there were still a few more Yankees on their way to take part in the little disturbance down South.*"⁵⁴¹ Now they were gone, word of the 21st's arrival spread quickly, and friends from the 3d Iowa, then camped three miles out of town, came down to the levee to visit. Staying on board for the night, the two Jims wrote another joint letter to their wives. Although devout abolitionists and patriotic volunteers, their frustration with the pace of the war was evident as they were carried farther and farther from their families and learned there would be no furloughs.

**On board the Ocean wave
at Memphis Tennessee
Friday evening April 3rd - 63**

Dear wife's and friends we started from St Genevieve last wednesday afternoon about 4 o clock and arrived here this evening about sundown we found three companies of our regiment here and the rest are down within 23 miles of vicksburg where we expect to join them soon we leave here tomorrow morning for vicksburg we are all well we have had a quite pleasant trip down the river so far there being only three companies on board we had plenty of room and verry good places to sleep nights the boat did not run nights so we had a chance to see the country and and towns and forts along the river; the first town we came to of any note was Cairo we stoped there some two or three hours we saw them plating boats with Iron for the marine brigade the harbour was full of boats of all kinds among the most prominent of which was the ram Little Rebel which was taken from the rebels our next curiosity was Columbus Kentucky about which there was so much talk at one time but which the

⁵³⁸ Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (1840).

⁵³⁹

On October 10, 1862, Pemberton had been promoted to Lieutenant General and assigned to defend Vicksburg. If he had read the *Dubuque Daily Times* of April 3d he would have been better informed as the paper reported that the 21st Iowa had left Ste. Genevieve several days earlier "*to join the 13th army corps under Major General McClernand, and will debark at Milliken's Bend, La. They are in now what is designated as 'United States forces in Camp' under Brigadier General E. A. Carr.*"

⁵⁴⁰ Lowry, *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell* (Stackpole Books 1994), page 84, referencing the *Memphis Daily Bulletin* of April 30, 1863.

⁵⁴¹

S. C. Jones, *Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (1907; reprint 1993), page 24.

rebels finally evacuated the boat landed there and we gave the guard the slip and went ashore for the sake of setting our feet on Kentucky soil and to examine the shot and shell which was piled up in large piles on the dock the earthworks and cannon of which there were all sizes were also a great curiosity to us. We had a squint at Island No. 10. and New Madrid and forts Wright Randolph and Pillow so you may imagine that our trip so far down the river has been very interesting Memphis is a beautiful place we slipped the guard and went all over town I bought a dime's worth of tobacco and got a piece about an inch square The news from Vicksburg is that they are fighting there and that our forces have got possession of part of their works General Banks came up below but Farragut's fleet failed to cooperate and Banks had to fall back⁵⁴² I should like to write you a long letter if I had time and opportunity but the less we write the more we will have to tell when we get home if we should ever be so fortunate as to get there we learned this evening that the furlough business is played out and even if we were to get 20 days furlough it would take nearly if not quite all of that time to go home and back I wish this infernal war was at an end and the niggers all in Africa but there is fighting to do and I am willing to do my share of it if they will only set us at it and not keep us briggling around eternally and accomplishing nothing It will take us three days to go to Vicksburg next Monday evening we will in all probability be at the seat of war I hope we will see the boys in the 9th they say we will not be allowed to send letters from Vicksburg until the ball is closed

Give our respects to all inquiring friends:

Affectionately yours

J M Rice and James Beathard

Lib & Cal

On the 4th of April, in Dubuque, a legal decision was rendered in favor of Peter Lorimier, former Captain of the Dubuque City Guards, who had sued the State Bank regarding its processing of his son's allotments. When Peter had presented his order for a \$43.00 payment, the bank offered payment in its own currency, but Lorimier demanded payment in greenbacks on the ground that the bank had received the money on a draft on the United States Treasurer. Payment in the bank's currency would result in a small discount as compared with the greenbacks it had received. Rather than let the bank keep the discount, Lorimier had sued to force the bank to pay allotments with the same currency as the paymaster's order had secured for the bank.⁵⁴³ The bank said it would appeal, but the allotment system, initially praised as a way for soldiers to care for dependents at home, was gradually breaking down.

In Memphis on April 4, 1863, Myron Knight and several others went into town and, like those who preceded them, visited the public square, saw Jackson's Monument and toured a city where thirty-eight members of the regiment would be interred. Most of the regiment's companies were now united and, about 1:00 in the afternoon of the 4th, moved downstream half a mile to Fort Pickering where Myron was among many who visited the fort while their transport took on coal. They continued their journey at 10:00 that evening and, by 4:00 on the morning of the 5th, reached Helena, "a poor place," "a swampy malarious hole," where they tied up for about twelve hours before resuming the trip about sundown on the 5th and running to midnight.

Grant now had two of his three corps moving south from Milliken's Bend towards New Carthage. Infantry crossed bayous and traveled roads barely above water while the 3d Illinois Cavalry engaged Isaac Harrison's small company of Texas Cavalry, mostly local planters who soon fled about ten miles downriver from New Carthage to *Somerset*, the plantation of Judge and Mrs. John Perkins. A member of the state's secession convention, a member of the Confederate Congress and one of the wealthiest men in Louisiana, Perkins had often let Southern soldiers hide on shore to shoot at Union transports passing between his landing and Hurricane Island in the middle of the river. Only a month previously a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* had been fired on and written that "it deserves to be

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Jim may have been referring to old articles only recently received about a failure to move on Port Hudson in December. Banks' large infantry force in New Orleans had led Farragut to plan an early advance on Port Hudson, but Banks thought it would be too difficult. Instead of saying so he told Washington "the naval force here is insufficient" and Farragut received public blame for not moving up river. It's also possible Jim had reference to the March effort when Banks had blamed failure on a "rash and headstrong" Farragut, comments also reported in the press.

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Since the trial, he had received a certificate from Robert Smith, paymaster of the United States Army in St. Louis confirming "I paid the allotment of the 21st Iowa regiment to the State Bank, Dubuque, by a check on the Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York." *Dubuque Daily Times* (April 4, 1863).

cleaned out, and I judge will be attempted speedily."⁵⁴⁴

William Dana, terminated from the *Tribune* by Horace Greeley (since "he was for peace I was for war"), was now serving at Lincoln's request as "eyes of the government at the front" and reached the Bend on April 6, 1863, while the 21st Iowa left Memphis about daylight on the 6th. With two gunboats leading the way, they met eight more boats and passed the mouth of the Arkansas River and Napoleon about 9:00 and Lake Providence about 4:00 in the afternoon. By 9:00 in the evening of April 6th they had reached the Bend already vacated by other troops moving on ahead of them. The prewar community had long since been shelled into oblivion by Union gunboats and little remained except a large expanse of land dotted with cotton and corn stalks. If nothing else, when the sun shone and the mud disappeared, the levee-protected broad, dry, sandy fields provided good ground for camping, but "here was first heard the sound of the guns of Vicksburg."⁵⁴⁵

MILLIKEN'S BEND (April 7 to April 11, 1863)

The regiment had not been pleased when it learned of its assignment to Grant. The war was not going well and "Grant himself was under a cloud," said William Crooke. "The surprise or mistake, or appearance of one" by Grant at Shiloh was well known. His "entire failure to make any impression upon Vicksburg had dimmed his fame and forfeited public confidence." There were "loud calls" for his retirement and "with no jubilant feet did we tread the mud of Milliken's Bend and the cotton plantation on which we camped. We thought we had come to shake the hand of malaria and to lie down with fever, as so many thousands had done before, and - was it for this we had enlisted?" But, here at the Bend, "presto! change!" and in twenty-four hours:

*"a new spirit was upon us; we had come in contact with Grant's men, and found them imbued with the most unbounded confidence in their General. This confidence we imbibed with every breath we drew, and in a few hours the 'captives of despair' were transformed into 'prisoners of hope', and never again ... did a doubt of the genius of Grant enter the brain or heart of a soldier of the Twenty-First Iowa."*⁵⁴⁶

The Bend had "a vast sheet of water covering the surface of both woods and fields from knee to waist-deep" but soldiers made camp "on a strip of high ground, protected by two levees" as the regiment was formed in a brigade led by Charles L. Harris of the 11th Wisconsin and including his own regiment together with the 21st, 22d and 23rd Iowa.⁵⁴⁷ Designated the 2d Brigade of Carr's 14th Division, they were assigned to McClernand whose corps Grant ordered to take the lead. On April 7th, a correspondent using the name "Tintinnabulum" wrote to the *North Iowa Times* that Union regiments in Missouri had been ordered in different directions with some:

"including the 21st, 22d, and 23d Iowa, being ordered to Vicksburg, or in that direction whence we shall soon hear a satisfactory report of them. These three regiments, I believe, now constitute a brigade commanded by your fellow townsman Col. Merrill, of the 21st, an accomplished officer and a gentleman irreproachable in every relation which he holds to the community. I say this, knowing that I am talking to those who are best acquainted with him. In support of the first part of my assertion, I refer to the flattering mention of him by Gen. Warren in his report of the battle of Hartsville, and the truth of the rest is known to no

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A plaque for *Somerset Plantation* reads: "Located three and one-half miles east of this marker was John Perkins' mansion. He owned *Somerset* during the Civil war, and was a member of the Confederate House of Representatives. Perkins was one of the wealthiest planters in this territory. His *Somerset Plantation* consisted of 17,500 acres and 250 slaves, valued at \$600,000. Perkins burned his home and 2,000 bales of cotton at the time of Flag Officer D. G. Farragut's advance up the Mississippi River the previous year. Federal Forces under command of Gen. J. A. McClernand occupied this plantation, arriving there April 21 1863. The plantation was used as a base and staging area."

⁵⁴⁵ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 49.

⁵⁴⁶

William Crooke, *Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion*, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 7.

⁵⁴⁷

Terry L. Jones, *The Enemy Cried No Quarter*. *Civil War* magazine (June 1998), page 38. With rank from September 2, 1861, Harris was the senior Colonel in the brigade.

one so well as to yourselves. I also met among the officers of the 21st another worthy citizen of McGregor, Capt. Benton, who quietly pursues the even tenor of his way, and will doubtless make his mark if a secesh should cross his path."⁵⁴⁸

Monitoring the Federals were Missouri and Louisiana rebels under Cockrell including one who noted, *"this duty was anything but pleasant. A great deal of it was done in boats, as the water was very high. The Federal forces were very near, as we could hear their drums distinctly."* Cockrell sent word to Bowen and, on Tuesday the 7th, Bowen sent the first of many communiques to Pemberton warning that McClernand was thought to have 15,000 men moving south in the area of Bayou Vidal. Two days later, Pemberton notified the War Department he had received a report of a *"not yet confirmed"* movement by McClernand but, lest Richmond be overly concerned, added that *"much doubt it."*

On the same morning Bowen was sending his message to Pemberton, James Pool was seriously ill with typhoid and stayed behind while the regiment was transported two miles up-river, marched a mile and a half inland and camped on a beautiful plantation with large wells of fresh water and trees and roses in full bloom.⁵⁴⁹ With them was 5th Sergeant John Dubois, unaware that, on that day in Iowa, his daughter had died.⁵⁵⁰

On Wednesday, April 8th, the regiment had a 10:00 a.m. inspection, there were reportedly more than 300 transports at Young's Point just above Vicksburg⁵⁵¹ and Johan Ditrich wrote to his parents.

Milikens Bend, La. 1863

Much beloved Parents,

I received your letter of March 17' to day April 8'. I am well and hope you are the same. I perceive from your letter that you have as yet not received the money although Renna says you have received it, however, I hope by this time, that you have it in your possession, and therefore will not send power of attorney before I hear from you but should you not have received the money, write me at once and I will send power of attorney.

*I remain your true son
Johan Ditrich*⁵⁵²

When Quartermaster Morse went home on medical leave in March, Gilbert Cooley had been temporarily assigned to take his place. Now, on April 8th, pursuant to Special Order No. 39 issued at the regiment's headquarters, James Hill was formally named Acting Regimental Quartermaster, a position he would hold until Morse's return in September.

On the 9th, there was a general review of the army, some of the men went out to build a bridge, there was *"heavy cannonading in the direction of Vicksburg all day"* and, said George Brownell, *"we are short of rations hard bread and coffe 3 times a day dont go so nice."* On the same day in Iowa, Eliza Whipple gave birth to her fourth child, a son she named in honor of his father who was seriously ill and confined to quarters at Milliken's Bend. In less than four months he would be dead.

On Friday, April 10th, Confederate commander Joe Johnston wired President Davis that, due to illness, he was *"not now able to serve in the field"* while, at the same time, Federal forces heading in his direction were taking a special muster to get an accurate count of the number still on the rolls. William Gaylord caught up after being absent

⁵⁴⁸ *North Iowa Times* (April 22, 1863).

⁵⁴⁹

Crooke says *"the division was reviewed by General Grant"* on the 7th. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 49. While this may be true, Crooke had been discharged three months earlier and none of the contemporaneous accounts (e.g. from Bethard, Brownell, Cooley or Knight) mention it. Reliant on hearsay twenty-eight years after the event, this may have been confused with the regimental inspection that took place the next day.

⁵⁵⁰ Three-year-old Florence is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Manchester, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #35445500.

⁵⁵¹ *North Iowa Times* (April 8, 1863).

⁵⁵²

Translated from its original German, this is an excerpt from a longer letter that was filed with the Pension Office in support of his mother's postwar claim that she had been dependent on her son for support.

since the previous fall and Charles Wilson, a private in Company G, died of typhoid in a Cairo hospital.⁵⁵³ Charlie Robbins, Abe Treadwell, Edgar Talmadge and Milo Dalton were ill and confined to quarters while downstream near Vicksburg after catching a string of fish in a nearby bayou was Confederate soldier James Norman who noted that *"everything is quiet in the immediate vicinity of Vicksburg But we have indications of lively times above us."*⁵⁵⁴

On Saturday, April 11, 1863, Pemberton erroneously felt *"most of Grant's forces are being withdrawn to Memphis,"* some of the Federals went down to the river to load cannon, Nelson Reynolds was treated for malaria,⁵⁵⁵ David Shuck and Josiah Hardy were admitted to the floating hospital *Nashville* and the regiment received marching orders for the next morning.⁵⁵⁶ They still weren't sure where they were going, but most assumed it was south and decided to ship their heavy overcoats home at a cost of \$.50 each.

In Rolla, where he had been recuperating from the gunshot wound suffered three months earlier, Ebenezer Still was discharged. The stumps of the two fingers amputated at Hartville were still tender and painful. The tendons of two other fingers had contracted, the hand was useless and he was sent home to his wife and children then in Sharon, Wisconsin.⁵⁵⁷

In Cairo, the hospital chaplain wrote to Charles Wilson's mother:

Dear Madam I wrote you yesterday of the sinking state of your son Charles W. Wilson. he died last night about 12 oclock, very easy and as far as I can judge in peace with God through Jesus Christ so he expressed himself to me so you will not mourn as one without hope.

I conducted his funeral service to day. I spoke from 13 verse of 14 . . . as I believed to be appropriate to his case. Your friend,

*E Fohom
Hospital Chaplain
Cairo*

MILLIKEN'S BEND TO CHOLULA (April 12 to April 16, 1863)

A report from Cairo dated April 12, 1863 said a dispatch boat, the *New National*, had arrived that morning with important news - *"the iron clads Louisville, Mound City, Carondalet [sic], Benton, Lafayette, and one or two others"* were prepared to run south past the Vicksburg blockade, probably on the 17th or 18th.

On that same Sunday, April 12th, Ed Veach, with a liver problem, died on the *Avalanche*⁵⁵⁸ and Hugh McCafferty was detailed for temporary duty with the 1st Iowa Artillery. The able-bodied left Milliken's Bend with their brigade at 9:00 a.m. and moved inland past bayous, oak groves and *"worn out negroes,"* across the Shreveport and Vicksburg Railroad, twelve miles to one of the area's large plantations. The regiment bivouacked about 2:00 p.m. along Roundaway Bayou near Richmond, a small town with little more than a church and courthouse and George Brownell summed up the day:

"very tired roads muddy very hot our provisions and cooking utencils have come but our tents will not come to day we shall have to sleep out of doors to night and it looks like rain but let it come."

⁵⁵³ Charles is buried in Mound City National Cemetery, Mound City, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #22932828.
⁵⁵⁴

James T. Norman letter to his wife from Chickasaw Bayou. Susan Lott Clark, *Southern Letters and Life in the Mid 1880s* (Susan Lott Clark, 1993), page 198.
⁵⁵⁵

The Louisiana swamps and bayous, and the willows growing along the riverbanks, were prime breeding grounds for mosquitoes.
⁵⁵⁶

David was one of more than 1,000 sick men McClernand left behind with little provision for their care, something for which he was rebuked by Grant.
⁵⁵⁷

George Ebenezer Still died on January 26, 1920. He is buried in North Cemetery, Lawler, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #168053948. A biography is posted under Military listings on the GenWeb site for Clayton County, Iowa.

⁵⁵⁸ Edward is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery, Vicksburg, Mississippi. Find-a-Grave Memorial #48449157.

George was right. The rains came on the night of the 12th and again on Monday the 13th. Still without tents, men stood with little shelter until about 9:00 a.m. when, said George Brownell, "*we went in town and took possession of sum empty houses.*" Warren Braman left on a thirty day furlough, John Carpenter returned from furlough and there was preaching throughout much of the day since services had been curtailed on Sunday due to the move. When the sermons ended, about 4:00 in the afternoon, the division was ordered out with arms and one day's rations. Thinking they were to be reinforcements in a pending battle, most were anxious to go despite the wet, muddy roads, but:

"we marched back about five miles towards the bend and repaired our company to some deserted negro houses for the night."⁵⁵⁹ It rained all night, and to our greatest disappointment, instead of a fight or hunting rebels, we had to shoulder shovels and build a levee to keep the water from the Mississippi from overflowing the country and drowning us out. I believe our little major had to use more exertion to have orders obeyed than he would in a dozen battles; but many hands make light work, and in three hours we had our job completed, of a levee over a mile long, but I believe the boys would just as soon drown as work with a shovel. We all think it out of our line of business."⁵⁶⁰

The Duckport levee was cut on the 13th but work on the canal had taken too long, only the tug *Victor* got through as far as New Carthage and the canal would soon be abandoned. Everything was green, peach trees were full, flowers were blooming and strawberries were ripe, but the continuing rain and concern about the cutting of the levee would keep the regiment in the area for two more days while "*aristocratic citizens*" looked on sullenly. Former slaves, some visiting from other plantations, "*hailed with joy and tears the assurance of their deliverance.*"⁵⁶¹ Some left, some stayed and one soldier said "*almost every commissioned officer has his nigger now to wait on him.*"⁵⁶² Bowen's Confederates showed themselves occasionally but usually kept their distance and were content to send reports that continued to be discounted by Pemberton.

On the 14th, Hiram Libby, like Hugh McCafferty before him, was detached for temporary service with the 1st Iowa Artillery. Others breakfasted on hard crackers and George Brownell and Myron Knight were among several "*detailed to guard the guns*" while the rest of the division continued to work on the levee. The work party was back by noon, David Maxson, William Lyons and John J. Carpenter ("*he brought a letter and some treats*") returned from furloughs, and it was about this time that a "*conflict of opinion*" occurred between Colonel Merrill and Surgeon Orr. Merrill was convinced a barrel of whisky would help the men during their work in the swamps and most of his men agreed, but Merrill could get it only by order of the surgeon. Orr disagreed with Merrill, felt it would do more harm than good and refused to authorize the requisition. Merrill protested but finally told Orr, "*Well, sir, I admire your firmness,*" and the issue was closed. For the rest of his life, Orr would remain convinced that "*the Colonel believed the Surgeon was right.*"⁵⁶³

Most "*laid in camp*" on the 15th, while more furloughs were granted. David Drummond and John Carpenter left for McGregor and David Watkins left for Strawberry Point with a letter from Myron Knight to his family.⁵⁶⁴ Watkins had suffered greatly from "*exposure mud rain snow sleet and fording streams of water*" during the harsh winter in Missouri, had been in and out of hospitals and was frequently unfit for duty due to painful and crippling rheumatism.

⁵⁵⁹ Others found shelter in "*an old blacksmith shop.*"
⁵⁶⁰

William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 308-309. Their "*little major,*" Salue Van Anda was listed at 5' 8".

⁵⁶¹ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 50.
⁵⁶²

Letter by unidentified soldier. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (Corbin, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 308-309.
⁵⁶³

William L. Orr, *The Surgeon's Narrative*, Ottumwa, Iowa, July 1891. Reprinted in George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 159.

Men still able to march resumed their journey at 8:00 a.m. on the 16th, covered fifteen miles along the levee paralleling Roundaway Bayou, bivouacked about 3:00 p.m. on Francis Surget's *Cholula* plantation (near *Pointe Clear* where Roundaway and Vidal bayous met) and dined on hardtack and coffee.⁵⁶⁵ Here they were only two miles north of New Carthage, but the land between was flooded. The "*levee extending from Bayou Vidal to Carthage and the Mississippi was broken and crossed by rapid currents at three different places.*" Many of the houses were built on stilts so water could flow beneath but the saturated ground was soft and marching was difficult - "*the whole country is a water waste.*"⁵⁶⁶ The magnitude of the undertaking could not, said William Crooke, be fully appreciated by anyone who did not actually see:

*"the columns marching in drenching rain - the corduroy roads built from the timber growing in the swamps, which sank out of sight in the deep alluvial soil as heavy trains of artillery passed over them, and required to be relaid for following trains - the broken condition of the levees - whole regiments working in the water - the bayous and streams requiring thousands of feet of bridges to be constructed - the scows, boats and rafts transporting men and material across submerged forest and plantation."*⁵⁶⁷

Ahead of them, McClernand skirmished with Confederates from Grand Gulf and, despite increasingly specific reports detailing Federal movements through Louisiana, pinpointing sites they occupied, and relaying information from Confederate sympathizers who heard Union officers brag of their plans to get below Vicksburg, Pemberton wired Simon Buckner, "*I am sending troops to General Johnston being satisfied that a large portion of Grant's army is re-enforcing Rosecrans.*" One of Vicksburg's defenders heard "*the Yankee army is leaving Vicksburg & going to Tennessee,*" but Pemberton eventually got suspicious. Previously convinced the Union movements were to bolster Memphis, he now learned "*sixty-four steamers left Memphis since Thursday, loaded with soldiers and negroes, ostensibly to attack Vicksburg.*" Empty transports were going north and loaded transports were moving south - not the other way around as he had thought!

CHOLULA (April 16 to April 22, 1863)

On April 16, 1863, in one of the war's most ill-timed articles, the *Vicksburg Whig* told readers the Union gunboats "*are all more or less damaged, the men dissatisfied and demoralized. . . . There is no damage here.*"⁵⁶⁸ That same night, while the regiment was camped on the *Cholula* plantation, the *Silver Wave*, *Henry Clay* and *Forest Queen*, each with protective barges tied alongside, lay anchored at Milliken's Bend with Porter's gunboats nearby. Below decks stood volunteers with boards, pressed cotton and gunny sacks to plug holes that might be opened by enemy cannon.⁵⁶⁹ If the worst should happen they would "*go to the bottom of the river without a word.*"⁵⁷⁰

About 9:15 p.m. (elsewhere 10:00 p.m.) a lantern was waved on the levee and the gunboats "*lift anchor and float*

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Owners habitually gave names to their plantations. "*Francis (Frank) Surget was one of the wealthiest men in the antebellum South. A resident of Natchez, Miss., he owned thirteen vast plantations in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.*" One of these was *Cholula*. [Surget Letters](#), University of North Carolina collection (www.Lib.UNC.Edu). *Pointe Clear*, used as a Federal staging area, was Pliney Smith's home at the junction of Roundaway Bayou with Bayou Vidal. Both plantations were near the intersection of today's U.S. route 65 and state highway 603.

⁵⁶⁶ John A. McClernand's June 17, 1863, report of operations.

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William D. Crooke, *Address To Surviving Members of the 21st regiment Iowa Volunteers on the occasion of their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa* (Pettibone Wells & Co. Printers, Chicago, 1889).

⁵⁶⁸ James McPherson, [Battle Cry of Freedom](#) (Oxford University Press, 1988), page 626

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Except for the *Forrest Queen* and *Silver Wave* (see, George Crooke, [The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry](#), page 51), transport captains refused to risk civilian crews but military volunteers quickly stepped forward in numbers so great that "*the required number was selected by lot.*"

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Samuel H. M. Byers, [With Fire and Sword](#) (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992).

off with the current" - first the ponderous flagship *Benton*, a former snag boat, with the tug *Ivy* lashed to starboard, next the *Lafayette*, *Louisville*, *Mound City*, *Pittsburg* and *Carondolet* with coal barges tied to port, then the three transports (*Forest Queen*, *Silver Wave* and *Henry Clay*) and finally the five-gun *Tuscumbia*.⁵⁷¹ Slowly the "mass of black things" drifted downstream about 200 yards apart, engines muffled and lights extinguished, towards the city, its thirty-seven big guns and thirteen field pieces, miles of guns on and atop the bluffs. Shortly before midnight, they rounded De Soto Point and were sighted by Confederate guards who sent "up a rocket" followed by "other rockets" and "a gun is fired." Boat captains "put on all steam." Southern soldiers rowed skiffs across the river to light barrels of tar, bales of cotton and buildings on the west bank to silhouette the passing fleet. "The river lighted up as if by sunlight," said Grant's son Fred, who had only recently arrived from his school in Kentucky.⁵⁷²

The roar of the guns roused Union infantry from sleep at *Cholula*. Elegantly dressed couples attending a grand ball at Major William Watts' house in Vicksburg came out to watch, but others ran to safety along dusty streets. Sherman watched from a yawl downstream and a cigar-smoking Grant watched with his family from the hurricane deck of the *Henry Von Phul*.⁵⁷³ With him were John McClernand and his wife, Minerva, twenty-four years younger than her husband and sister of his first wife. Married just five months earlier, their Louisiana honeymoon was already causing raised eyebrows. The boats moved "swiftly into the maelstrom of sulphur and iron." To observers the nighttime battle was "magnificent, but terrible,"⁵⁷⁴ "one terrific roar of cannon," "quite a feat," "as if hell itself were loose,"⁵⁷⁵ "the grandest spectacle of my life,"⁵⁷⁶ "a perfect tornado of shot and shell,"⁵⁷⁷ "a picture of the terrible," "a horrible tempest of lightning and thunder." Charles Dana counted 525 discharges. For ninety minutes as they passed the guns of Vicksburg, the Union volunteers were in dim candlelight, helpless and "speechless in the holds of the boats."

By 3:00 a.m. on the 17th, Porter anchored near the head of Diamond Island, twelve miles above New Carthage, after losing only three barges and a single transport - the *Henry Clay* - the same "old tub" on which Jim had left home seven months earlier. In fact, the "old tub" had been hit in the stern and an explosion and fire had forced the captain and crew overboard while the pilot tried to save the boat before joining others in the water. James Russell described the events:⁵⁷⁸

Cholula, Louisiana
April 17, 1863

About two o'clock A.M. many in the camp were aroused by distinct sounds of artillery, following in quick succession and in the direction of Vicksburg, and the safe arrival of nine (seven) gunboats of which the Benton took the lead and three transports, laden with subsistence. Two, the Silver Wave and Forest Queen, arrived safely, but the old Henry Clay, on which the 21st were stowed away so uncomfortably from home last September, went down in the concussion - for it is not generally thought in this regiment that it would require solid shot to sink her.

Russell

On the 18th, the Confederate Congress heard the "bad news from Vicksburg & Gunboats passed the batteries,"⁵⁷⁹ Grant moved his headquarters to *Pointe Clear* and urged McPherson to hasten his march south from Lake Providence. Others entered Richmond while McClernand's four divisions were at *Pointe Clear* "with outposts at Dunbar's and

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Ulysses S. Grant. *Grant. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (The Library of America, 1990), page 307.

⁵⁷² Jim Miles, *A River Unvexed* (Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), page 329.

⁵⁷³ Elsewhere, the *Magnolia*.

⁵⁷⁴

Ulysses S. Grant. *Grant. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (The Library of America, 1990), page 307. Also see Jim Miles, *A River Unvexed* (Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), page 329.

⁵⁷⁵ Jim Miles, *A River Unvexed* (Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), page 330, referencing "a soldier."

⁵⁷⁶ Jim Miles, *A River Unvexed* (Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), page 329, quoting Maj. Gen. Dabney Maury, CSA..

⁵⁷⁷ Jim Miles, *A River Unvexed* (Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), page 329, quoting an officer on the *Lafayette*.

⁵⁷⁸ William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (Corbin, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 310.

⁵⁷⁹ Mary S. Estill, editor, *Diary of a Confederate Congressman* (Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July 1935), page 57.

*Ione.*⁵⁸⁰

The success of Porter's nighttime passage didn't concern Lee who told Davis that, although some gunboats had passed, he heard they "*paid dearly for their success, and it shows the river cannot be used as a highway of commerce, so that they can derive no material benefit from it.*"⁵⁸¹ Locals, however, were more concerned and Pemberton now regarded Mississippi navigation "*shut out from us.*"⁵⁸² Reinforcements were ordered from Jackson to Grand Gulf, Martin Green's Brigade was ordered down from Four Mile Bridge, Cockrell's scouts were recalled and Pemberton wired Johnston "*the enemy has now nine boats between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. He has land forces at New Carthage from Grant's army, and can re-enforce them to any extent ... no more troops should leave this department.*"

After covering twenty-two miles in only six hours, most of the west bank rebels reached the landing at *Hard Times* where, "*at double-quick and pell-mell the men rushed on the two boats,*" the *Charm* and the *Hine*, and were ferried downstream about two miles to Grand Gulf.⁵⁸³ Another seventy crossed the next night only shortly before the arrival of Union gunboats. The west bank was conceded to the bluecoats as Pemberton's attention, at a critical time, was drawn to a diversionary movement that had begun at dawn on the 17th.

Benjamin Grierson was an accomplished musician and former music teacher. He had written campaign songs for Lincoln and hated horses but was, said Sherman, "*the best cavalry officer I have had yet.*" Thirty-six years old, he left La Grange, Tennessee, with a map, jew's harp, compass and 1,700 "*seasoned soldiers, most of them, well mounted and well armed, fresh from a summer's rest,*" most from the 2d Iowa and 6th and 7th Illinois cavalries. For two weeks his raids through Mississippi would break rail lines and telegraph wires, destroy supplies, alarm citizens, frustrate Confederate forces trying to find him and, most importantly, distract Pemberton from the real threat posed by Grant.⁵⁸⁴ Grant still planned to unite with Banks, but Banks was in southern Louisiana moving west and northwest from New Orleans. Arriving at Opelousas, he learned the state's capital had already been moved to Shreveport and Richard Taylor had left for Alexandria. With Taylor on the run, his superior, Kirby Smith, asked Pemberton for reinforcements from Port Hudson or Vicksburg but Pemberton refused, perhaps suspecting Grant was up to no good.

Meanwhile, the men still at *Cholula* lived on "*hard crackers and coffee,*" listened to the roar of cannon, debated rumors, endured periodic thunderstorms and waited for orders.

On April 18, 1863, fifty-five men in Company H signed a letter to Colonel Merrill recommending that James Nobel be promoted from 2nd Lieutenant to 1st Lieutenant to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of James Jordan and that Sergeant Willis Brown be promoted to 2d Lieutenant. Their recommendation was approved and the promotions were made retroactive to March 11th when Jordan had resigned.

On April 20th, Richard Wright was admitted to a "*hospital*" and Henry Dyer was detached for special duty with the brigade's commissary department. Myron Knight packed his dress coat and, with several others, prepared boxes of clothing to be expressed home. Heavy clothing was no longer needed.

After Porter's fleet passed Vicksburg, Grant had returned to Milliken's Bend. There, on the 20th, Jim's uncle, Sam Satterlee, whom he had been so glad to see only four months previously, died of pneumonia and Grant issued Special Orders, No. 110:

"The following orders are published for the information and guidance of the 'Army in the field,' in its present movement to obtain a foothold on the east bank of the Mississippi River, from which Vicksburg can be approached by practicable roads."⁵⁸⁵

McClelland's 13th Corps was to constitute the right wing of the army. With him would be the 21st Iowa, the 60th Indiana with Richard Owen and the 96th Ohio with James Tanner, Robert Johnson, Napoleon Gibson and Ira

⁵⁸⁰ Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat* (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 25.

⁵⁸¹ O.R. Series 1, Volume XXV/2 [S#40].

⁵⁸² O.R. Series 1, Volume XXIV.

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Located three miles above Grand Gulf, *Hard Times* was the plantation of Dr. J. J. Hollingsworth.

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The idea of such a raid had first been proposed by Grant in a letter to Hurlbut on February 13, 1863. Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat* (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 36.

⁵⁸⁵ Ulysses S. Grant. *Grant. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (The Library of America, 1990), pages 310-313.

Hommons. In the center would be McPherson's 17th Corps with the 32d Ohio and Leonard Richey, the 15th Iowa with Alva Tanner, the 38th Iowa with Benjamin Dibble, Fuller Flemmings and Wes Nichols, and the 3d Iowa Cavalry with Wallace Bowen, the new recruit who would join the campaign late. Sherman's 15th Corps would form the army's left wing. Already with him was the 9th Iowa with George Rice and Squire and Sterling Mather and soon they would be joined by Charles Wallace and the reorganized 12th Iowa. Charles arranged an allotment for Susan and their young daughter and in two more days, flush with new recruits, his regiment would again head south. "*The order of march to New Carthage will be from right to left,*" McClelland, followed by McPherson, followed by Sherman.

Cal had a husband, two brothers, three cousins, childhood classmates and many friends about to start one of the most critical campaigns of the war, but Jim's cousin, Erastus Kent, was still at Pilot Knob where an irregularity had been discovered in his mustering in more than a year earlier. Forced to remuster, Erastus went to the surgeon for examination, the hernia suffered while serving as a mail escort was discovered and he was rejected, discharged from the service and returned to Iowa.⁵⁸⁶

Meanwhile, Company H still had no 2nd Lieutenant as the disagreement between Merrill and Van Anda continued. On April 20th, Van Anda went over Merrill's head and sent a petition directly to the Governor. Of "*69 men all told 57 have sig. it. The others are not here,*" he said, and all thought Brown deserved the promotion.⁵⁸⁷ Van Anda urged the Governor to "*arrest the proceeding in favor of Dickinson*" that was supported by Watson "*for some little selfish end*" and, in a not so subtle criticism of Merrill, he added, "*the boys came to me as they always do when in trouble.*" He hoped the Governor would follow the wishes of the company instead of those of Merrill and Watson.⁵⁸⁸

On April 21st, David Shuck, one of the "*Robert's Creek crowd,*" died on the *Nashville* of typhoid fever,⁵⁸⁹ Abel Griffin was reported "*sick at Perkins' plantation,*" soldiers drew two months pay,⁵⁹⁰ and Jacob Kephart was ordered to forfeit \$13.00 for having been AWOL for a month. Rain fell and those able to continue learned they would probably leave the next day.

CHOLULA TO NEW CARTHAGE (April 22 to April 24, 1863)

Osterhaus was the first from McClelland's Corps to leave the *Pointe Clear* area and, with the aid of the *Forest Queen* and *Ivy*, reached New Carthage and continued toward *Somerset*. Next, from Carr's Division, came Benton's Brigade leaving on the 21st followed the next day from *Cholula* by Harris's brigade and the 21st Iowa.⁵⁹¹ After an all night rain that turned mud to slime, tents were struck shortly after noon and two hours later they left with ten days' rations, a headquarters tent and one tent per company to shelter food. The bayou was crossed on flatboats about 5:00 p.m. and, four or five miles later, they bivouacked at 10:00 p.m. about twenty miles north of Grand Gulf where Grant

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Erastus Kent, 3rd Iowa Cavalry, died on December 21, 1885. He is buried in Norton Cemetery, Norton, Kansas. Find-a-Grave Memorial #113125967.

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It's impossible to know how many were "*here*" on April 20th, but the state's postwar roster shows 65 from Delaware County and only 16 from Dubuque County, 6 from the borderline town of Dyersville and 5 from other counties, a total of 91. If Van Anda was correct, that means 22 were on leave, detached duty, or elsewhere. More noteworthy is the likelihood that regional favoritism played a major role with the vast majority being from Delaware County as were Van Anda and Brown, while Dickinson was from Dubuque County,

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On April 27th, perhaps disheartened by the dispute, William Dickinson would ask to be reduced to the ranks and his request was granted. Willie Brown did not go unrewarded. Ten months later, Noble would be promoted to Captain and Brown would jump a grade and become the company's new 1st Lieutenant. Theodore Weatherby would be promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on June 18, 1865 but was never mustered as such.

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David is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery, Vicksburg, Mississippi. Find-a-Grave Memorial #48449124.

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George Crooke says they received four months pay on April 16, 1863. George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 50. That seems wrong since contemporary accounts by George Brownell and Myron Knight say they received two months pay on the 21st that paid them through the end of February and no contemporary accounts mention any payment on the 16th.

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On April 20, 1863, Major Van Anda wrote a letter from "*Camp at Carthage La.*" saying the regiment may have reached New Carthage earlier than indicated.

hoped to cross the Mississippi.

Still in Rolla, James Mull - the private who told his wife, "*I would to god that this war was ended so that we could get home to our families*" - died from erysipelas. He is buried in the national cemetery at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis.⁵⁹² On the night of April 22nd, more transports, supply barges lashed to their sides and most manned by army volunteers and shielded by sacks of grain, barrels of beef and bales of hay and cotton, ran the Vicksburg gauntlet under heavy fire. Soldiers in the 21st Iowa could see the flashes and hear the cannon. "*The angry and continuous roar was ominous,*" more than 500 distinct discharges,⁵⁹³ but six of the barges and five of the transports (all except McClernand's honeymoon yacht *Tigress*) made it to the rendezvous at *Hard Times*, "*a sandy waste covered with braying mules, government wagons and marching regiments.*"⁵⁹⁴

Inside Vicksburg, one of the rebels, perhaps known for understatement, decided "*affairs were beginning to assume an aspect somewhat threatening*" and another felt the "*crisis of this war is fast approaching.*"⁵⁹⁵ James Norman said the Yankees were "*firing on an average 100 shells at the city*" and most were "*falling short,*" but he accurately predicted a "*severe struggle is near at hand.*"⁵⁹⁶

On April 23, 1863 the *Weekly North Iowa Times* published a letter from "*Tintinnabulum,*" an anonymous correspondent in the south. Colonel Merrill, he said, was:

"an accomplished officer and a gentleman irreproachable in every relation which he holds to the community. I say this, knowing that I am talking to those who are best acquainted with him. In support of the first part of my assertion, I refer to the flattering mention of him by Gen. Warren in his report of the battle of Hartsvill, and the truth of the rest is known to no one so well as to yourselves. I also met among the officers of the 21st another worthy citizen of McGregor, Capt. Benton, who quietly pursues the even tenor of his way, and will doubtless make his mark if a secesh should cross his path."

It was also April 23rd that thirty-one year old Charles Heath, discharged two months previously, was married in Strawberry Point to sixteen year old Marion Grannis, Richmond heard "*unpleasant rumors about gunboats & transports passing Vicksburg*" and the 21st Iowa walked out of New Carthage about daylight.⁵⁹⁷ Following the river past the mills and steam gin at *Ione* where Jabez Rogers was left for medical treatment, they covered five or six miles and camped at *Somerset*.⁵⁹⁸ Behind them, others were still moving in and out of *Pointe Clear*, many bypassing New Carthage on a road being opened by Alvin Hovey around and over Bayou Vidal, but all routes were difficult. Sometimes following roads or levees, sometimes using small boats, scows, planks and anything else that would float, and sometimes working in water neck deep to construct almost two thousand feet of bridges, most eventually reached what was left of *Somerset* but Jim was no longer with them. He had been sick for weeks, too sick to write to Cal, too sick to walk. Leaving camp in an ambulance, he had been stranded and left behind when the rest of the regiment left Camp Carr, crossed a bayou on small flatboats and continued on without him.

At *Somerset* soldiers saw a once-beautiful plantation that had been "*cleaned out*" by those who preceded them. Myron Knight went down to the river to examine a gunboat - "*first one I had ever seen.*" Many took advantage of the brief respite to send money, more clothing and other items home and one wrote:

⁵⁹² Find-a-Grave Memorial #54897557.

⁵⁹³ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 51.

⁵⁹⁴ Rebel guns at Warrenton scored a direct hit on the *Tigress* causing it to run aground without loss of its crew.

⁵⁹⁵ Flavel Barber, Holding the Line: The Third Tennessee Infantry, 1861-1864 (Kent State University Press, 1994).

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James T. Norman letter to his wife from Chickasaw Bayou. Susan Lott Clark, Southern Letters and Life in the Mid 1880s (Susan Lott Clark, 1993), page 201.

⁵⁹⁷ Mary S. Estill, editor, Diary of a Confederate Congressman (Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July 1935), page 60.

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A roadside plaque says forces under McClernand "*occupied the plantation arriving there April 21, 1863,*" but, since this was a large corps it seems possible that all of its regiments didn't arrive the same day. George Crook says they marched to New Carthage on April 22, 1863 and from there to *Somerset* on April 23rd. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), pages 50-53. George Brownell and Myron Knight agree it was the 23rd but George Cooley's typewritten postwar journal says they arrived at *Somerset* on the 22nd..

“Again we are camped on the banks of the Old Mississippi, surrounded with all the paraphernalia of war. The steamer Moderator, Anglo Saxon, Empress City, John H. Dickey and J. W. Cheeseman, that ran the blockade last evening, are lying at the landing,⁵⁹⁹ and with the Silver Wave, Forest Queen, gunboats Benton and others that came by the other night, form quite a fleet. It must have annoyed the rebels to think that their six hundred shots had so little effect, which at this distance of twenty miles, was almost a continuous roar and made the earth tremble as by an earthquake from a little before midnight until nearly morning. The Tigress, which was foremost, was sunk, but the supplies of commissary stores, forage and ammunition are abundant for even the most numerous troops that are now gathered here.

The 21st are encamped on a lovely spot, and the boys are in good health and spirits. The owner of this plantation burned his own house so as not to allow the Yankees to occupy it, but the beautiful gardens remain for us to pitch our tents in which is much more pleasant than the old buildings which are generally filled with fleas.”⁶⁰⁰

SOMERSET TO HARD TIMES (April 24 to April 29, 1863)

The Mississippi flowed west past New Carthage but started another of its 180 degree bends as it passed the first residence west of town, the *Ione* plantation of Joshua James. Continuing its bend to the south it curved past *Somerset* followed by the *Warner*, *Ashwood* and *Leona* plantations, all on the Louisiana shore, by which time it had completed its bend and was flowing almost due east preparatory to its next change of direction to the south. In the middle of the bend was Hurricane Island and behind it, jutting westward on the eastern shore, opposite *Somerset*, *Warner* and *Ashwood*, was a long, narrow peninsula created by the bend. On the north side of that Mississippi peninsula, opposite New Carthage, was *Hurricane*, home of Colonel Joe Davis, and on the south side was *Briarfield*, the plantation of his now famous younger brother, Jefferson.⁶⁰¹ The bend itself was known as Hurricane Island Bend or Davis' Bend, but Jefferson was in Richmond where the Confederate Congress passed a highly unpopular "tax-in-kind" act. Each farmer, the act said, was to donate 10% of his crop to the government and articles necessary for war that could not be purchased would be impressed. For families already broken by war and seeing many of their crops and animals impressed by the military and they and their children in need of food and support, this was one more burden that was hard to endure.⁶⁰² On the 24th, the letter from the regiment continued very briefly:

“A forward movement down the river today, of which I will advise you as we progress. It is one of the lovely June mornings of the North, and we can but anticipate success, as so far we have been highly blessed and every movement shows the commanders are in earnest and the hearty co-operation by the troops.”⁶⁰³

From *Somerset* to *Hard Times*, a distance of twenty-two miles, they continued through wet, swampy, country "frequently under the necessity of standing and working in water." As a result, said William Crooke, a "large proportion of the soldiers became subject to diarrhea" from "the effects of bad water, irregularity of diet and the peculiar hardships of the march." *Pointe Clear* was inundated and surrounded by a lake four miles wide and, on the 24th, Grant examined Grand Gulf and decided it would "easily fall" if attacked in the next two days. McClernand was

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The five that made it were the *Anglo-Saxon*, *Cheeseman*, *Empire City*, *Horizon* and *Moderator*. O.R. Series 1, Volume XXIV/1[S#35].

⁶⁰⁰ *The Daily Times*, Dubuque (May 5, 1863).

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In January the South had stored large quantities of corn, fodder and peas at *Ashwood* and farther downstream at *St. Joseph* and *Waterproof*, all in Louisiana and all to be shipped to Vicksburg when transportation was available. Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1985) Volume 1, Page 606. Joe Davis would reclaim Hurricane after taking a postwar loyalty oath, but Jefferson saw no reason to "repent" and refused to take such an oath.

⁶⁰² Lonnn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 13.

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Dubuque Daily Times (May 5, 1863). The reference to "June" is not literal, but a comparison of the South's April weather with the North's June weather.

told to find a dry staging area farther downstream and soon located a road around Lake St. Joseph to *Hard Times*, a landing only three miles from Grand Gulf. Crossing Holt's, DuRossett's, Phelps' and Clark's Bayous from the 25th through the 28th, a patrol led by James Keigwin of the 49th Indiana repaired some bridges, built others and skirmished with rebels as the road was made ready for wagons and artillery to follow. Of fifteen pre-war plantations skirting the lake, fourteen would be destroyed. Only Haller Nutt's *Winter Quarters*, occupied for a night by Keigwin, would survive.⁶⁰⁴

On the 25th, McPherson, a favorite of Grant, started south from Milliken's Bend along the same Roundaway Bayou McClernand had followed earlier.⁶⁰⁵ Logan and Sanborn led the way, but McArthur's 6th Division was detached to hold the line between Richmond and *Pointe Clear*. Staying with McArthur was Alva Tanner's 15th Iowa assigned temporarily to guard duty at T. C. Holmes' plantation where it would arrive on the 28th.⁶⁰⁶ This was the home of "Old Mr Holmes," but "the old gentleman has gone south with his best negroes, horses, mules & ct., but he forgot to take his chickens."

Near the head of the army, the 21st Iowa advanced another mile and welcomed the arrival of its tents during the afternoon, but McClernand was disorganized and moving more slowly than Grant preferred as Grant explained his plans at *Somerset* - the Grand Gulf batteries would be silenced by Porter and McClernand would then cross the river with his infantry. Bowen thought Grant would cross below Grand Gulf, but a still distracted Pemberton had most of his cavalry "actively engaged endeavoring to intercept" Grierson, recalled Wirt Adams' cavalry from Bowen and told Johnston he needed even more to prevent raids such as Grierson's.

The 26th was "exceedingly warm" and the 27th was overcast with intermittent rain.⁶⁰⁷ Most of the division stayed at *Somerset* where Delhi's Walter O'Brien, only recently arrived from Houston, was prostrate with "lung fever." Able-bodied convalescents joined shirkers and stragglers to care for the sick, serve as guards and perform camp duties while their healthier comrades pulled rations "for an expedition down the river." By day's end, although less than pleased with the quality of the steamboats and barges provided, Carr and Osterhaus were loaded, each man carrying forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations.

On the 28th, Andrew McDonald was with his regiment when, in Washington, the Patent Office granted him a patent for an "improvement in screw wrenches" and the Adjutant General's Office issued General Orders No. 105. The order created an "Invalid Corps" to make use of thousands of men who were able for duty in hospitals, prisons and camps, but physically unable for field duty. Those whose terms had not expired were in one class while those who had served their full terms or been discharged but wished to return for light duty were put in a different class.⁶⁰⁸

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Haller Nutt (02/17/1816 - 06/15/1864) married eighteen year old Julia Augusta Williams (08/11/1822 - 02/23/1897) in 1840. Before the war, Haller was a wealthy cotton and sugar cane grower and the owner of 43,000 acres worked by 800 slaves with a fortune estimated at more than \$3,000,000. He owned several plantations throughout his life including Araby, Evergreen and Winter Quarters in Louisiana and Cloverdale and Laurel Hill in Mississippi. He died in 1864, but postwar claims were submitted by his family. [Mississippi Dept. of Archives](#).

On August 7, 1882 congress authorized the Quartermaster General to examine and adjust the claims of his widow, Julia Nutt (08/11/1822-02/23/1897), growing out of the occupation and use by the federal army including livestock, goods and moneys taken and used by the U.S. or its armies. The Quartermaster evaluated the claim at \$256,884.05, but no action was taken until 1884 when Congress passed an act for the allowance of certain claims and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to make payment. Julia was paid \$35,556.17 which she accepted, but later claimed more was due as the Quartermaster had determined. The Court determined that the Quartermaster's report to Congress was not "an award in pursuance of an arbitration." It therefore was not binding and Julia, having accepted the earlier payment, was entitled to no more. [Nutt v. United States](#), 125 U.S. 650 (1888).

⁶⁰⁵ Terrence J. Winschel, [Triumph & Defeat](#) (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), p. 27.

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Elsewhere it's indicated they were "guarding the lines of communication from Milliken's Bend to Perkins' plantation, forty-three miles in length, until May 11th." Grant's supplies were still being hauled by wagon, sixty-three miles from Milliken's Bend to *Hard Times* and guards were needed to keep the road open. On May 9th (elsewhere May 11th), in anticipation of the opening of a new road from Young's Point to Bowers' Landing opposite Warrenton, a distance of only eight miles, McArthur's guard duty would end. With William Hall's Brigade, Alva Tanner's 15th Iowa would march to *Hard Times*, arrive about noon on the 13th and cross to Grand Gulf on the Moderator. [History of the 15th Iowa Volunteers](#), Page 255. Also see Edwin Cole Bearss, [The Vicksburg Campaign](#) (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume 3, Page 720.

⁶⁰⁷ Others indicate it "rained furiously" on the 27th.

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Also see Adjutant General's Office, General Orders No. 130, issued May 15, 1863, for a lengthy list of thirty conditions that did not automatically disqualify a man from acceptance (e.g. men suffering paralysis "confined to the left upper extremity" were not disqualified if "the man's previous occupation fit him for the duty of clerk, orderly, & c.") and twenty-six infirmities that did cause disqualification (e.g. "manifest

That same morning, the already crowded Union transports took on passengers from Stephen Burbridge's brigade of Smith's division. A large brigade of six regiments, it was divided with two, the 60th Indiana under Richard Owen and the 96th Ohio with four of Cal's friends from Marysville, staying behind to garrison *Ione* and *Somerset*⁶⁰⁹ and the other four boarding as "*all units, except the artillery, left their wheeled vehicles behind. The only horses taken along were to pull the artillerists' guns, limbers, and caissons.*" Also left behind, too sick to travel, was McGregor resident Smith Chernois. He was never heard from again but it was widely thought that he died from his illness.

It was a "*beautiful day*" and, downstream, the divisions of Osterhaus and Burbridge stayed on board with their artillery, but Carr debarked near *Hard Times* about noon ("*rebels in site have been picking up some of our boys*"). The 21st Infantry made camp about a half mile from the river while their now empty transports returned to *Somerset* to pick up Hovey. McPherson had also made progress with the middle corps and, on the 28th and 29th, Logan and Sanborn passed *Pointe Clear*, found Jim and others still in their ambulances, and took them along on the road around Bayou Vidal, but the ride was not easy. They "*crossed the pontoon bridge and gained the stream's east bank*"⁶¹⁰ and entered the "*most gloomy country*" many had ever seen, "*a home for alligators and reptiles.*" According to one of Sanborn's artillerists:

*"the soil being of a bluish clay, was made into wax, the wheels clogging so as to hide all traces of spoke or felloe. The 2nd piece wheel was locked by the mud and slid along. Slowly we worked our way on, often straining our horses to their utmost. Ambulances, wagons, etc. stuck all along."*⁶¹¹

Depending on their condition and when they had become ill, thousands of sick and infirm were now scattered in northern Louisiana camps and way stations while their regiments moved on ahead of them. Nelson Reynolds was still at Milliken's Bend and others were at *Pointe Clear* while Abe Treadwell, Andrew Wick and John Crop had been left at *Somerset*. Left initially at one location, they were often moved to another when their health improved or merely to better concentrate the meager medical facilities. Some men would tag along with other regiments until reaching their own but others would never catch up. For Jabez Rogers it would be almost a year but George Dunn, whose wife had died on April 16th, was granted a thirty day furlough after working the previous four months as one of his company's four cooks. With him, he carried money for some of his comrades, money he later said was lost in transit.⁶¹²

From across the river near Grand Gulf, Confederate William Clinburn of the 6th Mississippi wrote to his "*dier beloved wife*" that "*times will bee warm hear soon,*"⁶¹³ while Bowen watched the transports loaded with bluecoats, wired John Pemberton that "*reports indicate an immense force opposite me,*" and pleaded for "*every man and gun that can be spared.*" Pemberton hoped for reinforcements from Longstreet, Lee or Johnston but, from his existing 37,000, Johnston agreed to send only two or three thousand from Jackson and authorized Bowen, if "*absolutely necessary,*" to call only 5,000 being held "*in readiness*" at Vicksburg. Johnston was a seasoned veteran who been wounded by Indians, hit by three musket balls at Cerro Gordo and wounded again at Chapultepec. A competent officer, he had resigned as Quartermaster General in the U.S. Army two years previously and been commissioned in the Confederate

imbecility or insanity" and "epilepsy, if the seizures occur more frequently than once a month, and have obviously impaired the mental faculties").

Adjutant General's Office, General Orders No. 111, issued March 18, 1864, changed the name to Veteran Reserve Corps to avoid the stigma of being labeled an "invalid" and having the same "IC" initials as "Inspected Condemned" which was applied to spoiled meat and other provisions.

On Richard Owen's service at the Camp Morton prison camp in Indiana see *In 1913 Confederate Veterans Paid a Rare But Fitting Tribute to a Former Union Prison Camp Commander*. America's Civil War magazine (November 2005).

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They would rejoin their command in June but not before Colonel Richard Owen and the 60th Indiana played a vital role in the life of Jim Bethard.

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On December 21, 1861, President Lincoln had witnessed erection of a pontoon bridge across the Anacosta River in Washington and watched as a battery horsemen with twelve-pound field artillery galloped across while the bridge "*swayed very little.*" It was, said Colonel Alexander, the commander, the first time he had known artillery to cross a pontoon bridge in America. Beale, *The Diary of Edward Bates* p213 (U.S. Government Printing Office 1933).

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Jenkin Lloyd Jones, *An Artillery Man's Civil War Diary* (1914).

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Isabell N. Dun, age 22, is buried in Hardin Cemetery, Allamakee County, Iowa. Memorial #5618697.

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Private Clinburn would die in battle on May 16th.

army a month later. Early in the war he had become upset when President Davis appointed three others to rank above him and, according to Dick Taylor, "*time but served to widen the breach Each misjudged the other to the end.*"⁶¹⁴ Pemberton had served well in Mexico and was a good organizer and paper-pusher, but he had not led men in the field and his leadership at Vicksburg would be marked by uncertainty, procrastination and indecisiveness many blamed on his northern birth. Johnston felt Pemberton ignored his "*authority*" and received suggestions "*with coldness or opposition*" and their personal differences played no little part in preventing Southern action at a time when it might have held Grant on the west bank or defeated him on the east.

By now, most of McPherson's men were nearing Judge Perkins' plantation and most of McClelland's were already south of Perkins', but Sherman's Corps was held at Young's Point, Duckport (also known as the upper landing of Young's Point) and Milliken's Bend. Grant suggested that Sherman lead a diversionary movement up the Yazoo to feint an attack at Snyder's Bluff with the hope this would force Pemberton to keep a large force north of town, away from the actual landing to the south. Grant was concerned Northern newspapers would mistakenly report the feint as another failed attack, but Sherman had little love for newspapers.⁶¹⁵ "*We will,*" he said, "*make as strong a demonstration as possible.*" On the 29th he sent Blair's Division up the Yazoo with eight gunboats and ten regiments crowded onto ten transports. By the end of a quiet day they were at Chickasaw Bayou, but the day was not so quiet at *Hard Times* where McClelland had 10,000 men waiting on transports and a sergeant in the 33d Illinois watched as:

*"the sun rose throwing an impressive splendor upon the exciting scenes of the early morn. Every boat - transport and barge - lies at the landing, about five miles above Grand Gulf, covered till they are black with troops. Every heart here is full of anxiety and emotion; wondering eyes and eyes not altogether tearless, gaze ever and anon upon the Father of Waters where lie the formidable fleet of gunboats and rams, transports and barges, the latter heavily loaded with troops whose courage and valor are sufficient, when combined with that of the rest of this mighty army to redeem this lovely valley of the Mississippi from fiends and traitors who are desecrating it."*⁶¹⁶

While Grant's intentions were still unknown to the Confederates in Vicksburg, there was speculation in the North. On April 29, 1863, the *North Iowa Times* reported the "*Latest News*" of the war and said Union transports had run past Vicksburg and "*it is confidently stated that Grant is about to attack that city by land and water, the land troops being thrown up the Big Black river to the south and rear of that city.*" That same day, at 7:00 a.m., Porter pulled away from the landing, gunboats in the lead, with transports and barges well behind, but Bowen's Confederates had labored hard and well with the aid of impressed slaves. Protecting the mouth of the Big Black River, Grand Gulf's upper battery of four guns had a parapet forty feet thick and was known as Fort Cobun, at Bald Head on Point of Rocks, and had recently been reinforced by infantry and artillery from Jackson. It was attacked by four ironclads that then moved downstream while three more arrived at Cobun. Farther south, overlooking the rail line to Port Gibson, Fort Wade "*with four large guns and several light field pieces*" was attacked by the boats from Cobun. The bombardment started about 8:00 a.m. with men on the *Benton*, Porter's flagship, firing as rapidly as possible. When an enemy shell entered an open port, five were killed and the *Benton* was run to shore. Others were hit repeatedly and suffered additional casualties while Grant watched from a chair tied to the deck of the *Ivy*. Infantry watched anxiously and men in the 21st Iowa thought it "*a spectacle of grandeur*" as the heavy firing by both sides continued until 1:00 in the afternoon. "*The sight was grand, terrible and never to be forgotten: - the circling shells, the deafening and ceaseless detonations, the black diminutive fleet, the batteries covering the face of the bluff, tier upon tier, belching forth streams of flame.*"⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁴ T. Michael Parrish, *Richard Taylor. Soldier Prince of Dixie* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 143.

⁶¹⁵

In 1861 Sherman had suggested 200,000 men would be needed to retake the Mississippi Valley. Halleck felt Sherman was unfit for duty, Secretary of War Cameron called it an "*insane request*," the reference was printed by the Cincinnati Commercial, other papers followed suit and he was relieved and given command of Benton Barracks. The 12th Iowa was then training at the barracks where he was "*commonly called 'crazy Sherman' on account of his supposed exaggerated ideas of the magnitude of the rebellion.*" *Iowa Journal of History* (April 1858), page 164.

⁶¹⁶ Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat. The Vicksburg Campaign* (Savas Publishing Company, 1999), quoting Sergeant Charles E. Wilcox.

⁶¹⁷

Several enemy guns were dismantled along a two mile line, others were silenced temporarily and the enemy abandoned Wade but, after five hours, Grant decided it was still too dangerous to land and the bombardment ended.⁶¹⁸ Eighteen Federals had been killed and fifty-seven wounded. Grand Gulf, said Porter, "*is the strongest place on the Mississippi.*" Southern defenders were justly proud of their resistance but it was late in the day before a reluctant Stevenson agreed to send men to their aid and it was after 7:00 p.m. before reinforcements left Vicksburg with a long march ahead of them. Stevenson warned that "*transports,*" Sherman's transports, "*are at the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou*" but felt he could handle them. The next morning Sherman opened fire, infantry landed, bands played and men spread out to "*look as numerous as possible.*" Gunboats, some mere workboats painted black, were ordered to get up steam. They whistled and blew smoke, "*made all the noise they could,*" moved forward, opened a heavy fire on the main forts, backed down and resumed fire while infantry marched through the woods. By nightfall they were back on the transports and,

on May 1st, repeated "*the same farce again*" and Pemberton received an urgent message from Stevenson that "*the enemy are in front of me in force such as have never been seen before at Vicksburg. Send me reinforcements.*"

Pemberton did. The ruse worked. Exhausted regiments that had finally rushed toward Grand Gulf reversed themselves and returned to Vicksburg where citizens used carriages and wagons to help carry them to the northern bluffs. There they arrived just in time to see Sherman load his men on their transports and sail away.⁶¹⁹

HARD TIMES TO BRUINSBURG (April 29 to April 30, 1863)

With Grand Gulf having held firm, McClernand's men were debarked back on the west bank by dusk while Grant sought a different crossing, a site with a good landing and a dry route inland. His first choice was Rodney but, said Grant, "*that night a colored man came in who informed me that a good landing would be found at Bruinsburg,*⁶²⁰ *a few miles above Rodney, from which point there was a good road leading to Port Gibson.*" Only ten miles south of Grand Gulf, the Bruinsburg plantation had once been the site of a small trading post established by then future President Andrew Jackson but now had little more than two or three deserted houses and, by 1865, even its landing would cease to exist.⁶²¹

Grant left a small garrison at *Hard Times* and, with most of his supplies still at *Somerset*, ordered McPherson to bolster it's convalescent defense with siege guns and to arm a transport and station it at the *Somerset* landing, foresight that would soon save Jim's life. The rest of Porter's gunboats, transports and barges moved downstream through a narrow channel exposed to "*a most terrific fire*" from Cobun while infantry took a shortcut along the top of the levee across Coffee's Point, three miles to the landing on the south side of *Disharoon's* plantation, slightly downstream from Wade.⁶²² There they rendezvoused with Porter who had come through unscathed and, tired after their nighttime

The quote was attributed to "*an Iowa soldier.*" George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), pages 53-54; Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign that Opened the Mississippi* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004), page 218; Ronald C. White, *American Ulysses* (Random House, New York, 2016), page 265.
618

According to Dana, there were five batteries, the bombardment lasted six hours and for the last four hours all seven gunboats were attacking Fort Cobun.
619

Elsewhere it's indicated this was "*a feeble effort which made little impression on the Confederates.*" Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat* (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 28. At the same time, however, the author points out that "*Sherman's demonstrations served to strengthen*" Pemberton's belief "*that the Federal movement against Vicksburg would be launched north of the city*" and, as a result, reports from Grand Gulf "*were not taken seriously.*" *Ibid.*
620

Originally reported by Grant as "*Bowlingsburgh,*" by Harper's Weekly as "*Brulinsburg*" and by at least one Iowa newspaper as "*Brimsburg.*"
621

Peter Bryan Bruin came down the river with his own family and several others in 1788, to settle in the Natchez district, having accepted the colonizing proposition of Minister Gardoqui. He established the most northern settlement of the district at that time and erected his house on an ancient mound near the mouth of Bayou Pierre. Upon organization of the territory as an American possession, Bruin was appointed one of three territorial judges, entrusted with the making of laws and the administration of justice. *Tensas Gazette* (07/19/1957).
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Disharoon's was on a high natural levee with a long steep bank and was an excellent place for Porter's gunboats and transports to load troops. It was destroyed by a flood soon after the war.

march, laid down for a few hours rest.

No doubt aware of what the next day might hold, John Goodrich wrote on the 29th that, "*Sister Mercy has great faith that I shall be returned to my family in safety. But I feel that it would be wrong to make this a requisite in our prayers. If it subserves God's purposes better that I should die away from the bosom of my family, let us school our hearts to say, 'Thy will be done.'*"⁶²³ John had one month to live.

At 4:00 a.m. on the 30th, a day of "*humiliation, fasting and prayer*" in the North,⁶²⁴ men were roused, had a quick breakfast, walked to the landing, began reboarding and at 8:00 a.m. cast off. "*The decks were covered with anxious soldiers, the guns were cleared for action, and the crews were at quarters.*" By 11:00 a.m. they had disembarked on the east bank, but their position was precarious. It was "*the nature of things*" that they be attacked by "*the largest number of troops which could be collected at the earliest possible moment*"⁶²⁵ and transports hurried lest the "*forces from Vicksburg would be run out, joined with those at Grand Gulf, and hurled upon Grant's troops to crush them before a sufficient number could be brought over to withstand the onset.*" Heavily loaded, they moved more and more men and equipment to the landing six miles downstream, unloaded quickly and returned to *Disharoon's* for more.

Due to Pemberton's decision to support Stevenson at Vicksburg, diversionary movements by Steele near Greenville, Grierson's cavalry raid, an abortive raid by Abel Streight, Sherman's feint north of town and partly to a fear that Banks might attack Port Hudson, the Federals met no opposition as men hurried ashore while a band on the *Benton* played "*The Red, White and Blue.*" The boat shuttle continued throughout the morning and by noon most of McClernand's Corps, 18,000 men, and many of McPherson's were on the east bank. By evening, 24,000 had crossed and Bruinsburg would be remembered as the site of the largest amphibious operation ever undertaken by an American army. It would not be exceeded for another eighty years, at Normandy during World War II.

It had always been "*regarded as an axiom*" that "*large bodies of troops must operate from a base of supplies which they always covered and guarded.*" Sherman and McPherson thought it wrong to separate from their supplies but that was not Grant's way and this was no time to stop. With thousands of men on the east bank and most of his supplies on the west he felt:

*"a degree of relief scarcely ever equaled since.... I was now in the enemy's country, with a vast river and the stronghold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supplies. But I was on dry ground on the same side of the river with the enemy. All the campaigns, labors, hardships and exposures, from the month of December previous to this time that had been made and endured, were for the accomplishment of this one object."*⁶²⁶

McClernand's inland advance was delayed while waiting for rations inadvertently not issued earlier but was underway by 4:00 p.m. Carr took the lead and sent Benton's 1st Brigade forward to gain control of bluffs a mile away overlooking the landing. Next came Harris' 2d Brigade, the 11th Wisconsin in the lead followed by the three Iowa regiments, with orders to move beyond the bluffs, pass Benton and engage the enemy at the "*furthest distance from Bruinsburg thus leaving the disembarkation of troops undisturbed.*" Each man was to carry five days' rations but only three days' were available, haversacks were full and innovation came to the rescue. Pairs of men placed muskets across their shoulders so boxes of hardtack could be carried on improvised stretchers. Extra meat was also soon handled. With bayonets in place, the meat was impaled and off they went, said Sam Jones of the 22d Iowa, with "*bayonets gleaming in the sunshine, and the ration of meat in its place. It was picturesque and beautiful to behold.*" Company B reported a "*present strength*" of eighty men including three commissioned officers, five sergeants, eight corporals, two musicians and sixty-two privates, a reduction of twelve privates from four months earlier.

⁶²³ Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, Page 126 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

⁶²⁴

In the South, the President's "*Proclamation for National Day of Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer*" was often "*the occasion of the most disgraceful exhibitions*" in some churches where Father Joubert refused to read the Proclamation and refused to give the sacrament to colored men in Union army. In another church with a primarily French congregation, the Proclamation was read, but in English. "*There were only two or three churches where a proper spirit was manifested.*" *Dubuque Daily Times* (May 10, 1863).

⁶²⁵

William Croke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 13.

⁶²⁶

Ulysses S. Grant. Memoirs and Selected Letters (The Library of America, 1990), page 321.

After numerous failures, Grant's final Vicksburg campaign has been described as risky but brilliant and is still studied by military technicians. Keys to his success would include the continuing element of surprise, the speed and decisiveness with which he moved from the moment he left Milliken's Bend until he reached the rear of Vicksburg, flexibility that let him make changes as the campaign progressed and the superior quality of the Northern leaders from Grant and his corps commanders down through the brigades and regiments. For the South there would be similar keys to defeat - the inferior quality of its leaders, hesitancy by Johnston, indecision by Pemberton, conflicting orders from Davis and Johnston, and disagreement between Pemberton and Johnston and Smith and Taylor, disagreement that led to inaction.

BATTLE OF PORT GIBSON
(aka Battle of Baldwin's Hills, Thompson's Hill, Anderson's Hill⁶²⁷ and Magnolia Church)
(May 1, 1863)

Grant's initial objective was Port Gibson, twelve miles from Bruinsburg ("*a place of two or three houses*"⁶²⁸) and only eight from Grand Gulf where he hoped to establish a base. Port Gibson had been incorporated in 1811 as the third oldest town in Mississippi, a town with the state's first library, second newspaper, third Masonic Lodge and a pre-war population of 1,453. Now, on the 30th of April, it was the goal of the Union army as they progressed "*up a long hill of red clay, next by quiet farmhouses and cultivated fields, through pretty wooded groves and up quiet lanes, all bearing the marks of peace, and resting in supposed security from the inroads of invading armies.*"⁶²⁹

A few miles from the landing, about 5:00 p.m., they reached the top of the bluffs, paused briefly to enjoy a lunch of hardtack in a "*pleasant glen full of green grass and abounding in shade trees*" and, as the sun neared the western horizon, they looked down at "*infantry marching in close order, their gleaming muskets like a solid bar of steel miles in length; an immense pendulum swinging back and forth; an inspiring spectacle to be seen once in a lifetime.*"⁶³⁰ McClernand borrowed *Windsor*, the ornate three-story Greek revival mansion constructed by Smith Coffee Daniell II and now occupied by his widow, as his temporary headquarters where "*the old woman and the young ones too, spitfires. Treated us very uncivilly.*"⁶³¹

Hoping to reach the suspension bridges across Bayou Pierre before they could be fortified or destroyed, McClernand decided to "*push on by a forced march that night as far as practicable.*"⁶³² The march was resumed about 5:30 p.m. and now the 21st Iowa Infantry was at the front, the very front, of the entire Union army.⁶³³

Sunset was an hour away. Companies A under Captain Alfred Jones (St. Ansgar) and B under Captain Crooke (Strawberry Point), both under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap, together with a guide, took the lead as skirmishers and were followed in order by a 12-pound howitzer commanded by William Leibert from Griffith's 1st Iowa Battery, Companies D and F under Major Van Anda as guards for the howitzer, the rest of the regiment, the 22d Iowa, the 23rd Iowa and the 11th Wisconsin. Behind them there were more than 24,000 men in other regiments from throughout the North.

With the skirmishers thrown out for protection, the column advanced slowly in columns of four along the Plantation Road (due to high water on the more direct Bruinsburg Road, sometimes referred to as the Bayou Road), past the Bethel Presbyterian Church where soldiers practiced marksmanship on the steeple⁶³⁴ and left onto the narrow

⁶²⁷ Colonel Stone's post-battle official report.

⁶²⁸

S. C. Jones, Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1907; reprint 1993), page 29.

⁶²⁹ Terrence J. Winschel, Triumph & Defeat (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 58.

⁶³⁰ Samuel Black, *A Soldier's Recollections of the Civil War*, page 112.

⁶³¹

Smith Coffee Daniell and Peter Bruin are buried in nearby Freeland Cemetery. The mansion is gone but its impressive columns still stand.

⁶³²

Bayou Pierre joined the Mississippi a short distance above *Bruinsburg*. Upstream it was crossed by a suspension bridge on the road from Port Gibson to Grand Gulf and then divided north of Port Gibson with a North Fork veering northeast and crossed by another bridge at Grindstone Ford on the road from Port Gibson to Hankinson's Ferry on the Big Black, Warrenton and Vicksburg and a South Fork veering southeast and crossed by a third bridge on a road from Port Gibson that would continue on to cross the North Fork at Grindstone Ford.

⁶³³ An excellent series of photographs of much of the route they followed is online at www.CivilWarAlbum.Com.

⁶³⁴ The church remains but the steeple was lost to a postwar tornado.

Rodney-Port Gibson Road.⁶³⁵ Paralleling the roads, the skirmishers picked their way across cultivated ridges divided by steep ravines choked with brush, vines, trees, cane, blackberry bushes and stumps. Weighted down with "ammunition, rations, knapsack, gun and blanket," progress was slow as they searched for an enemy they knew was waiting. Despite a moon that was almost full, the march slowed in darkening twilight. Skirmishers could see only "a few yards before them, and were fast becoming exhausted" while Charles Hobbs of the 99th Illinois described conditions along the road:

*"As we pass along an old darkey gives us his blessings, but fears there will be few of us ever to return. The moon is shining above us and the road is romantic in the extreme. The artillery wagons rattle forward and the heavy tramp of many men gives a dull but impressive sound."*⁶³⁶

Darkness fell shortly after 7:00 p.m., the march slowed to a crawl and officers conferred. Skirmishers were called in and Merrill replaced them with a small patrol of sixteen men - eight from Company A and eight from Company B under William Croke - all led by Cornelius Dunlap. Four of these men were positioned 400 yards in front of the main column, four at 800 yards and four at 1200 yards. Dunlap and the remaining four were to move out 1600 yards and "proceed without halting on the main road to Port Gibson until they met the enemy and were fired upon."⁶³⁷

At the very front, these five men from the 21st Iowa led Grant's entire Union army. Guiding them through the darkness toward a waiting, concealed enemy was "Old Bob," a "gray headed slave who knew not his own age" and was well aware he risked being shot by the rebels but "never wavered" as he marched "almost in silence, answering only to questions, 'no, marster.' 'yes, marster'." He carried "in his bosom the manumission papers of his children, and in his hand the key which should unlock the prison doors of his race." Bob would remain with William Croke and travel with the regiment for another year before returning to his family in Vicksburg. By then, "the word 'marster' had dropped from his speech, for both he and they were free men."⁶³⁸

About 10:00 p.m. Harris suffered stomach cramps and William Stone took command of the 1st brigade as it continued its slow advance behind Dunlap. Belatedly recognizing the Federal threat, Bowen moved more men to Port Gibson. He was a capable leader and determined to delay the Federals long enough for reinforcements to reach him. Cockrell's Brigade at Grand Gulf prepared to march at a moment's notice while Martin Green's brigade east of Vicksburg, an Alabama brigade at Warrenton under Edward Tracy and a Mississippi/Louisiana brigade in Vicksburg under thirty-five year old William Baldwin were rushing forward. Tracy left Warrenton about 7:00 p.m. on the 29th and led 1,500 infantry and six guns of Virginia's divided Botetourt Artillery to Hankinson's Ferry where they arrived about midnight, crossed the Big Black, continued on and, said Sergeant Burks, "had to pass through mud in which the guns would sink up to the axel-tree and the horses mired so deep that they couldn't pull out at all and had to be taken out." Baldwin had left Vicksburg about 9:00 p.m. on the 29th and his men "enjoyed themselves better than in any march they had ever made," but fatigue dampened spirits and "great weariness of limb" overtook them by the time they reached Grindstone Ford at midnight on the 30th.

Green had been ordered to take command and by nightfall was positioned on high ground near the Magnolia Church on the Rodney-Port Gibson Road, between the river and Port Gibson three and one-half miles to his rear. Closer to the river, about 600 yards to the west, he stationed four men under William Tisdale at the Abram Shaifer house. Near sundown, Tracy and the six guns from the Botetourt Artillery reached the suspension bridge at Grindstone Ford, paused briefly and continued on. About 10:00 p.m. after covering forty miles in twenty-seven hours, most without food, they arrived to join Green. Tracy's men were exhausted, collapsed at their posts and "slept on their arms," but only briefly.

⁶³⁵ Now known as the Russum-Westside Road and the Shaifer Road.

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⁶³⁷ Benton Rain Patterson, *The Mississippi River Campaign, 1861-1863* (McFarland & Company, Inc., Jefferson, North Carolina, 2010), page 232.

⁶³⁸ George Croke, *The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 59. William Croke, *Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889.* (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 14.

William Croke, *Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889.* (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 19.

Meanwhile, with Union cavalry still on the west bank, Carr was relegated to *"a great big ugly poor mule"* while Grant borrowed a horse in Bruinsburg and hurried ahead where the column continued down a steep hill and across Widows Creek. Merrill's instructions to go forward until *"fired upon"* was disconcerting for Dunlap's scouts and they paused frequently to make sure others could still be heard behind them. Then, reassured by the sound of *"lumbering cannon lurching heavily into ruts or crushing with remorseless wheel the roadside boulder,"* they moved on *"steadily, almost silently, hour after hour. Every man was looking into the darkness ahead, with ears alert and nerves strung to the utmost tension."*⁶³⁹ According to Sam Jones of the 22nd Iowa, second in line behind the 21st, *"all communication was in a whisper. The frogs and beetles were the only disturbers of the night vigils."*⁶⁴⁰ They knew the enemy was ahead, but did not know where and *"did not know one step of the way."* They knew their own 2,300 man brigade was near but did not know how many others had managed to cross. They imagined *"hostile eyes on every hand saw every movement, and that fleet horses were constantly flying with intelligence,"*⁶⁴¹ but did not know the strength of the waiting, hidden enemy.

Shortly after midnight they paused for the column to close up on the Rodney Road, but Adjutant Howard rode forward and ordered them on and, with a rail fence on each side, Dunlap's small band continued quietly up a long grade to the Shaifer house where Green had ridden forward to check his outpost. Mr. Shaifer was away, serving with the 1st Mississippi Light Artillery. Mrs. Shaifer and the women of the house were loading wagons and preparing to leave. No hurry, Green told them. The Yankees could not arrive before daylight but just then, about 1:00 a.m. on May 1, 1863, one of Tisdale's pickets hidden in trees by the road saw Union shadows approaching in darkness and opened fire. Dunlap's men recoiled, returned the fire and *"a crash of musketry shattered the midnight stillness. One ball smashed through the west wall of the house, and several more buried themselves in the wagon-load of furniture."*⁶⁴² *"The first shots of the battle of Port Gibson had been fired by a patrol of the 21st Iowa."*⁶⁴³

Stone rushed reinforcements to the front, set a skirmish line on both sides of the road and sent a runner to the rear urging Merrill to advance the balance of the regiment. Muskets fired *"like fire-flies in the night."* Infantry was engaged and Green hurried back to alert his main force near Magnolia Church. Tisdale's men were *"driven in"* and followed Green with Union skirmishers *"in hot pursuit."* A Union line was set at the Shaifer house which quickly became a hospital and Union headquarters and, not sure what they were facing, a large rebel force or only an advance scout, the column veered right and continued up *"a piece of rising ground"* toward the church where a waiting soldier in the 12th Arkansas battalion of sharpshooters said:

*"we could hear the enemy forming, and it was so still we could hear every command given. Our men had orders not to fire until word was given. Soon we could see their line of skirmishers coming down the road and could hear them say there was no one here, it was only a cavalry scout. When they were within 50 yards the word 'fire' was given."*⁶⁴⁴

The rest of Stone's brigade, together with the howitzer, supported by the 21st's Company E under Captain Swivel, and three guns from Klauss' 1st Indiana Battery had reacted quickly and reached the front when the *"flame of musketry and cannon flashed in their faces"* and Stone concluded *"we had reached the place where the battle of the*

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 59. The Major at the time of the battle was Salue van Anda, but this address appears to have been made at a postwar reunion, probably by Major William Crooke.

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S. C. Jones, Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1907; Camp Pope Book Shop, Iowa City, Iowa, reprint 1993), page 30.

641

William Crooke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 14.

642

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume 2, Page 353. There are additional holes made by minié balls in the rear of the house.

643

Phil Gottschalk, In Deadly Earnest. The Missouri Brigade (Missouri River Press, Inc., 1991), page 213.

644

Steven E. Woodworth & Charles D. Gear, editors, The Vicksburg Campaign, March 29-May 18, 1863 (Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Illinois, 2013), page 57.

night was to be fought."⁶⁴⁵ Bullets, shells and canister flew through darkness at unseen enemy and shredded trees and fences. A Union trooper rivaling the Vicksburg rebel for understatement remarked to Dr. Orr, "well, this is a pretty hot place," but Orr was quickly distracted when called to a wounded soldier already lying in pain and officers ordered men "to lay close to the ground" as the rebels "opened a terrific fire of shells and solid shot upon us; as we saw the flash we all threw ourselves flat on the ground, and very fortunately only one man was wounded." According to Walter McNally, the "rebs opened a battery on us" but the "shells and grape went flowing through the trees over our heads doing us no harm."

The 1st Iowa Battery positioned its artillery on the left of the road. The 21st Iowa took a position in front of the cannon with its right flank on the road. The 23rd Iowa was also in front, but to the left of the 21st. Behind the cannon, the 22d Iowa was on the right and the 11th Wisconsin on the left. Across the road was an Indiana Battery with three cannon. In the 23rd, Sam Glasgow recalled "the first shot they fired was grape and it came right in amongst us and then came the shells one struck so near it threw the dirt in my face."⁶⁴⁶ The positions on the left were too exposed. The 23rd Iowa and 11th Wisconsin moved back behind a ridge and the 23rd's Samuel Glasgow explained - "luckily we had but one man killed we then went down a deep Ravine under cover of their guns here we lay."

Shots were exchanged but the night was dark and there was little to see but flashes from muzzles of cannon and musket. About 3:00 a.m. the firing ended.⁶⁴⁷ Men on both sides were exhausted from their long day and rested in line of battle. The terrain was unfamiliar, the strength of the enemy was unknown and commanders were concerned about pressing an attack in the dark. To Grant the fight was "nothing rising to the dignity of a battle" but Stone felt it was "a duel long to be remembered by those who witnessed it. The fire of the Rebel batteries ... was quite accurate, and many of our men and horses were disabled by them.... The extreme darkness, the screaming and bursting of shells, and the rattle of grape through the fences and timber, conspired to render the scene presented by this midnight battle one of the most terrific grandeur."⁶⁴⁸

The *Journal* reported, "according to the report of Gen. Carr, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap, 21st Iowa, commanded the skirmishers, and Major Van Anda, of the same regiment, commanded the supports of the howitzers in advance of the 2d Brigade. Company B - Capt. Crook's [sic] company - 'received the first fire of the rebel pickets and returned it with great coolness.'⁶⁴⁹

Twenty-one year old Myron Knight had been at the front and said "we came upon the enemy pickets and they fired on us and retreated back to their main force; our company went out on skirmish and deployed on each side of the road; we advanced to within a few rods of their cannon firing into them and they into us; then they opened their cannon on us and we fell back and our artillery came up and commenced shelling them; hard cannon fighting on both sides about 1.5 hours when it ceased; laid down and went to sleep; one wounded in the foot in the Company; 4 of the enemy killed and 7 wounded."⁶⁵⁰

Also writing was John Goodrich, who knew "the enemy, without doubt occupy a strong position. If they make a stand, (as we think they will), we shall no doubt have a bloody contest. God only knows the issue. I pray him to cover my head in the day of battle, if it be his will." "It would be very sweet," he said, "to meet my wife and children once again on earth. It is almost agonizing to the mind to think of the bare possibility that we may meet no more."⁶⁵¹ Another said Company C's Captain Harrison had acted like a hero in the battle and "his conduct excited his men to the highest pitch of enthusiastic energy." His company had acted as skirmishers and driven in the rebel pickets. Maligned by some when seeking his commission, it now appeared "the Captain knew 'the stuff he was made of' much

⁶⁴⁵ Phil Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest. The Missouri Brigade* (Missouri River Press, Inc., 1991), page 213

⁶⁴⁶ Samuel Lyle Glasgow, 23rd Iowa Infantry.

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George Crooke. *The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, page 55. By then the moon was low in the sky and in less than an hour it would set.

⁶⁴⁸ Phil Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest, the Missouri Brigade* (Missouri River Press, 1991).

⁶⁴⁹ *The Clayton Co. Journal* (May 28, 1863).

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Journal of Myron Knight (postwar typewritten transcript; original retained by the family; accuracy of transcript not verified). Company B's 3d Corporal Corodon Hewitt was wounded severely when shot in the foot. His military records indicate that, "also same day, while lying wounded in battle field received injury to spine, from bursting of shell, and contracted rheumatism from exposure, & c."

⁶⁵¹ *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, Volume 1, Page 129-130 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

better than those who used to laugh at his patriotic zeal."⁶⁵² In Merrill's official report to brigade commander Stone he wrote that " *am happy to report that in the skirmishing of these companies singular fortitude and bravery were exhibited during that long and tedious night's march, and especially are Company B and Captain [William] Croke deserving of mention as having received the first fire of the pickets and returning it with great coolness.*"⁶⁵³

During the remaining hours of darkness, "amid the rugged terrain and tall magnolias and cypress trees draped with Spanish moss," Northern soldiers rested and prepared for the next morning's inevitable battle "when they were to meet the rebel infantry face to face in bloody combat." So far, the regiment had suffered no reported casualties,⁶⁵⁴ but, while they rested, Southern soldiers were rushing through the night to reinforce Bowen and deploy on both sides of Bayou Pierre and across the roads leading to Port Gibson.

Still at the Bruinsburg landing, McPherson's crossing continued with huge fires lighting the landing. Logan had two brigades across but, about 3:00 a.m. on the 1st, the sternwheeler *Horizon* collided with the *Moderator* and the *Horizon* sank with guns, sixty horses and men of the 2d Illinois Light Artillery. Grant suspended further landings until dawn and made plans for the battle he knew was coming in terrain that made it "easy for an inferior force to delay, if not defeat, a far superior one." "The country in this part of Mississippi," he wrote, "stands on edge, as it were, the roads running along ridges except when they occasionally pass from one ridge to another. Where there are no clearings the sides of the hills are covered with undergrowth and the ravines are filled with vines and canebrakes, almost impenetrable."⁶⁵⁵

Near the Shaifer house, Dunlap had veered right toward Magnolia Church and Port Gibson beyond. Had he gone left, he would have traveled a small farm road north to its intersection with the Port Gibson-Bruinsburg Road and it was near that intersection that Confederates under Tracy established a second defensive line so both roads from *Bruinsburg* to Port Gibson would be covered. Osterhaus went north on the farm road while Union transports resumed their crossing at sunrise, surgeons were busy in a makeshift hospital and, with only 2½ hours rest, Carr, Hovey and Smith continued their advance on the Port Gibson-Rodney Road about 5:30 a.m. on May 1st.

The morning was clear, there was an ominous silence, progress was slow and Green waited with skirmishers along Magnolia Church ridge not far from his main defensive line on the next ridge east. Shortly after 6:30 a.m. shots were fired. Most of Stone's Brigade stayed on the left to protect artillery while Hovey moved McGinnis and Slack up to their right and Benton moved through timber, occupied the church ridge and forced Green's skirmishers to pull back to their main line. Bowen had been skeptical of prisoner reports that "they all number over 20,000 men. I disbelieve this report,"⁶⁵⁶ but arrived to take command about 7:30 a.m., realized he was facing an entire army and belatedly sent for Cockrell in Grand Gulf and William Baldwin on his way from Grindstone Ford.

With four regiments and four guns, about 800 men, Green held firm and Confederate infantry charged through woods at Union cannon. Companies A and B, Dunlap commanding, were at the front and "Stone's infantry and the terrible guns" forced the attackers back. At 8:30 a.m. Bowen was reinforced by nine companies of the 23rd Alabama and two guns of the Botetourt battery led by Lieutenant Norgrove that had been reluctantly sent over by Tracy at Green's request, but the Federals had also been reinforced by fresh brigades under Burbridge and Landrum. There were now so many bluecoats that regiments were stacked up three and four deep as they pushed their way through dense canebrakes. Indiana artillery fired at the enemy as McClernand waved his hat, cheering them on, indicating they were inflicting heavy damage.

Baldwin's Confederate brigade of Louisiana and Mississippi troops arrived from Grindstone Ford about 9:00 a.m. and met a courier at Port Gibson where "ladies cheered us through their tears, and besought us to drive the invaders from their homes. One lady while she prayed Heaven to protect us, said we felt as near to her as though we were her own sons going forth to battle" and "soft-eyed women looked at us through their tears, and strong old men sobbed

⁶⁵² Dubuque Daily Times (May 23, 1863).

⁶⁵³ His mention of Croke and failure to mention Dunlap may be due to hard feelings still lingering from Hartville.

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Sam Jones, in the 22nd Iowa, said the 21st deployed as skirmishers on the night of the 30th and forced the enemy back to their main line. "As we followed up, an occasional dead Union soldier was seen." Jones, Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1907; Camp Pope Book Shop, Iowa City, Iowa, reprint 1993), page 30. This is a curious statement since none were killed in the 21st on either April 30th or May 1st, while the 22nd reported none killed on the 30th, only one on May 1st at Magnolia Hills and one on May 1st's the battle of Port Gibson. There is also no report of Confederate dead during the night's skirmish.

⁶⁵⁵ Ulysses S. Grant. Memoirs and Selected Letters (The Library of America, 1990), page 322-23.

⁶⁵⁶ Phil Gottschalk, In Deadly Earnest. The Missouri Brigade (Missouri River Press, Inc., 1991), page 212.

their farewells, knowing it was the last day for many of us."⁶⁵⁷

As Baldwin rushed to the front "at a double-quick march," Hovey charged the rebel line but was driven back by "deadly volleys" of musket and canister while, far to the Union rear, "the booming of cannon and the rattle of musketry" could be heard by others "eager to join in the fray" and "orderlies and aids were galloping up and down the road, and driving in the stragglers." Up from the landing they came "to help McClernand out of a scrape." On their way to the front they "met wounded and passed dead, and a number of horses," "a corral of prisoners, a hundred or more" captured earlier in the day, "capacious tents, already filled with the dead and dying," a prostrate comrade "his brain protruding from a frightful fracture," another whose leg "was hanging by a small tendon," and "eight gray horses" all "killed by the explosion of a single shell," and onto the Rodney Road toward Port Gibson and the raging battle where 9,000 Federals faced 1,100 Confederates.

Stone was advancing in two lines with the 21st Iowa on the extreme left in support of the 23rd, across a deep hollow, through a dense canebreak and into an open field where they opened fire. "The enemy were pouring in one volley after another but they over shot us ... we marched to the top of the hill and then poured one volley after another into them," said Glasgow. The fighting wasn't fair said William McKeever of the 22d Iowa - the rebels "would not come out and take a fare open field fite" - they lay "in cane brakes and timber and shoot as best they could gust Regular bushwacking or indian fashion" - "it is a serious thing to be in a place where a person is looking every minute to be the last."⁶⁵⁸

About 10:30 a.m., firing a last volley from thick brush, the rebel line broke, many were captured with their standard-bearer and battle flag. Others ran "and then you could hear the cheers above the din of Battle." The 11th Indiana closed on the Botetourt guns, rebel private George Obenchain was killed, his brother James leaped to safety and hid in a gully with three others. William Norgrove was mortally wounded after refusing to surrender, their position was inundated and the Federals turned the captured artillery, already double-loaded with canister, on Green's rebels "just mowing them down as they run" down the road and across Centers Creek. "As we went back we were amazed and shocked to see how many of our men were lying dead or wounded in the path of our advance," said a Captain in the 6th Mississippi.

When the morning's fighting ended hundreds of prisoners had been taken including James Norman who only nine days earlier had predicted a "severe struggle."⁶⁵⁹ Dead and wounded "lay thickly scattered over the ground;" "one little fellow, a mere boy of fifteen or sixteen years; a cannon ball half passed through his breast." A dying man "asked for a drink of water." The 11th Wisconsin took the lead followed by two companies of skirmishers from the 23d Iowa that were "complemented on the Field by 2 or 3 Generals. General Hovey rode up and asked what Reg that was our Colonel told him it was the 23d Iowa he grasped him by that and exclaimed (God Bless the 23d)." Grant visited with his commanders and Illinois' Governor Yates and Congressman Elihu Washburne arrived "on a couple of sorry looking secesh nags." The politicians spoke and Grant was patient but finally suggested it was time to move on.⁶⁶⁰ Stone's four regiments went "slowly forward, clawing their way through the incredible tangle of brush and cane that clogged the Arnolds Creek hollow" before reaching a cleared ridge and being "checked by a scattered fire from skirmishers in the hollow to the front and projectiles from a pair of 24-pounder howitzers".

⁶⁵⁷ William Pitt Chambers, Blood & Sacrifice (Mississippi Historical Society), page 63.

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Meyer, Iowa Valor (Meyer Publishing Company, 1994) page 217-218. On May 4, 1863, William M. Littell would write (apparently referring to this timeframe) that "about 9 o'clock, the 21st Iowa was in front of us and was ordered to charge a cane brake in their front. Their Col. (Merrell) made some objections, saying he was out of his place. Our Col. said to the Chief of Staff, the 23rd will do it, the 21st then filed around us and came up in our rear. . . . After we had driven the rebels out of the road, one of the 21st coming through after us, got a rebel flag that our boys charged over." Past and Present of Lucas and Wayne Counties, Iowa (The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago, 1913), Volume I, page 235. The letter has obviously been edited for grammar and punctuation and may or may not be substantively accurate.

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James T. Norman letter to his wife from Chickasaw Bayou. Susan Lott Clark, Southern Letters and Life in the Mid 1880s (Susan Lott Clark, 1993), page 201. James died on December 11, 1895, and is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Union Springs, Alabama. Find-a-Grave Memorial #24841236.

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He was likely more patient than usual. Washburne had made an "elaborate speech" to Congress on May 2, 1861, and "defended General Grant with much warmth" after Shiloh and an "intimate friendship" had developed. Governor Yates "brought with him a barrel of whiskey which was generously distributed." Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant (Alfred A. Knopf 1955).

Green's withdrawal ended about a mile and a half to the rear between the White and Irwin branches of Willow Creek where he met the still advancing Baldwin. Only moments before Baldwin's men were "*wonderfully elated*" when cheered by the ladies of Port Gibson but, after forty-four miles and twenty-seven hours, "*the enthusiasm seemed to die away and a great weariness of limb overtook us.*" They arrived just in time to cover Green who reformed and was sent to reinforce comrades on the Bruinsburg Road. The rebels had "*run like bugs,*" said Glasgow, "*but they were reinforced by 10,000 men and they thought they would clean us out.*"

Union soldiers descending the ridge to the west were fired on by Baldwin's Confederates concealed among trees on a hill "*commanding the entire ground over which we were compelled to approach*" and "*a very severe contest ensued.*" The hill sloped toward the Federals and, for half an hour, Stone's "*fully exposed*" brigade bore the brunt of the fire until "*other brigades and batteries became engaged.*" Soldiers fired at each other from twenty yards or less. Hovey massed his artillery, twenty-four guns, and the battle raged on the two roads with Stone's Brigade remaining under fire. About 2:00 p.m., the 21st Iowa found itself "*resting on the left of a battery which was shelling the woods across the wide ravine*

in front of us." The roar of guns was deafening. Some men stood in groups while others sat or laid on the ground waiting to again be ordered forward. Some were "*stretched out full length and motionless,*" some with faces to the ground, some on their backs "*receiving the direct rays of the sun,*" some resting with their heads on arms thrown forward - not dead, just "*fast asleep*" - while artillery boomed nearby and "*hostile shells screamed maliciously.*" When nudged or kicked they rose "*with a dazed look, and staggered as if drunk.*"

About 1:20 p.m., Bowen wired Pemberton for reinforcements. Pemberton replied that two brigades under William "Old Blizzards" Loring⁶⁶¹ were on the way "*though it may be some time, as the distance is great*" and wired Johnston:

"a furious battle has been going on since daylight, just below Port Gibson Bowen says he is outnumbered treble Enemy can cross all his army from Hard Times I should have large reinforcements.... Enemy's success in passing our batteries has completely changed the character of defense."

Artillery and infantry exchanged fire, a brigade under John Smith from McPherson's Corps arrived to support Osterhaus "*and the battle raged with terrific fury.*" McClernand's southerly three divisions were having a hard fight. They grouped and regrouped and saw their progress checked. Missouri regiments under Cockrell attacked Slack and Benton forming McClernand's right, but superior Union artillery and manpower finally prevailed and the fighting ended at nightfall as Bowen wired Pemberton, "*Want of ammunition is one of the main causes of our retreat. The men did nobly, holding out the whole day against overwhelming odds. I will have to retire under cover of night to the other side of Bayou Pierre and await re-enforcements.*"

On the left of McClernand's line, the 21st and 23d Iowa had stayed at the front until about 4:00 p.m. when they were permitted to rest, the 22d took the front and the 21st and 23d took a position "*across the valley in the timber, very near the enemy*" where they "*remained until after dark,*" "*fatigued and worn out.*" Bernhard Kirst, a Sergeant in Company E, "*captured a rebel orderly carrying dispatches.*"⁶⁶²

The Battle of Port Gibson had ended and many Southerners were already rushing north. Cockrell followed as they crossed the bayou and burned the wooden roadway of the suspension bridge. At 6:00 p.m. Bowen authorized Baldwin's withdrawal from the Rodney Road, but Baldwin was cut off and withdrew about 9:00 p.m. east through Port Gibson to Little Bayou Pierre, also known as the South Fork of Bayou Pierre. After crossing and setting fire to its bridge, he continued on, crossed Bayou Pierre at Grindstone Ford, fired its bridge,⁶⁶³ passed Willow Springs and, about 9:00 a.m. the next morning, rendezvoused with Bowen.

They had fought a magnificent defense and, with more help, might have forced the Federals back to the river or beyond. Even Grant acknowledged Bowen's defense had been "*a very bold one and well carried out.*" Pemberton praised him for "*gallant conduct*" and recommended a promotion to Major General. Johnston lauded his "*skill and courage.*" All were correct, but a golden opportunity to defeat the Federals had been lost and Bowen continued his

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As to Loring, see James W. Raab, W. W. Loring. Florida's Forgotten General (Sunflower University Press, Manhattan, Kansas; 1996), Chapter 9, "*Vicksburg and Champion Hill.*"

662 *North Iowa Times.*

663 Ruins of the stone foundations can still be seen by walking the Old Natchez Trace (www.FriendsOfRaymond.Org/Trail).

withdrawal. According to Myron Knight:

"the battle commenced in the morning with the cannon; our Regiment did not come into any more fighting until about 9 when we went up over a hill to help the 22d and 23d and the Rebs retreated at 10 leaving part of their artillery amid loud cheers from our army - they retreated 1 1/2 miles and made another stand in a hollow - lots of brush - our cannon opened up on them and the infantry helped until about sundown - they being repulsed at every point - they retreated leaving some of their artillery - knocking one to pieces - we went back after our knapsacks."

Elkader resident Ed Snedigar wrote to his brother and also spoke of the night's activities.⁶⁶⁴ Speaking of the fight at Port Gibson, he said:

"I tell you we gave them (the rebels) a good thrashing at Port Gibson, and they'll remember it too. The 21st regiment opened the ball on the morning of the first of May, at half-past 1 A. M. We had been all night, and were pretty tired, but when our skirmishers were fired on we were all right. We (the 21st) marched within 600 yards of the enemy's batteries, not knowing it was there until it opened, and the shot and shell flew thick and fast for two hours, when the enemy's batteries ceased.

Skirmishing recommenced early in the morning. The fight became general at 7 o'clock; by 1 A.M. we had driven the enemy back, capturing 2 pieces cannon, one stand colors, and a good many prisoners. The battle raged all the afternoon closing at night. The 21st were the last to leave the field. The rebels retreated that night in a hurry, burning all the bridges behind them."

Many years later, as a McGregor businessman, Willard Benton would recall that after the battle they "went into camp late without blankets or blouse (his blankets having been taken to be used in the hospital at Magnolia Church & blouse lost during the battle)." That night he caught a severe cold.⁶⁶⁵

Colonel Stone had special reason to savor the victory noting that "one year ago I passed through the state of Mississippi, a prisoner of war, on my way to a Southern prison; now I am marching with a victorious army, with my former captors fleeing before us."⁶⁶⁶ James H. Russell wrote:⁶⁶⁷

Near Grand Gulf, Miss.

May 1, 1863

Editor Dubuque Times:

Our Gunboats made an attack on the earthworks of the enemy and succeeded in dismounting several of their guns and silenced all but two of their batteries, which extended over two miles, and as the Benton was actively engaged she never closed her port holes, but continued to fire as rapidly as the men could load, and a shot entered one of the port holes killing five men. the casualties in the engagement for us in all 15 (killed) and about 40 wounded. The transports ran the blockade successfully and landed the troops below.

Gen. E. A. Carr's, Osterhaus' and Hovey's Divisions have crossed, and the others were crossing last evening. The enemy have been fortifying since the 16th ult. Our gunboats and mortars opened on Vicksburg this morning and a brisk fire was maintained, but for what purpose I will not mention.

The sick are at the Post Hospital on James Plantation, five miles above here, and the convalescent, shirks

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The letter was printed in The Clayton Co. Journal (May 28, 1863). "In 1864 it is reported that Postmaster [Fielding] Snedigar was being assisted in the postoffice by his two daughters, as both his sons had gone to war." History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916). The sons were James (47th Iowa Infantry) and Edward (21st Iowa Infantry). The two daughters were Martha and Irena.

⁶⁶⁵ Declaration for Original Invalid Pension (June 17, 1886).

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After being severely wounded in Missouri he had been captured at Shiloh, paroled, exchanged and appointed by Governor Kirkwood to head the new 22d Infantry.

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Excerpt only. William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 310.

and stragglers are at Perkins' Plantation.

Russell

As usual, statistics varied with Confederate losses estimated at 340-380 wounded and 384-387 missing from a command that reached about 8,000 at its peak. Most of their sixty to sixty-eight dead would be buried by citizens of Port Gibson in Soldiers' Row amid red cedar trees in the town's Wintergreen Cemetery. Confederate wounded were treated by Union doctors while prisoners were moved north with some going to the military prison at Alton, Illinois, on May 18th and others to Johnson's Island near Sandusky, Ohio.

Federal losses were estimated at 131 killed, 719 wounded and twenty-five taken prisoner, many in Stone's Brigade where 100 were killed or wounded. The dead were buried, the wounded treated and abandoned ordnance and accouterments gathered. Under stress of battle it was not unusual for soldiers to load muskets more than once without firing and, near Magnolia Church, one such musket was found with seven minié balls jammed in the barrel, one backwards.⁶⁶⁸ At the Shaifer house Charles Dana saw a scene of dead and dying and a "*heap of arms and legs, which had been amputated and thrown into a pile.*" With him and "*sickening at the sights*" was twelve-year-old Fred Grant who had followed without his father's permission.

That evening men cheered as Grant rode among them, many lying where they had fought, "*steeled to human suffering*" as "*parties from the field hospitals with stretchers, engaged in their mournful task by torchlight.*" The 21st was proud of its performance. It led the march inland and "*had the honor of opening the battle and being the last to leave the field after twenty hours of hard fighting.*" About 8:00 p.m. they made camp and rested around fires where Dr. Orr heard one of the men "*very confidently venture the prediction that Grant would be President of the United States.*" The regiment had started the day with 844 still on the roster but many, including Jim Bethard and others west of the river, were not available and only 625 were active. They had none killed in action, but William Comstock, Charles Roehl and John VanKuran were mortally wounded.⁶⁶⁹

At least fourteen had wounds that were non-fatal. Richard Cunningham was wounded in the head, Cornelius Dunlap in the foot, John Leehey in the hand, Cyrus McLane in the foot, Aaron Story slightly in the hip, Robert Strane on the right side, Edward Murray in the thigh and Corodon Hewitt in the foot by a gunshot and back by a shell fragment - a total of fourteen men with non-fatal wounds. Will Boynton was missing but would find his way back and rejoin the regiment at Vicksburg. McGregor's Colonel Merrill suffered a contusion when knocked from his horse "*by a shell which exploded near him.*" A portion of his saddle and one holster were shot off and he "*had his horse so severely wounded that, it was necessary to leave it upon the field.*"⁶⁷⁰ Many had questioned Merrill's leadership at

⁶⁶⁸ Letter dated May 23, 1988, from Edwin C. and Margie Bearss to Drew Tillotson, Des Moines attorney.

⁶⁶⁹

John Comstock is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54596483. Dr. James Bryan described his treatment of Charles Roehl and John Van Kuran in *A Short Account of the 'Mary Ann' Hospital, Grand Gulf, Miss* (July 4, 1863), Page 4. The American Medical Times, Volume 7 (July to December 1863).

Case VII. - Amputation of Upper Third of Left Arm - Secondary. - John Van Keuren [van Kuran], sergeant, Co. H, 21st Iowa. This patient entered the hospital on the 12th of May from the Grant Hospital. The patient stated that a round ball had struck his arm about three inches above the condyle, fracturing the bone, and leaving one or two comminuted pieces with the bullet itself still in the wound. An incision had been made, the bullet and pieces of bone removed, the lips of the wound closed by adhesive strips, the arm placed upon a pillow, and the injury dressed with cold water. The strong peculiarity in the case, when first seen by us, was the excessive pronation of the forearm and elbow; the patient could not bear to have it changed. To meet this and a slight shortening of the arm which existed, splints were applied as in ordinary fracture. The patient, however, removed these, and the arm returned to its former position. The swelling and infiltration continued to increase from day to day, and it was resolved in consultation to amputate the arm. This was done on the 31st of May, by double flap operation. It was performed by Dr. Littlefield. Before the administration of chloroform which, is the common practice in this hospital, from one to two ounces of brandy were given, and the same dose repeated after the operation. The surgeons found the tissues more infiltrated than was expected, making it necessary to diminish the under flap by excision. The general health and spirits of the patient are good, and we hope for the best. On examining the arm after amputation we found that the extraordinary extent of pronation was due to the direction of the surfaces of the fragments, upper and lower, the obliquity being due to the loss of one or more pieces of the point struck by the ball.

Case XVI. - Amputation Middle Left Leg - Primary - Double Flap. Charles Rehl [Roehl], corporal, Co. E, 21st Iowa. This patient was admitted on the tenth, having been wounded on the first; he was treated meanwhile, but of the treatment no record could be obtained. When admitted, the soft parts were in a sloughing condition, with no signs of reunion; suppuration profuse and exceeding unhealthy; the wound was also infested with almost innumerable larvae; debility very considerable. The wounds was carefully cleansed, and a weak solution of cupri sulph. injected; gentle compression was made by rollers, and cold tar-water applied. Tonics, milk punch, and anodynes administered. This case progressed without improvement or anything peculiar, until the 20th, when the patient died.

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Hartville but now the *Journal* exalted:

*"This gallant officer whom the Mitchell county whiffet calls a 'do-nothing officer', has given the lie to his enemies at home who cried that he was 'incompetent', and a 'coward'. He has shown himself one of the bravest of men at the battle of Port Gibson. On the battlefield, according to the official report of Gen. E. A. Carr, he was 'first in the battle and one of the last to leave the field'. Especial mention is made of this by Gen. Carr, and shows that Col. Merrill must have proved himself eminently a fighting Colonel. Are his enemies at home satisfied now?"*⁶⁷¹

While the Port Gibson battle was being fought on the 1st, Nathaniel Banks issued a new order from his headquarters in Opelousas, Richmond adopted another flag, James Pool succumbed to typhoid and Clement Vallandigham spoke in Ohio. Banks' proposal was for a Corps d'Afrique to be composed of eighteen regiments of Negroes, 500 each, with white officers as a "*sensible matter of business*" but certainly not on any "*dogma of equality*." The flag was Richmond's Jackson Flag or Stainless Banner⁶⁷² and Vallandigham was one of the most vociferous anti-Republican, anti-war, anti-abolition, Democrats in the North. He "*took the stump*" as soon as Congress adjourned and gave a particularly "*offensive, mischievous, disloyal speech*" that was widely copied.⁶⁷³ James Pool was one of the men who had been captured and paroled at Beaver Creek the previous November, but now passed away from typhoid on a hospital boat at Milliken's Bend. He was survived by Mary Ann, the fiancé he had rushed home to marry only three days before going south with his regiment.

Sherman was still at the Bend and ordered Steele's 1st Division, with George Rice and Sterling and Squire Mather, and Tuttle's 3d, with Charles Wallace, to move down to *Hard Times*. Frank Blair's 2d Division would follow the other two and be replaced by four Illinois regiments brought down from Memphis. On the morning of May 2nd, Steele and Tuttle left tents standing and started south while Grant ordered his commanders to "*renew the attack at early dawn*." Advancing cautiously, Logan's Division from McPherson's Corps was in the lead but the enemy was gone and Sam Glasgow:

"marched out to where we left off in the evening and marched over the ground where they made their last stand in the evening the dead Rebels lay so thick it looked as though I could step from one to the other them that never see a Battle Field can form no idea of the horror that strikes me at first sight."

The 21st Iowa had camped four miles out of town and, having drawn first fire and born the brunt of the previous day's battle, "*followed leisurely*" with the rest of Carr's brigade, entered Port Gibson about 10:00 a.m. on the 2nd, stacked arms in the streets and saw "*lots of their wounded*." Many residents had left with their soldiers and it was "*pretty much evacuated*," but others stayed and wept under Yankee occupation. Stores and shops were closed "*as for a public funeral*," but it was "*quite a pretty town*" thought Myron Knight. They were "*charmed by its beauty*." Grant thought it "*too beautiful to burn*" and William Crooke admired yards enclosed by hedges that were:

Capt. A. A. Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments: Being a History of Iowa Regiments in the War of the Rebellion, page 372 (Mills & Company, Des Moines, 1865).

⁶⁷¹

Clayton County Journal (May 28, 1863). *Dubuque's Daily Times* (May 27, 1863), said the brigade led the advance, entered into the fight before daylight, and remained under fire until the enemy fled. "*The officers and men received on the field the commendation of Gens. Carr and Grant in person.*"

⁶⁷²

Known by many names, "*the flag - Adopted May 1, 1863, the 'National Flag,' white with in the left corner a red field crossed by two blue bars, which were studded with 13 evenly distributed white stars.*" Mary S. Estill, editor, Diary of a Confederate Congressman (Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July 1935), page 64, fn. 280.

⁶⁷³

Reaction was swift. On May 4th, by order of Major-General Burnside, orders were issued from Cincinnati, headquarters for the Department of the Ohio, for Vallandigham's arrest "*as quietly as possible*." On the 5th he was arrested in Dayton and by the 7th he was in Cincinnati "*undergoing trial before a military commission for uttering sedition*." His Dayton followers rioted briefly but were quickly subdued. All "*drinking shops*" were closed and congregating in the streets was forbidden. The mayor and police were "*all butternuts*" and the offices of the *Daily Empire*, viewed by one Captain as "*a den for butternuts*," was searched. Its editor, a "*very dangerous character*" who had taken a "*prominent part in the disturbances*," was arrested. O.R Series II, Volume 5 [#118], #23. Also see Frank L. Klement, The Limits of Dissent, Clement L. Vallandigham & the Civil War, Chapter 11 (Fordham University Press, New York, 1998).

"trained into many attractive forms. Ornamental trees, plants and shrubs of all kinds abounded. The Magnolias and Grape Myrtles seemed waiting impatiently for their hour of glory. Flowers were in bloom, birds were singing, the air was filled with the perfume of roses Feebly walking about the streets could be seen old men of dark skin and tattered garb - the young and strong had all been driven like cattle before the retiring army - these were bent with the weight of years, marked with effects of continuous toil, hoary with the frosts of time."

The regiment made camp "near town on a nice green field,"⁶⁷⁴ a meadow along Bayou Pierre. While resting near a ditch many cleaned empty muskets but other guns were still loaded and could not easily be emptied except by firing, firing that Grant prohibited lest it be viewed as a false alarm. When one man furtively fired an Enfield and dodged back into his tent the disease became contagious and others followed suit. "In a few minutes guns were popping everywhere. No one knew who did it. A man found with a smoking barrel would make a flat denial and look perfectly innocent - his companions equally innocent." Knowing it was prohibited, but sympathetic with his men, Merrill secured permission from Carr to let the remaining weapons, about 400, be fired in a single volley into the ditch.

"The Colonel went along himself to see the condition strictly carried out. He gave the first parts of the order: 'Ready - aim,' and then imprudently waited a moment to be sure that all were indeed ready. The fingers were on the triggers - the suspense was awful - human nature could not stand the strain - crack went a rifle - crack - crack went two more - crack - crack - crack went three. Bedlam broke loose - the racket ran along the line. 'Fire!' shouted the Colonel, but it was too late. The unity of intent was gone.... Satan and all his imps were loose, and every imp had two guns. Every man felt this to be his last chance, and every gun went off."⁶⁷⁵

Grant heard the firing, thought he was being attacked, raced from his tent, mounted his horse, charged down on the regiment and "did us the distinguished honor of personally arresting our Colonel and sending him to headquarters to deliver his sword." The sword was returned when Carr admitted he had been responsible and "even Grant the immobile could afford to laugh." "The men marched back in disgrace, but every gun was cleaned that day."

Grant need not have feared. Pemberton had decided to maintain a strong defense at Vicksburg and send no more men to the front. He found support in orders from Jefferson Davis "to hold both Vicksburg and Port Hudson," in Stevenson's conviction that the real attack would be made at Vicksburg and partially in Bowen's skepticism about the strength of the force that crossed the river. Pemberton's technical superior, Joe Johnston, felt Vicksburg could best be defended by stopping Grant before he could consolidate his position, but failure to reach a consensus continued to hamper Confederate defenders at a time when Grant was vulnerable. The landing at Bruinsburg and the speed with which the Union army advanced had surprised Confederate leadership and Grant was already entering Port Gibson when Johnston wired Pemberton on May 2d, "if Grant crosses, unite all your troops to beat him; success will give you back what was abandoned to win it."⁶⁷⁶

Johnston's advice was good but late. Pemberton was hesitant and his troops too scattered and Bowen could offer no further resistance. Thinking Grant might continue north from Port Gibson to Grand Gulf to Vicksburg, Pemberton had some of his men reinforcing Grand Gulf, others digging entrenchments along the Big Black and cavalry scouting everywhere else.

GRAND GULF TO RAYMOND (May 2 to May 11, 1863)

The advance units had gone only a short distance past Port Gibson before being stopped at the bridge burned by Baldwin over Little Bayou Pierre. Federal engineers ("pontoniers") labored in neck-deep water to construct a new 166

⁶⁷⁴ Diary of Myron Knight.

⁶⁷⁵ Report of William D. Croke, 4th Annual Reunion, 21st Iowa Infantry, Strawberry Point, Iowa (September 3-4, 1889).

⁶⁷⁶

foot long pontoon bridge of wood appropriated from nearby buildings and cotton gins and men cheered when Grant rode up "in full general's uniform," "care-worn" and dust-stained. By 4:00 p.m. the bridge was ready. "Push right along," said Grant. "Close up fast, and hurry over."⁶⁷⁷ Other Federals crossed a few miles upstream at Askamalla Ford, captured a commissary depot and waited.

At 4:30 p.m. Pemberton wired Bowen to destroy Grand Gulf's guns and supplies and withdraw across the Big Black at Hankinson's Ferry, a task that had suddenly become problematical. Nine miles after crossing their pontoon bridge, the Federals had reached Grindstone Ford where a bridge was still burning. Here they were only seven miles from Hankinson's Ferry while Confederates abandoning Grand Gulf were twelve miles from the ferry and would have to hurry to avoid being cut off. The Federals extinguished the fire and worked hard under a full moon to strengthen the badly charred bridge while Confederates spiked guns, destroyed cannon and exploded ammunition they could not carry. The earth trembled and, by daylight on the 3d, Bowen was ready to leave with Loring, only recently arrived from Meridian, in command. Bridge repairs were complete by 5:30 a.m., but Loring was already moving out of Grand Gulf. By 10:30 a.m. the rebels had reached the Big Black. By mid-afternoon all but the rear guard of Reynolds, Tilghman and Cockrell had crossed. It was a sad time for the Southerners but an optimistic Finley Hubbell wrote in his diary:

"the boys keep up their spirits through all difficulties. Noble fellows, they deserve to be made famous in all time to come. Our future looks dark, but surely freedom's battles once begun, can but end in victory."

The 21st Iowa left camp about 8:00 a.m. on the 3d but, two miles later, received orders from Grant to "secure the army's communication line" and help protect the rear. While the rest of the corps moved to Willow Springs, Carr's Division "about faced and returned to camp," Mike Lawler assumed brigade command from Stone, and the 23d Iowa and 11th Wisconsin garrisoned Port Gibson and served as Provost Guard in Grand Gulf. The other two regiments, the 21st and 22d Iowa, moved out to guard the two bridges over Bayou Pierre, sent one company across the bayou, discovered the enemy was gone and forwarded the information to Grant.

That afternoon Grant rode into Grand Gulf with a cavalry escort, took a bath and read dispatches from Banks and Farragut. Wagons were confiscated from nearby plantations, while troops in Memphis and Helena were ordered downriver as soon as possible and Porter occupied Grand Gulf and positioned four gunboats to help hold the town and carry supplies and troops across from *Hard Times*. The rest he led downstream and up the Red River into Louisiana.

Union spirits were high. The men, said Grant, were "in the finest health and spirits" and had "marched as much by night as by day, through mud and rain, without tents or much other baggage, and on irregular rations, without a complaint and with less straggling than I have ever before witnessed." He had planned to join Banks to keep his commitment to Halleck to attack Port Hudson. They would then control the river all the way to New Orleans, supplies could be shipped north and they could lead their combined armies against Vicksburg. The plan was good but no longer feasible.

In March, when Grant was in northern Louisiana and Banks in southern Louisiana with the enemy between them, the two commanders could communicate only by couriers and ships between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Banks had requested Grant's help on the Teche but adequate transportation was not available. Grant's reply, twenty-eight days in transit, was received by Banks near Bisland and it was only when Grant reached Grand Gulf that he heard back from Banks. Banks could provide 15,000 men to cooperate against Port Hudson but not until May 10th. Feeling he had the enemy on the run and could not delay while they were reinforced, Grant, contrary to orders from Washington, "determined to move independently of Banks, cut loose from my base, destroy the rebel force in the rear of Vicksburg and invest or capture the city."

He sent a dispatch to Halleck to notify him of the change, but knew it would be received too late for Halleck to issue contrary orders.⁶⁷⁸ Grant was going to march inland. His real objective, Vicksburg or Jackson, would not be

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Samuel H. M. Byers, *With Fire and Sword* (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 65).

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There may have been more to Grant's decision than he publically let on. Two years earlier, when Grant's fame was on the rise, Halleck had seen an opportunity in Shiloh to personally take command of Grant's army "leaving Grant to command its right wing." After a lackluster performance and "increasing dissatisfaction in Congress and among the people," Halleck was recalled

apparent to the enemy and he could maintain flexibility as he marched to the northeast. He would, however, be placing his army deep inside enemy territory with his own supply line strung out behind him. According to Grant, Sherman protested that "*I was putting myself in a position voluntarily which an enemy would be glad to maneuver a year - or a long time - to get me,*" but inquiries since crossing the river had convinced Grant his army could live off the land if the supply route were completely severed.

From its mouth at Grand Gulf, the Big Black takes a winding route upstream to the northeast eventually crossing the Vicksburg-Jackson rail line a few miles east of Vicksburg. Grant's march would, more or less, parallel the Big Black as he also moved to the northeast, angling toward the rail line, keeping the river on his left and his plans flexible. To confuse the enemy, patrols would make probes towards Warrenton twelve miles south of Vicksburg and other detachments would feint at crossings.

Grant was back at Willow Springs by daylight on the 4th, while the 21st remained on guard duty. The weather was "*very hot,*" but some of the pickets found "*a nice shady place to stand*" and by evening were relieved and back in town where they were "*ordered to be ready to march at a moment's notice.*" Pemberton had 31,000 men and the Federals about 24,000 with McPherson at Hankinson's Ferry and McClernand near Willow Springs. Instead of attacking, Pemberton guarded rail depots and Black River crossings while cavalry under Wirt Adams watched the Federals who were busy gathering horses, mules and oxen and foraging for bacon, beef, mutton, poultry, molasses and grain for men and animals.

Still west of the Mississippi, Steele and Tuttle were moving rapidly to *Hard Times* and Sherman was ordered to organize a train of wagons at *Somerset*, Young's Point and anywhere else he could find them and ferry them across to Grand Gulf where they could be loaded with bacon, "*coffee, sugar, salt, and hard bread.*" As provisions arrived McPherson and McClernand sent detachments to meet them and load the wagons. Included was the 21st's Company F. Walter McNally said they left camp in the afternoon, reached Grand Gulf before dark, "*wint all around there works at grand gulfe and seene there heavy guns*" and were back with the regiment about nine in the evening.⁶⁷⁹ Soldiers were told to fill haversacks with all the food they could carry, enough for five days, but would primarily be dependant on the land. On May 5th, having heard nothing more from Pemberton, Johnston asked "*where is Grant's army?*" but received no answer. On the same day, about 4:00 p.m., the 21st Iowa left Port Gibson. Roads were covered with dust but spirits were high as they found abundant supplies of chickens, turkeys, pigs, cows, potatoes and corn. Their faith in Grant was at an all time high. Bands played, flags flew and men sang *The Girl I Left Behind Me*⁶⁸⁰ as they headed inland, rounding up stragglers and transporting small arms and barrels of powder gathered from the Port Gibson battlefield. Ten to twelve miles later, about 10:00 p.m., they camped on a ridge near Willow Springs not far from A. J. Smith and the 96th Ohio. Among those still behind were Seymour Chipman (too ill to travel), Horace Farrington (hospitalized in Grand Gulf) and Jim Bethard (sick at Ashwood). His last letter had been written a month earlier but he was cheered when the 9th Iowa passed with Steele and he could visit Cal's brother and two cousins. By then Squire had also become ill and was left with Jim while George and Sterling moved on. Meanwhile, aware that Adams' Mississippi cavalry was nearby, Carr:

*"turned out the 11th Wisconsin of Lawler's brigade to escort an ambulance train known to be en route from Port Gibson to Willow Springs. Near the Little Bayou Pierre, the men from Wisconsin met the train just as Adams' greycloaks struck. A short, sharp engagement ensued, and the rebels were put to flight, but not before they had captured five wagons."*⁶⁸¹

to Washington. Grant was again in charge and obedience to Halleck may not have been a primary concern.

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Walter McNally said this was on May 4th. Flavius Patterson, also in Company F, said it was on May 3rd, they reached Grand Gulf at 3:00 p.m., drew rations and started their return at dark.

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William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 291, referencing a letter from Horace Poole. A popular tune with differing lyrics, the song had evolved over time with the Confederates having their own version: "*Old Abe lies sick, Old Abe lies sick. Old Abe lies sick in bed. He's a lying dog, a crying dog. And I wish that he was dead. Jeff Davis is a gentleman. Abe Lincoln is a fool. Jeff Davis rides a big white horse. And Lincoln rides a mule.*"

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Edwin Cole Bearss, [The Vicksburg Campaign](#) (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986) Volume II, page 448, referencing diary of Ira W. Hunt in files VNMP; OR, Series I, Volume 24, Part 2, Page 133; and Hass, "*The Diary of Henry Clay Warmouth, Part 2 (April 28, 1863 - May*

It's not clear who was with the "ambulance train" being escorted by the 11th Wisconsin but records, often conflicting as to dates, indicate several men from the 21st Iowa, four of them ambulance drivers, were captured in this time frame.⁶⁸²

James W. Russell	Co. C	had been assigned to the ambulance detail for only a few days and was captured on May 2nd (according to the 1910 Roster, Muster-out Roll and Descriptive Book) or May 3rd (according to two Company Muster Rolls).
Duane Grannis	Co. D	had been an ambulance driver since October and was captured on May 5th (according to his Muster-out Roll) or May 6th (according to Prisoner of War records), but his capture is not mentioned on the 1910 Roster.
Robert Busby	Co. E	had been an ambulance driver since September, was captured on May 5th (according to the 1910 Roster) or May 5th or 6th (according to Prisoner of War records).
George Luck	Co. F	had been an ambulance driver since April and was captured on May 2nd (according to the 1910 Roster) or May 6th (according to his Descriptive Book and Prisoner of War records).

Following their capture, they were taken north, reached Richmond two weeks later, were confined briefly at Libby before being paroled at City Point, reported to a parole camp in Maryland and, in late June, were sent to Benton Barracks to await an exchange so they could rejoin the regiment.

On May 6, 1863, with his thirty-day furlough near an end, David Drummond was on his way south. With several infantry regiments and artillery batteries on multiple boats, they were near Greenville, Mississippi, when "fired on by a party of guerrillas on shore. The boats tied up and the Union soldiers debarked and "chased them across the country to Greenville, which seems to have been a regular rendezvous for them. A brisk fight ensued, the rebels were whipped, and the town was burnt."⁶⁸³

On the same day father south, Company B's Charles Hinds was admitted to the Mary Ann Hospital in Grand Gulf. James Bryan, the surgeon in charge, said the hospital "was organized by introduction of patients from the field after the battles at Grand Gulf, Port Gibson, and the vicinity from the first to the fifteenth of May, 1863. It was almost entirely a field hospital, located on the slope of a prominent bluff occupied as a peach orchard. The buildings consisted of a central dwelling, and several outhouses, formerly used as kitchens and quarters for the negroes."⁶⁸⁴

It was also on the 6th that Sherman reached *Hard Times* and Steele and Tuttle began crossing to Grand Gulf. Ahead of them, the 21st Iowa was roused at 2:00 a.m. after fewer than four hours sleep and Charles Hinds, sick with chronic diarrhea, was sent back to Grand Gulf. Others had a quick breakfast and resumed their march before daylight, but camped only three and one-half miles later on a large plantation near Rocky Springs while the 23d camped a few miles behind at Willow Springs and dined on beef and cornmeal. The precise location of the enemy was unknown, commanders were wary and men were not allowed to leave camp. Roll was called every three hours. Returning from furlough on the 6th was nineteen-year-old Francis Stevenson. The next day, he accidentally fired his gun and shot off the tip of a thumb.

When the war started, personal finances were handled through state-chartered banks, about 1,600 different institutions, but Salmon Chase recommended a national system with central control of the currency, a bill was passed by Congress and, on February 25th, the President had signed it into law. Now, barely two months later, the state bank

26, 1863)", Page 67.
⁶⁸²

On May 2, 1863 the left wing of the regiment "returned to Port Gibson to assist in paroling prisoners. At this time a cavalry detachment of the enemy captured the ambulance train, and four men of the 21st Iowa were taken prisoner." George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 62. John Loes, Company I, was captured on May 1st (according to the state's 1910 Roster and Prisoner of War records) or while "attacking pickets" on the night of April 30th (according to his Descriptive Book), but there's no indication that he was an ambulance driver.

⁶⁸³ Article in the *North Iowa Times*.

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James Bryan, M.D., *A Short Account of the "Mary Ann" Hospital,* Grand Gulf, Miss., with a brief description of sixteen cases of amputations treated at that hospital (July 4, 1863), Page 4. The American Medical Times, Volume 7 (July to December 1863).

in Dubuque refused to accept federal allotments and Arnold Allen tried sending cash by express. He was concerned that \$20 he had sent earlier may not have made it and wrote to his mother in Epworth.

Camped near black river ~~March~~ May the 7th 1863

My Dear Mother I take this present oportunity to inform you that I am well we have not had any more fighting since the first of the Month but we heard them fighting this morning but I think we will have A fight with them soon well I never mentioned about the money I sent to you I sent you 20 dollars by express tell me if you received it or not we were payed some time since we only got 2 months pay and so I kept 6 dollars to spend well if you see any of them Secesh tell them we are down in the State of Mississippi driveing the Southerners like Sheep we took 4 them rebble prisoners and lost none drove them 30 miles we are geting down below Vikberg we will drive the Rebbles in there and then keep them there and starve them out well after this fight if I can get A furlough I will come hom and see you tell Margaret that I am well tell her that I have hardly chance to write to you and that I will do that first we only have so long to write or they will not go if I dont get this in the office in ten minutes it will not go give my best wishes to all inquiring friends I will write as soon as I can direct your letters via Cairo to follow the Regiment

Arnold Allen Elizabeth Allen

Already there was thought of a siege, at least by Arnold.

On the 8th the division was reviewed by Grant and McClernand amid "*shouts of applause.*" Men were "*in fine spirits, flushed with victory*" as they set their artillery, dug rifle pits and rested for two days at Big Sandy waiting for rations. Behind them Steele and Tuttle reached Rocky Springs ("*there is a nice little creek here but the rocks & springs cannot be found*").

Grant's strength was now about 34,000. Pemberton had almost 40,000 but was badly scattered, still taking defensive positions and building breastworks at Jackson, Vicksburg, along the Big Black, along Fourteen Mile Creek, at Bovina Station and elsewhere, and criticized by Jackson newspaper editors who told Davis that neither soldiers nor citizens "*repose that confidence in the capacity and loyalty of Genl. Pemberton which is so important.*" Occasional skirmishes were meaningless. Johnston was still at Tullahoma when he received a War Department telegram on the 9th ordering him to Mississippi to take "*chief command of the forces*" and, in a shaky hand that must have caused concern for Cal, Jim was finally able to write a short, scribbled letter in pencil, his first in more than a month, and give it to Squire for mailing.

Letter No. 12

Ashwood landing La
May the 9th - 63

Dear wife

it has been some time since I have written to you and you are probably getting a bit anxious but you must not blame me for I have been sick and not able to write but I am getting better now and hope to be able for duty again in a few days I have not seen the regiment since two weeks ago yesterday they are down at Grand Gulf where they have had a fight I saw a man belonging to our regiment who came up from there since the fight he says he does not know of any body being killed in our regiment although there were several wounded The 9th regiment passed here last tuesday and I saw all three of the boys George and Sterling are as rugged as bears but Squier has been sick for some time with the diherea Squier is here with me now and for the last two days but he is calculating to start away in the morning before daylight for Millikens Bend he is going with a sutler who is going back there for goods I will now tell you my present circumstances

when the regiment left camp car two weeks ago yesterday I started in an ambulance but we did not go far til we came to a bio to cross the regt was crossed on flat boats but regt after regt had to cross then battry after battry and we lay there in the ambulance for two or three days waiting for a chance to cross and finely we were sent away up the bio to cross on bridges that had just been finished we crossed and came within a mile of where the 21st had been camped coming the most of the way in the night the next morning they brought us down to count the tents and cooking utensils and everything were left the sick were soon sent for and taken to the hospital at carthage but there being no room for

me in the last load I did not go there had been four convalescents of our camp ... being ... I am glad I did not go to the hospital ... so we kept a tent and are living like pigs the negroes bring us chickens eggs and milk for which we give them crackers and rice

James Bethard

Johnston left Tullahoma for Jackson on the 10th while the 21st Iowa prepared to march at 8:00 a.m., "*three days' rations in their haversacks and 40 rounds of ammunition in their cartridge-boxes,*" but they were delayed and did not get underway until about 10:00 a.m.⁶⁸⁵ Six miles later they rested briefly and then continued in mud and rain, passed Cayuga, had "*a little bout*" with enemy pickets and four miles later camped along Five Mile Creek. Still in Louisiana, Banks received the dispatch from Grant advising that he had crossed the river, changed plans and was pursuing the enemy with Vicksburg as his objective. Banks decided he could join Grant, chase Taylor up the Red River or try to capture Port Hudson. Although he doubted if he had sufficient strength, he elected Port Hudson while Grant continued inland.

"Army wagons by scores and hundreds were sent out daily from ten to fifteen miles, escorted by infantry details sufficient to protect them . . . They returned by nightfall groaning under the weight of impressed supplies, and increased by the addition to the train of every vehicle, no matter what its description, that could bear the weight of a sack of grain, pieces of salt meat, or pails full of butter, eggs, honey or vegetables. . . . Salt, sugar, coffee, and sometimes a small quantity of 'hardtack,' were the only issues then made from our supply trains coming from Grand Gulf."⁶⁸⁶

On May 11th, a heavily guarded train of 200 wagons left Grand Gulf while the 21st Iowa stayed near Five Mile Creek where men had a chance to wash lice from their clothes. Ramroads served as skewers for meat. Coffee was gone and sassafras from adjacent woods proved a poor substitute as patrols scouted roads north. It was time for Sherman to take the front and, as he moved forward, "*there was a great many negroes ... in extases of delight at our appearance.*" Resting by the side of the road, men watched passing banners and searched for friends. The 12th Iowa passed with William Henderson, Abner Dunham and Charles Wallace. Myron Knight saw "*some of the boys*" in the 9th and Jim Rice no doubt had a chance to visit his brother George and cousin Sterling and get reassuring news about Squire and about Jim Bethard who they had seen on the opposite side of the river. A few miles to the southeast, Logan passed through Utica and spent a quiet night with campfires lit and one man spoke for most when he succinctly noted, "*water scarce; weather hot; roads dusty; land poor; rations short; houses poor; shabby things. Don't like the country.*"

Thinking, with some justification, that Grant planned to move north and attack the rail link to Jackson, Pemberton left 10,000 men in Vicksburg, but moved 20,000 east to positions along and south of the rail line with Bowen going to Edwards' Station and John Gregg to Raymond, a small crossroads village with an 1860 population of 558. Wirt Adams' cavalry was also to stay near Raymond "*to harass the enemy on his line of march, cut his communications wherever practicable, patrol the country thoroughly.*"

On the evening of the 11th, Grant planned the next day's movements in a north-northeasterly direction, more directly at the rail line now only a few miles away. McClernand would be on the left with Divisions moving to Fourteen Mile Creek and Montgomery's Bridge over the creek. Wheeling up on his right would be Sherman and on the far right McPherson. By day's end the Union front, from McClernand's far left to McPherson's far right, would be fifteen miles long, but even the best laid plans must sometimes change.

BATTLE AT RAYMOND (May 12, 1863)

In oppressive heat and humidity on the 12th, another supply train left Grand Gulf with 200 wagons escorted by the 25th Iowa. Ahead of them, the 21st Iowa was roused about 3:00 a.m. and left three hours later "*marching very*

⁶⁸⁵ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 465.

⁶⁸⁶ Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant p.72 (Alfred A. Knopf 1955).

slow,"⁶⁸⁷ each man carrying eighty rounds of ammunition (twice the norm), "*had a little bout with the enemy pickets*"⁶⁸⁸ and continued in rain and mud. At Old Auburn they turned north towards Edwards Station⁶⁸⁹ while Pemberton wired Johnston:

*"the enemy is apparently moving in heavy force toward Edward's Depot, on Southern Railroad. With my limited force I will do all I can to meet him Reinforcements are arriving very slowly The enemy largely outnumber me; and I am obliged to keep a considerable force on either flank of Vicksburg out of supporting distance."*⁶⁹⁰

McClelland's vanguard from Hovey's Division skirmished at Whitaker's Ford on Fourteen Mile Creek, but Carr was not involved and bivouacked for the night with the rest of the corps in fields south of the creek and about five miles from the rail line.

So far so good for the left of the wheel but the day was decidedly different on the right where Logan was advancing on the road from Utica and nearing Fourteen Mile Creek two miles from Raymond when he met Gregg about 10:00 a.m. Gregg had three cannon and about 3,000 men, but was without Adams' cavalry due to misinterpretation of an ambiguous wire received two days earlier from Pemberton.⁶⁹¹

Weather was hot and dry, in most places creeks were a trickle and dust swirled in oppressive winds choking men and animals. Southern soldiers had arrived the previous afternoon. They were tired and hungry and their feet were blistered, but beautiful young ladies waved the Bonnie Blue Flag as men hurried through town. Not realizing he was facing advance elements of an entire corps, Gregg ordered an attack and his artillery fired from a ridge behind the creek. Colonel Calvin Walker, posted near the graveyard, told his 3d Tennessee to "*follow this old bald head*" and 548 men moved forward in a charge that, initially, was successful.

Union troops were in disarray and fell back across a cornfield and the deep narrow creek until "*Black Jack*" Logan arrived. Logan was an attorney and popular Democratic Congressman, a Douglas man who opposed abolition and tried to keep free Negroes out of Illinois, a political appointee who had favored compromise with the fire-eaters but left Congress in 1861 to fight for the North. Imposing, with a black moustache and long black hair that "*swept his shoulders*," he rallied his men "*with the shriek of an eagle*" and counter-attacked.

*"Had it not been for Logan's timely intervention, who was continually riding up and down the line, firing the men with his own enthusiasm, our lines would undoubtedly have been broken at some point."*⁶⁹²

Stevenson's brigade was east of the road where Leonard Richey's 32d Ohio protected the Union right and faced infantry from Tennessee and a creek "*running red with precious blood.*"⁶⁹³ When the enemy pulled back the Buckeyes crossed near a dense pine wood where they were told "*to stand to their posts.*" Moving up a ravine they again met the rebels from Tennessee and briefly exchanged fire, but were forced back 600 yards when attacked from an angle to their left. After a pitched battle of several hours Gregg's rebels withdrew about 3:30 p.m. Union casualties were estimated at 442 and Confederate at 515 including seventy-six killed but, as usual, other estimates were vastly different.⁶⁹⁴ Gregg, an Alabaman by birth, a pre-war judge and a participant in Texas' secession convention, survived

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Diary of George Brownell, Company E, 21st Iowa Infantry. The original diary is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁶⁸⁸ Diary of Myron Knight, Company B.

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A depot on the Southern Railroad, it was usually referred to as "*Edward's Depot*" by Confederates and "*Edwards Station*" by Federals while George Crooke called it "*Edward's Station.*" Officially, 1857 to 1867, the rail line was known as the Southern Railway of Mississippi.

⁶⁹⁰ O.R. Series 1, Volume XXIV/3 (S#38).

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Reported by Grant as 5,000 men and two batteries. In some sources it is reported that the engagement started about 2:00 p.m. while others indicate it ended about 2:00pm.

⁶⁹² Osborne Oldroyd, *A Soldier's Story of the Siege at Vicksburg* (1885).

⁶⁹³ Osborne Oldroyd, Company E, 20th Ohio Infantry (1885).

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Union losses were reported by Grant as 66 killed, 339 wounded and 37 missing. These same figures are reported elsewhere. Cadwallader, Three

the battle but in another year would die near Richmond.

Anticipating a Southern victory, the ladies of Raymond had prepared a picnic beneath tall oak trees lining the downtown streets, but the rebels passed through so rapidly on their withdrawal they had no time to eat. The first Union regiment to reach the town and tables laden with food was the 20th Ohio. By the time the next regiment arrived the food was gone and, by 5:00 p.m., the town was secure in Union hands. The large Hinds County courthouse, completed in 1859 by the Weldon brothers with slave labor, was a hospital for the South. Methodist churches and the white frame 1854 St. Marks Episcopal were hospitals for the North. *"Dead and wounded soldiers laying scattered here and there over the field"* were *"borne away to the hospitals"* and, seven miles west of Raymond, Grant ordered surgeons to *"give the wounded men every attention possible and make no distinction between Federals and Confederates."*⁶⁹⁵

BATTLE AT JACKSON (May 14, 1863)

"Edwards Station," said Grant, *"is evidently the point on the railroad the enemy has most prepared for receiving us. I therefore want to keep up appearances of moving upon that place, but want to get possession of less guarded points first."*⁶⁹⁶ That was on the 12th, but Raymond had been a surprise and forced him to change plans. He notified McClernand that the enemy *"retreated toward Clinton, and no doubt to Jackson. I have determined to follow, and take first the capital of the State."*⁶⁹⁷ Jackson might be more strongly fortified than he thought and there were rumors it was being reinforced by Johnston. If Grant continued his wheel north to the rail line, he risked having Pemberton on one side and an increasingly strong Johnston on the other, an untenable position at best. He decided to *"turn the whole column towards Jackson and capture that place without delay."* He ordered McPherson to march for Clinton at daybreak on the 13th to sever communications linking Vicksburg and Jackson, and to then head for Jackson. Sherman was to leave at 4:00 a.m. and go directly to Jackson by way of the former resort of Mississippi Springs. Three of McClernand's divisions would follow on the north side of Fourteen Mile Creek while his fourth division under Smith would meet the supply train being escorted by Blair. Their orders were different but each corps would be in supporting distance of the other two and McClernand's divided corps could protect both McPherson and Sherman on the front and, at the same time, protect the rear in case Pemberton changed his spots, a possibility that could be minimized if Grant moved quickly.

On May 13th, Pemberton was at Bovina Station, most of his army was south of Edwards Station and a third Union supply train left Grand Gulf. McPherson started in darkness, reached Clinton early, worked hard to sever the telegraph and destroy the rail line, and continued toward Jackson. Sherman also left early and passed through Raymond but McClernand's task was more difficult. After the previous day's skirmish at Whitaker's Ford, he had remained in contact with the enemy south of Edwards Station and did not want them to know he was withdrawing. Such knowledge would not only alert them to the movement on Jackson but might also invite an engagement. To create confusion, Hovey bluffed an attack drawing Bowen, Loring and Stevenson to Edwards Station where they were still digging in to prepare a defense as Carr and Osterhaus raced east. Hovey followed, one regiment at a time, and by the time the Southerners realized what was happening McClernand had gained a full days' march and, characteristically, Pemberton elected not to follow.

Still near the rear, the 21st Iowa left camp at 8:00 a.m. on the 13th and *"felt our way through the woods"*⁶⁹⁸ about five miles, stacked arms and rested, marched another four miles in a hard rain and learned of the previous day's victory at Raymond where Logan *"whipped them and drove them out."* The regiment was on half rations *"and part of the time on mush,"* but there was no complaining since they were *"inspired with the belief that Grant was going to capture Vicksburg."*

Years With Grant page 69 (Alfred A. Knopf 1955). Confederate casualties were reported as 100 killed, 305 wounded and 415 captured. Elsewhere they were reported as 305 killed and 415 captured and, by Gregg, as 73 killed, 229 wounded and 205 missing. Ibid. The cemetery between the town and battlefield has 240 Confederate dead, most from the 3d Tennessee, 10th Tennessee, 30th Tennessee and 7th Texas, most with stones dated May 12, 1863.

⁶⁹⁵ Frank Herron, Company K, 3rd Tennessee Infantry.

⁶⁹⁶ O.R. Series 1. Volume XXIV/3 [S#38]. No. 12.

⁶⁹⁷ O.R. Series 1. Volume XXIV/3 [S#38]. No. 13.

⁶⁹⁸ Diary of George Brownell, Company E, 21st Iowa Infantry. The original diary is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

At the conclusion of the day's movements Grant issued orders for the 14th. McPherson and Sherman would move on Jackson while McClernand would send Hovey to Clinton, Osterhaus to Raymond and Carr to a point three or four miles beyond Mississippi Springs.

Joe Johnston had reached Jackson late on the 13th, learned of the Union advance and telegraphed Richmond, "*I am too late.*" At 3:00 a.m. on the 14th he ordered Jackson evacuated and left Gregg and Walker with artillery, two infantry brigades and mounted infantry to cover his withdrawal and "*removal of the public stores.*"⁶⁹⁹ Two hours later, in pouring rain, Sherman from the southwest and McPherson from Clinton started their approach. Roads were mud. Water in places was a foot deep. Men moved forward, pushing and pulling wagons, cursing all the while. Three miles west of town, Crocker's Division paused along the rail line, advanced another mile and a half, reached the outskirts of Jackson, began to deploy, and met enemy skirmishers who slowly fell back. Gregg's cannon opened fire and a soldier in the 35th Iowa "*had his leg cut off.*" The rain slackened and an attack was ordered. When the rain got harder, they stopped, afraid cartridge boxes would be soaked if opened. "*It rained and thundered fearfully*" said Byers, "*the shocks of thunder so intermingled with the shocks from the guns that we could not tell the one from the other.*"⁷⁰⁰ At 11:00 a.m. the rain eased, McPherson ordered a bayonet charge and "*the whole division moved forward in a superb line.*" Defenders broke and pulled back.

About 2:00 p.m. Gregg learned Johnston's withdrawal had been completed, called in his remaining infantry and left town leaving only seven cannon and a few artillerymen to delay the Federals. On the south, Sherman had driven the enemy out of their trenches and into the city and stood with Grant as they planned their next move. They could see the breastworks to their left but not the right and "*Gen. Grant Gen. Sherman and several other Gen. came up there and held a council of war ... when a messenger came as fast as his horse could run saying the town had surrendered.*"⁷⁰¹

The 95th Ohio was sent to reconnoiter the far right and found trenches empty. An old Negro told them "*the Rebels is left the city, clear done gone*" and led them into town, through backyards and over fences as they approached the remaining Confederate battery from the rear to secure the guns and fifty-two prisoners. McPherson learned of the evacuation at 3:00 p.m., tried unsuccessfully to intercept Gregg's retreat, entered the town ("*cheering lustily,*" said Fred Grant) and hoisted Old Glory. At 4:00 p.m. Grant joined his commanders.

They had captured seventeen guns and much equipment and suffered about 300 casualties to the enemy's 845. At 5:40 p.m. Pemberton wired Johnston that he was moving 17,000 men south toward Dillon's with the hope of cutting Grant's supply and communication line, a line Grant had already abandoned. At the Jackson telegraph office Grant intercepted the message and wired Pemberton in Johnston's name requesting reinforcements. Pemberton replied he could send none since he had sent all he could spare to cut the supply line "*and that is the way he got their movements.*" With Jackson secure, Grant issued orders for the next day before he and Fred retired for the night at the "*principal hotel in the city,*" the Bowman House, reportedly in the same room that Johnston had used the night before.⁷⁰² Sherman was to stay in Jackson temporarily but McPherson would leave in the morning, back along the rail line about seventeen miles to Bolton Station.

The 21st Iowa had started the 14th near the rear of the army and struggled forward about twelve miles in "*rain and mud*" towards Mississippi Springs. For Cornelius Scott the march was long and hard and "*he got out of shoes and none could be provided for him.*" Slowly, he picked his way forward, barefoot in oozing mud, slipped, seriously injured his right heel (a "*stone bruise,*" he said) and was sent to an ambulance by Sergeant Major Dubois.⁷⁰³ Meanwhile, in Grand Gulf, their comrade, Charles Hinds died at the Mary Ann Hospital from the effects of chronic

⁶⁹⁹ O.R. Series 1. Volume XXIV/1 [S #36]. No. 10.

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Samuel H. M. Byers, With Fire and Sword (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 69).

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Civil War Letters of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry, edited by Mildred Throne. Iowa Journal of History (The State Historical Society of Iowa, October, 1955), page 317.

⁷⁰²

Mary Carol Miller, Lost Landmarks of Mississippi (University Press of Mississippi, 2002), page 47. The Federals "*left the hotel unharmed and headed on to the front lines,*" but the hotel "*burned to the ground less than a month later*" after the Confederates had reentered the town.

⁷⁰³

Pension records of Cornelius Scott on file with the National Archives indicate the injury bothered him the rest of his life.

diarrhea.⁷⁰⁴

Six miles short of Jackson the regiment made camp but, on May 15th, with directions reversed, they would find themselves at the front as McClernand was told to "*turn all your forces toward Bolton Station*" by the most direct roads possible. Charles Willson rejoined the regiment after being left behind at *Somerset* and Archibald Stuart arrived from New Carthage but Walter O'Brian, a forty-two year old from Delhi, was missing. Sick with lung fever, Walter had been left at *Somerset* but improved and "*started to rejoin his regiment and while on the march he with some comrades took shelter in a shed during a storm, the train passed on, he was unable to march and was left since which time he has not been heard from.*" In was widely believed Walter had passed away from his illness or been captured while foraging.⁷⁰⁵

BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILL (BAKER'S CREEK)⁷⁰⁶ **(May 16, 1863)**

On May 15, 1865, two forces that might have defeated Grant if better coordinated moved farther apart. Communication had become difficult and Grant was moving too fast. Pemberton received Johnston's earlier dispatch but delayed a decision. Johnston, he felt, was ill-informed. Moving east would leave Vicksburg more vulnerable and he might be out-flanked on the south. He thought it was better to protect Vicksburg with a strong defense along the Big Black but accepted a proposal by Loring to take a position farther east cutting off the Federal supply and communication line between Raymond and Grand Gulf. Intending to leave Edwards Station at 8:00 a.m. he was delayed several hours waiting for supplies, but finally left to the southeast with 21,000 men about 1:00 p.m.⁷⁰⁷ Loring took the lead and was delayed another three hours on the Raymond Road when he was unable to cross Baker's Creek swollen by the heavy rains, but the men, said Calvin Smith of Tennessee, "*can't be subjugated, unconquerable with too much hatred to even wish for peace, all joyful and full of glee marching perhaps into the jaw of death.*" He was sure the "*God of battle*" would provide victory over "*Lincoln's hordes who have robbed the defenseless women and children of the staff of life.*"

A "*disagreeable rain set in which lasted all night,*" but the Federals were up before dawn on the 16th. By daylight McPherson was on the road west following the rail line toward Bolton, the previous day's battlefield on his left "*strewn with corpses of our own men,*" a solitary man digging a grave, the bodies of his two brothers lying nearby.⁷⁰⁸ Still in Jackson, Sherman went to work as ordered. Entire regiments tore up track, heated rails and bent them around trees to make "*Sherman's neckties.*" Others appropriated supplies and burned bridges, factories, warehouses, arsenals, machine shops and foundries. For years to come, Jackson would be known as Chimneyville. "*Private rights of citizens should be respected,*" said Sherman, but for many who fought with the 12th Iowa at Shiloh, possibly for William Henderson who had buried his brother and Charles Wallace who had been captured, it was a chance for retribution. Two years earlier, when marched through Jackson as prisoners, some had been detained, listened to bands playing

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There is a monument for Charles in Luana Cemetery, Luana, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #80478780. Mary Ann burials were made locally during the war and it's mostly like he was later reinterred thirty miles north as an "*Unknown*" in Vicksburg National Cemetery and that the Luana monument is a cenotaph.

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Walter was never heard from again. A widow with five young children, his wife, Lucinda, married David Wright in 1866. When he died in 1903, she was granted a \$12.00 monthly pension, payable quarterly, an amount she received until her death in 1910. She is buried in Storm Lake Cemetery.

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Sylvanus Cadwallader, reporter for the *Chicago Times*, indicated that "*Two days after the battle was fought the name by which it should be known in history was under discussion at headquarters. Gen. Grant said . . . he had given it the name of 'Baker's Creek' in his official dispatches to the War office. I told him he was too late - that it was already named - that I had christened it 'Champion's Hill' in my correspondence - that the newspaper dispatches giving it that name would reach every hamlet in the United States . . . that millions of people would read of it by that name in my dispatches, while his official report naming it Baker's Creek, was growing mouldy in the pigeon-holes of the War Department.*" Cadwallader, *Three Years With Grant* p.81 (Alfred A. Knopf 1955). Champion's Hill is more often referred to as Champion Hill. See generally, Bearss & Winschel, *Disaster at Champion Hill & Big Black Bridge!* *Blue & Gray* magazine (Campaign 2001).

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Or 23,000 or 17,500 or another number equally uncertain.

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Samuel H. M. Byers, *With Fire and Sword* (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 70).

Southern songs and been denied food while "*the lower order of the populace' swarmed about, 'abusing the Yanks'*" at the Confederate House, a hotel that now mysteriously caught fire and burned to the ground. Others in the regiment saw a chance to take prisoners of their own as they "*captured*" nine geese. A court martial was convened, the grey feathers branded the hapless birds as rebels and they were promptly "*executed.*"

From its camp near Mississippi Springs the 21st Iowa learned the enemy left Jackson but Pemberton was "*marching out on the Vicksburg & Raymond road to get into our rear.*" They marched about eight miles on the 15th, paused to eat at Raymond and, two miles later, camped on the Hawkins' plantation near the junction of the Middle and Bolton roads. Arriving during the day with Grant's second supply train after a three day trip from Grand Gulf were Nelson Reynolds (finally recovered from his bout with malaria) and mail from home including a letter to George Brownell from his sister "*stating the death of my wife I am just about wore out.*"

By 9:30 a.m. cavalry had occupied Bolton and taken a few prisoners. Advance infantry arrived by nightfall, but most of the 32,000 Federals would spend the night strung out along roads from Jackson, Old Auburn and Raymond with campfires easily seen by Southern cavalry. Grant was at Clinton and that evening ordered John McClernand - with the 21st Iowa - to move on Edwards Station early on the 16th, but "*cautioning him to watch for the enemy and not bring on an engagement unless he felt very certain of success.*" Tired after a frustrating day, Pemberton's Confederates, following another suggestion by Loring, had moved up the west side of Baker's Creek and camped on a line six miles long from north of the Middle Road to south of the Raymond Road.

On the 16th most Federals were again up well before daylight. Some rushed on without breakfast but, for others, "*breakfast consisted of some wet dough cooked on the ends of ramrods.*" A fourth supply train left Grand Gulf and seven divisions (four in McClernand's Corps, two from McPherson, and Blair's Division from Sherman) continued their advance. Almost immediately Grant learned from two civilians, a brakeman and baggage master from the Southern Railway, that Pemberton was marching toward him with an estimated eighty regiments, ten batteries and 25,000 men. Moments later, on the Jackson Road, Sam Byers saw "*a general and his staff gallop through the woods, parallel with the road. They were leaping logs, brush, or whatever came in their way. It was General Grant, hurrying to the front.*"⁷⁰⁹ Grant ordered Sherman's remaining divisions to move west as rapidly as possible and, within an hour, Cal's brother and cousins, George Rice and the Mather brothers, were on the way with Steele.

The Federals would approach Edwards Station along three roads - the Jackson (Clinton) Road running parallel to the railroad, the Middle (Billy Fields) Road which would merge with the Jackson and Ratliff Roads at "*the crossroads*" north of Isaac Roberts' house, and the most southerly Raymond Road. Leading McClernand's 12th Division, Alvin Hovey left camp at 8:00 a.m. on the Jackson Road followed by Logan and Marcellus Crocker from McPherson's Corps. Osterhaus advanced with the 9th Division on the Middle Road followed by Carr's 14th and, on the Raymond Road, it was A. J. Smith's 10th Division with Jim's boyhood friends from Ohio, James Tanner, Robert Johnson and Ira Hommans, in the lead followed by Blair. Grant had the confidence of the administration and "*absolute authority to enforce his own commands.*" Two great armies were about to meet - officers in full uniform, McPherson on a large black horse, Logan on a white one, artillery rushing forward, men racing through woods and over streams, both sides positioning themselves, frightened men anxiously loading muskets. At stake were Edwards Station, Vicksburg, the Mississippi and possible devastation for the invading Yankees or defending Rebels.

The 21st Iowa started with Carr about 6:00 or 7:00 a.m. on what most thought would be a routine day while Pemberton received another order from Johnston directing him to move northeast to unite at Clinton. This time he decided to obey but it was too late - he could not reverse himself quickly enough to avoid a confrontation. Contact had been made by Wirt Adams' cavalry near the Gillespie plantation on the Raymond Road and musket fire alerted his comrades manning a roadblock farther west near the Davis residence. For ninety minutes they held off A. J. Smith's superior Union force, but "*as yet no preparations had been made to make or receive an attack; the artillery was parked, the horses unharnessed, the general staff officers galloped around furiously delivering orders, the soldiers sprang to arms, and after innumerable maneuvers, were finally formed.*"⁷¹⁰

Pemberton had more men and could have had two more divisions from Vicksburg and more from Johnston, but Johnston was resting in Calhoun and the Vicksburg divisions were never called. Preparing to fight with what he had, a line of battle was formed. On the far south was Loring's Division with brigades led by Buford, Featherston and

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Samuel H. M. Byers, With Fire and Sword (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 72).

⁷¹⁰ Terrence J. Winschel, Triumph & Defeat (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 100.

Tilghman guarding the Raymond Road. Loring himself was in the vanguard near Sarah Ellison's house "on the main Raymond and Edward's Depot road, at a fork from which I could advance either to Raymond or Dillon's." Next to the north, on the Ratliff Road, were brigades led by Cockrell and Green with Bowen near the Ratliff plantation. Finally, on the weakly protected north, was Stevenson, near Isaac Roberts' house, commanding brigades under Barton, Cumming, Lee and Reynolds. Nearby was the home of Mary Champion and her husband Sidney, a private in the war with Mexico and now serving with Pemberton. From north to south the rebel line stretched three or four miles, from the Champions' farm, past Roberts, to J. G. Spencer's farm on the south. Men were "in fine spirits, animated, gay and buoyant" as they formed along a high, heavily wooded, ridge overlooking Jackson Creek and ending in the "abrupt terminus" known as Champion Hill.⁷¹¹ Enemy advancing across open fields or on "the road leading up the face of the hill" would be vulnerable to artillery, but Pemberton was unaware of the Federals approaching his weak left flank on the Jackson Road. McClernand heard Smith's fire and sent a warning north. Osterhaus advanced and received fire from heavy woods. Hovey met Stevenson on the Jackson Road. Logan moved up but was blocked by Hovey's wagons. Grant rode forward, the road was cleared and Federals massed near the Champion house were under fire and told to lie down until the rest of the division joined them. "I never hugged Dixie's soil as I have today," said one. About 9:00 a.m. Pemberton learned of the movements on his left and shifted men to meet them while Federals, with "a lull in the firing," rested "on the blue grass in Champion's front yard, with Grant and staff near by in the shade."⁷¹² At 9:45 a.m. McClernand sent word to Grant - should he bring on a general engagement on the Middle Road?

The 21st Iowa had advanced only five miles when it heard the firing from Osterhaus ahead and Hovey to the north. About 10:00, while Grant was meeting with Logan and McPherson at the Champion house, the Hawkeyes left knapsacks under guard, moved into line of battle in reserve of Osterhaus, and lay on their arms in "close column by Division" on the left of the road near the edge of the woods. McPherson signaled an advance on the northern road about 10:30 and Hovey moved forward in "magnificent style," first walking, then running, flags flying, past the farm and onto the hill. Hovey was followed by "Give 'em Hell" Logan.

In otherwise rolling terrain, the hill stood 140 feet high, overlooking dense woods and fields on the east and Baker's Creek on the west. At 11:30 a.m. Hovey charged up and out of a hollow, captured one Confederate battery and then another. Logan was in combat with Alabamians. The Union right turned Pemberton's left; 10,000 yelling, screaming, bluecoats; "hissing hail;" the "boys did nobly."

Grant received McClernand's inquiry about noon and replied equivocally - attack "if an opportunity occurs."⁷¹³ The 24th Iowa, "a Methodist regiment" with several preachers, advanced through the 47th Indiana, passed a house and garden, and was hit by grape and canister from a battery 200 yards ahead.⁷¹⁴ "Now is the time boys!" shouted their Captain and they charged ahead, fell back and charged again - "the horrid howling of grape and canister is about us." By 1:30 p.m. the Confederates had been pushed back half a mile. Sixteen guns were lost, thousands of men had been captured and the rest were in disarray. Leonard Richey's 32d Ohio, on the right with Logan, led a bayonet charge "across an all but impassable hollow" and captured eight guns of the 1st Mississippi battery that entered the battle with eighty-two men "and only came out with eight." Carnage was everywhere.

While others fought, McClernand held much of his corps out of combat. "Opportunity" had not presented itself, but new messages from Grant arrived about 2:00 p.m. directing him to push forward. McClernand told Smith and Osterhaus to "attack the enemy vigorously and press for victory." The Confederate roadblock was overrun with Carr (and the 21st Iowa) and Blair still in reserve. Osterhaus asked for support and McClernand ordered Carr forward but, in general, lethargy prevailed over vigor and the attack was not pressed on the Union left.

A Northern rout appeared likely until Bowen counter-attacked about 2:30 p.m. McClernand's presence, despite his inaction, had held Loring on the rebel right during the early fighting but, with no pressure from the federals, Bowen felt free to lead Cockrell and Green to the assistance of Stevenson. Rebel commanders shook hands in front of

⁷¹¹ Known to others as Midway Hill, it was half way between Jackson and Vicksburg.

⁷¹² Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant, p78 (Albert A. Knopf 1955)

⁷¹³

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volum II, page 617.

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The battery included the remnants of the Botetourt Artillery that had fought so well at Port Gibson. Its Major, Joseph Anderson was mortally wounded and "would not see his lovely Botetourt or family again."

their men and charged forward along the Ratliff Road. As they passed the Confederate headquarters, now at the Roberts house, Pemberton waved his hat while women sang "Dixie" and cheered him on. Cockrell "rode down the lines; in one hand he held the reins and a large magnolia flower. With the other he waved his sword and gave the order to charge" and "with a shout of defiance and with gleaming bayonets and banners pointing to the front, the gray line leaped forward, and moving at quick time across the field, dislodged the enemy."⁷¹⁵ These were fighters from Missouri and Arkansas, the best the Confederates had. Hovey was forced back to the Champions' farm, first Slack, then McGinnis, giving up captured guns and losing nearly one-third of the division. Grant positioned his artillery "just as Hovey's stampeding men poured over the crest" and Byers recalled, "we ran, and ran manfully. It was terribly hot, a hot afternoon under a Mississippi sun, and an enemy on flank and rear, shouting and firing. The grass, the stones, the bushes, seemed melting under the shower of bullets We tried to halt, and tried to form. It was no use. Again we ran, and harder, and farther, and faster the wounded called pitifully to us to halt and help them as we ran headlong to the rear."⁷¹⁶

Bowen had retaken the hill and Grant ordered up fresh troops from Crocker's Division, third behind Hovey and Logan on the Jackson Road, to retake the hill on the Union right. They rushed forward and met others streaming to the rear, holding up "their bleeding and mangled hands to show us they had not been cowards."⁷¹⁷ Sam Byers' 5th Iowa was rushed to the front so fast there was little time to fix bayonets and soon, "on the edge of a low ridge we saw a solid line of men in gray, their muskets at their shoulders blazing into our faces and their batteries of artillery roaring as if it were the end of the world. Bravely they stood there. They seemed little over a hundred yards away. There was no charging further by our line. We halted, the two lines stood still, and for over an hour we loaded our guns and killed each other as fast as we could."⁷¹⁸

Crocker moved forward driving the enemy "slowly, inch by inch, from the ravines and ditches," up the hill and down the other side, "retaking four pieces of artillery" previously captured and lost. Three times the hill changed hands in bitter fighting. Hovey called it a "hill of death ... I never saw fighting like this." He saw the flag of his old 24th Indiana and asked where the regiment was. "Over there," said a soldier pointing to a hill covered with corpses. At one point on top of the hill, men of the 34th Indiana were starting to retreat when Logan appeared with "the speed of a cyclone," shouting that "he had been wounded five times and never turned his back to the foe yet." When an Indiana soldier protested that the rebels were "awfully thick up there," Logan roared "Damn it, that's the place to kill them - where they are thick." Tell Logan "he is making history today," said Grant as he calmly smoked a cigar.

Union artillery eventually took its toll and, by 4:00 p.m., with men fleeing all about him, Pemberton knew the battle was lost.⁷¹⁹ With more cooperation from Featherston, Tilghman and a recalcitrant Loring it may have been different. Bowen and Stevenson withdrew; their troops were routed; men ran in confusion; "the ground was covered with the slain," "gray mingled with blue;" officers rode about looking for their regiments. Loring, delayed earlier when directed to a wrong road, "was preparing for a charge," but was ordered by Pemberton to withdraw and posted his division along the Raymond Road on Cotton Hill.⁷²⁰ A. J. Smith moved up by the 1852 Coker home and a "spirited" artillery duel followed.⁷²¹

About 5:20 p.m., Lloyd Tilghman, Pemberton's classmate and friend from West Point but from whom he was now somewhat estranged, dismounted to direct Mississippi artillery in battle with the Chicago Mercantile Battery and

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Ephraim McD. Anderson, Memoirs: Historical and Personal; including the Campaigns of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade (Times Printing Co., St. Louis, 1868), page 312. R. S. Beivers, The History of the First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigades, 1861-1865.
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Earl S. Miers, The Web of Victory (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1955), page 188.

⁷¹⁷ S. H. M. Byers, With Fire and Sword (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911) page 76.

⁷¹⁸ S. H. M. Byers, With Fire and Sword (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911) page 77.

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Loring disagreed and felt "an attack upon the enemy's right during the panic which had befallen his center we could overwhelm it, retrieve the day, certainly cut him off from the bridge on our extreme left (of which it was highly important we should hold possession), and save our scattered forces."
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aka Coker House Ridge. Named for the deceased Dr. Jno. A. Cotton who had died in Missouri while on his way west during the California gold rush.

⁷²¹ Mrs. Cotton having been remarried to farmer H. B. Coker.

was hit in the chest by a shell fragment "*passing entirely through him.*" He died instantly at a site where forty-four years later his sons would erect a monument in their father's memory.⁷²²

For hours, the 21st Iowa had stood and listened to sounds of battle until "*Grant, deciding that it would be better to follow-up the defeated rebels with McClernand's fresh troops, placed the commander of the XIII Corps in charge of the pursuit. Because Carr's division was in column, while Osterhaus' was in line of battle, McClernand ordered Carr to take the lead.*"⁷²³

With the 11th Wisconsin staying behind to support the artillery, Lawler's Iowa regiments led by the 22d moved up between Smith and Osterhaus. From there they advanced on a line to flank rebels on the Union left with Companies A and B of the three regiments deployed as post-battle skirmishers. Facing the enemy for the first time, nineteen year old Jacob Switzer stared at the "*open field strewn with dead and wounded,*" a sight "*not calculated to steady his nerve,*" but need not have worried. "*It was apparent to General Lawler and Col. Robert H. Sturgess of the 8th Illinois that the enemy was moving with such celerity that it would be impossible to overhaul them before they reached the Raymond road. Their people having captured almost 500 Confederate stragglers, the two officers called off the pursuit, reformed their men, and marched to rejoin their parent units.*"⁷²⁴

After the battle, Companies A and B gathered weapons and "*took a lot of prisoners driving the Rebs at every point.*"⁷²⁵ Joseph Carter was among many detached to guard the prisoners but, according to Joseph, his gun was "*resting against rail fence, he caught it by the muzzle and the cock caught one of the rails, gun went off & shot off two of my fingers of right hand.*" The surgeon amputated what was left at the second knuckle while the regiment moved on to Edwards Station where Walter McNally and several others were detailed for guard duty at Lawler's headquarters.

Despite the brigade's minimal involvement, McClernand later claimed that "*Lawler's brigade here cast the trembling balance in our favor.*"⁷²⁶ Joseph Carter's accidental injury had been the regiment's sole casualty. Only one in Carr's entire division had been killed and only two wounded. William Crooke felt McClernand had been "*spellbound by a show of opposition and the throwing of a few shell from the high ridge in his front, caused three of his own divisions and one of Sherman's to stand motionless while another division of his own corps was being slaughtered by wholesale almost if not quite within musket range, but hid from them by dense woods. Those who stood there that day will surely never forget the bands of humiliation and shame which bound them to the spot, while listening to the awful crashes of musketry and thunders of cannon close by.*" If they had been allowed to move two hours earlier Crooke was convinced Pemberton, "*would have been compelled to surrender right there - bag and baggage Thenceforth the corps commander, with an ambition like Lucifer's, who thus missed the finest opportunity*

⁷²² Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 627. He is buried in New York's Woodlawn Cemetery.

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Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 628.

⁷²⁴ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II.

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Journal of Myron Knight. Gilbert Cooley, in his journal, said "*our div acted in support.*" George Crooke said the brigade was moved forward, "*but pressing onward the enemy soon broke and fled, pursued by the brigade as rapidly and closely as the conformation of the ground permitted.*" He confirms that the "*skirmishing companies . . . captured a large number of prisoners and many small arms.*" George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 66. . The regiment "*was held in reserve until near the end of the engagement ,when it engaged in a movement to flank the rebels on the right; but, before the position to which it had bene directed was gained, the enemy had retreated.*" Historical Sketch, Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume III, page 448 (1910). In his diary, Flavious Patterson wrote, "*May 16, 1863 we are again on the road at 6 AM, at 10 AM we met the rebels in line of battle on Champion Hills, Hovies Division of the 12 Corps opened the fight, our Brigade (the first) was held in reserve, the battle raged with great fury on all sides until about 4 PM when Our brigade was sent to flank the rebels on their right which we did in fine shape.*" In short, they were present, but did not participate in the battle.

"*All of Lawler's Brigade of the same Division except a reserve of one Regiment [the 21st?] also advanced to support Lindsey who had pushed a charge near the mouth of a battery. Lawler's Brigade here cast the trembling balance in our favor himself narrowly escaping the effects of a shell. His men joined Lindsey and both dashed forwards shooting down the enemys artillery horses driving away the gunners and capturing two pieces of cannon.*" Report of Major General McClernand (05/16/63).

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John McClernand in a June 17, 1863, report of the operations of the 13th Corps since March 30, 1863, a report Grant said was "*pretentious and egotistical*" with "*so many inaccuracies that to correct it, to make it a fair report to be handed down as historical, would require the rewriting of most of it.*"

of his life, passed gloomily to the rear, and his fame sank to zero, while the man he hated, whose sole ambition was to do his present duty well, went on, step by step, to the highest military and civic honors, and to the company of *The Immortals*'.⁷²⁷

The regiment's last rations had been drawn at Bruinsburg and men had been living on cornmeal and "Old Ned" (bacon) acquired from local farms by the regiment's "fighting Chaplain," Acting Quartermaster James Hill, and a small force under him that had scoured the country along the line of march. "Lieut. Hill was untiring in the performance of this duty, and could not restrain his energy or the pursuit of food and fodder even on the edge of a hard fought battlefield." When the fighting ended on the 16th, Hill was ordered by Merrill to find a means of transporting the wounded and to "collect anything that would serve the regiment" and led a small party several miles into the country. Sending his men one way to load supplies at a local farm with directions to meet him later at the Raymond and Jackson crossroad, Hill continued alone down a bridal path through dense woods until:

"I unexpectedly rode right into the Confederate lines, and encountered three rebel pickets with their loaded rifles. I realized at once that I had gotten myself into a nasty position. Nevertheless, I did not lose my presence of mind, for as I emerged from the brush, I instantly and in the most natural manner, ordered the Johnnies to 'ground arms!' They obeyed. Then slightly turning my head, I addressed an imaginary guard in the brush with a hasty order to 'halt'. The under growth and brush were so heavy that the Confederates were prevented from seeing through and thus discovering the deception. I next gave the command: 'Ten paces to the front, eyes to the center.' Seeing my revolver in my hand ready for instant use, the three men complied with my command. I further added that if any of them turned his head to right or left I would shoot him down in his tracks. I frequently gave the order to 'halt' to my imaginary guard, tending to frighten my prisoners into absolute obedience. This done, I deliberately dismounted and gathered up the three rifles, placed them against the neck of the pony, mounted, took the rifles under my arm and then gave the order to my prisoners: 'Single file, march,' and to my imaginary guard: 'Forward, march.' I hurried toward the command at good speed. Before it began to dawn upon my prisoners that I had fooled them, they found themselves within our lines. I turned them and their rifles over to Colonel Merrill who sent them to Major-General McClernand. When the prisoners saw that I had fooled them, their anger was vented in terms more strong than polite, one of them saying to me: 'Lieutenant, you could never have taken us but for that devil of a body-guard we thought you had, from the way you kept halting them.'"⁷²⁸

Hill's prisoners were from the 6th Mississippi Infantry and, after their two mile march to the Union camp, they were interrogated by a grateful McClernand.

Pemberton had moved a trainload of guns and provisions to Edwards Station before the battle but could not remove them during his hasty withdrawal and ordered them set on fire. Benton's brigade reached the station about 8:00 p.m.; Lawler and Osterhaus a short while later. Some of the cars were lost but others were saved by Federals who put out fires and loaded their haversacks. For dinner they had fresh corn and bacon to supplement the "nigger peas, fresh beef, and parched corn" foraged on the march. On a night that suddenly turned cold, many who had lost their blankets opened bales of cotton, let it "fluff out to about three times its size," and buried themselves in "unwoven sheets and blankets."⁷²⁹ Confederate casualties were reported as 3,840, not counting Loring's 6,500 man division that was cut off but escaped around Smith and Blair on the Union left to join Johnston near Jackson after losing about 3,000 from his division as stragglers. Federal casualties were estimated at 2,441. Each reported about 400 killed outright but many of the missing had already gone to their "long homes" and many of the wounded would soon join

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Address by William D. Crooke "Address to the surviving members of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, on occasion of their fourth reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3d, 1889 (Pettibone, Wells & Co., Printers, Chicago), pages 49-50, digitized by the Internet Archive in 2012.

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Deeds of Valor From Records in the Archives of the United States Government (The Perrien-Keydel Company, Detroit, 1907), Volume 1, page 182; reprint (Longmeadow Press, Stamford, CT; 1992), page 182. Hill's actions were also reported in the *North Iowa Times* (June 17, 1863).

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Elsewhere it's indicated "they were soaked with rain during the night, but it was a warm rain." Dick Barton, *Charge at Big Black River. America's Civil War magazine*, p.57 (September 1999).

them. Both sides fought well, but the Confederates, hampered by Pemberton's early indecision, became openly critical of their leader ("*curses, loud and deep*" were common) and Union soldiers had lost an opportunity to turn a victory to a rout due, in large part, to the lack of more decisive action by McClernand.

Nevertheless, a correspondent for Burlington's *Hawk-Eye* reported on what he claimed had been the "*most brilliant fight in the Southwest for several months*" and he was certainly correct. "Grant," he said, "*has been fairly outdoing himself, of late, and his reckless exposure of himself on the field begets unbounded admiration among the privates.*"

Wounded prisoners capable of travel were prepared for transport north while others were treated in the field by the 21st's Dr. Orr. Surgeons commandeered a farmhouse and almost immediately the wounded were at the door, some walking, some carried, "*rich young American blood flowing out in little rivulets of crimson; each thinking he was in the right . . . with no anesthetic to soothe the agony, but, gritting their teeth, they bore the pain of the knife and saw, while arms and legs were being severed from their bodies.*"⁷³⁰

Shortly before the battle, Mary Champion had gathered her clothing, valuables and four children and fled to her father's house in Madison County. In a few more months her home would be lost to fire but, for now, it was a Federal hospital where doctors worked throughout the night while Grant stayed at the Roberts house where Northern surgeons treated Southern wounded. His reputation had been made, the battle had sealed the fate of Vicksburg and it can be argued, says Ed Bearss, that it "*was the most important single engagement in the Civil War.*"⁷³¹ "*The drums of Champion Hill sounded the doom of Richmond.*"⁷³² "*The battle of Champion Hill produced results far more important than the great hecatombs like Shiloh, Fair Oaks, Murfreesboro, [Stones River], Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. It was the most complete defeat the Confederates sustained since the commencement of the war.*"⁷³³ "*The battle of Champion Hill not only saved Grant's army from possible disaster, but proved to be the decisive battle of the war.*"⁷³⁴

While the still-to-be fought battle at Gettysburg was more important politically, Champion Hill was militarily decisive, it sealed the fate of Vicksburg and it would lead to control of the Mississippi for the North. "*I think the courage of the private soldiers, standing in that line of fire for that awful hour and a half, gave us Vicksburg, made Grant immortal as a soldier, and helped to save this country.*"⁷³⁵

BIG BLACK RIVER⁷³⁶ **(May 17, 1863)**

Hoping to intercept Pemberton, Sherman reached Bolton Station about 2:00 a.m., rested four hours and continued west on a road that would hit the Big Black about eleven miles north of the more direct road taken by others. At Edwards Station, Lawler's brigade was also up early on the 17th. Some had breakfast, others didn't and most were underway between 3:30 and 5:00 a.m.

Walter McNally and others who had spent the night on guard duty were relieved, returned to camp, discovered

⁷³⁰ Earl S. Miers, *The Web of Victory* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1955), page 194
⁷³¹

Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 637.

⁷³²

Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 637, quoting J. F. C. Fuller.

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Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 638, quoting the Comte de Paris.

⁷³⁴

Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 638, quoting Field Marshal Garnet J. Wolsely in his article on "*The Civil War in America.*"
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Samuel H. M. Byers, *With Fire and Sword* (The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1911; reprint by Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, 1992, page 84).

⁷³⁶ See generally, Bearss & Winschel, *Disaster at Champion Hill & Big Black Bridge!* *Blue & Gray* magazine (Campaign 2001).

their regiment was already on the move and “got some breakfast.” While they were eating, “9 or 10 rebales came in sight without armes,” said Walter who “called to them to come over to us.” The Confederates, members of the Georgia infantry, did as requested and “gave them selves up as prisoners.” After enjoying breakfast, they were reported to Union headquarters. Walter and others from the regiment were then detailed to go out as skirmishers “for to pick up all the straglers of the rebs that we could find.” They “picked up 12 rebs,” took them to the guard house and were relieved so they could catch up with their regiment.

In the advance at Port Gibson but having been held in reserve during the battle at Champion’s Hill, the division was now rotated to the front. Benton’s Brigade took the lead. Lawler trailed Benton with the 11th Wisconsin at the head of the brigade followed by the three Iowa regiments. Many of the marchers wore “feathers” from the cotton bales pried open the night before and had to endure friendly jests of their comrades as they moved along roads “strewn with ammunition, muskets, wagons, caissons, and, in a field near the road, eleven pieces of artillery,”⁷³⁷ all abandoned by the enemy the previous evening.

At the Big Black River wagons, artillery and Stevenson’s division of infantry crossed to the west to bivouac near Bovina, but a defensive line commanded by Bowen was established on the east. Pemberton hoped to hold the flooded railroad bridge long enough for Loring to catch up, unaware he had already been cut off. Downriver was a small boat bridge constructed two days earlier by “swinging the steamer Dot across the stream and removing her machinery.”

The west bank of the river consisted of bluffs forty to fifty feet high rising sharply from the water’s edge. On the east was an open cultivated bottom almost a mile wide surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water two or three feet deep and ten to twenty feet wide. Along the inside of the bayou, the Confederates had built breastworks and rifle pits with the bayou as a defensive ditch on the outside.⁷³⁸ Trees were cut and placed in the bayou with sharpened ends facing out. To the rear was another line with rifle pits behind a parapet constructed of bales of cotton covered with dirt. Both lines extended in a semi-circle from the river above the bridge and back to the river below. “At the northern end of the line, where a narrow belt of timber offered the possibility of a surprise assault on the left flank, detached rifle-pits had been constructed at an angle to the main line and east of the bayou. From there an enfilading fire could be delivered against a force attacking the principal works. In the reentrant angle thus formed was a dense grove of trees.”⁷³⁹

Experienced troops under Cockrell and Green were on the right and left respectively with J. C. Vaughn’s brigade in the middle, about 4,000 infantry buttressed by artillery.⁷⁴⁰ Before the war Vaughn had prospered by building hotels to accommodate railroad travelers and he was one of only two from Union-sympathetic East Tennessee who became Confederate generals. He had been a delegate to the 1860 Democratic National Convention in Charleston and was present when Fort Sumter was fired on, but his men at the Big Black were untried.⁷⁴¹ Elijah Gates’ dismounted cavalry crossed to the west bank but was recalled and positioned on the left between Vaughn and the river. Pemberton was convinced the position could not be taken by a frontal assault. At worst he feared a flanking movement at Baldwin’s Ferry on the south or Bridgeport on the north, a fear well-justified as Grant directed Sherman to cross at Bridgeport where he was aided by Blair whose men worked hard to construct a bridge.

Benton’s brigade was the first to reach the waiting Confederates. Lawler arrived shortly thereafter, about 7:00 a.m., and formed 100 yards to the rear. A few hours later, after early skirmishing, Southern pickets were driven in and lines set. Carr was on the Union right facing Gates whose rifle pits were about three-quarters of a mile upriver from the bridge. Lawler ordered the 11th Wisconsin to move cautiously through heavy woods to the edge of an open field. The 23d Iowa under Colonel Kinsman, impeccably attired in full dress uniform, came next, followed by Merrill’s 21st and Stone’s 22d. Artillery and muskets exchanged fire for the rest of the morning while Lawler held his position waiting for “the cannon to play on them” and other infantry to move up. Here:

⁷³⁷ Report of Giles A. Smith, Colonel, 8th Missouri Volunteer Infantry. O.R. Series 1, Volume XXIV/2 [S#37].
⁷³⁸

“The most solid masonry will be broken down sooner or later, but shells and solid shot can do little harm to earthworks.” Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865), page 52.

⁷³⁹ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 656.
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Elsewhere it’s indicated Bowen alone had 5,000 men and their guns included “20 strategically placed artillery pieces.” Dick Barton, *Charge at Big Black River* p58. America’s CivilWar magazine (September 1999).

⁷⁴¹ W. Tood Groce, Mountain Rebels (The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1999) pages 16, 51, 60, 68.

*“the enemy opened fire on us with all their available cannon and made our position in the timber extremely uncomfortable. A rain of shot and shell cut great limbs off the trees and mowed down the tops of the smaller ones which came tumbling down upon us from a height of fifteen or twenty feet. Our Colonel, Merrill, of the Twenty-first Iowa, became tired of this sort of thing and suggested to General Lawler that he move his command to the right along the belt of timber skirting the river, and from that position charge the enemy’s works.”*⁷⁴²

To understand the movements of the brigade, it’s important to realize the Big Black makes several significant turns at this point. For this reason, when facing the waiting Confederates with the river behind them, the brigade also had the river on its right with a stand of trees near the river. Initially, the brigade was able to use the river bank as partial cover as it moved forward. Soon they were only 400 yards from the enemy, with a field between them. McClernand's Chief of Cavalry, John Mudd, noticed a small ravine, a “*meander scar*,” down to the right that was deep enough to conceal a brigade with a bank and thin row of trees between it and the enemy.⁷⁴³ To reach it, they would be exposed to fire as they crossed the field, but full deployment of other Union forces was not even complete when Lawler authorized the advance.

A former Congressman, Lawler was a big man weighing 250 pounds, so big that his sword belt would not fit around his waist. He wore it slung over his shoulder. A devout Catholic and a native of County Kildare, Ireland, Lawler had been mustered in as Colonel of the 18th Illinois two years earlier by Grant, himself a newly enrolled Captain on the staff of Illinois' Adjutant General. Within months, Lawler was charged with hitting and kicking men in his command, permitting and ordering others to do so, adding “*noxious drugs*” to whiskey that was sent to men in the guardhouse, and permitting private Robert Dickman “*to be taken by the soldiers of his command without trial or sentence by court martial or other authority and be hung by the neck until dead*” for having murdered another member of the regiment. Lawler survived a court martial when Major General Halleck ordered that he be “*relieved from arrest and resume command.*” A month later he was severely wounded in the left arm at Fort Donelson and he excelled under fire at Champion Hill. When it came to “*just plain hard fighting*,” said Grant, he would rather trust “*old Mike Lawler*” than any other. To Charles Dana he was “*brave as a lion, and has about as much brains; but his purpose is always honest, and his sense is always good.*”⁷⁴⁴

His men moved out of the woods “*with a shout*,” the 11th going first, across the cotton field, through enemy fire, and without serious loss reached its new position under cover of the bank facing Gates. Lawler then ordered the 23d forward. “*No sooner said than done*,” said Glasgow, and they crossed to a position on the right of the 11th and “*as close as possible to the enemy's works.*” Next, the 21st Iowa raced ahead under an “*awful hailstorm*” of bullets, reached the ravine only a stone's throw from the enemy and took a position next to the 23d. Myron Knight described it simply: “*we went to the right side and down by the side of a Bayou and layed by the bank.*” Finally, the 22d Iowa moved forward and to the left, but in supporting distance of the others. Stretched out,

*“lying flat on his face, was a recruit who had been with us but five days. Zip! That was a ball! The recruit, with one convulsive spring, flopped onto his back, bringing his knapsack under his shoulders; but still his head was on the ground. A sorry figure he presented, thus bowed up and writhing in apparent agony. He moaned that he was wounded and bleeding to death, but closer inspection showed the ball had struck his canteen, and the lifeblood which he felt oozing away was only the warm water trickling over him.”*⁷⁴⁵

The recruit had been badly frightened “*and the boys could not restrain audible though subdued smiles.*” Highland Township’s Samuel Wallace Moore, a sergeant in Company D and acting Orderly, “*was shot by a sharpshooter, the ball from a small squirrel rifle entering the side of his mouth. As he fell backward, [Francis Thompson] caught him*

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Francis M. Thompson, *The Charge at Black River Bridge*. Midland War Sketches, Volume VI (July 1896), page 172.

⁷⁴³ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 670.

⁷⁴⁴ Charles Anderson Dana, Recollections of the Civil War (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1909), page 65.

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Francis M. Thompson, *The Charge at Black River Bridge*. Midland War Sketches, Volume VI (July 1896), page 173. The recruit was either Henry Bollinger who enlisted in Company G on January 24th or Roger McCoy who enlisted in Company I on February 4th.

and eased his body to the ground. Almost at the same moment we were ordered to halt and lie down."⁷⁴⁶ Francis' brother, James, who was in front of Moore, turned and together the brothers "moved the body of our now dead comrade to one side and covered it with a blanket." Moore had been wounded at Hartville and, said Gilbert Cooley, "died a martyr for the Human Rights" at the Big Black.⁷⁴⁷ A cow path ran through the timber and the Confederate sharpshooter climbed a tree and continued to "pay us his compliments several times."⁷⁴⁸ Sam Merrill, the McGregor banker turned Colonel, would later recall:

"at Black River bridge, I was in command a part of the time of a brigade consisting of the 21st, 22nd and 23rd Iowa and 99th Illinois and 2nd Iowa Battery."⁷⁴⁹ Col. Kinsman of the 23rd Iowa and myself were ordered to prepare to charge the 'Rebel Works.' They consisted of water in front of earth works and trees cut down and the limbs cut pointed, requiring slow work to separate the pointed limbs, wade the creek and mount the earth works.

Colonel Kinsman and myself, my adjutant Howard and Sergeant Moore, the latter a Methodist Clergyman, were consulting as to the plans of the charge, Colonel Kinsman to the right and my regiment to the left. Before we four separated Sergeant Moore gently struck up the tune of Old Hundred, 'Be Thou O God Exalted High,' and all of us, quartett [sic], joined, my Adjutant Howard, a broad chested young man with a grand old bass, all singing tenderly. It was one of the most impressive and solemn scenes of my life time, but sadder things were to follow. Before I gave the order to charge the works, Sergeant Moore was shot in the neck and lay dead."

Shortly before noon, Colonel Kinsman suggested a bayonet charge to which Lawler agreed although, recognizing that a charge by a single regiment "could hardly be successful," he decided to use the entire brigade. Skirmishers from two of Osterhaus' regiments, the 49th and 69th Indiana, would "attract the attention of the enemy from the movements on the right," while the 21st would advance with the 23d, the 11th Wisconsin would follow closely, and the 22d Iowa would move up in reserve. In shirt sleeves, Lawler formed his men in columns of four so they could attack more as a battering ram than in the traditional line formation. Don't bother firing, he said. Keep moving forward and into the trenches.

Regimental commanders gave the order to "fix bayonets" and the men complied. It was about 10:00 in the morning when Lawler mounted his horse, leaned forward and led the way up and out of the ravine where they were "met by a storm of shot." Realizing an original plan to form in trees at the top of the bank would not work, Merrill shouted to the 21st - "By the left flank, Charge!" Kinsman ordered the 23d "Forward!" and "his noble regiment sprang forward" over the plain and toward the bayou and the waiting enemy. The two Colonels waived their hats and "the Boys clambered up the Bank, formed on the colors and raised the yell like so many demons."⁷⁵⁰

The 21st and 23rd raced forward. The 22d followed the 21st and the 11th Wisconsin followed the 23d. A soldier in the 22d passed men from the 21st who had already fallen. "One young soldier, lying wounded hallooed to us 'go in boys, give 'em hell, they have fixed me.'" Gates covered them "with a most terrific fire" until they passed out of his sight, hidden by trees in the reentrant angle and struck the ditches in front of Vaughn. Some paused to fire a single volley, others did not, no time to reload, into the bayou, wading in water waist deep, struggling through abatis and fallen timber, muskets held high, up and out and into the enemy breastworks. Jesse Harrison, Captain of Company C, "was one of the first to enter the enemy's works. On coming to the bayou in front of the rebel works, he saw a fallen tree, lying in the water, and sprung upon it, and from that to the opposite side, which he reached without wetting his feet. His company having waded the stream, followed directly to the bridge to cut off the retreat of those to the right."⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁶ Francis M. Thompson, *The Charge at Black River Bridge*. Midland War Sketches, Volume VI (July 1896), page 172.

⁷⁴⁷ The site of Samuel's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54878010.

⁷⁴⁸ Francis M. Thompson, *The Charge at Black River Bridge*. Midland War Sketches, Volume VI (July 1896), page 173.

⁷⁴⁹ Letter from Sam Merrill to his sister (May 30, 1899).

⁷⁵⁰ William Croke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 21.

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Capt. A. A. Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments: Being a History of Iowa Regiments in the War of the Rebellion, page 373 (Mills & Company, Des Moines, 1865).

They had roared out of the ravine, across the field and through the bayou so fast that the surprised Confederates got off only one volley before they were inundated. The charge was one of the shortest of the war - it lasted three minutes,⁷⁵² "3 minutes 22 seconds" according to another.⁷⁵³ The 21st and 23d Iowa had broken the entire Confederate line and "carried the works before the other boys got in range."⁷⁵⁴ A newspaperman who witnessed the assault called it "the most perilous and ludicrous charge I witnessed during the war."⁷⁵⁵ According to William Crooke:

*"The silent river overflowed its banks and poured a flood of living men upon the plain - living, yelling, screaming madmen. Onward they rushed, regimental and company organizations immediately broke up - the fastest runners ahead. Too late now to stop them or issue orders - as well to try to stop the whirlwind or the cyclone. They could not stop, for the hurricane of shot and shell was upon them, and terrific volleys of musketry front and flank.... To stop one instant would be to die, and so onward they rushed, yelling, screaming madmen, wild with excitement, and shaking the gleaming bayonet. We have heard much said of the rebel yell, but surely no yell could create more dismay than that which burst from those Iowa troops on that beautiful May morning. Men fell everywhere, but onward they swept - the bayou was reached - the bayou was passed. Leaping from tree to tree, from branch to branch through mud and water, none knew how, but the bayou was passed. Without waiting for actual crossing of bayonets, the rebels rose in masse, from the rifle pits and fled for the bridges, those who remained holding up bunches of cotton on their guns in token of surrender. The charge was over."*⁷⁵⁶

"This," he said, "was a bold dash of our brigade for which we were highly complimented." McClernand thought it "eminently brilliant" and Lawler was praised by Grant.

*"Notwithstanding the level ground over which a portion of his troops had to pass without cover, and the great obstacle of the ditch in front of the enemy's works, the charge was gallantly and successfully made, and in a few minutes the entire garrison with seventeen pieces of artillery were the trophies of this brilliant and daring movement."*⁷⁵⁷

John Goodrich had been "nearly the first man to mount the embankment, and nobly did he lead back a number of Rebels from their rifle-pits to our camp."⁷⁵⁸ Captains Swivel, Voorhees, Watson, Boardman and Crooke "behaved with great coolness" and Lieutenants Dolson, Roberts and Childs "received the praise of all who saw their bravery," but casualties were heavy.

In the 21st Iowa the dead included George Boxleiter, a native of Bavaria, John Muth from Germany, Henry Racy another German, Henry Britton, William Haslem, and eighteen year old Canadian William Kenyon. Another eighteen-year-old was John Dietrich who was mortally wounded and died the next day.

Henry Carrier, 5' 6" tall with blue eyes and flaxen hair received a non-fatal wound when a ball entered his chest and exited through an arm. Edward Sweet, a twenty-three year old wagoner in Company I, was wounded in the bowels and lower back. German born George Fisher took a ball in the right leg, about three inches below the knee. Another German native, Andrew Wick, was shot above his left knee with the ball splintering bone before it exited. David Griffith fell with a musket ball in his hip and Dubuque's Andrew McDonald was shot in the right arm. Henry

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William Crooke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 22

⁷⁵³ Dick Brown, *Charge at Big Black River.* America's Civil War magazine (September 1999), page 60.

⁷⁵⁴ Journal of Gilbert Cooley. (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

⁷⁵⁵ Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant (Arthur A. Knopf 1955), page 83.

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William Crooke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 22.

⁷⁵⁷ Rev. P. C. Headley, The Life and Campaigns of General Ulysses S. Grant (Geo. Leavitt, New York, 1869), page 337.

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Lieutenant James Hill writing after John's death. Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, Page 131 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

Chiles was wounded in the right thigh. George Crop, a near neighbor at home, helped carry Henry from the field so he could be sent to the Van Buren General Hospital in Milliken's Bend. David Maxson had a ball near the spine. George Dean was shot in the side and Lovatus Fuller lost an index finger when shot in the right hand. Henry Howard, acting Adjutant and one of the four organizers of Company B, was shot in the stomach.

Company F's James Russell was wounded in the right arm, Henry Chiles was wounded severely in the left thigh, Cyrus McLane suffered a serious leg wound, Louis Eno was shot in the right hand, McGregor's Dan Donahue fell with a gunshot wound to his left calf and Company Clerk George Hess was seriously wounded in the left hip. William Johns was hit in the right wrist and left leg, Charlie Robbins "*had his whiskers shot off*" and Horace Duel, the regimental color bearer, was wounded seriously. August Kessler, a native of Germany, was killed while Martin Baal was wounded and would soon have his right foot amputated. The regiment reported seven killed in action, twenty mortally wounded and fifty-six wounded less seriously out of 600 participating.⁷⁵⁹ An analysis of regimental records, muster rolls and military and pension files from the National Archives indicates the actual numbers were:

- 7 killed in action
- 18 mortally wounded (4 of whom would die the next day while one would linger three and one half months before succumbing to his wounds)
- 40 non-mortally wounded (and possibly others too slight to be entered in the records).

One of the most seriously wounded was Colonel Merrill who "*fell severely wounded*" early in the charge when hit by a ball that passed from right to left through both thighs.⁷⁶⁰ The Thompson brothers joined two others "*who carried off our beloved Colonel. We laid him beside that noble Christian soldier, Adjutant Howard, who was mortally wounded, fearing that his fate would be the same.*"⁷⁶¹

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There were 839 on the muster rolls at the start of the day, but many were unfit for duty or otherwise not present or capable of participating. Crooke says the regiment suffered 6 killed and 63 wounded. Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1891), page 70. See Appendix of names.

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Report of Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Dunlap, May 18, 1863, recited in the Historical Sketch of the regiment. Roster of Iowa Soldiers, Volume III, Page 449.

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After Merrill's resignation many months later, Salve Van Anda commanded the regiment through the end of its service, albeit without receiving a promotion from his then rank of Lieutenant Colonel to Colonel. After the war, Van Anda returned to Delaware County and resumed the practice of law in Manchester. Thirteen years later, The History of Delaware County, Iowa (Western Historical Company, 1878), page 444, said Merrill, before the charge, "*was suddenly taken very sick; the boys yelled for Van Anda who dashed to the front, assumed command, and led the gallant but bloody charge, the success of which was due to his cool and daring courage. . . . After the charge, Col. Merrill was slightly wounded by a stray shot from the prisoners the boys had taken, while coming up in the rear.*" This highly erroneous account also appeared in the Manchester newspaper and was repeated in the History of Delaware County (The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago, 1914), Volume 1, Page 109.

It's nonsense! Merrill did not claim sickness before the charge and nothing in his military or pension records even hints at such a claim. To the contrary, it was Merrill who gathered with three other officers to plan the assault and it was Merrill who ordered his regiment to charge and it was Merrill who led his regiment during the charge. There was no time for "*cool and daring*" during the charge; it only lasted three minutes and everyone was running as fast as he could. Merrill did not come up "*in the rear.*" He had been seriously wounded, was lying on the field and couldn't walk if he wanted to. He wasn't "*slightly wounded;*" he was almost killed and some thought he was dead. It wasn't a "*stray shot from the prisoners;*" it was a shot during the charge before any prisoners had been taken. Veterans took note of the erroneous account and, at the regiment's 1887 reunion in Delaware County, it was "*Resolved, That we the members of the Twenty-first regiment, in reunion assembled, do most emphatically stamp such representations of our gallant colonel as false, and that we hold Col. Samuel Merrill in the highest esteem for his bravery and efficiency while commanding our regiment.*" Accurate accounts are plentiful.

01. "*Our Colonel, Merrill, of the Twenty-first Iowa . . . suggested to General Lawler that he move his command to the right, along the belt of timber skirting the river, and from that position charge the enemy's works. . . . Quietly along the line was passed the order, 'Fix bayonets!' and as quietly it was obeyed. . . . Colonel Merrill saw at once that a movement in this order would be impossible, and shouted his words ringing out clear above the din of battle, 'By the left flank, charge!' . . . Merrill is shot through both hips. . . . I was one of four who carried off our beloved Colonel. We laid him beside that noble Christian soldier, Adjutant Howard, who was mortally wounded, fearing that his fate would be the same.*" Col. F. M. Thompson, The Charge at Black River Bridge. Midland War Sketches, Volume VI (July 1896), pages 172-173.
02. Report by Brigadier General Michael Lawler (commanding the brigade at the Big Black) in the government's "*Official Records*" says Merrill "*was wounded early in the charge: while gallantly leading his regiment against the enemy.*"
03. "*Col. S. Merrill was wounded seriously at the battle of Black River bridge while leading his men gallantly to victory.*" Clayton County

Also "among those who breathed their last before going down in the sun" was the 23rd Iowa's Colonel, Samuel Kinsman, a native of Nova Scotia. Less than half way to the enemy trenches Kinsman fell, shot in the abdomen, got to his feet, urged his men forward and was shot in the chest while Glasgow took command.⁷⁶² Asking Carr to leave him on the field, Kinsman, "a soldier, a lawyer and a gentleman," said, "Tell the boys I die happy!"⁷⁶³

A field hospital was set up in "a shady grove in the rear of the battle-field, and the scene presented there, on that beautiful Sabbath evening, was one to melt the stoutest heart." The wounded were cared for in a tent. "In less than an hour," said Merrill, "Col. Kinsman, Adjutant Howard and myself lay near each other in the care of surgeons. Both Col. Kinsman and Adjutant Howard died before morning, and myself left to tell the sad story."⁷⁶⁴

A private from the 23d Iowa saw "limbs that had been taken off - hands, arms and legs. There were about 40 or 50 limbs lying in one pile."⁷⁶⁵ Amputation kits usually included a saw, tourniquet, knives, forceps and clamp to hold the bone. Some had more while others had less. The night was long and Dr. Orr was much in demand. Reece Merrick of Company K was shot in the leg. By nightfall the leg was amputated and soon he would die. William Alloway, a nineteen year old bachelor, was wounded in the right arm, the arm was removed and, in three weeks, he would die on

Journal (June 4, 1863).

04. Colonel Merrill "was severely wounded through the hip. He was laid up from the 17th of May to January, when he again joined his regiment in Texas, and in June, 1864, on account of suffering from his wound, resigned and returned to McGregor." History of Monona County, Iowa (National Publishing Company, Chicago, 1890), page 136.
05. "[T]hat while the impetuous charge of Black River Bridge was being made, Colonel Merrill was severely, and reportedly fatally, wounded. . . . While Colonel Merrill was leading his regiment in this deadly charge, he received an almost fatal wound through the hips. This closed his military career. It was long before he was able to walk, even with the help of crutches; and even yet, on damp days, the old wound gives him twinges of pain." The Western Monthly (Reed, Browne & Co., Publishers, 1869), Volume II, Page 73.
06. "Colonel Merrill, gallantly leading his regiment, fell with a bullet through both thighs, which well-nigh proved fatal." George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry. A Narrative (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 70.
07. "Colonel Merrill, while gallantly leading the regiment, fell severely wounded by a musket ball which passed through both thighs." Dr. William Orr, The Surgeon's Narrative. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry. A Narrative (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 160.
08. Brigade commander Mike Lawler's official report said, "the command 'Forward' was given by Colonel Kinsman. . . . The Twenty-first Iowa led by Colonel Merrill moved at the same instant . . . Colonel Merrill, the brave commander of the Twenty-first Iowa, fell wounded early in the charge . . ." Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume III, Historical Sketch, Twenty-Third Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (1910, page 678-688).
09. "Let it suffice here to say that Colonel Merrill was there well nigh mortally wounded." Lurton Dunham Ingersoll, Iowa and the Rebellion (J. B. Lippincott & Co., 3rd ed. 1867), page 468.
10. "Lawler signaled Merrill and Kinsman to start the action . . . Kinsman and Merrill went down almost immediately. . . . Among the wounded still lying where they had fallen were . . . Colonel Merrill." Dick Barton, Charge at Big Black River. America's Civil War magazine (09/1999).
11. "Col. Samuel Merrill, Twenty-first Iowa, received a contusion from a shell at Port Gibson, and was shot through both legs while leading the regiment in the charge at Black River Bridge." Official Records of the Civil War, Series 1, Volume XXIV/1 (S#36/
12. "Col. Samuel Merrill, Twenty-first Iowa Volunteers, deserves particular mention for his bravery and the gallant manner in which he led the regiment to the charge." Official Records, Series 1, Volume XXIV/2 [S#37]
13. The blueclad regiments roared approval and came out of the meander scar like a Greek phalanx of the Golden Age, the 21st Iowa on the left . . . Gates' dumfounded Missourians in the detached rifle-pits had time for only a ragged volley or two into the flank of the assault column, before it vanished behind the grove to the right of their line. In this brief period, his sharpshooting riflemen struck down both Col. Samuel Merrill of the 21st Iowa and Colonel Kinsman of the 23d . . ." Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 673.
14. "Subsequently with his regiment he took part in the Vicksburg campaign, and while leading an impetuous charge at Black River Bridge in Mississippi he was shot through both thighs, a wound that closed his military career." John Brown, James Boyd, History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties.
15. "As they charged, the Twenty-first Iowa's Colonel Samuel Merrill received a serious wound." James R. Arnold, Grant Wins the War. Decision at Vicksburg (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), page 229.

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Elsewhere it's indicated he was "shot through the bowels" and carried to a field hospital where he died the next day. Dick Barton, Charge at Big Black River. America's Civil War magazine (September 1999), page 60.

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In February 1864 Des Moines civilians "came to take up and remove the bodies of some officers of the 23d Iowa" who had been killed in the battle. In the winter of 1901-1902 veterans of the 23d Iowa located Kinsman's grave by identifying the pipe buried with him, disinterred his remains and returned them to Council Bluffs for burial in Fairview Cemetery.

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Letter from Samuel Merrill to his sister (Los Angeles, California, May 30, 1899).

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Dick Barton, Charge at Big Black River. America's Civil War magazine (September 1999), page 60.

a hospital boat going upriver. William Lyons had a finger on his left hand almost severed and that evening the finger was cut away.⁷⁶⁶ Men who had doubted Merrill's bravery after Hartville were now convinced he had "true grit." He was erroneously reported killed,⁷⁶⁷ but survived and returned to McGregor where the *Journal* said Merrill:

*"is now numbered with the 'bravest of the brave' of the fighting colonels from this State, and has shown himself a pure patriot, notwithstanding the manifold slanders charged against him by copperheads of McGregor."*⁷⁶⁸

Vaughn had faced the brunt of the charge and his men, said Pemberton, "fled precipitately." "Each was eager to secure his own escape," said Johnston. "One portion of the line being broken, it very soon became a matter of 'sauvre qui peut'." Rebel soldiers ran in disarray, desperate to cross the river. The ground was covered with "guns and accoutrements, and clothing of every description." Sam Lockett, Pemberton's Chief Engineer, had sensed unsteadiness among the Southerners and prepared the *Dot* and the railroad bridge for burning. Rails and cotton were piled at intervals with barrels of turpentine nearby. He stationed officers at both locations and, as soon as the men were across, signaled his officers to apply the torch. In moments, the *Dot* and bridge were destroyed while those who were able to do so crossed downstream on a "boat bridge" that included the *Charm*, *Paul Jones* and an unidentified third boat before they too were burned.⁷⁶⁹

Burning of the bridge slowed Grant's advance, but also stranded many of Lockett's helpless comrades on the east side of the river. Estimates of the total captured, many of whom were wounded, varied from Myron Knight's estimate of 4,000 to George Crooke's more accurate 1,751⁷⁷⁰ but, whatever the total, the 21st and 23d Iowa were detached to help round them up.

Shortly before the assault, Grant had been presented with a letter from General Halleck ordering him to help Banks capture Port Hudson before going to Vicksburg. As the assault started, Grant rode off confident Halleck would approve and later recalled, "I saw Lawler in his shirt sleeves leading a charge upon the enemy. I immediately mounted my horse and rode in the direction of the charge, and saw no more of the officer who had delivered the dispatch."⁷⁷¹

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI (May 17 to 18, 1863)

The previous December, William Gaylord, a private in Company D, had been left behind to work as a nurse at the post hospital in Rolla. He rejoined the regiment in April and now, on the 18th of May, he was detailed as a nurse to help care for the seriously wounded Sam Merrill. As soon as Merrill was able to travel, Gaylord would accompany him north to McGregor. On arrival in McGregor Merrill was reportedly "looking a little the worse for wear, and comparatively helpless, yet full of good pluck and fight as ever. He says it is a flesh wound merely, and he will be able

⁷⁶⁶ Declaration of William Lyons, December 30, 1879.

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A mistake repeated by more than one writer (e.g. see Iowa author Steve Meyer in *Iowa Valor*, Meyer Publishing Company, 1994, p. 214) who overlook the fact that Merrill was a postwar Governor of Iowa.

⁷⁶⁸ *The Clayton Co. Journal* (June 4, 1863).

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The boats are sometimes exposed during low water. They were identified by Ed Bearss who, with his wife, Margie, went into them. In a letter to Drew Tillotson, Des Moines attorney, dated August 19, 1988, Margie said, "I put many things into museums - Grand Gulf, old courthouse in Vicksburg (there is a huge (@ 10 gallon) copper cook pot.) . . . every time there is low water somebody new discovers them. The newspapers dig out my old research (1962) which has now been claimed by so many people it's funny . . . they are where the Confederates crossed Big Black and then burned the boat bridges." Also see Alan Huffman, *Ownership Dispute Emerges With Antiques. The Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, Mississippi.

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William Crooke, *Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889.* (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 22.

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Ulysses S. Grant. *Grant. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (The Library of America, 1990), pages 310-313. The interpretation was Grant's. The only order that has been found from Halleck to Grant on that date merely said Grant and Banks should unite between Vicksburg and Port Hudson "if possible."

to up at 'em again in a short time."⁷⁷² Whether he was purposely understating the seriousness of his wounds or merely did not recognize their severity, it would be many months before he could rejoin his regiment.

Still sick at *Ashwood* west of the Mississippi, Jim Bethard didn't know where his regiment was but he was anxious to join them. When he wrote his next letter to Cal, little did he know the cannons he had heard "*quite plain*" were supporting the perilous assault being waged by his own regiment at the Big Black.

Letter No. 13

Ashwood landing La
about 30 miles below vicksburg
Monday May the 18th 1863

Dear wife I seat myself once more to try and draw a few scrawls to you I do not know whether you can read my last or not which was written with a pencil because my nerves were not steady enough to write with a pen I have gained a great deal since then but I am not stout yet and I find that my hand is far from being steady yet I am gaining slowing but steadily all the time; Since my last we have removed on to the bank of the river a short half a mile from where we were in order to be ready to go down to grand gulf whenever transportation is sent for us the regiment was probably in that vicinity at that time but it is hard telling where it is now I have not heard any thing of our boys since my last but I have heard from the regiment since the battle at Grand gulf and port Gibson there were several wounded but none killed but you probably know more about them than I do as their letters will reach you as quick as mine and not knowing where I am they cannot write to me I should have written to them before now but we have been expecting every day for nearly two weeks to be moved to them or toward them

We do not live so well as we did before we were removed as the darkeys do not bring stough here to trade as they did over in the field but my apetite is so much better that I can eat the army rations with a much better relish than I could the nicknacks then Squier Mather left for Millikens Bend the next day after I wrote the pencil letter he carried the letter with him to mail at the bend I have not heard from him since The 12th Iowa regiment camped close to us one night and I saw Charles Wallace and Thomas Henderson⁷⁷³ they were both well and in good spirits: I believe the soldiers are generaly in better spirits than they were some months ago on account of our late victories and a general belief that the rebels are about played out and that the war will not last much longer I am quite strong in that belief myself which keeps my spirits up and makes me contented for the present in this miserable stinking hot country. The news reaced us several days ago that Richmond was in our possession and has been twice since confirmed I am almost afraid to believe it for fear of being disappointed although the news came by boats directly from General Grant and all three reported it as being an official dispatch to general Grant Vicksburg must come down soon as Grant is making everything work to his satisfaction and has already cut off all communication to vicksburg so that they (the rebels) can neither receive supplies nor reinforcements or get out them selfs if they should wish to evacuate; it was reported here that Vicksburg was to be attacked yesterday morning we could hear the cannon booming quite plain in that direction yesterday morning and evening and occationally all through the day we also heard some heavy firing this morning

I suppose you received a letter from John Mather written when I was in the hospital stating that we had been paid off and that I had sent you \$40 and stating how and where you was to get it if you have not received the letter the money was to be sent expressed to Odell and Updegraff of Mcgregor I do not know whether your name or Uncle Joels was written on my package but Johns letter probably explained that; I sent the money by the paymaster who was to express it at St Louis as I was quite sick Mr Lyons came to the hospital and told me of the chance and that he and a great many others were going to send money the same way and that he considered it quite safe so I gave him the money and he

⁷⁷² *North Iowa Times.*

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Jim was in obvious error regarding Thomas Henderson who had been killed at Shiloh before Jim enlisted. Since David Henderson had lost a leg at Corinth, it is likely that it was the third brother, William, who was "*well*" when Jim saw the regiment.

said he would attend to it and get John Mather to write to you I told him then what name to put on it but I have forgotten now

I believe I have never written to Mr Adams or wrote a word to you in regard to Duke and Lyon you may tell Mr Adams that if it is consistent with his pleasure that I would like for him to let them run with his cattle this summer and salt them and see that they dont stray off and get lost and if their work will not satisfy him for his trouble I will pay him otherwise (he may have plenty of team and not need their work) or if he should be offered what they are worth in cash or sure cash by the 1st of December to let them slide but I do not wish to make any sacrifice on them at present

Well Cal I must tell you of some more old friends that of which I had not room to speak in my last I have seen James Tanner Robert Jonson and Napoleon Gipson who profess to have been an old school mate of yours also Iry Hummens of Watkinsville whom you did not know

They are in the 96th Ohio infantry which has been camped within a quarter of a mile of us ever since we have been at this place either some of them are over here or I am over there almost every day I also saw Alva tanner a cousin to James he was also an old schoolmate he belongs in the 15th Iowa. I believe I have nothing more of interest to write at present I hope your punctuality and regularity in writing to me may continue as it has done since I have been in the army excuse me this time for not sending your regular letters for I could not help it (your husband James Bethard)⁷⁷⁴

The railroad bridge over the Big Black had been a massive structure, eighty feet high and over a mile long. A Chicago railroad man involved in its original construction estimated it could not be rebuilt in fewer than six months even under favorable conditions. Other crossings had to be found. Sherman crossed on a pontoon bridge, spent the night on Mary Brooks' plantation two miles west of the river and by dawn on the 18th was moving toward the city. By 10:00 a.m. he was within two miles at the Benton Road. McPherson crossed downstream on two bridges constructed of floating timber and cribs filled with cotton and advanced on the Jackson Road while McClernand would work by torchlight throughout the night constructing a bridge near the old railroad bridge with cotton bales, trees, lumber and anything else available. Most of his corps crossed in the morning and by noon were on their way to Vicksburg.

Pemberton had completed his twelve mile withdrawal and remarked, "*just thirty years ago I began my cadetship at the U.S. Military Academy. Today, the same date, that career is ended in disaster and disgrace.*"⁷⁷⁵ He was understandably depressed, but Davis had promised "*if besieged he would be relieved.*" Surely help would come from a reorganized Johnston who had reentered Jackson when Sherman pulled out. Johnston was already wiring Richmond that Vicksburg "*must ultimately fall, unless we can assemble an army to relieve - I can get there in a few days.*" Inside the city, soldiers and residents were "*dispirited, weak, fatigued, and generally not in good humor*" and a resident, Dora Martin, wrote in her diary:

*"I shall never forget the woeful sight of a beaten, demoralized army that came rushing back, - humanity in the last throes of endurance. Wan, hollow-eyed, ragged, footsore, bloody, the men limped along unarmed, but followed by siege guns, ambulances, gun carriage, and wagons in aimless confusion. At twilight two or three bands on the courthouse hill and other points began playing Dixie, the Bonnie Blue Flag, and so on, and drums began to beat all about; I suppose they were rallying the scattered army."*⁷⁷⁶

Instead of crossing the river, Lawler's Brigade, which had conducted the day's assault and suffered heavy casualties, was permitted to go "*back to timber*" where Cornelius Dunlap wrote his official report to Captain Wilson. Walter McNally and others who had been held back at Edwards Station arrived after the charge and were with the regiment as it spent the rest of the 17th and 18th gathering arms and accouterments, guarding prisoners, burying the dead, laying in camp and caring for the wounded. Facilities in the field were stressed and forty-one year old Canadian

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Alva Tanner left the Holmes' plantation with the 15th Iowa on May 11th, marched south, passed Ashwood where Jim and Alva visited, and reached *Hard Times* on the 13th. History of the 15th Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (R. B. Ogden & Son, Keokuk, 1887), page 255.

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Stephen E. Ambrose, Americans at War (University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, 1997), page 33.

776

Dora Miller. David G. Martin, Vicksburg Campaign (Da Capo Press, 1994), page 133.

Robert Pitt was one of several detailed as hospital nurses. In performing his duties, Pitt would contract erysipelas and die two weeks later. His widow, Susan, would request a pension for herself and their six children aged three to fifteen.

VICKSBURG

In 1819 Methodist minister Newitt Vick had purchased more than 1,000 acres and made plans for a city. Three years later, on Vick's death, his executor auctioned off lots and promoted the area as "*superior to any other site on the Mississippi river above New Orleans*" with a "*commodious landing*." The city, with its magnificent mansions, grew rapidly 200 feet above the mile wide Mississippi and, by 1860, with a population of 4,591, it was larger than the capital at Jackson. Ferries crossed the river every half hour carrying goods and supplies to and from the city's railheads to those on DeSoto Point.

Local residents voted against secession but their state did not and the Confederacy constructed impressive defenses to protect the city and close the river to the Federals. Unfortunately for the South, they were better designed for the former than the latter. Water batteries included forty-four pieces of artillery while the city was ringed by additional batteries protected by walls often twenty-five feet thick and ten feet high with ditches seven feet deep. Their 128 pieces of artillery were connected by entrenchments ten feet thick and five feet high.

On the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th, its defenders positioned field guns, Parrott guns and siege pieces, constructed platforms, abatis and embrasures, dug trenches and reinforced breastworks. Houses were burned, trees were cut and obstructions were removed to clear lines of fire and Pemberton received a dispatch from Johnston. If Haynes Bluff were indefensible, Pemberton was advised not to defend a city Johnston now felt was doomed. Military necessity demanded, he said, "*instead of losing both troops and place, we must, if possible, save the troops. If it is not too late, evacuate Vicksburg and its dependencies and march to the northeast*." Pemberton met with his senior officers and they resolved to stay.

Porter's gunboats controlled the river, Grant circled the rear of the city and more troops congregated at Grand Gulf where Matthew King returned from furlough and visited Martin Ackley who was sick and John Van Buren who was recovering from a wound sustained at Port Gibson. Farther north, Company G's Henry Shaw and Company I's Jasper Delong were recuperating in the hospital at Benton Barracks.

Still near the Big Black, Fred Bauer, John Dietrich and Henry Racy died from wounds received the previous day. Henry Howard⁷⁷⁷ died at noon from his stomach wound and nine of the regiment's companies crossed the Big Black "*at dark and camped*." Company B stayed behind temporarily to help guard prisoners and the 23d Iowa was detached and put in charge of other prisoners about four miles from the battlefield. Expecting to take them to Cairo or St. Louis, Glasgow assumed they would wait a few days while the rest of the army captured Vicksburg and then walk into the city and take transports north. Instead, they went first to Amsterdam where they helped the 80th Ohio guard prisoners from Raymond, Jackson and Champion Hill. They were joined by the 54th Indiana and before long the three Iowa regiments led their 4,408 prisoners to the Yazoo and boarded transports for Memphis where the prisoners were turned over for processing and shipment north.

FIRST VICKSBURG ASSAULT (May 19, 1863)

On May 19th, George Dean died from the wound suffered two days earlier, Charles Stuebe died of ascites on board the *D. A. January*⁷⁷⁸ and Victoria Scofield, a widow due to Norman's death three months earlier, spent the day filling out forms requesting a pension for herself and her three-year old daughter, Cora May.

The nine companies west of the Big Black left camp about 7:00 a.m. with the 22d Iowa and 11th Wisconsin.

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The rolls indicate Henry was 6' 3" tall. Company Muster-in Rolls give the height of soldiers when they mustered in. While the rolls undoubtedly included some errors, they indicate that the average height was 5' 8½" based on a 305-man sample.

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It's not known where George Dean and Charles Stuebe are buried. The *D. A. January*, a two-engine sidewheeler, was built in Cincinnati in 1857, purchased by the army in 1862 and remodeled that fall after carrying sick and wounded north from Shiloh. With a 250 pound pilot who "*firmly believes that the children of Ham are to be slaves throughout all time*," its sick rooms were on the middle and lower decks, medical personnel and facilities on the cabin deck and the captain's quarters on the upper deck. On March 14, 1865, it would be sold to private owners and later renamed the *Ned Tracy*.

Grant's popularity had reached a new high, "he was everywhere greeted with tremendous and uproarious shouting and cheering. The boys appreciate his strategy. There is something practical in it."⁷⁷⁹ In just seventeen days since crossing the Mississippi and winning the campaign's first battle at Port Gibson, he had:

*"marched his army some 200 miles ... had defeated the Confederates in four battles: Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill, and the Big Black inflicted a loss upon the Rebels of some 7,000 men killed, wounded, and missing. Sixty-five cannon had been captured, and Pemberton's troops driven into Vicksburg Not only had Grant prevented a concentration of Confederate forces, but he had further scattered them, so that Pemberton had 14,000 less soldiers available for defense of Vicksburg at dark on May 18 than on May 2 Union losses during this period had been about 3,500 officers and men."*⁷⁸⁰

As headquarters for his corps, General McClernand, selected the Ferguson house.⁷⁸¹ During the ensuing siege, it would become a hospital while its apple orchard would serve as a burying ground where some graves were unmarked and others had hastily drawn wooden markers, markers that often disappeared before the dead could be reinterred.

On the same day in Mississippi, from entrenchments well-designed by Lockett, Southern soldiers watched approaching "heavy black columns of the enemy, or clouds of dust marking their movements."⁷⁸² By noon of the 19th, Grant would have 20,000 men deployed. Soon he would have 50,000 and, by gaining control of the northern bluffs that he had spent a year and a half trying to reach, he again had a direct supply and communication line with the North. The Confederates had about 31,000 and at most points the two armies were separated by 400 or 500 yards of forests, steep hills, deep ravines and dense underbrush.

Sherman's 16th Corps was on the north from the Yazoo and Mississippi to the Graveyard Road and opposite an area known as Stockade Redan from which the enemy guarded the road. With him were the 12th Iowa with Charles Wallace and the 9th with Cal's cousins, Sterling and Squire Mather, who joined the campaign late after being delayed by illness, and her brother George Rice who was still with the Pioneers. McPherson's 17th Corps was in the middle and occupied the area from the Graveyard Road, across the Jackson Road, to near the Baldwin's Ferry Road and the Southern Railroad leading east to Jackson. McClernand's 13th Corps came next, almost 2,500 yards from the enemy and on a line that extended from Baldwin's Ferry Road south toward the Square Fort. Only Sherman was fully deployed but Grant did not want to give Pemberton more time to strengthen his defenses, felt the defeats at Champion's Hill and the Big Black had broken Confederate morale and ordered an assault. The logic was good and typically "Grant," but the results were not what he hoped.

At 9:00 a.m. on the 19th, Union artillery started a barrage that lasted for several hours. At 2:00 p.m. artillery signaled the assault and "in an instant" men were out of cover and rushing forward "over stumps and tangled limbs of fallen trees," "through deep gullies bristling with brush and cane" and up the other side, all in the face of "a roaring, whistling storm of lead and iron rain" and all to the sounds of *Dixie* and *Bonnie Blue Flag* emanating from behind the rebel lines. Fourteen year old Orion Howe, a minié ball embedded in his leg, staggered up to Sherman to request more ammunition. "Sherman called for volunteers to lug heavy boxes of cartridges forward. Company C, 12th Iowa, stepped forward to a man. Soon ammunition in abundance was flowing to the front, carried on the backs of husky Iowans."⁷⁸³ Two of Steele's brigades were dug in but the 9th Iowa was with Thayer whose brigade:

"reconnoitered a ravine that enabled it to approach to within 300 yards of the Confederate defense line. At 2

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The Most Fearful Ordeal (New York Times Company, 2004; with introduction and notes by James M. McPherson), page 241. Steve Meyer, Iowa Valor (Meyer Publishing Company, Garrison, IA; 1994), pages 222-23, referencing the Burlington Hawk-Eye (May 27, 1863).

⁷⁸⁰ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 752.

⁷⁸¹ The house is located on Old Highway 27, one mile south of the Vicksburg National Military Park's visitors' center.

⁷⁸²

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 105, referencing a report by Ashbel Smith, Colonel 2d Regiment Texas Volunteer Infantry.

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Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 766. The ammunition, however, was of the wrong caliber and of no benefit. Terrence J. Winschel, Triumph & Defeat (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page 12.

*p.m. Thayer's soldiers debouched from the hollow, crossed Mint Spring Bayou, and prepared to ascend the steep slope leading to the 26th Louisiana Redoubt. Until the Iowans gained the difiladed area at the base of Fort Hill Ridge, they were subjected to a scathing fire from the infantrymen of Shoup's and Baldwin's brigades. The Rebels fired down a steep incline, so their marksmanship was poor, and Thayer's troops did not suffer many casualties.*⁷⁸⁴

Some reached and temporarily held a position seventy-five yards from the enemy but, overall, the assault was a failure as rebel fire took a heavy toll and Sherman wrote to his wife - *"the heads of the columns have been swept away as chaff thrown from the hand on a windy day."* Estimated losses were thirty-nine killed, eight captured or missing and another 777 injured with *"wounds of all descriptions"* many of which would prove fatal. Confederate losses were perhaps one-tenth of that. In Pemberton's dispatch to Johnston he characterized Union losses as *"heavy"* and his own as *"light."*

By that afternoon most of Lawler's brigade had reached the rear of Vicksburg and rejoined its division, but Company B was still about five miles out of town when it camped for the night. As momentous as the day was for those engaged, it would be downplayed by Grant with a single sentence in his Memoirs - *"It resulted in securing more advanced positions for all our troops where they were fully covered from the fire of the enemy."*

Union artillery was *"briskly cannonading with long-range guns"* by 8:00 a.m. on May 20th. *"Incessant sharpshooting"* continued throughout the day while three ironclads attacked the city's lower batteries. Mortars under the Louisiana riverbank bombarded the city, residents took shelter in caves dug into hills and bluffs and Pemberton sent a dispatch to Johnston pleading for *"musket-caps"* by couriers or civilians.

In the 21st Infantry, Charles Roehl (Dubuque) died from wounds received at Port Gibson and Horace Duel (Forestville) and Ed Myers (Hopkinton) of wounds received at the Big Black. Part of the regiment spent the day on picket and others engaged in sharpshooting, but most rested near a spring at the bottom of a hollow as backup to Landram's Brigade of Smith's Division.⁷⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Company B had left its camp about 3:00 a.m. on the 20th, found the rest of the regiment in the hollow and learned that William Lyons had been promoted to First Lieutenant to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Henry Howard. John Goodrich took time to write another letter, not knowing if it would be his last. *"The battle has commenced,"* he said. *"The enemy are very strongly intrenched, and hold a very strong position. We expect to storm their works today; and if it is in the power of man to take them, they will be taken. May God aid us, I earnestly hope and pray."*⁷⁸⁶ That night, after dark, the regiment was ordered up the hill to relieve Landram. They *"dug like badgers all that night, and when dawn arrived, on the 21st, the Texans in the Rebel works were astonished to find a line of rifle-pits extending almost continuously across their front."*⁷⁸⁷

Soldiers, some detailed as pioneers and others not, worked side by side to improve rifle pits and trenches, Charles Gibeant was wounded by a sniper, Myron Knight spent the 21st laying *"in a hollow as a sort of picket duty watching for them as they fired from their forts and rifle pits - one killed and several wounded"* and Conrad Kephart was shot through the heart. He was survived by his twenty-year-old wife, Maryetta, and their two young children.

In front of the regiment, across a deep ravine, crouched in rifle pits inside the redoubt and immediately adjacent to the railroad was the 3d Brigade of Stephen Lee including the 20th, 23d, 30th, 31st and 46th Alabama infantry, Waul's Texas Legion, and artillery.⁷⁸⁸ Lee was a distant cousin of Robert E. Lee, a graduate of West Point and an expert

⁷⁸⁴ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 769.

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Visitors to the park can easily find the plaque marking the area held by the 21st Iowa. In front is the elevated breastwork that shielded them from enemy fire; behind, in the wooded ravine, is the hollow where they rested.

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Harvard Memorial Biographies, Volume 1, page 130 (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867).

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Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 801.

⁷⁸⁸

George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 79. Others indicated T. N. Waul's Texas legion, Wadell's Battery, Drew's Battery, the Hudson Battery, the 1st Louisiana artillery and a portion of the

military officer. He had been instrumental in turning back some of the early attempts to capture Vicksburg and would be a formidable foe for the 21st Iowa.⁷⁸⁹

SECOND VICKSBURG ASSAULT (May 22, 1863)

Grant spent the 20th and 21st constructing roads, improving communication lines, establishing a depot on the Yazoo, gathering food and supplies, conducting reconnaissance and planning a second assault. His men were anxious for a fight, he hoped to avoid a siege during the hot summer and he was fearful of Johnston's forces behind him, forces that might be reinforced by Lee or Longstreet.⁷⁹⁰ Mindful of problems encountered during the first assault, ladders sixteen to twenty feet long were constructed to scale parapets and bridge small ravines and orders were issued on the 21st for an attack to take place the next morning. Corps commanders were to examine the roads, position their artillery, *"and gain all the ground they can with their infantry and skirmishers."* Gunboats would keep the enemy *"annoyed during the night,"* artillery would *"begin at daylight"* and at 10:00am infantry would advance on a 3½ mile front.

*"The infantry, with the exception of reserves and skirmishers, will be placed in columns of platoons, or by a flank, if the ground over which they have to pass will not admit of a greater front . . . Promptly at the hour designated all will start at quick time, with bayonets fixed, and march immediately upon the enemy without firing a gun until the outer works are carried. The troops will go light, carrying with them only their ammunition, canteens, and one day's rations. The skirmishers will advance as soon as possible after heads of columns pass them, and scale the walls of such works as may confront them."*⁷⁹¹

Commanders synchronized watches, reportedly the first such synchronization in military history,⁷⁹² while nervous soldiers scribbled hurried letters and gave them to friends for safe-keeping. With the 23d Iowa taking prisoners north on the *Luminary*, Lawler was down to three regiments while Landram had five.⁷⁹³ To even their strength, the 97th Illinois was temporarily transferred to Lawler whose objective would be the railroad redoubt and Fort Beauregard, referred to by Federal engineers as Salient C. The redoubt *"was a particularly steep-sided earthwork with a deep ditch to protect the front and a line of rifle pits in the rear."*⁷⁹⁴ Beauregard was also impressive and described by one as having walls twenty feet high surrounded by a ditch ten feet deep and six feet wide and with a front covered by enfilading fire from almost every direction and by another as covering about a half acre, *"the walls being 15 feet high, and surrounded by a ditch ten feet wide."* To the right was Fort Pulaski, Salient B, guarding the Baldwin Ferry Road.

At midnight the 22d Iowa was *"quietly awakened,"* told to *"divest themselves of everything but their guns and*

Vaiden artillery were also present. General Stephen D. Lee, Report of the Siege of Vicksburg. Southern Historical Papers, Volume 4, page 14 (Southern Historical Society).⁷⁸⁹

Carter Stevenson's Division held the right of the Confederate line and Lee's Brigade the left of the division, from the railroad south to the square fort with about 1,268 effectives.

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Since the 14th, Richmond had been considering whether to transfer some of Lee's troops to aid Vicksburg. Lee opposed the transfer and on May 26th, would receive permission for the northern campaign he wanted, a campaign that would lead to Gettysburg.

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O.R., Series 1, Volume XXIV/1 [S #36].

⁷⁹² James R. Arnold, *Grant Wins the War. Decision at Vicksburg* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), page 247.

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The *Luminary* was a sister ship to the *Sultana* but did not share its fate. With inordinately large open areas on the second and hurricane decks, both were ideal for transporting large numbers of men but, on April 27, 1865, while taking former Union prisoners home, the *Sultana's* boilers would explode and it would sink with a loss of more lives than *"in any maritime disaster in the history of the United States before or since."* Salecker, *The Crippling of the Sultana*, *Blue & Gray* magazine (August 1995). The disaster was also discussed in the *North Iowa Times* (May 10, 1865).

⁷⁹⁴ James R. Arnold, *Grant Wins the War* p. 251 (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), page 251.

accoutrements" and silently move down the side of a ridge, across a ravine "and immediately under the fort, about 50 yards from the main structure, Fort Beauregard." By 4:00 a.m. the entire brigade was in place - the 22d Iowa on the right with the 21st to its rear; the 11th Wisconsin on the left with the 97th Illinois behind, all partially concealed by the crest of a hill.⁷⁹⁵ Orders were passed in whispers as they laid on their arms, each with his own thoughts. Company B was held back as sharpshooters to "partially cover, and at least distract or draw the fire of the enemy from the advancing columns as they charged across the ravine in front of us." Lying along the brow of the hill, they arranged cartridges and caps on the bank and prepared, said Myron Knight, to "pick them off as they raised over the fort to fire."

Starting at daybreak, McClelland's thirty-nine guns "belched forth flame and missiles of death," "regular Yankee thunder" said Charles Smith. Osborn Oldroyd in the 20th Ohio agreed - "at three o'clock this morning every cannon along our line belched its shot at the enemy. Nothing could be heard at the time but the thundering of great guns ... it seemed impossible that anything could withstand such a fearful hailstorm. It was indeed a terrible spectacle - awfully grand."⁷⁹⁶ Huddled inside the redoubt was J. M. Pearson of the 30th Alabama who, almost forty years later, would recall the bombardment that:

*"was terrific beyond description. I doubt if it was surpassed at any time during the war. In fact it was so terribly uncomfortable that one of my men by my permission, went to the rear to report the death of a man who had been killed, and to ask Colonel [Charles M.] Shelley to allow us to temporarily withdraw to a less exposed place, but Colonel Shelley sent back word very promptly, keep in the trenches, stay where you are, and not fire except upon an advancing column."*⁷⁹⁷

With Merrill out of action, Dunlap was the regiment's senior officer. He had excelled and been wounded during their first combat at Hartville and led the skirmishers and been wounded again when shot in the foot at Port Gibson, but his foot had not healed and field command fell to Major Van Anda. At 9:55 a.m., "as if by magic" according to more than one observer, the artillery stopped and a "bugle sounded." Stephen Lee was an intelligent officer and knew what was coming since Grant's "preparations did not partake of the slow methods of a siege program, but rather the hasty preparation for immediate battle. The troops everywhere were being pushed up as near as possible to the Confederate lines, and were being massed under shelter in the deep vales in full view."⁷⁹⁸

Van Anda gave the order to fix bayonets and "the order forward in the name of God was given when there was a wild yell and we ware," said Walter McNally, "in plain view of the hosts of the rebs in side there works." The order was given at 10:00 a.m. Union soldiers moved forward, "the earth was black with their close columns" and Lee recalled, "there seemed to spring almost from the bowels of the earth dense masses of Federal troops, in numerous columns of attack, and with loud cheers and huzzahs, they rushed forward at a run with bayonets fixed, not firing a shot, headed for every salient along the Confederate lines."⁷⁹⁹

The 21st and 22d headed for the redoubt; the 11th and 97th for rifle pits to the south. They were allowed by Lee "to approach unmolested to within good musket range, when every available gun was opened upon them with grape and canister, and the men, rising in the trenches, poured into their ranks volley after volley."⁸⁰⁰

Sharpshooters from the 21st and 22d fired as rapidly as possible, loading and reloading but their comrades were in trouble and many of the sharpshooters joined the assault. In the noise of battle some did not hear the order, but those who did sprang over the hill to the left of their regiments.⁸⁰¹ Down hills, through brambles and brush, they charged

⁷⁹⁵ Henry C. Adams, Jr., Indiana at Vicksburg (Wm. M. Burford, Indianapolis, 1911), page 59.

⁷⁹⁶ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, fn 19, pages 820-821.

⁷⁹⁷ Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 823.

⁷⁹⁸ Herman Hattaway, General Stephen D. Lee (University of Mississippi Press, Jackson, 1976), page 92.

⁷⁹⁹ Kevin Dougherty, The Vicksburg Campaign (McFarland & Company, Inc., Jefferson, North Carolina, 2015), page 121.

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Robert Nicholson Scott, The War of the Rebellion a Compilation of Official Records (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1889), page 344

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Failing to receive orders in battle was not uncommon. Dunlap had failed to receive orders at Hartville and men of the 12th Iowa were captured at Shiloh when noise "not only hindered our hearing the oral commands of our officers, but rendered us temporarily deaf, so that we of the front rank could not after a while hear the commands of our officers at all." Soper, History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry (Iowa Journal

until also trapped. Along the entire line soldiers fell under enemy fire "*plowing gaps through our ranks.*" Those who could get up continued on through "*an almost impossible abatis*" and into the ditch fronting the redoubt.

"[O]ur Flag, said Flavius Patterson, "*was planted upon the outer angle of the Fort. Solomon Story & John J Oconel crawled up to defend the flag when Storey was shot through the Heart. Oconnel was wounded in the head.*"⁸⁰² John O'Connell's wound was minor, but Solomon Story died. Only three weeks earlier his wife had given birth to their sixth child, a boy she named Solomon.

According to sharpshooter Knight, "*they made a charge but were repulsed with a heavy loss altho some got into the rifle pits and planted the flag on them - took some prisoners and they took some of our men.*" Another more graphically recalled, "*It was a tornado of iron on our left, a hurricane of shot on our right. We passed through the mouth of hell. Every third man fell, either killed or wounded.*"⁸⁰³ Carl (aka Carroll) Whitman had enlisted at nineteen years of age and was pinned down near the railroad tracks. Nearby were hotel clerk William Dickinson with a severe gunshot wound in his right shoulder and back and another who recalled that:

*"almost any motion of the body was likely to be observed and, bringing us within range, to bring us also the rebel compliments. The men around me frequently tested this by elevating caps on ramrods my thirst became intolerable.... As my lips became hot and parched and my throat struggled to relieve itself, this green plum hung temptingly before me and bade me risk my life for it. For a long time I resisted, but the long, weary hours prolonged themselves into eternities, the ground became hotter and the sun's rays more scorching.... By dint of digging my fingers and toes into the hard ground and pulling myself along by tufts of grass and twigs of shrubs, I reached the bush and with a spring secured my prize. The few drops of juice more than repaid me for the risk, and the sweetest morsel of fruit ever tasted by man will live in my memory forever."*⁸⁰⁴

"Hour after hour they charged the great bastioned forts, each time to be swept back with ranks thinned and scattered, but ready for another grapple."⁸⁰⁵ To dislodge his attackers Lee asked for volunteers from the 20th and 30th Alabama "*offering the flags to the command capturing them.*" When they refused, he directed Colonel Waul of the Texas Legion to take the fort, his officers agreed and thirty-five volunteers were selected. Although most of his own men refused, E. W. Pettus "*came, with musket in hand, and most gallantly offered to guide and lead the party into the fort.*" With "*promptness and alacrity*" they retook the fort after vigorous hand-to-hand fighting, killing or capturing almost all who had entered, tore down the Union colors and gathered a large amount of ammunition and some "*beautiful Enfields.*" The bulk of brigade had gotten only as far as the ditch in front of the works before being pinned down. There they were trapped, digging holes "*for our bodies in the ground, or in the wall of the ditch with our bayonets,*" seeking shelter where they could find it. "*The noise of battle was fearfully awful.*" Lawler told them to hold firm and called on McClernand for reinforcements. As early as 11:00 a.m. Grant anticipated failure but fifteen minutes later, to divert the enemy on his right, McClernand requested a hard push by McPherson. Grant told him to use his reserves but McClernand's reserves were already engaged, he had "*part possession of the two forts*" and again asked for help. Grant told him to call on McArthur, then on his way north from Warrenton, McClernand confirmed he sent word to McArthur. Grant told McPherson to send a division to support McClernand. About 3:00 p.m. Isaac Quinby's division was sent, at 4:00 p.m. they arrived and, at 4:30 p.m. they attacked in a final futile effort.

⁸⁰² of History page.347, October 1958). Similarly, it has been said that acoustics known as "*sound shadows*" (e.g. sound absorption due to terrain features, atmospheric conditions such as strong winds, and temperature inversions) may explain more than one Civil War blunder. Brendan I. Koerner, *The Battle Was Lost in a Zone of Silence*. U.S. News & World Report (10/28/1998).

⁸⁰³

Typed transcription of diary of Flavius Patterson, Company F, on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa. Solmon Story was survived by his widow, Maria, and their six young children, the youngest being born only three weeks before his father's death. John O'Connell survived, died in 1915 and is buried in Calvary Cemetery, Corning, Iowa.

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This quote is often erroneously attributed to George Croke of the 21st Iowa (e.g. Timothy T. Isbell, Vicksburg: Sentinels of Stone, page 90), a result, no doubt, of (1) failing to verify his military record showing he had been discharged almost five months previously) and (2) by a careless reading of Croke's regimental history (George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), pages 82-85) in which he includes "*a soldier's letter*" containing the quote.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Robert J. Burdette, The Drums of the 47th (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1914), page 80.

As men huddled in ditches, the enemy dropped hand-grenades and other "*destructive missiles*" among them, some of which the Hawkeyes were able to throw back.

Firing ceased at dark and soldiers withdrew to their lines leaving the dead and many of the wounded behind. Lawler did not receive the order until 8:00 p.m. when men, under cover of darkness, "*darted from our secluded places and ran to the rear*" where the Quartermaster had cooks hard at work, but "*it was a solemn banquet. The outlines of our faces were pale and rigid. Our hearts were sad, many friends had fallen since morn, and the end was not yet.*"⁸⁰⁶ The official account of 21st's participation in the assault was written by Van Anda who said:

*"I then gave the orders to fix bayonets and charge by the left flank over the hill and into the enemy's rifle pits. During this charge the fire of the enemy from both flanks, as well as from the front, was terrific. Many of our officers and men fell on every side; but, with a determination that knew no fear, the enemy's works were gained, and they were routed from their stronghold.... Being unable to hold our position longer, we withdrew under cover of darkness, carrying with us many of our killed and wounded."*⁸⁰⁷

A biographer reported that, as a result of:

*"Van Anda's cool judgment and determined bravery, is due the success in that portion of the field where his regiment was placed. At a critical moment, when the line was being mowed down by a most terrific fire of the enemy, his support became demoralized and fled, his horse was shot from under him, and he was only able to save the honor of the brave 21st by conduct which at another time would have been reckless and foolhardy. As the line wavered under the terrific fire, and were about to fall back, he sprang to the front to a position in advance of the column and shouted in a voice that rang out clear and distinct above the battle din: 'Comrades, remember Iowa, and save her honor Forward!' Nerved and inspired by his noble words, the ranks grew firm again and although they left one-third their number on that fearful field of carnage, staining the green sward with their precious life's blood, they hied on until they found comparative safety beneath the shelter of their enemy's fortifications."*⁸⁰⁸

Due to his foot injury, Dunlap could have refrained from participating but did not. Unable to keep up with the regiment, but having an "*impetuous nature*" that "*would not allow him to remain in camp . . . he followed, where his physical infirmity would not permit him to lead, and after struggling up the height to the position the regiment had gained but could not hope to hold, he yielded up his life beneath the flag he loved and honored.*"⁸⁰⁹ Dunlap had reached the top of the ridge after the initial assault, waving his sword and encouraging his men and was standing on a small knoll when shot through the head. The bachelor attorney with the fascinating smile had met "*the dread angel of death.*"⁸¹⁰ Of his death, Major Van Anda said, "*Lieutenant Colonel C. W. Dunlap was shot through the head and instantly killed. He was wounded in the battle of Port Gibson, and was unable to keep up with the regiment, but came up after the charge.*" He would later augment his recollection more vividly - "*Lt. Col. Dunlap was shot down by my side, his brains spattering in my face as he fell. No braver or nobler man ever went on the battlefield. He knew no fear.*" William Crooke felt Dunlap had "*faults which the grave has hidden*"⁸¹¹ and "*on many occasions some of us*

⁸⁰⁶ Sam C. Jones, Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa (Camp Pope Book Shop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1907, reprint 1993), page 39.
⁸⁰⁷

Report by Major S. G. Van Anda, commanding the regiment (due to the wounding of Colonel Merrill on May 17, 1863 and death of Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap on May 22, 1863). Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers (State Printer, 1910), Volume III, page 450.

⁸⁰⁸

A. T. Andreas, Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (1875). Van Anda was only slightly wounded, but reports were sometimes exaggerated, possibly due to a misinterpretation of subsequent records authorizing a medical leave for Van Anda, a leave that was actually due to illness.

⁸⁰⁹

Historical Sketch, Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Page 449.

⁸¹⁰ After the war he was reinterred in Vicksburg National Cemetery.

⁸¹¹

greatly differed with him" but he was "greatly loved and admired" and would be sorely missed. The following week his death was reported by *The Clayton Co. Journal*.

"Last week's telegraph brought the sad tidings of the death of Lt. Col. Dunlap, of the 21st Iowa regiment, who fell bravely fighting the enemy. It is but due to say that he was one of the bravest of men, fearless of all dangers, braving death 'even in the cannon's mouth', as he repeatedly proved when on the battlefield. Though not acquainted with him, we regret the loss of so excellent an officer."

Dunlap's widowed mother, with no income and only a small house, a cow and a little furniture, had been financially dependent on her son for almost five years. Her request for a dependent mother's pension was approved, but it would be another year before payments began.

The 22nd's commanding officer, Colonel Stone, had been wounded during the "early part" of the assault, "not seriously in the arm, fracturing a bone." He returned home to recuperate, gained the Republican nomination for Governor over Fitz Henry Warren, resigned his commission and won the election over James Tuttle.⁸¹² Of Dunlap's death, he wrote that he also had been standing with Dunlap "congratulating ourselves upon our success, when I was shot in the arm by a sharpshooter from the woods beyond their rifle-pits, and he was killed."⁸¹³ Stone's report was discounted by another who claimed it was, "to say the least inaccurate. Col Stone was no where near Col Dunlap when the latter was killed."⁸¹⁴ Losses on both sides were heavy and, as always, statistics vary. The regiment started the day with 820 men on the muster rolls but many were absent (e.g. men wounded at the Big Black, Port Gibson or earlier and men such as Jim Bethard and other convalescents who were still west of the river or in hospitals). Of those who were present, many were undoubtedly too sick to participate.

Van Anda reported 12 killed, 80 wounded and 13 missing (some of whom he acknowledged may also have been killed), a total of 105. George Croke put the number at 24 killed, 63 wounded and 4 missing or captured, a total of 91.⁸¹⁵ An analysis of rosters and National Archive records shows the actual numbers were 23 killed in action, 12 fatally wounded, 4 captured and at least 48 with non-fatal wounds of varying severity, a total of 87.⁸¹⁶

George Anderson, a 1st Sergeant in Company I, was killed. Englishman James Garth was killed as was fellow Englishman George Simpson. Lemuel Bowman, Francis Hefner, Martin Heitchew, William Griffith and Henry Cassell were also killed. Thomas Hays, respected for his "unswerving integrity as a man," was killed. William Hood, "a quiet and unobtrusive man," was killed.⁸¹⁷ Norwegian Jacob Stemgrimson was killed "so far in the advance that we could not recover his remains."⁸¹⁸ David Preston received multiple gunshot wounds in the thigh and twenty-nine year old William Hart, with a wife and three young children at home, was shot in the right forearm with the ball severing the muscles between the bones. William Roberts, praised for his bravery only a few days earlier at the Big Black, was

William Croke, Address To Surviving Members Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry On Occasion of Their Fourth Reunion, at Strawberry Point, Iowa, September 3, 1889. (Pettibone, Wells & Co. 1889), page 25.
812

Governor Kirkwood could not run for re-election due to the state's two-term limit. The state's Republicans nominated Stone "and, with the Democratic party's association with the South and rebellion, he easily defeated his Democratic opponent, James. M. Tuttle." Alan M. Schroder, William M. Stone. Iowa's Other Civil War Governor (The Palimpsest, State Historical Society of Iowa; July/August, 1982).
813

Letter to General McClermand dated at Knoxville, Iowa, September 8, 1863. George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 86, quoting Major Joseph Atherton of the 22d Iowa. Schroder, William M. Stone. Iowa's Other Civil War Governor (Palimpsest, July/August 1982).
814

Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 95.
815

George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 82.
816

These numbers have been verified from an extensive review and analysis of military and pension records on file with the National Archives and Records Administration, data from two rosters, numerous personal letters and diaries, George Croke's 1891 history of the regiment, and the state's 1910 roster. See Appendix for list.
817

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).
818

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

shot in the side and taken to St. Louis where he was cared for by his mother until dying from his wound a month later. John Engall, born in Switzerland, was killed. John Miller, another Swiss, was killed; his only possessions, a blanket and knapsack, were lost. Most of the dead were buried locally and reinterred after the war.⁸¹⁹

Sam Bates, a lieutenant in Company I, was wounded in the thigh and taken prisoner. Less than a year earlier, his father, Rev. John Bates, had said, *“the first honor is to be self-denying and ready to die as martyrs in the cause of Christ; the next honor is to be self-denying and ready to die as patriots in the cause of our country.”* Rev. S. H. Mitchell visited the family after they learned of their son’s capture and found their home *“wrapped in a cloud of sadness never to be forgotten.”* It was not yet known if *“the noble young man had met immediate death or awaited the tortures of a rebel prison.”*⁸²⁰ Still a prisoner, Sam wrote a reassuring letter to his father, a letter his captors passed to Union pickets so it could be delivered.

James McCartney (aka McCartney) was wounded. Ed Snedigar was shot in the leg, Eric Paulson in the hand, William Bird in the hip and Alonzo Fuller in the arm. Peter Herber fell and suffered a severe rupture on his left side, a rupture that would bother him the rest of his life. Thomas Grayson *“beloved by his comrades and of undoubted bravery,”* was killed but it would be several weeks before his death was reported by the rebels.⁸²¹ George Moser suffered a *“gunshot wound from a bullet which struck him in the right thigh passing up and lodging in the right hip joint”* and *“was knocked down by the explosion of a shell and rendered insensible.”*⁸²² Greenberry Halfhill was wounded in both legs. One was slight with the ball passing through the calf but the other leg, broken below the knee, was amputated. Wallace Farrand was killed, a death for which his twenty-six year old widow, who had left McGregor during the war to stay with her parents in New York, would receive a monthly pension of \$8.00 for her support and \$2.00 for each of her two young children including the four-month-old namesake Wallace had never seen.⁸²³ Thirty-six-year-old John Goodrich was overcome by sunstroke and hospitalized. David Greaves was lying down, seeking cover, when shot. Two musket balls struck him in the left leg, one exiting above the knee and the other below. A third ball struck him in the left arm and he was carried from the field to the division hospital where he was treated by Dr. Orr and visited by Major Van Anda. Charles Corey was shot in the leg and groin and Flavius Patters noted in his diary that:

“After we had gut our supper, the Captain asked for volunturs to go & get Charley Cory, who we had left on the field, it was A dangerous job, but Geo. Lusk, Geo Ludey, William Kerr & myself went after him it was A terrible dark night. We had to rune two lines of rebel pickets. after some Close Calls we got to whear we left Cory but he was not there, while we were talking in whispers we heard some one grone, guided by the sound we found him hid in A clump of bushes. we got him upon A blanket & started for Camp. we were shot at sevral times as we went tourds Camp but were not hit & finely at 3 o Clock in the morning gut to Camp & Cory to the hospital whear he died in about 8 dais”

Wallace McMaster suffered a *“gunshot wound through the head”* and *“was buried in all he possessed being left*

819

Cemetery stones usually indicate a burial, but some are cenotaphs.

The Find-a-Grave website has Memorials indicating the site of the burials for George Anderson (Memorial #54642697), James Garth (Memorial #54832740), Henry Cassell (#54750263), John Engall (Memorial #54831452), Thomas Hays (Memorial #54833732), William Hood (Memorial #54833841) and Jacob Stemgrimson (Memorial #55009904) are unknown. They and William Griffith and William Roberts for whom there are no Memorials, may be among the many unknowns in Vicksburg National Cemetery.

Francis Hefner has stones in Vicksburg National Cemetery (Memorial #30793989) and Pine View Cemetery, Delhi, Iowa (Memorial #67785872).

Lemuel Bowman has a stone in Evergreen Cemetery, Delhi, Iowa (Memorial #74005890). George Simpson has a stone in Rockdale Cemetery, Dubuque (Memorial #11547874). Martin Heitchew has a stone in Cascade Cemetery, Cascade, Iowa (Memorial #16755463). John Miller has a stone in Center Grove Cemetery, Dubuque (Memorial #11719268).

⁸²⁰ Iowa Baptists (Burdette Company, Burlington, Iowa, 1886), pages 203-204.

⁸²¹

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa). Thomas’ grave has not been located.

⁸²² George G. Moser, Declaration for Original Invalid Pension (March 23, 1901).

⁸²³ Wallace’s grave has not been located.

inside the enemies lines."⁸²⁴ Silas Coddington and John Watson were taken prisoner. Alexander Milne was wounded in the chest. William Axford, an eighteen year old Englishman, was shot in the thigh. Joseph Schoepf was wounded in the arm and it was soon amputated. Hudson Acker was wounded. Deitrich Knoebil and Thomas Lockey were killed.⁸²⁵ On and on the list continued, causing "a wail of bitter grief to ascend from thousands of homes throughout the length and breadth of the land" and, already in the field hospital, Adam Mack died of disease and Reece Merrick and Addison Hopson from wounds received five days earlier at the Big Black. In total, the Federal killed and wounded were estimated at 3,200 to 500 for the entrenched Southerners with one of the Southern injured being William Baldwin who had defended so well at Port Gibson.⁸²⁶

Grant refused to ask for a truce. Many still on the field, especially those in the ditch immediately under the rebel works, could not be recovered due to continuing fire but more than once their comrades tried to help. One was Ripley Hale, from Strawberry Point, who "particularly distinguished himself that day by his efforts to alleviate the suffering of his unfortunate comrades. He repeatedly and unflinchingly exposed himself to the deadly misile of the enemy in order to afford relief to some suffering comrade."⁸²⁷ Forty-eight hours after the assault, Ripley "went about to men who were lying on the Field where they fell close to the Rebel works and gave them Drink and food. Then came to the command and called for volunteers and with them took stretchers and carried two or more of those wounded comrades from the field in safety."⁸²⁸ Another who helped was Captain Boardman who saw the regiment's wounded color bearer, William Monlux, still on the field forty-eight hours after the assault, removed his hat, sword and coat and, as the enemy held its fire, walked into the ravine and carried William to safety behind Union lines.⁸²⁹ William's right leg had been shattered between the knee and ankle and he would be discharged in November. Also still on the field was William Barber. A ball had entered his right groin and lodged in the hip With no food or water he laid with others, some wounded and some not, who were trapped between the lines.

Two of the same regiments that led the charge at the Big Black, the 21st and 22d Iowa, had gained the enemy's works and briefly raised the Stars and Stripes although there is continuing doubt as to how many banners were planted, where they were planted (within the works or on the parapet or its approaches) and who actually entered the works. Colors of the 22d Iowa and 77th Illinois were planted within the redoubt's salient angle in "the ditch fronting the redoubt."⁸³⁰ Other colors, including those of the 21st Iowa, were planted elsewhere.⁸³¹ While there was much debate;

"out of the mass of conflicting statement, one point only is clear and uncontroverted, namely, that only at this point of the entire line of fortifications, and of all of the troops engaged that day, the assaulting column of which these two regiments formed a part, and it only, succeeded in entering any portion of the Enemy's

824

Inventory of his personal effects dated June 27, 1863. Memorial #54875068 the site of his burial is unknown.

825

Deitrich's grave has not been located. There is a monument bearing Thomas' name in Center Grove Cemetery, Dubuque (Memorial #85010590)

826

Of the war's better known battles, the 6.4 to 1 ratio was exceeded only by Chickasaw Bayou 6.6 (12/29/62), Port Hudson 7.7 (05/27/63), Big Bethel 9.5 (06/10/61), Port Hudson 32.0 (06/14/63) and Knoxville 53.3 (11/29/63). David W. Lowe, *Field Fortifications. North & South* (August 2001). Ed Bearss puts the Federal killed at 502 and wounded at 2,550, a total of 3,052. Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 869.

827

Typewritten transcript of *Journal of Gilbert Cooley* on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

828

Affidavit by Gilbert Cooley (December 16, 1890) in Ripley Hale's pension file.

829

A report of Boardman's actions was carried in the *North Iowa Times* (June 17, 1863).

830

"They succeeded, however, in carrying an angle of the work immediately to the right of the railroad, and in planting two colors upon the parapet, which remained there for several hours. The angle was finally assaulted and carried by a gallant band of Waul's Texas legoin, under command of hte intrepid Lt.-Col. E. W. Pettis, Twentieth Alabama regiment." Stephen D. Lee, *Report of the Siege of Vicksburg* (July 25, 1863). *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Volume 4 (Southern Historical Society).

831

Jesse Harrison and Lloyd Spear. On June 25, 1863, Salue Van Anda, Major, wrote to Governor Kirkwood and said "Sergt. Spear was in the enemie's fort and was seriously wounded on the 22d ult but will soon be able for duty."

works."⁸³²

Sergeant Joseph Griffith, Nicholas Messenger and several others from the 22d Iowa are credited with entering the works and Charles Kellogg and others wrote that men from the 21st Iowa entered and occupied the angle breached by their artillery.⁸³³ It was undisputed that only men from those two Iowa regiments had entered the enemy works and McClernand's reports to Grant, to that extent, were accurate albeit misleading, but Grant felt McClernand had exaggerated his success leading to the commitment of more men in a hopeless effort. They were ultimately pinned down but "*only at the Railroad Redoubt had the Yanks fought their way into the works.*"⁸³⁴ Instead of being angry with others for what some felt was a half-hearted effort, Grant blamed McClernand for misleading him and Sherman and McPherson readily, and with a degree of self-interest, agreed. McClernand was, said Sherman, "*the meanest man we ever had in the West.*"

On that same May 22nd, far to the north, William Harrison, a private in Company E, died from typhoid fever. He was buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Lemay, Missouri.

On the 23d, exhausted soldiers rose early and were on the line before daylight. The wounded were "*still lying on the slope near the fort calling for water*" and Myron Knight "*stayed in camp about all day - could not get the wounded off the field or bury the dead on account of the firing.*" In Washington, General Halleck, having just received dispatches from Nathaniel Banks dated May 2 and May 3, sent a pointed reply assuming Banks was still pursuing a "*divergent line to Alexandria*" and warning that:

*"if these eccentric movements, with the main forces of the enemy on the east side of the Mississippi, do not lead to some serious disaster, it will be because the enemy does not take full advantage of his opportunity. I assure you the Government is exceedingly disappointed that you and General Grant are not acting in conjunction. . . . The opening of the Mississippi River has been continually presented as the first and most important object to be attained."*⁸³⁵

THE SIEGE (May 23 to July 4, 1863)

Most of the Federals captured on the 22nd were paroled and, on the 24th, taken across the river from where they were sent to Benton Barracks to await an exchange. John Watson and the others went as ordered, but Silas Coddington elected to desert and was not heard from again. Rejoining the regiment were David Drummond who returned from furlough and Matthew King and several others who had escorted thirty-four prisoners from Grand Gulf to Bowen's Landing where they turned them over to the 23d Iowa before taking the *Chancellor* to Chickasaw Bluffs and walking the final fifteen miles "*through a very broken country.*" "*There were some few shots exchanged between our men and the Rebs,*" said Myron Knight, "*and some cannon shots fired into the fort.*"

832

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 81.

833

Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 93. The writer claimed "*there were 9 men of the 21st*" who also entered. "*Col Stone 22 and Capt Harrison 21 were of these men.*" "*Sgt. Spear was in the enemy's fort and was seriously wounded.*" Letter by S. G. Van Anda to Governor Kirkwood (copy in Henry Harger military file). "*Portions of the 21st and 22nd Iowa . . . broke through into the Railroad Redoubt.*" Jerry Frey, Grandpa's Gone (Burd Street Press 1998), page 62. Indiana at Vicksburg (Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1911), page 59. A "*tablet marks the place on the parapet of the redoubt where the flag of the 22d Iowa was placed.*" Indiana at Vicksburg (Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1911), page 59.

"*Sergeant Joseph E. Griffith [22nd Iowa], and a few privates of the 21st Iowa Volunteers, entered one of the forts, but those were all killed.*" Rev. John (Canon) O'Hanlon, Irish-American History of the United States (P. Murphy & Son, New York, 1907), Volume II, page 483. Another account (The Story of American Heroism, J. W. Jones, Springfield, Ohio, 1897, page 275) said Sgt. Griffith of the 21st Iowa [sic] and "*eleven privates of the same regiment*" were the only ones who entered the enemy's works. Griffith was in the 22nd Iowa.

834

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 835. Jerry Frey, Grandpa's Gone (Burd Street Press 1998), page 62.

835

O.R., Series 1, Volume XXVI/1 [S#41].

Some of the battle's wounded crawled back to their lines under cover of darkness but it was the 25th before the stench from the bloated, decomposing bodies became so offensive that Pemberton proposed to Grant "*in the name of humanity ... a cessation of hostilities for two hours and a half, that you may be enabled to remove your dead and dying men.*"⁸³⁶ The offer was accepted, guns fell silent and burial details and surgeons moved onto the field. Myron Knight said "*the Rebs sent a flag of truce to let us bury the dead and get what few wounded there was - the firing ceased on both sides about 4 till 8 p.m. There was a good many boys of our division who found brothers, cousins and other relatives in the Rebel army.*"

Both sides welcomed the truce and many Southerners accepted invitations to visit Union camps where they were welcomed and entertained. Some exchanged gifts, others traded coffee or tobacco, and many visited friends and relatives before shaking hands and returning to their lines. With Colonel Merrill recuperating in McGregor from the severe wounds received on the 17th and Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap having been killed on the 22nd, field command fell to Major Van Anda who was sick with diarrhea which he attributed to the water in the vicinity of the camp.

Among the living, carried from the field by four members of the company after more than two days without food or water, was William Barber. His Millville neighbor, Nelson Reynolds accompanied William as he was taken to the field hospital and watched as Dr. Orr administered chloroform while a second doctor worked on the wound. Surgeons had used chloroform for more than ten years and it was the anesthetic of choice. Nitrous oxide was an occasional alternative, ether was often available in hospitals and, when no anesthetic was available, whiskey served as a poor substitute. William was laid on a table and medicine was injected "*that caused a large quantity of maggots to come from the wound,*" but the surgeon was unable to locate the ball and it would have to stay where it was, somewhere in William's hip. Medical practices differed and, like most northern doctors, Dr. Orr was trying to keep the wound free of maggots. Other doctors, especially in the South, saw benefits in maggots, or at least in varieties such as the blowfly larva that ate dead tissue. As a result, gangrene deaths seemed to be fewer in the South than in the North.

Dr. Orr could have tried to remove the ball, but William may have been fortunate he had not. Ninety-four percent of all battle wounds were inflicted by heavy, soft, bullets fired at low velocity that frequently shattered bone on impact. Surgeons, sometimes criticized as "*saw happy,*" often felt compelled to operate since death was the only alternative. Particles of skin, clothing and other foreign matter caused infection and, when they didn't, battlefield medicine often did. Surgery was in the open or in a tent with the patient on a table or boards between a couple of barrels. Volunteers helped hold the patient. Reused bloody cloths and sponges, putrefying limbs and flies were common.

*"There stood the surgeons, their sleeves rolled up to their elbows, their bare arms as well as their linen aprons smeared with blood, their knives not seldom held between their teeth, while they were helping a patient on or off the table ... the surgeon quickly examined the wound and resolved upon cutting off the injured limb. Some ether was administered and the body put in position in a moment. The surgeon snatched his knife from between his teeth ... wiped it rapidly once or twice across his bloodstained apron, and the cutting began."*⁸³⁷

For hours, and sometimes days, the surgeons did their best but survival frequently depended more on luck than medicine. Post-operative infections or "*surgical fevers*" such as gangrene, erysipelas and pyemia were often more the rule than the exception. Fighting near major rivers made it easier to transport western troops to general hospitals where the best medical care could be provided but this was offset by a scarcity of equipment that was worse than in the east and by the vast distances of the western operations. A fleet of ships, specially outfitted and operated by the U.S. Sanitary Commission and the Western Sanitary Commission headquartered in St. Louis, plied the rivers moving the sick and wounded to and from the hospitals. Personnel were supplied by the commissions, the government furnished most of the supplies and other facilities were operated by the newly created Federal Medical Department.

William's wound was closed and Nelson helped care for him. Several days later, when he was well enough to be moved, William was taken by hospital boat to Memphis' Gayoso General Hospital where residents not in the military were given twenty days to register with the Provost Marshal as loyal citizens of the United States, the subject of a

⁸³⁶ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 85.
⁸³⁷

Description by General Carl Schurz of an operation at Gettysburg. George Washington Adams, Doctors in Blue (Press of Morningside, Dayton, Ohio, 1985), page 118

friendly foreign power or an enemy of the United States. There were no alternatives and those who were enemies would *"be sent where their affections are."*

On May 25th, Josiah Hardy died of chronic diarrhoea in the hospital at Benton Barracks⁸³⁸ while, at Ashwood, Jim Bethard could locate no ink and was just starting to write in pencil when he was ordered to move up to *Somerset* to await transportation. It was time for men still on the west bank to join Grant whose corps commanders were to *"commence the work of reducing the enemy by regular approaches"* and an optimistic wire was sent to Halleck to let him know the city *"can only be taken by siege ... I would say one week if the enemy do not send a large army upon my rear."*

Rebels in the city had to be kept in and those who were out had to stay out. Grant sent Osterhaus to watch the Big Black bridges to the rear and two brigades to guard roads leading south to Warrenton and Hall's Ferry. Cal's cousin, Eli Frankeberger, was with 46th Illinois and among those posted in Thomas Jett's field, about 600 yards below South Fort, to watch the Warrenton Road. Pickets stood guard on both sides of the road while men in camp built fires to brew coffee. The swamp to their left, they thought, was impassable and need not be guarded but, coincidentally, a Southern fatigue party including the 41st Georgia had been sent out to construct an abatis between South Fort and the river and saw the Union fires. Knowing the swamp was not impassable, they quietly passed between it and the Union camp and:

"circled about and approached the Federal pickets from the rear. Before the bluecoats realized what was happening, 114 of them had been captured. Though most of the Federals were taken without a struggle, several shots were exchanged which aroused the rest of the men in blue [but] the Georgians took advantage of the darkness and confusion caused by their sortie and regained their lines with their embarrassed prisoners."⁸³⁹

"Five companies are said to have been taken prisoner," said a surgeon in the 3d Iowa, but Eli was not among them. *"Such are the fates of war."* According to one of the rebels, they returned to Vicksburg with ninety-seven prisoners, *"crackers, clothing, hats and many other treats."*

On the 26th, gold was discovered in the Montana Territory, gold sorely needed to reinforce the Federal treasury that was stretching hard to finance a war costing \$2,500,000 a day, and George Brownell was cooking for Company D when *"there was a man about 20 rods from me was eating when he had both arms shot off."* James Russell wrote:⁸⁴⁰

*Near Vicksburg, Mississippi
May 26, 1863*

On the 23d inst. we raised a flag of truce, and sent forward men to gather the wounded and bury the dead, but they would not recognize it. After three days elapsed, and the dead bodies had become putrid and the smell was so offensive that they could not remain in their breast-works, Gen. Pemberton raised a flag of truce and our men proceeded to bury their dead. Some of the wounded men were still living with maggots in their wounds. Others had crawled into our lines at night, but the design was apparent, as we found men with apparently slight wounds, bayoneted and their shoes and clothes taken off.

Deserters from the rebel conscripts are continually coming into our lines at night, and report considerable dissatisfaction among the troops. Most of the families have left town and dug holes in the side of the hills. Our shells are doing the rebels a great deal of damage, and they cannot reply, for we dismount their cannon as soon as they can place them.

Sharpshooters and skirmishers are all the time at work, and the crash of musketry is almost continuous, with the exchange of artillery. The latter is called by the boys their pet brass band, of which the reports say "Union."

Russell

838 Josiah is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Lemay, Missouri.

839 Edwin Cole Bearss, *The Vicksburg Campaign* (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 887.

840

Excerpt only. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 316-317.

Grant organized an expeditionary corps to scout the area between the Yazoo and Big Black where only a few days earlier John Dolson and George Childs had "received the praise of all who saw their bravery." Now, when Dolson's captain, Willard Benton, resigned, Dolson was promoted to take his place and Grant lamented as "floods of visitors began to pour in. Some came to gratify curiosity; some to see sons or brothers who had passed through the terrible ordeal; members of the Christian and Sanitary Associations came to minister to the wants of the sick and wounded.... Among the earliest arrivals was the Governor of Illinois, with most of the State officers."⁸⁴¹

There was still strong sentiment against the war - an anti-war Tory Party had been organized in the east, a Wisconsin Tory reportedly said, "if all of Africa could be scooped dry, and its inhabitants all made slaves, it would be a great deal better for them," and the wife of the head of Muscatine's Democratic Club was said to have spit on the American flag. Iowa's Republicans invited all who were in favor of a "speedy and complete suppression of the rebellion" to attend their June convention in Des Moines and supportive politicians could help by taking positive reports back to their constituents.⁸⁴² Grant was patient, as he had to be, with Governor Yates and other visitors but preferred his own tours of the camps. Wearing a fatigue blouse and hat with no insignia of rank and usually puffing on a cigar, he related well to men in the trenches, complemented them and tried to bolster their spirits. Also making the rounds was Dr. Orr, a busy man who helped some, buried others and authorized a furlough for David Greaves, certifying that due to his wounds David would not be fit for duty for at least a month. David was given permission to "proceed beyond the limits of the Department" for twenty days and immediately left to go north.

In the 21st Iowa on May 27th, Leonard Horr, Captain of Company F whose two sons had already been seriously wounded, was discharged pursuant to Special Orders No. 142 "for feigning sickness in the face of the enemy, and cowardice in battle."⁸⁴³ The 23d Iowa and its prisoners reached Young's Point, changed transports and by May 28th were anchored off Memphis while artillery was causing severe damage to Confederate defenses at Vicksburg, defenses often repaired by daylight. The campaign was going well, but anxious friends and relatives at home read a dispatch dated the 28th that indicated Joe Johnston was "rapidly receiving reinforcements" and was reported to have said, if Vicksburg could hold out another fifteen days, he would throw 100,000 men at Grant's rear.⁸⁴⁴

On May 29th there were 787 men on the rolls but only 240 were reported able for duty while James Dick died of wounds received a week earlier.⁸⁴⁵ James Hill was sick but in temporary command of Company B and Grant wrote in support of a pending promotion for Mike Lawler that Lawler "has always been one of my best officers in the field and in recent battles greatly distinguished himself."

On May 30th, the *Daily Times* in Dubuque published a detailed map of "The Vicksburg Campaign" and what it understood the chronology of the campaign had been to date.

Convalescents at Somerset

Several weeks earlier Pemberton had asked Kirby Smith to attack Grant's then still needed supply line from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage and Judge Perkins' plantation south of Vicksburg but, at the time, Smith was preoccupied with Banks. Since then, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill and the Big Black had fallen and Grant had a new supply line through the Yazoo by the time Smith decided to attack the no-longer-needed old one. The job was given to forty-year-old John Walker, then commanding a division composed mostly of Texans, and Henry McCulloch, the division's previous commander who was heading its Third Brigade composed of the 16th, 17th and 19th Infantry, dismounted cavalry and William Edgar's artillery.

⁸⁴¹ Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs and Letters* p364 (Literary Classics 1990).

⁸⁴² *Dubuque Daily Times* (February 26, 1863).

⁸⁴³

The two sons were Joseph Latshaw Horr, 13th United States Infantry, and Henry Riddle Horr, 1st Iowa Light Artillery.

Leonard's discharge would be reviewed after the war and on February 23, 1867, by order of the Secretary of War, Special Orders No. 96 was issued and provided that, "so much of Special Orders No. 142, May 27th, 1863, from Headquarters, Department of the Tennessee, as dismissed Captain L. Horr, Company 'F,' 21st Iowa Volunteers, with forfeiture of all pay and allowances, 'for feigning sickness in the face of the enemy, and cowardice in battle,' is hereby revoked, and he is honorably discharged the service of the United States as of the date of the aforesaid order, (May 27th, 1863.)" Two and one-half years later, his honor restored, Leonard would die on October 9, 1869, at fifty-four years of age. He is buried in Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque.

⁸⁴⁴ *Dubuque Daily Times* (May 30, 1863).

⁸⁴⁵ He is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery.

Ordered to move up the Tensas and cause as much havoc as possible, Walker left Alexandria by transport on May 28th with sentinels alert on the hurricane deck. Twenty-five miles to the east was the Mississippi and the area in between was invested with the Yankee enemy. Grant's men, mostly convalescents, stragglers and local Negroes, were preparing to move to the east bank unaware of the rebel force headed in their direction.

On May 30, 1863, having gone as far as he could by transport, Walker debarked and McCulloch led his brigade, James Hawes' First Brigade and Horace Randall's Second Brigade towards *Somerset* only twelve miles away and rumored to be defended by a "heavy force," a force including Jim Bethard, Abe Treadwell and John Crop of Company B, Ellis Ellis of Company G, about ninety other convalescents recently arrived from *Ashwood* and 350 men of Colonel Owen's 60th Indiana.

No longer with them was Henry Dyer. About 10:00 on the morning of May 30th, he had secured a pass from Owen "to proceed beyond the lines."⁸⁴⁶ Riding out about eight miles, he encountered one of Walker's sentries and chased him for about three miles before abandoning the pursuit. After covering almost four miles on his return to camp, Henry had to stop at Mound Bayou. While waiting for a flat boat to help him cross, he heard an alarm sounded by "a darkey"⁸⁴⁷ he had positioned "back a quarter of a mile with instructions to watch the road."⁸⁴⁸ Before he could leave, "I found to my surprise some twelve or fifteen of the rebels with carbines & revolvers leveled at me shouting surrender you D- Yankee S- B- or we'll blow your D- brains."⁸⁴⁹ Dyer was taken to the rebel camp where he was quizzed about the strength of the Union force at Perkins' landing but, by then, "I had my story so well learned & fitted to offset their forces that the General ordered the command to remain in camp here for the night."⁸⁵⁰ They had advanced on a road through a dense canebreak "musical with the croaking of frogs" and "reptiles of every hue" during "a night that tried men's souls,"⁸⁵¹ but did not want to proceed further in darkness. Meanwhile, Union scouts had learned the enemy was approaching and rushed to warn Owen.⁸⁵² Concerned they were out-numbered and had neither cavalry nor artillery, they moved closer to the levee, strengthened defenses and, like the rebels only a few miles away, kept watch through the night.

At "the first roseate hues of morn" on May 31st, Walker's confederates saw smoke from the Union camp. The Texans formed in timber next to the plantation, advanced cautiously and reached the Union camp where, "much to their surprise," they discovered the Federals were gone. Supplies and cooking utensils had been abandoned and the Southerners helped themselves to hard-tack and "coffee they found very palatable" before moving on.⁸⁵³

A half mile later Walker's skirmishers were fired on by Federals hiding in woods. The Federals then fell back "double-quicking towards the levee" where they reformed under protection of the *Carondolet* that arrived shortly before daylight and opened fire. Mounted Confederates served "as a corps of observation," McCulloch ordered Edgar to return fire from an open field, an artillery duel ensued, Edgar fired ninety-six rounds in eighty minutes, the Federals "over two hundred shot and shell" and the valley between them became a "dense cloud of smoke, which rose in floating canopies over it."⁸⁵⁴ When the gunboat stopped firing and backed out of range, Confederates "under cover of

846

Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.

847

Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.

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Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.

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Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer. A good account of the Confederate expedition can be found in J. P. Blessington's The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (State House Press, Austin, Texas 1994), Chapters XI (expedition up the Tensas River and march to Perkins' landing) and XII (skirmish at Perkins' landing; a Negro's description of the cannonading; official report of the skirmish). The book consists primarily of a narrative written by a member of the staff of General William R. Scurry. With reference to May 30th (page 86) he says, "On our way up the river, a Federal soldier was taken prisoner; he was foraging amongst the negro cabins." This, very likely, was Henry Dyer.

850

Postwar narrative by Henry Dyer.

851

J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (State House Press, Austin, Texas, 1994), page 86.

852

A skirmish reportedly alerted Colonel Henry Lieb of the 9th Louisiana Colored Infantry and he sent a request for assistance to Young's Point. Jones, *The Enemy Cried No Quarter*. Civil War magazine (June 1998), page 42.

853

J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (State House Press, Austin, Texas, 1994), page 87.

854

J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (State House Press, Austin, Texas, 1994), page 88.

a small levee and mounds of timber skirting a lake"⁸⁵⁵ prepared to attack, unaware the *Forest Queen* had reached the landing about 8:00 a.m. and, under cover of the artillery barrage, Jim and other convalescents had destroyed supplies and rushed on board to make their escape. Walker suffered one killed, six wounded and two missing and returned to the Tensas while Federal losses, none in the 21st Iowa, were said to be eleven killed and several wounded. Jim would later comment on the attack to Cal and historian John Winters would write that:

*"General Henry E. McCulloch on the morning of May 31 debarked his troops from transports and surprised the Federal camp at Perkins' Landing. The defenders double-quickened to the levee and formed a line of battle under the protection of their gunboat, the 'Carondelet'. For over an hour the Confederates stood under the fire of the gunboat. McCulloch ordered his artillery forward, and the fire drove the Federal troops aboard their ships. With the gunboat, they dropped down the river out of range. The retreating troops destroyed supplies meant for Grant across the river."*⁸⁵⁶

Leaving for Shreveport with his Confederate captors was Henry Dyer.⁸⁵⁷

Vicksburg

On May 31, 1863, the *R. C. Wood* hospital steamer left Chickasaw Bayou for Memphis and Arnold Horton died. A twenty-one year old private from Delhi, he had been captured at Beaver Creek the previous November, exchanged and returned to duty, but was wounded mortally during the assault of May 22d.

Meanwhile, opposite Fort Beauregard, fifteen to thirty pieces of artillery, both standard and improvised, kept up a "heavy fire during both day and night," usually about half an hour each morning and evening, while "fire from their small-arms commenced generally about half an hour before daylight and continued until about dark" creating a "perfect rain of Minié balls." To augment regular artillery, wooden mortars were constructed by boring out logs "for six or twelve pound shells and binding them with strong iron bands."⁸⁵⁸ Southern deserters entered Union lines on a daily basis reporting they were on reduced rations with only cornbread and, if lucky, a little beef to sustain them.⁸⁵⁹ Homesickness, boredom, disillusionment, infrequent pay and depression led to large scale desertions, up to fifty percent in some Southern regiments.

When not on the firing line or incapacitated by illness, Union soldiers processed deserters and guarded prisoners. Others, mostly "pioneers, assisted by negroes who came within our lines and who were paid for their work" and supported from time to time by "details from the troops," constructed breastworks that were often topped with sandbags and logs.⁸⁶⁰ Working mostly at night to avoid daytime heat and humidity, they dug rifle pits and trenches, twelve miles of trenches, slowly zigzagging their way forward, ever wary of watching sharpshooters. Where lines were close, men threw rocks and hand grenades at each other, conversed across the lines, "compared experiences and told of the close shots made or escaped during the day."⁸⁶¹ At night "the method adopted by both sides was to wait

855

J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (State House Press, Austin, Texas, 1994), page 90, referencing Major R. P. McClay's Official Report of the Skirmish at Perkins' Landing.

856

John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, La, 1963), page 198.

857

Most enlisted men captured west of the river were paroled while officers were usually taken to Shreveport. Walker reported the capture of "about sixty negro soldiers, with two white officers who commanded them," but Henry Dyer was a private.

858

U. S. Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters p363 (Literary Classics 1990).

859

In April 1863, Confederate Articles of War relating to desertion were amended to provide death or confinement with or without hard labor for a period of from one to five years or such other penalty as a court-martial might decree. Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 57.

860

U. S. Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters p363 (Literary Classics 1990).

861

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 101.

until dusk, the pickets would be on the alert, and when they saw those of the enemy ready, both lines would spring from their rifle pits and advance to within a few feet of each other all night conversing."

Southern tobacco was traded for Northern coffee and "there was a general armistice between the pickets of our brigade and the enemy immediately in our front from dark till daylight and they would sit for hours and converse on various subjects and joke each other about the close shots they had made at each other previously."⁸⁶² City residents dodged mortar shells, traveled outside only when necessary and dug caves for safety. "Some of the prettiest girls in the South"⁸⁶³ tried to help their soldiers "and welcomed them back to an evening in the caves, where home-made candies, flowers, songs, flirtations and whist combined to bring some festivity even out of those gloomy hours."⁸⁶⁴ Most thought Joe Johnston was massing relief troops to the east but a more realistic Southerner was already predicting "he'll never fight a battle ... too fussy, too hard to please, too cautious, too much afraid to miss and ruin his fine reputation."⁸⁶⁵

North of Vicksburg, business was "dull" on the Memphis levee but the city was a major stopping point for the military as surgeons treated the sick and wounded, sent some to northern hospitals and buried others. A sternwheeler from Cincinnati arrived with 600 dozen chickens, the *Hope* went north and five steamers left for the lower Mississippi. Fielman & Elson sold calicoes at \$.18 a yard, hoop skirts for \$1.00 and handkerchiefs for \$.25. Madame Cora James "through the aid of a supernatural power peculiar to clairvoyance" offered confidential advice on the war and the *R. C. Wood* arrived on June 1, 1863, after a two-day trip from Chickasaw Bayou. The report of those on board included six who had died on the trip and another 410 sick or wounded, eight of whom were from the 21st Iowa:

George L. Fisher	Centralia	Sergeant	Co. C	wound at Big Black right leg
George H. Hess	Dubuque	Private	Co. E	wound at Big Black hip
Andrew Y. McDonald	Dubuque	2d Lieut.	Co. E	wound at Big Black right arm
James Stephenson	Dubuque	Private	Co. F	wound at Big Black
Willis Brown	Newstand	Sergeant	Co. H	wound at Big Black two wounds
William Dickenson	Dubuque	2d Lieut.	Co. H	wound at Vicksburgback & shoulder
David Griffith	Manchester	Sergeant	Co. H	wound at Big Black right hip
Edgar. Talmadge	Delhi	Private	Co. K	ill at Milliken's Bend chronic diarrhea

Joe Johnston had insufficient manpower to free Pemberton early in the siege but, by the first week of June, with reinforcements from Tennessee, South Carolina and Georgia, his field returns indicated 31,226 present for duty.⁸⁶⁶ In rough numbers, he and Pemberton had 55,000 to Grant's 51,000 and Johnston wired Kirby Smith that he would assist Pemberton and wanted Smith to help Franklin Gardner at Port Hudson. If properly conducted, a combined attack still had a chance of ending the siege, but actions speak louder than words and Johnston stayed put. The longer he waited the more Pemberton's strength ebbed and Grant's improved with reinforcements from Hurlbut and Halleck.

Jim Bethard, Abe Treadwell and others rescued at *Somerset* had been taken upstream, stopped twice to pick up soldiers signaling from the Louisiana shore, landed on the east bank and reached Warrenton the same evening. From there they continued north, walking and riding through Union lines, searching for their regiments. On June 2, 1863, Marx Duenser died of disease, Sam Mathews, an Irishman from Dubuque, was wounded in the rifle pits, construction began on trenches approaching the salients in front of Carr, and Jim, after being gone for more than a month, reached his regiment and was assigned to guard duty, duty softened by five new letters from Cal.

862

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa). His wording is strikingly similar to Crooke's. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 101.

⁸⁶³ A. A. Hoehling, Vicksburg. 47 Days of Siege (The Fairfax Press, New York, 1969), page 131.

⁸⁶⁴ A. A. Hoehling, Vicksburg. 47 Days of Siege (The Fairfax Press, New York, 1969), page 131.

⁸⁶⁵ Joseph T. Glatthaar, General Lee's Army, From Victory to Collapse (2008), page 46.

⁸⁶⁶

He later claimed that by June 4th he had "about 24,000 infantry and artillery, not one-third of that of the enemy), it was deficient in artillery, in ammunition for all arms, and field transportation. . . . The draught upon the country had so far reduced the number of horses and mules, that it was not until late June that draught animals could be procured." O.R. Series 1. Volume XXIV/1 [S #36]. No. 10.

On Wednesday, the 3rd, Sam Mathews died before sunrise, Curtis Dean (wounded and taken prisoner on May 22d), died in Vicksburg's Confederate hospital, Myron Knight's ten year old sister died in Strawberry Point⁸⁶⁷ and Jim wrote his first letter from Vicksburg (erroneously dating it the 4th) and described his recent escape.

Letter No 13

In the rear of vicksburg Miss
Wednesday June the 4th 1863

Dear wife

I arrived here yesterday about noon and found five letters here from you so you may imagine that I was well entertained for a while I am sorry my letters have not reached you for from the tone of your letters it appears it has caused you a great deal of uneasiness I wrote to you from Milikens bend and this is the third letter that I have written to you since we left there

I sent the one from the bend the morning that we left there by a member of company G. who was going to Mcgregor on a furlough and it may be that he lost it or forgot to mail it:

the other two I put in with the mail of the 60th Indiana regiment that being my only chance while behind the regiment and they were probably sent to Indiana and then forwarded to Clermont so I think you will get them some time if you ever do.

I found James Rice and frank Farrand well Jonhn Mather is quite sick I believe his complaint is chronic diarrhoea he is in the hospital and I have not seen him since I came here I intend to go up to the hospital to day to see him but it is doubtful whether I get to see him or not when I go for Jim says he has been several times and could not find him I have not heard a word from Pool since we left the bend he was left there in the hospital David Shuck died in the floating hospital at the bend soon after the regiment left that place; Wallace Farrand was killed in a charge on the rebel works here at vicksburg our first Lieutenant Henry Howard of strawberry point and one of the best officers in the regiment was killed at the black rivers fight lieutenant Colonel Dunlap is killed and Colonel Merrill severely wounded but not fatally they say that Col Merrill has proved himself a brave man and a good officer the boys say our little captain is true grit Wm Barber was severely wounded and has gone home up the river to what point I do not know Cal you wanted to know what was the matter with me but that is a question that I am not able to answer but I know that I was quite sick for about two weeks and when I began to mend I gained very slow but I am now almost myself again although I am still about 15 pounds under my usual weight I walk and rode (riding about half the time in a mule wagon) ten twelve miles night before last and stood guard here last night and feel full as well today as I have since I was taken sick; I have missed a great many hard knocks and rough times by being left behind but there was a while that thought I was having about as rough times as any of them at least would have been glad to have changed my condition for good health and joined the regiment. As I write the fact that we are at war is constantly kept before my mind by the booming of our artillery one battery of which is not more than 20 steps from where I sit in my dirt bunk they are booming away all the time at intervals of from one to ten minutes and once in a while ten or a dozen will go faster than you could count there is also a constant cracking of musketry kept up by the sharpshooters from the rifle pits on both sides we can occasionally hear a bullet come singing over our heads but they can do us no harm as we lay here behind the breast works there is once in a while a man gets killed by foolishly crawling up and peeping over the breast works to see what effect the artillery has on the rebels

Cal I acknowledge that I have got behind the time about writing to you it has been two weeks since I wrote to you before but I could not help it I tried every place that I could to get some ink to write to you one week ago last Sunday but failing I about to commence a letter with a pencil when we were ordered to move up the river to be ready to put our things on board a boat that was expected down that evening and we were looking for the boat every hour until last Sunday and we had to move once more in the time we probably would have been there yet had we not been driven out by the rebels we got wind of about four thousand rebels near us on Saturday night our whole force consisted of about 350 of the 60th Indiana and about 50 convalescents belonging to different regiments amounting to 400 in all

⁸⁶⁷ Mary Alice Knight, born July 25, 1852, was buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery.

with neither cavalry nor artillery while the rebels had both we were on the lookout for them all night and in the mien time col Owen had every thing belonging to 60th moved over the dike on the bank of the river ~~and the~~ which made a complete breast work in front and then made the contrabands roll up cotton bales and make breast works on each side from the dike to the bank of the river which made quite a formidable forte the rebels could have easily shelled us out of that and taken us all prisoners but fortunately for us a dispatch boat⁸⁶⁸ cam along going up the river and col Owen sent for a gunboat and transport the gunboat came to our assistance about an hour before daylight on sunday morning and the transport arrived about eight o clock and the rebels attacked about the same time the gunboat kept them shelled back so that they could not reach us with their artillery ~~and~~ while we put our straps on board the transport but the Col was in such a hurry to get off that there was a great many things left behind belonging to different regts and had been under the care of the convalescents for over a month the things left were knapsacks and tents we heard at knight after we got to warrenton that the gunboat had kept them back all day and some of the boys went back on monday to get the rest of the things we stoped at two places going up the river and took on squads of men who had been left to take care of property that their regiments had left behind the Col would not wait for them to put their things on board ~~boat~~ but had them set ~~them~~ on fier and shoved off I dont know whether the boys that went back got their traps or not they had not got back when I left warrenton Cal do not think that I have forgotten you if you dont get your letters think any thing else but that; never will I forget my wife and little Ellie yours husband James Bethard

The letter Jim sent with Company G never made it to Cal, but the two he sent with the 60th Indiana had eventually found their way home.⁸⁶⁹ The contrabands he mentioned were former slaves and the word, ill-chosen or not, "gave the country an excuse for doing what it was longing to do." Two years earlier, Benjamin Butler had justified disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law and refused to return escaped slaves to their Southern masters. If Southerners viewed slaves as property, he said, they could hardly complain when he declared the escapees "contraband of war" and thereby "the Dred Scott decision was trampled under the iron hoof of war."⁸⁷⁰

That night, Lieutenant Hill visited with John Goodrich. Both were from Cascade, both were in Company I and both were deeply religious. John "assured me all was well," said Hill, "and his trust was in Christ alone. He repeated several times over, to tell his dear wife to train up his two sons for Christ; and very calmly passed away about four o'clock on the morning of the 4th of June."⁸⁷¹

On the same day, up river in Memphis, Edgar Talmadge died of chronic diarrhea in the Overton General Hospital on the corner of Main and Poplar where he had been cared for by Sister Mary Augusta.⁸⁷² His effects were mailed north and Sister Mary wrote to Edgar's mother, Mary Talmadge, in Delhi to assure that, although "a desolate mother's grief is too sacred for living mortal to intrude," her son had died in a hospital and been well cared for by doctors, nurses and religious counselors, while many others had not. Enclosed with her letter was a ring that Edgar had been wearing at the time of his death. That night, another 341 sick and wounded reached Memphis including, with some errors and misspellings, thirty that James Bingham's *Memphis Bulletin* said were from the 21st Iowa.⁸⁷³

868

Dispatch boats were usually small boats employed to convey messages when other means were not available or advisable.

869

The missing letter was written between the evening of April 6th when the regiment reached Milliken's Bend and the morning of April 12th when they left. The two letters sent with the 60th Indiana were Jim's letters of May 9th and May 18th.

870

James Gillespie Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress from Lincoln to Garfield* (The Henry Bill Publishing Company, Norwich, Conn., 1884), Volume I, page 369.

871

Harvard Memorial Biographies (University Press: Welch, Bigelow & Co. Cambridge, 1867), Volume 1, Page 126

872

Edgar is buried in Memphis National Cemetery, Section 1, Grave 24. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55033899.

873

Neither "Fred Hover" nor any similar name is on the regiment's roster. Joseph Schoepf was wounded in the arm on May 22nd. The arm had been amputated after the assault and he was sent to Memphis for medical treatment but would die on June 27th. Medical records do not mention a head injury. J. H. Russell was James H. Russell, Company F (not I).

Fred Hover	Private	Company	head
William O. Breedon	Private	Company A	face
J. M. Hensley	Sergeant	Company A	head
Edwin H. Burke	Sergeant	Company C	head
G. W. Darrow	Private	Company C	arm and knee
Andrew Kline	Private	Company C	knee
William Axford	Private	Company C	thigh
John Whalan	Private	Company D	right leg
William Bird	Private	Company D	left hip
John Klotz	Private	Company E	head
J. Schoepf	Private	Company E	head
Jacob Smith	Private	Company E	left foot
D. Preston	Private	Company F	thigh and leg
J. C. Wallace	Sergeant	Company F	elbow
W. C. Barber	Private	Company G	groin
C. Anderson	Private	Company H	arm
W. N. Marshall	Private	Company H	shoulder
Arthur Nichols	Private	Company H	left thigh
H. E. Bryan	Private	Company I	left hip
William Chappel	Corporal	Company I	head
R. J. Dean	Private	Company I	arm
J. C. Fehner	Private	Company I	right elbow
Henry Hettchew	Private	Company I	left hip
James Robinson	Corporal	Company I	left knee
J. H. Russell	Sergeant	Company I	right arm
William E. Swope	Private	Company I	foot
C. H. Zelby	Private	Company I	thigh and leg
William Hirur	Private	Company K	left arm
James McCartney	Private	Company K	breast and thigh
L. E. Spear	Sergeant	Company K	head

In Iowa on the 4th, the *Cedar Valley Times* carried a dispatch from the *Dubuque Times* reporting:

"IOWA HEROES - The 21st and 23d Iowa regiments have the credit of leading in the desperate charge at the battle of Black River Bridge which gave the victory to Grant. The 21st Iowa opened the fight near Port Gibson, and was the last on the field of conflict. The 17th Iowa led the way in the victory at Jackson, and the long list of killed and wounded proves its valor in that and the other battles of this brilliant campaign."

The Clayton Co. Journal reported that Strawberry Point Lodge 130 of the Ancient Free & Accepted Masons (usually referred to as the A.F. & A.M.) held services in memory of "Brother Henry H. Howard." Remembering him as "a most efficient, brave and gallant officer," they resolved that "we will put our lodge room in mourning and the members of this lodge will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days." It also said, erroneously, that "General Banks' entire force are now at Warrenton, to assist General Grant to take Vicksburg" and, correctly, that the *Decorah Republic* favored Fitz Henry Warren as the next Governor of Iowa:

"This brave soldier is proposed as a candidate for Governor of Iowa. His friends are earnest in pressing his claims for that office, and it may be probable that he will be the nominee. While we hear of only a few in this section opposed to him, there are many warm admirers of the General here. If nominated he would poll as large a vote as any other person with the exception of Sella; the latter has, also, warm friends here, on account of his residing a little further North than Warren. We have no favoritism between the two, yet, if the North can only get one nominee of the State Convention, we say give us Williams for Supreme Judge and Fitz

Henry Warren for Governor."⁸⁷⁴

Warren could have resigned but withdrew his name from consideration and, unlike Colonel Stone, would wait until after the war to reenter politics. By now, disease and deaths from the assaults at the Big Black and Vicksburg had taken a heavy toll. Muster rolls still carried the names of 780 men (778 from those originally mustered and two recruits who were enrolled subsequently), but many of these lay in hospitals, some near death, while others were incapacitated by wounds or illness. To refill the ranks, a draft was possible and *the Provost Marshals of this Sate [sic] have been ordered to complete the enrollment under twenty days. They are hard at work making the necessary arrangements. This looks as if the draft was soon to take place in Iowa.*"⁸⁷⁵

The same issue of the *Journal* carried a report from Chicago that said Iowa, as a whole, had been called on for 49,405 men and had already furnished 48,814. The apparent shortage of 591 men was, in its opinion, more than made up by men already raised for a new 7th Cavalry that had not yet been mustered into service.

On June 5th, Edward Sweet was on the *D. A. January* anchored in the Yazoo when he died from wounds received at the Big Black,⁸⁷⁶ Elisha Boardman "*was taken to the division hospital violently ill*"⁸⁷⁷ and Governor Kirkwood "*visited the Iowa troops*" and "*their several hospitals*" where "*his feelings were greatly moved with compassion toward the many sick.*"⁸⁷⁸ With him were Adjutant General Nathaniel Baker, Surgeon General J. C. Hughes, fifty-seven year old former Governor R. P. Lowe and Congressman James Wilson. The Governor spoke "*words of encouragement, cheer and patriotism*" and assured men "*of the liveliest interest, anxiety, satisfaction, and gratitude on the part of the loyal citizens of Iowa.*" Dr. Hughes "*performed several fine surgical operations during his stay,*" Lowe "*fired a ten-pound Parrot gun*" and others gathered "*war mementoes.*"

Gunder Engebertson was on picket when shot in the chest. A Norwegian native, Gunder was living in Elkader when mustered into Company D during its original organization. He would linger for two more weeks before dying on the 23rd.⁸⁷⁹ Dubuque's George Carroll was on duty in the rifle pits when he was hit "*by bullet through his head killing him instantly.*"⁸⁸⁰ George, like many others, had kept only \$3.00 of his monthly pay while the \$10.00 balance went by allotment to his mother. His captain knew the family well and felt George was "*as brave a man and as good a soldier as was ever in an army.*"

The mid-summer climate was hard on the healthy and worse on men trying to recover from illness or wounds. "*We were,*" said Gilbert Cooley, "*compelled to use poor water and that with the excessive exertion and constant exposure soon began to tell on our men.*" Joseph Watson and James Noble, Captain and 1st Lieutenant of Company H, were in the hospital while those able to work labored with axes and shovels and pushed the snakelike trenches closer to the enemy, but they were bothered more by the weather than the sporadic Minié ball. "*The weather is very warm. This retards the work more than anything else. The men cannot work at all during the middle of the day.*"⁸⁸¹

Grant boarded the steamer *Diligent* for a two-day inspection tour on the Yazoo and Carr continued work on two trenches advancing toward the railroad redoubt. Jim Bethard with diarrhea and Jim Rice with a cold were excused from duty, Elisha Boardman received a surgeon's certificate for "*acute diarrhea attended with great prostration*" and William Parker died of dysentery. A brief respite was gained when the regiment was allowed to go into the ravine to wash, rest in the shade and play cards and dominoes. Major Van Anda "*treated the boys to some whiskey*" but, by evening, it was work as usual as they returned to camp "*just below the brow of the hill on which the 1st Missouri*

⁸⁷⁴ The Clayton Co. Journal (June 4, 1863).

⁸⁷⁵ The Clayton Co. Journal (June 4, 1863).

⁸⁷⁶ National Archive military and pension records of Edward Flavel Sweet.

⁸⁷⁷ Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

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He had earlier visited Tennessee after hearing of devastating losses suffered by Iowa troops at Fort Donelson. Hesselstine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 342. H. W. Lathrop, Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, (self-published, 1893), page 328.

⁸⁷⁹ The site of his burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54832681.

⁸⁸⁰ Affidavit of George H. Childs signed at Dubuque on June 22, 1863.

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Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 931, referencing an "*After Action Report*" by Lieutenant Hains.

battery is in position."⁸⁸²

George Stearns died of wounds received at the Big Black and David Watkins returned from furlough with letters, newspapers and photographs after a three week trip down river. Photographs were especially popular and, as the siege continued, New Orleans' *Daily Picayune* told readers that "every young man who goes to war ought, before starting, leave his likeness with his mother, sister, wife or other dear parent, and every lady whose husband, or brother, or son is sent to Pensacola ought also to give her miniature to the gallant young volunteer; for, during the long night watch, or around the camp fire, it may be his only solace to look at the picture and kiss it."

Absences grew longer, people changed, children grew and photos were taken and mailed or carried back and forth as soldiers in the field went to local studios or traveling photographers with their "what's-it" wagons full of equipment. Paper prints from wet plate-glass negatives were inexpensive, easily reproduced and of any size but the "carte de visite," usually 2½" by 4," was the most popular. By now Ella was almost a year old, but she had trouble sitting still and had "three hands" when a picture was taken for her father.

Letter No 14

Vicksburg.
June the 7th 1863

Dear wife

I seat myself once more to scratch a few lines to you It has not been a week since I wrote to you but it is sunday my regular writing day so I will write to day and try to send you your regular letter hereafter Jim has just carried a letter to the office for Lib he and I are well although I have not got my strength fairly yet since my sickness we were both excused from duty by the doctor yesterday he on account of a cold and I on account of dierrhea but we are both all right this morning we did not report to the doctor this morning I was up and seen John Mather the day that I wrote to you before he was up and around and mending slowly he looks verry slim but is doing well at present I have not seen him since that day but I hear from him every day Frank Farrand is well. No word from Pool yet. we are still laying where we was when I wrote you before; the artillery and sharp shooters are are popping away as usual we have not gained much since I came here some of our pickets have charged on and took some of their advance rifle pits and last night we planted some heavy siege guns in the new breast works in front of our rifle pits; the gun and mortar boats have had but little to say for the last four days; rebel deserters are coming to our lines and giving themselves up every knight they say they dont like their new general whose name is general starvation they say they get nothing but corn meal and only quarter rations at that I am glad to hear that my money went through safe we expect to get paid off again soon, but I hope it will not be until after this Vicksburg affair is settled then I expect there will be a chance to go home on a furlough but do not build your hopes to high on that score for the fortunes of war are verry uncertain I have not seen the boys in the 9th since I saw them at Ashwood landing they are away around on the right about 7 miles from here and we are not allowed to leave our regiment as far as that

Cal I am not at all surprised that you have not received my dress coat for it is here in my knapsack the Captain said we could send them at the same time that we sent our money and John Mather came and got mine but for some reason they did not go and mine came back to me a day or two afterward you wanted to know how I liked Ellas likeness I like it verry well but it is rather a nubby looking picture it has three hands and is spekked all over as though it had been dotted over with a pen and ink I suppose the mischief was in her so big that she would not sit still I am glad to hear that she is loved by the whole family as well as yourself for it is a great satisfaction to know that she is a pet instead of a pest in the family I cannot tell how long it will be before Vicksburg will be taken it is the opinion of some that the taking of Vicksburg will be but the work of an hour or two whenever general Grant sees fit to take it but he has a bigger trump to play than the taking of Vicksburg and he is going to play the strength of the game

Your Husband James Beathard

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A journalist later indicated that Grant also had whiskey on board the *Diligent* and became drunk, but the journalist refrained from reporting the incident at the time. [America's Civil War magazine](#) (May 2000).

On June 8th Governor Kirkwood spoke in West Union in support of the Republican candidate for Governor, William M. Stone, in preference to Gen. Tuttle, the Democratic candidate who had led the 2d Iowa at Fort Donelson but whose slate, said Kirkwood, included Duncombe, “*as bitter a Copperhead as there is in the State,*” and Mason, who years earlier had argued against the issuance of state bonds necessary to finance the clothing of the state’s soldiers.⁸⁸³

On the same day in the South, John Mather was well enough to leave the hospital while Barna Phelps, one of the organizers of the company, “*ill and feeble from exposure,*” submitted his resignation.⁸⁸⁴ The next day David Drummond was promoted to Second Lieutenant to take his place. Weather was hot and muggy and Myron Knight visited friends in the 13th Iowa, the 9th Iowa where he saw “*some of the boys,*” an Iowa battery where he visited William Lepert who had been wounded at Port Gibson, and the 12th Iowa where George Hunter said the enemy “*wanted our boys to stop a shelling so as they could go to sleep.*” Cascade’s Greenberry Halfhill died of wounds and Epworth’s Frank Hotchkiss succumbed to chronic diarrhea.

On the 10th, Elisha Boardman left “*to go North*” and nineteen year old Richard Cook died of wounds received at the Big Black.⁸⁸⁵ William Lyons was promoted to Captain although he would be unable to officially assume his duties for another six months due to a delay in commissioning and Pemberton wrote to Johnston, “*the enemy bombards the city day and night from seven mortars on opposite side of peninsula; he also keeps up constant fire on our lines with artillery and sharpshooters; we are losing many officers and men.*”⁸⁸⁶

The Federals were also suffering and hospital boats continued to ply the Mississippi. Converted transports, they flew yellow flags and were outfitted with bunks and other facilities for patients and doctors and provisioned with supplies from the Western Sanitary Commission and northern merchants. Twenty year old Sam Rutherford was a patient on the *D. A. January* when he died on the 11th while, the same day, another soldier said he was:

*"Tired, tired, tired! The weather is getting hotter every day, and that, with our constant toil, is constantly reducing our number. We scarcely know when one day ends and another begins, and as for a solid night of sleep that is now past hoping for. Last night I had the privilege of doing it if I could but 'heaven's dread artillery' put ours to shame. The rain fell in torrents, and having nothing overhead but a few branches, thrown across poles, my attention was fully occupied in making a very narrow, scant rubber cover over as large a portion of my sacred person as possible. We are now nightly in expectation that the rebels will make a break and endeavor to cut their way through our lines at some point or other, since Johnston fails to arrive to their aid, and they are just as likely to do it in our direction as any other."*⁸⁸⁷

In Iowa, the *Journal* told readers that “*Vicksburg is not yet ours, but the siege is progressing well The army under Banks moved on Port Hudson and after a severe struggle, took the principal fort commanding that place . . .*”

The Heroes of the 21st Iowa.

Below we give lists of the killed and wounded of the 21st Iowa regiment, who fell in the battles at Port Gibson and Black River bridge.

<i>Colonel S. Merrill</i>	<i>seriously;</i>
<i>Lt. Col. C. W. Dunlap</i>	<i>killed;</i>
<i>Maj. S. G. Van Anda</i>	<i>slightly by shell;</i>
<i>Adj. Howard,</i>	<i>seriously, since died;</i>
<i>Company B</i>	
<i>Chas. Reeves</i>	<i>slightly head;</i>

⁸⁸³ H. W. Lathrop, *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 263.

⁸⁸⁴ *History of Clayton County* (1882), 700-701 (transcribed by Sally Scarff and Marlene Chaney, Iowa Gen Web bios).

⁸⁸⁵ Richard is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54596913.

⁸⁸⁶ O.R., Series 1, Volume XXIV/3 [S#38].

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George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry. a Narrative of Its Experience in Active Service* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 109. The quote from “*a soldier’s correspondence,*” is often erroneously attributed to George Crooke.

Sgt. W. W. Lyons	slight;
O. H. Maxon	seriously;
H. Cuver	do
H. Holloway	do
H. Childs,	slight.

Company D

Thomas Hayes	killed;
Wm. Hood	killed;
Martin Stearns	groin, missing on field;
Wm. Monlux, leg	do do
Jacob Stregrimson	do do
Thomas Grayson	do do
Erich Palson	slight hand;
Alonzo Fuller	arm, slight;
A. A. Renwick	do do
Geo. Wilsey	head do
John Whalon	hand & hip, slight;
John Fellings	foot do
J.K.P. Thompson	arm do
Corp. Burt H. Snedigar	ankle, slight.

Company G

Wm. Barber	severely, thigh;
Missing	W. W. Farrand and Wm. H. Griffith . . .

Gen. McClermand, it is reported, has been put under arrest for disobedience of orders, and Gen. Washburne has been ordered below to take command of his Division."

McClermand, who had stood still at Champion's Hill, was not under arrest but, on May 30th had written a report he characterized as General Orders No. 72 that ostensibly complemented his men but implied criticism of others and indirectly reflected on an already irritated Grant.⁸⁸⁸ A copy of the order appeared in the *Memphis Evening Bulletin* where it was seen by Sherman who viewed it as "a catalogue of nonsense," "self-flattery," "an effusion of vain-glory and hypocrisy." McPherson saw it in the *Missouri Democrat* and thought it "manifestly at variance with the facts," an attempt by McClermand "to write himself down the hero, the master-mind, giving life and direction to military operations in this quarter," something calculated not to genuinely congratulate his men but to *impress the public mind with the magnificent strategy, superior tactics, and brilliant deeds*" of its author. Many things could be tolerated but public insubordination could not. Grant asked McClermand if the copy he had received was "a true copy." McClermand said it was. His fate was sealed.

Disease continued to take its toll, chronic diarrhea plagued men on both sides "and every day takes a greater number to the hospitals than are returned." Men tried to clean cooking utensils and wash away dirt but water was rarely hot. Drinking water was often contaminated. Food fried in heavy grease caused one surgeon to complain of "death from the frying pan."⁸⁸⁹ Intestinal infections were rampant. Also known as "camp diarrhea," "the bloody

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Regarding Champion Hill where much of his corps had stood idle most of the day, McClermand claimed he had "heavily engaged" the enemy, and with the "assistance" of McPherson, "beat and routed him." As to the failure on the 22nd, he said "How and why the general assault failed, it would be useless now to explain. The 13th army corps acknowledging the good intentions of all, would scorn indulgence in weak regrets and idle criminations. According justice to all, it would only defend itself."

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Orr Kelly & Mary Davis Kelly, *Dream's End. Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War* (Kodansha International, 1998), page 53. An Act of Congress approved March 3, 1863 provided that "cooks shall be detailed in turn from the privates of each company of troops in the service of the United States, at the rate of one cook for each company numbering less than thirty men, and two cooks for each company numbering over thirty men, who shall serve ten days each." It also authorized the President to "cause to be enlisted for each cook two under-cooks of African descent, who shall receive, for their full compensation, ten dollars per month and one ration per day; three dollars of said monthly pay may be

flux," "the summer complaint," "the screamers," "the Virginia quickstep," "the Tennessee trots" and other colorful names, diarrhea and dysentery became chronic, led to malnutrition, anemia and increased susceptibility to other disease resulting in extreme dehydration, up to fifty percent weight loss and an estimated 50,000 deaths in the Union army, at least sixty-four in the 21st Iowa. Medical treatment included epsom salts, castor oil and opium. Some doctors thought quinine or calomel would help and all recommended fruits and vegetables if available.

Alexander Voorhees, "always aggressive, resolute and tenacious," was a Captain in Company K and a story was told of the night he posted his pickets and insisted the enemy pickets were encroaching on his line and should pull back. When a rebel was slow to respond, Voorhees placed his hands on the soldier and pressed him back as the picket called to his friends, "Here is a kettle of fish! This Yankee is posting both his own pickets and ours."⁸⁹⁰ Another night, pickets became so intermixed that it took a "discussion of mutual rights" by the officers to get them straightened out, something "novel in the art of war," and, on another occasion, the Chicago Board of Trade regiment was visited by Jules and Frank Lombard, Jules with a "magnificent voice" and Frank with "trumpet tones," both well known singers from Chicago.⁸⁹¹ Before long they were singing and their voices carried, firing stopped and soldiers on both sides paused to listen. Men climbed on top of earthworks. "Sing us Dixie!" shouted a rebel and the Lombards responded. *Dixie* was followed by *The Bonnie Blue Flag* and *Home, Sweet Home* and men thought of Iowa and Illinois and Georgia and Tennessee. All too soon it ended - "Hallo, Johnny; look out, the concert is over" - and the killing resumed.

On June 12th, James Dale wrote to his son.

My Son Frank

Maquoketa 12 June 63

For several weeks I have been looking for the arrival of a few lines from you but have been doomed to disappointment. Whether this proceeds from neglect or unkindness, or from inability from sickness, or other causes, of course, I am unable to know. I am however fully persuaded there is enough kindness yet left in Frank Dale to make him think, at times, well of his poor old father sorely afflicted as he is and worn out. Oh dear boy do believe me when I assure you that for the last few months I have suffered most acutely from the cancer in my mouth and throat, how I continue to live on from day to day surprises me. it has brought on a sort of lock jaw. I cannot speak nor can I eat other than mush which all comes back through the mouth again in the shape of Phlegm. I am reduced to a skeleton and cannot possibly endure it much longer. I do not tell you all with any view to distress you - far from it dear son - but I think it right you should know in what state your poor Father is, so that when the news reach you that I am dead it may not be that you knew little or nothing about my illness - now to know that I still possess the sympathy of my only son at the last would comfort me exceedingly and still more so if I knew he had done whatever he could to procure me necessary medicine and some few comforts so much required in sickness - to say that I am totally without them where I am would be wrong - poor Katie god forever bless her is an angel of kindness to me in every way she can be and so is Joel equally so but they have not the means equal to their wishes in this respect. Joel has been improving this place very much, he has altered it amazingly for the better, and in so doing has not been able to earn anything out at work until this week. he is now away from home breaking prairie land a few miles away a tolerably good job - he expects to be drafted in a few more weeks and was anxious to leave Katie and the Boy in as comfortable a home as it was possible for him with his means to make it - this you will own dear Frank is very commendable - they bid me say that some time since they received a kind letter from you which they answered in due time and likewise sent a Maquoketa paper but never again heard from you - Katie is anything but strong but they are all tolerably well and send their kindest love and hopes for your safety - to this I may add my own best wishes dear Boy - surrounded as you are now by danger - your father would be altered indeed for the worse if he did not yearn to know you were unhurt in your differing Battles

in clothing." Cooking by company was at the urging of hygienists with the expectation that "men with some talent might then do the cooking, but also because soup-making and baking might be possible for the larger unit." Medical and line officers "were made jointly responsible for supervision and instruction. There was less complaint during the remainder of the war, but squad cooking persisted in some regiments for a long time." George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (Morningside House, 1985), page 211.

⁸⁹⁰ Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* page 101 (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891)

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On July 26, 1862, the Lombards, with Jules as solo, had performed the then new *Battle Cry of Freedom* at a Chicago rally only two days after it had been sung for the first time at a war meeting of the Board of Trade. By the time the Lombards reached the fourth verse "a thousand voices were joining in the chorus."

with the rebels - God grant you may come out safe and well.

with respect to the folks at Cedar Falls it may be not necessary to say much as without doubt you very often hear from them, except colds they were all well when we heard last from them which was about a fortnight since. I regret exceedingly that any disagreement should have arisen between us, but it is too late to mend it now. I imagined myself very unkindly treated in my affliction and my faults of temper treated as crimes, and therefore thought it better to leave, if in doing so I have offended you seriously, I ask your pardon, and hope to have it. I would not quit the world with any hard feelings from my own children at any rate.

Robert Codling enlisted in the 24th Iowa in Captain Martins Company. the Regiment is somewhere in your vicinity - and according to the papers has been very much cut up although I cannot find Bobs name among any of the casualties - although I suppose those lists are often imperfect, the Dubuque papers speak uncommonly handsome about the gallant conduct of the 21st your regiment upon several occasions, especially at the desperate Battle of Black River Bridge. It also mentions the case of Old Captain Harrison volunteering upon a sort of forlorn hope.

In conclusion let me beg of you dear son not to forsake me now in the hour of my greatest affliction. I assure you I am just upon the edge of the grave, and pray for its coming. I believe it to be in your power to assist to some comforts which I cannot otherwise get - it not - send me your assurance of kindness and sympathy and I will bless and thank you again and again.

Remaining as ever yours affectionately

James Dale

On June 13th, Hiram Buel, a 2nd Sergeant in Company A, was in the rifle pits preparing to do some sharpshooting. His gun was loaded, cocked and sticking through a porthole, but before firing he stood up with his left hand on the breastworks and the gun in his right hand. The breech accidentally hit the ground behind him hard enough to make the gun fire. The ball injured his left hand so severely that before the day was out the surgeons had amputated the hand. Initially confined in a Memphis hospital, Hiram would be discharged three months later.

Also on June 13th, the *City of Memphis* reached Memphis with more of the wounded,⁸⁹² Mary Moore, the twenty-year-old widow of Sergeant Moore who had started the hymn before the assault at the Big Black River, applied for a widow's pension and Peosta resident Wade "*Hamp*" Jordan reached the regiment with tents and knapsacks which had been left in his care at *Somerset*. That night men were able to sleep under cover for the first time in almost two months, but Jim and Myron Knight spent the night on picket where they enjoyed a long talk with opposing pickets.

In the North, while on the way to a June 12th meeting of the Dubuque Baptist Association in LaMotte, Rev. S. H. Mitchell stopped overnight at the Cascade home of Rev. John Bates, father of Samuel Bates. Rev. Bates had already left for the meeting but, "*on entering the home,*" Rev. Mitchell "*found it wrapped in a cloud of sadness never to be forgotten.*" Information had just been received of the May 22nd assault and that Samuel had fallen behind the Confederat lines, but "*whether the noble young man had met immediate death or awaited the tortures of a rebel prison was wholly uncertain.*" Samuel wrote home as soon as possible and Rev. Bates bore the news with "*noble Christian courage.*"⁸⁹³ He would soon learn that, on June 14th, while still in captivity, his son died from complications following amputation of his leg. Samuel's personal effects - clothes, a silver watch, a note due from E. E. Palmer and \$42.50 "*in U.S. money*" - were passed through the lines and sent to his father by William Grannis.

Also dying on the 14th was William Perkins who had enlisted at Cox Creek. His death was attributed to chronic diarrhoea and "*over exertion at battle of Black River Bridge.*"⁸⁹⁴

Many had died, many were discharged on surgeons' certificates, some were on sick furloughs, others were in northern hospitals and Vicksburg's regimental hospital housed another fifty. Company B's 4th Corporal, William Perkins, died on the 14th, Abe Treadwell was promoted to take his place and John Farrand moved up to 5th Corporal to take Treadwell's place. John Mather's health continued downhill and Squire visited Jim, but Cal's brother, George,

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Martin Baal (right foot amputated) and Peter Stevens (right shoulder) of Company E, John Q. Angel (left leg), Daniel Donnahue (left leg), Gilbert Gulbranson (both thighs) and Francis Palmer (left leg) of Company G, Henry Barr (right leg) and Henry Price (right lung) of Company I, and Henry Hiner (right thigh) of Company K.

⁸⁹³ S. H. Mitchell, *Historical Sketches of Iowa Baptists* (Burdette Company, Burlington, Iowa, 1886), page 203.

⁸⁹⁴ William is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery, Section G, Grave 4971. Find-a-Grave Memorial #48449177.

was suffering from diarrhea and unable to join them. Banks made another unsuccessful assault at Port Hudson while Grant's forces now numbered 71,000.

Jim went on picket in the evening, rain came down in torrents and he caught a severe cold. The next morning he was treated for diarrhea and excused from duty while John Mather headed back to the hospital.

Letter No. 14

In the rear of Vicksburg

June the 15th 1863

Dear wife

I am seated once more for the purpose of writing you a few lines I cannot say that I am well but I am not seriously sick I was on duty two nights in succession and it was a little to hard for me I took cold which threw me into a dierhea I got some medicine from the doctor this morning and got excused from duty for today I hope by tomorrow to be able for duty again I feel much better today than I did yesterday

James Rice is well he has had rather a bad streak of luck having lost his pocket book containing all his money which was about \$17 John Mather has been on the decline for the last three days he left the hospital about a week ago he told me this morning that he was going back today I suppose James Rice told you in his last that James Pool was dead he died the 1st of May on board the floating hospital at Millikens bend I saw one of the boys of the 99th Ill this morning he confirmed the report that my uncle Samuel Satterlee of that regiment was dead he died at Millikens bend soon after we left there Squier Mather was here yesterday he is as hearty as a buck he says he feels as well as he ever did in his life. Sterling has got to be orderly and cannot get time to come and see us George Rice had the diehera so that he could not come with Squier yesterday I have not see George Fay and Eli Cole yet I cannot find out where they are⁸⁹⁵ Our tents came out a day or two ago and we have it a great deal more comfortable than we did lying out in the hot sun

We had a heavy rain a few days ago lasting all day and about half the night I had been on picket the night before and was consequently verry sleepy I slept about an hour as I sat leaning against a tree and after the rain was over I laid down upon the wet ground wraped up in my wet blanket and slept as sound as though I had been in a dry feather bed. The siege of Vicksburg is still going on about the same as when I wrote you last sunday our pickets and sharpshooters are gradually closing in upon them new riffle pits are being dug and artillery being advanced almost every night our artillery to which there is no end keeps plugging away at them slowly and the mortars throw in shell every night the rebels do not undertake to fier with artillery more than . . . three or four days and then they get their batterys upset before they have time to get the range The last night that I was on picket we were advanced into the reb picket line which we reached before their pickets were posted when they came out and found us there they told us that we had got over our line and must fall back but our boys informed them that that was where we were posted and where we intended to stay. On finding that we had no notion of falling back they proposed having a friendly chat to which our boys agreed and each party leaving their guns behind met half way shook hands and sat down on the ground and had about an hours chat one of our boys took too rebel scouts prisoner that night and there was 40 came and gave themselves up on our left. We signed the pay rolls to day and expect to get paid in a day or two for two months I received letter No. 21 but No. 20 is back yet. (Your Husband James Bethard

Cal I got your likeness broke all to smash a day or two ago it is a hard matter to take care of any such things

Echoing Jim's words to Cal, Pemberton wrote the same day to Johnston that *"the enemy has placed several very*

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Company I of the Engineer Regiment of the West, a Missouri regiment, had been organized in Iowa and mustered in October 31, 1861. Twenty-two year old Eli Cole and twenty-one year old George W. Fay, both of McGregor, had enlisted in the company as artificers earlier in the month. The regiment served as Grant's engineers during the Vicksburg campaign and spent much of the siege building fortifications at Haynes' Bluff, but George had become ill and died of disease at Warrenton on June 14th. N. B. Baker, Report of the Adjutant General (1864).

heavy guns in position against our works, and is approaching them very nearly by sap. His firing is almost continuous. Our men have no relief, are becoming much fatigued, but are still in pretty good spirits."⁸⁹⁶ Many Union soldiers spent the 15th digging holes to fix their tents, Company B was mustered for pay and an unidentified soldier wrote:

The siege progresses slowly. We gain a little every day. The doomed city is completely invested. Reinforcements can't get in, and those who are in can't get out. Deserters tell us they are now on quarter rations and short of ammunition. We have taken several men lately trying to get in with packages of gun-caps. They are remarkably quiet in their riflepits and forts. We do pretty much all the firing. Sometimes, however, when we get too bold, they open on us a lively little turn. We are considerably annoyed by the spent or falling balls from their sharpshooters when they fire at our artillerymen. Our regiment lies right behind the battery under the brow of the hill, completely sheltered from a direct range, but the bullets fired at the artillery-men, having expended their propelling force, fall over our camp, wounding one or more men almost every day. Yesterday a poor fellow in Company E was killed and several wounded by them. It is impossible to guard against them, and the wonder is that not more of our men are hit.

The weather is very hot, regularly and persistently so. In spite of the heat, worry and work, our boys manage to get some fun out of the situation. The other night, when one of them was on picket, one of the rebel pickets a few rods off called out and asked him how we liked their 'Sunny South'. 'Oh, bully!' was the reply; 'we wear our overcoats all day.' By the bye, it is sometimes very amusing to hear the sharp things said by the pickets to one another. You must know that the pickets very seldom fire at each other. Ours are instructed not to fire, unless they are fired upon or advanced upon, and I presume the rebels get instructions of the same import, for we can, and do, walk in full view of them, not more than twenty rods off, with the bright, full moon shining over our heads, making it almost as light as day. The other night I was going along the lines and sat down on the brow of the hill to take a good look at their fortifications - for we cannot get near as close to them in the daytime. While sitting there, I heard one of their men call to one of ours and ask him if we had any more Enfield rifles we wanted to get rid of - being a sneer at the unsuccessful charge we made, and alluding to the 500 or 600 muskets they picked up on the battlefield. But he got his answer, and quickly: 'Yes', replied the Fed., 'we've got lots of 'em, and we're anxious to trade them for batteries; if you have got any more howitzers over there that you want to trade, bring them along.' This was cruel, and the rebel felt it, for he held his peace."⁸⁹⁷

Nighttime casualties were not uncommon but, more often, "great friendliness prevailed" in front of the 13th Corps. With rebels sometimes as close as ten yards away, pickets guarded work parties digging trenches closer and closer to the enemy although McClelland's trenches failed to equal those of the other two corps and were often little more than "rifle-pits, three or four feet wide and would allow neither the passage of artillery nor the assemblage of any considerable number of troops."⁸⁹⁸ Pemberton hoped to hold on long enough for Johnston to reach him, but it was not to be. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia had begun its invasion of the North and no more troops could be sent to Johnston. Richmond urged him to attack and Secretary of War James Seddon said "the eyes and hopes of the whole Confederacy are upon you, with the full confidence that you will act, and with the sentiment that it is better to fail nobly daring, than, through prudence even, to be inactive."⁸⁹⁹

Back and forth they went, telegraph after telegraph, and Johnston finally told Richmond, "I consider saving Vicksburg hopeless." Fulfilling his own prophecy, Johnston delayed, shelling continued and provisions were rationed. Availability of food for residents and the military had varied even before the siege with beef at \$.75 per pound and bacon \$1.50. Other times, wagons brought chickens at \$.50 each, potatoes were \$2.50 a bushel and eggs \$1.00 per dozen, but military fare usually included little more than rice, bread, corn, sugar, molasses and occasional milk and butter. Now everything was rationed. Cows had been killed, there was no butter or milk, many residents were eating

⁸⁹⁶ O.R., Series 1, Volume XXIV/1 [S#36].

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 109-110 (King, Fowle & Co, Milwaukee, 1891). The roster reflects no one in the regiment dying on June 15, 1863.

⁸⁹⁸ Dana, Recollections of the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press 1992), page 89.

⁸⁹⁹ O.R., Series 1, Volume XXIV/1 [S#36].

"Confederate beef" (mule meat) and flour was ground from "cowpeas." Outside water had been cut off and residents relied on water from contaminated cisterns and wells. Women and children spent much of the time in hillside caves, there were "no medicines or remedies to alleviate the sufferings" and Alexander Abrams, a reporter for the *Vicksburg Whig*, wrote that:

*"by the middle of June, Vicksburg was in a deplorable condition. There was scarcely a building but what had been struck by the enemy's shells, while many of them were entirely demolished. The city had the appearance of a half-ruined pile of buildings, and on every street unmistakable signs of the fearful bombardment it had undergone, presented themselves to the observer."*⁹⁰⁰

On June 16th, some of the Hawkeyes were paid and sent money home with the Adams Express Company, but Company H was on picket four miles to the rear where blackberries were plentiful.⁹⁰¹ They were relieved the next day by a squad from the 11th Wisconsin and spent the night back in the rifle pits while Company B went on picket.

On the 17th, Oliver Stuart, a young drummer from Cottage Hill who was sixteen years old when he enlisted, died from chronic diarrhoea. He is buried under the erroneous surname of "Stewart" in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery. In the north on the 17th, a Republican convention was held in Des Moines to select candidates for the fall election of a new Governor, Lieutenant Governor and judge of the Supreme Court. Serving on the Executive Committee from the 10th District was Samuel Merrill of McGregor⁹⁰² while the *North Iowa Times* carried another report of the regiment's actions at Vicksburg:

Capt. Harrison, of Co. "C," the oldest commissioned officer in the regiment, a man who antecedents were of the Henry Clay order, in moments of excitement invariably issued his command with the prefatory exclamation, 'By the Eternal.' In the gallant charge upon and into the rebel works at Black River Bridge, notwithstanding his age, he was the second man within the enemy's works, and - so all of his boys say - as the brave old man mounted the ramparts, with sword upraised, he shouted to the rebels in stentorian tones, 'By the Eternal, surrender.' The order was promptly obeyed, and the bravery of the gallant captain elicited the applause even of the vanquished.

The same edition said:

*Col. Merrill speaks in high terms of Capts. Benton, Crooke, and in fact all of his officers and men. The 21st was a splendid regiment, but it has been tried by the fire, until of the heroic thousand, who left the Hawkeye state but one year ago, now but two hundred and four muster for duty at roll call. All honor to the heroes.*⁹⁰³

On the 18th *The Clayton County Journal* reported that the Strawberry Point lodge of the International Order of Good Templars (the "I.O.G.T") had passed resolutions remembering their deceased brother, Henry Howard::

"it has pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to remove from this world our beloved brother H. H. Howard while in the discharge of his patriotic duties ... we shall never be permitted to greet his presence again in our lodge room, and our intercourse with him in time is ended ... the temperance cause and our beloved Order have lost a faithful, exemplary and staunch friend ... in his fall we have another evidence of the hellish design of our enemies, not only to destroy the fair temple of our liberties, but also to murder our brothers and sons, and robe every household in our beautiful land with habiliments of mourning."

⁹⁰⁰ A. A. Hoehling, *Vicksburg, 47 Days of Siege* (Stackpole Books, 1996), page 164
⁹⁰¹

Charles Dana said he "frequently met soldiers coming into camp with buckets full of mulberries, blackberries, and red and yellow plums." Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press 1992), page 57.

⁹⁰² *Dubuque Daily Times* (April 5, 1863).
⁹⁰³

North Iowa Times (June 17, 1863). The regiment started the 17th with 759 men on the rolls but during the day Oliver Stewart, Company C, died from chronic diarrhoea and Anthony Gehrig, Company E, died from wounds received at the Big Black.

In the South, the day swas “*cold and misty,*” the 23d Iowa rejoined the brigade after a month-long absence, Chris Scoville returned from Cairo where he had been left ill and George Dunn returned from furlough. Myron Knight received a letter from home and learned of the death of his ten-year-old sister while Matthew King received two letters and a silk necktie, Company H was back on picket, so close they could talk to the enemy, and Grant had a special visitor.

Charles S. Bell, aka Spencer, was a Union journalist, scout and spy who had gained the confidence of Johnston, secured his permission to pass out of the Confederate lines on the pretext of spying for the South and made his way to the Federals besieging Vicksburg. After giving a “*statement of the regiments, battalions, and independent companies of Johnston’s command, giving the effective strength of each corps,*” he returned to Jackson, met with Johnston and gave an exaggerated estimate of the size of Grant’s army.⁹⁰⁴ Grant’s investigation of McClernand’s congratulatory order was concluded. The result was a foregone conclusion and it was ordered that “*Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand is hereby relieved from the command of the Thirteenth Army Corps. He will proceed to any point he may select in the State of Illinois, and report by letter to Headquarters of the Army for orders.*” McClernand’s rise in the military was over and an appeal to the President was unavailing.⁹⁰⁵

Replacing McClernand as head of the 13th Corps was Edward Ortho Cresap Ord, a well-liked veteran of prior service in Florida and Mexico and a participant in the capture of John Brown at Harper’s Ferry. After recovering from a severe injury early in the war when he had “*proved his skill and bravery,*” Ord had only recently returned to duty, but acted quickly and decisively, “*especially in widening the trenches, connecting them, and making it practicable to move men and artillery through them.*”⁹⁰⁶

Grant’s force had reached 77,000, any chance of a break-out by Pemberton or break-in by Johnston was gone and the *Journal* told its readers that “*scouts report that the Federal pickets around Vicksburg are ten miles deep and all the approaches closely guarded - Grant communicates with signals night and day. This is thought to betoken of some movement. The mortar boats are firing all night at intervals of two seconds.*” Despite the noisy artillery, a soldier wrote that:

*"cannon cannot wake us any more. We sleep while batteries close by are bellowing their thunders but, strangely enough, a volley of musketry or even a single musket shot, although far off, will wake us instantly. I suppose the condition of the mind when one goes to sleep has something to do with it, and that is now a condition of expectancy all the time, a condition of qui vive, looking for a break-out of rebels, a sudden attack in the night."*⁹⁰⁷

Washington Casey, a bunkmate of Cordon Hewitt, had worked an eighty acre farm by himself before the war, but November’s forced march to the aid of the wagon train at Beaver Creek had been hard on him and his health never recovered (“*cough painful, expectoration considerable*”). On June 19th he was discharged at Ironton, nineteen year old Charles Corey died from wounds received on May 22d and Cal’s cousin, the jovial John Mather, emaciated by chronic diarrhea, died in the division hospital. He was buried in an apple orchard on the Ferguson farm, about two miles to the rear. During ten months of military service he had contributed regularly to his mother’s support and his death would cause her severe hardship.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁴ William B. Feis, *Charles S. Bell, Union Scout*. North & South magazine (June 2001).
⁹⁰⁵

Elsewhere it’s indicated “*Grant took his pen in hand*” the same day he learned of McClernand’s comments and “*wrote an order relieving McClernand from command.*” W. E. Wodward, Meet General Grant (Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928), page 298. McClernand, said Sherman, was “*unfit and . . . consumed by an inordinate personal ambition.*” John F .Marszalek, Sherman. A Soldier’s Passion for Order (Macmillan Inc. 1993), page 210.
⁹⁰⁶

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 932, referencing a report by Charles A. Dana to Secretary Stanton. According to Dana, everything he saw of Sherman during the campaign “*increased my admiration for him. He was a very brilliant man and an excellent commander of a corps.*” He had similar praise for McPherson (“*one of the best officers we had*” and an “*engineer officer of fine natural ability,*”) but McClernand was different and had been “*very inefficient and slow in pushing his siege operations.*” Dana, Recollections of the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press 1992), page 59.
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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 110 (King, Fowle & Co, Milwaukee, 1891).
⁹⁰⁸

After the war John was reinterred in Vicksburg National Cemetery, Section G, Grave 4978.

West Virginia joined the Union on the 20th and Federal artillery pounded Vicksburg.⁹⁰⁹ For six hours there was constant fire from all batteries, the navy's guns and mortars, and artillery across the river as Grant probed the enemy's defenses and decided against another assault. Company H was aligned next to *Lady Price*, one of the guns captured at the Big Black. If a rebel cannon dared to return fire, Union batteries responded and "in a few minutes" it was silenced. Jim wrote to Philena Mather to tell her of her son's death, Jim Rice wrote to Lib, Warren Braman was a month late returning from his April 13th furlough and was reported as a deserter and pickets agreed not to shoot each other. Union pioneers would continue their nighttime digging without fear of fire and Southerners would dig countermines to try to intercept them, but the truce was short-lived.

The next day, the 21st, was cool and pleasant. Grant warned Porter of rumors the enemy was building boats to try to escape to Louisiana⁹¹⁰ while the picket was doubled after "cowardly rebels" fired on men taking their posts. There was another bombardment from 4:00 to 10:00 a.m., Jim Rice received medication in the morning and a visit from George in the afternoon, George Brownell baked blackberry pies, Myron Knight wrote to his mother about his sister's death and Jim wrote to Cal.

June the 21st 1863
Camp in the rear of Vicksburg

Dear wife

another sabbath day finds me penning my regular letter to you James Rice has written of John Mathers death to his wife and I wrote to Aunt Philena yesterday It will be a great shock for her I feel sorry for her but it is the fortune of war John was a good and brave soldier but he now fills a soldiers grave he has done his duty and gone to his rest Three of the Roberts creek crowd have now gone to their long homes and three are still spared Jim Rice Frank Farrand and myself I think it is no more than fair that half of the crowd should be spared to return to their homes James and Frank are well I am still a little under the weather I am so as to be up and around but not able for duty the doctor gave me a handful of pills this morning to be taken every 6 hours I am troubled a little here lately with my old complaint the gravel that is what I am doctoring for at present the pills that I am taking are helping me and I think in the course of time they will cure me entirely⁹¹¹ Well Cal this is monday morning I commenced writing yesterday but George Rice came and stood with us all day so I laid my letter aside until this morning The boys of the 9th are well with the exception of diehreens which is a verry common complaint here Georg Fays company is at Haine's bluff about 7 miles from here I have not got to see them yet

The siege is still going on as usual our artillery bombarded them last saturday morning from six o clock until ten tearing down one fort and killing several hundred men that nigh about 40 of them came in on the left of us and gave themselves up they said they thought they might as well get killed coming over as to stay there and get killed by our shells One of their Lieut Cols told one of our captains last night on picket that they had but 7 days rations left and that our men were digging themselves to death for nothing for about the time we got done digging they would surrender our pickets and theirs in some places lay right together so near that they can reach one another with their bayonets but they are peacably and never fier on one another Cal you need not send any more stamps for some time for I have a good supply on hand the paymaster has commenced paying off our brigade to day we will get our pay to or tomorrow I look for the war to close soon after the fall of Vicksburg which will be before long I hope to come home on a discharge when I do come instead of a furlough

909

West Virginia's admission was constitutionally questionable, but statehood was approved by Congress after lengthy, often acrimonious, debate.

910

The rumors were true but the plan was never consummated and "on entering the city we found a large number of very rudely constructed boats." Grant, *Memoirs and Selected Letters* (Literary Classics 1990), page 373.

911

Gravel, "little sand-like stones, which pass from the kidneys, through the ureters into the bladder," were often treated with opium pills. *Gunn's Domestic Medicine, or Poor Man's Friend* (G.M. Saxton, Barker & Co, New York, 1860), page 354.

**I believe I have nothing more of importance to write at present kiss little Ellie for me and give my respects to all inquiring friends while I subscribe myself Your ever true and affectionate husband
James Beathard**

On June 22d, Dubuque's Matthew King worked on fatigue duty while conversing with the enemy - "*as if we had been old friends*"⁹¹² - and Frank Dale prepared casualty and inventory reports for Company C's six fatalities in the previous month's assault: Lemuel Bowman "*not known to have left anything in the shape of clothing or money,*" Thomas Lockey "*not known to have left anything,*" John Miller "*not known to have left anything,*" James Garth "*not known to have left anything,*" Richard Raw "*not known to have left anything*" and George Simpson "*not known to have left anything.*"

Meanwhile, Grant named Sherman to command 30,000 men as an Army of Observation to protect the Union rear. From his headquarters at Tribble's plantation, he positioned seven divisions in an arc, barricaded roads and sent cavalry to patrol the woods and fords across the Big Black. Included was the 12th Iowa, camped along Birdsong's Ferry Road.

Mississippi weather was hot, the siege was taking its toll and Johnston's cavalry was making tentative probes along the Big Black. While Confederate leadership vacillated, thirty-five Union men with mining experience dug a tunnel toward an enemy parapet on the northeast side of town at a site where Grant said "*the soldiers of the two sides occasionally conversed pleasantly across this barrier; sometimes they exchanged the hard bread of the Union soldiers for the tobacco of the Confederates; at other times the enemy threw over hand-grenades, and often our men, catching them in their hands, returned them.*"⁹¹³

On June 23rd, Frank Hotchkiss died from the effects of chronic diarrhea while German born Lewis Bönig (known as Bany), who had suffered constantly since the severe march after the battle at Hartville, was discharged for disability, as was Ira Chapman. Ira had been unable to perform his duties despite having returned to the regiment after cutting off a toe while on furlough. At Chickasaw Bayou during the day, twenty men from Company H loaded commissaries under the eye of a sergeant.

On June 25, 1863, artillery opened fire to prevent Southerners from changing positions when the mine, packed with 2,200 pounds of powder, was detonated under the 3d Louisiana redan. The explosion heavily damaged the redan, blew off the top of the hill and left a crater forty feet wide and twelve feet deep. The 45th Illinois charged but became trapped in the crater while Confederates, who had already prepared another line farther back, fired down on them and "*threw hand-grenades which did some execution*" and forced a Union withdrawal with a loss of about thirty killed and wounded. Dyersville resident George Moore had a musket ball go through his cap and the same ball took part of Sylvanus Fox's hair. John Sharpe, from Cottage Hill, was on board the hospital boat *City of Memphis* when he died from chronic diarrhea and Major Van Anda wrote to Colonel Rawlins requesting a twenty-day leave. A surgeon's certificate confirmed he was "*prostrated by an attack of diarrhea, together with too close confinement to the duties of his office during the protracted siege.*" The prescription was a "*change of climate*" to Iowa where the *Journal* noted that Elijah Boardman had been in McGregor the previous week and they were anxious "*to welcome the brave Captain*" whom Van Anda said had performed "*gallantly*" during the current campaign. The *Journal* also announced a "*Great Gathering of the Loyal Hosts of Northern Iowa*" was scheduled for McGregor on June 30th and all "*truly loyal men*" were urged to attend and "*deliberate upon the distracted condition of our common country*" and join in "*shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom.*"⁹¹⁴ Sam Merrill was asked to address them but, when wounds prevented his attendance, he sent a letter "*breathing the fire of the true patriot.*"

On Saturday, June 27th, after being wounded two days earlier, Confederate Brigadier General Martin Green looked over a parapet and was shot through the head by a Union sharpshooter, Robert McKittrick died of disease, the regiment received two months pay in greenbacks, George Purdy repaid the money he had borrowed from Jim in February and others sent money home. On the north end of the line, Sherman was convinced any rescue attempt would probably come by way of George Messinger's ford across the Big Black. He sent Alex Chambers' brigade, including Alva Tanner's 15th Iowa, to Parson Fox's where they were detailed to escort General McArthur on a reconnaissance to the ford four miles farther east. A few greycoats, fifteen to twenty, were seen on the opposite bank,

⁹¹² Journal of Matthew King.

⁹¹³

Ulysses S. Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters p368 (Literary Classics 1990).

⁹¹⁴ The Clayton Co. Journal (June 25, 1863).

but it wasn't feasible to obstruct the ford. There were so many other places the rebels could cross that the brigade settled for taking "Mrs. Messinger and family, together with four other families of white persons on the place, numbering in all fourteen persons, and the colored people" together with "four wagon loads of property" into the Union lines.⁹¹⁵

On Sunday, June 28th, George Brownell baked more pies "and went to meeting in the afternoon," the regiment was entertained by a rebel band playing *Dixie* and *Bonnie Blue Flag*, and the Attorney General's Office created a battalion of paroled men for duty compatible with their paroles and a veteran volunteer army with suitable inducements to help keep experienced men in the military.⁹¹⁶

In Company C, 1st Lieutenant Frank Dale requested a leave of absence. With General Grant considering another assault, leaves and furloughs were not readily granted but Frank's request was accompanied by the June 12th letter he had just received from his father who had begged Frank "not to forsake me now in the hour of my greatest affliction." "I am his only son," said Frank, "and have been his chief stay and support for the last 10 years. I have not seen him for nearly 3 years and would dearly like to pay the last sad offices due to a parent from a loving son." Frank was granted twenty days to go north.

East of Vicksburg, Joe Johnston ordered his 31,000 man Army of Relief to march the next morning toward the Big Black while Pemberton received an anonymous letter signed by "Many Soldiers" who said they took pride:

*"in repulsing the enemy at every assault, and bearing with patient endurance all the privations and hardships we have all covered ourselves with glory, but alas! alas! Gen'l, a crisis has arrived think of one small biscuit and one or two mouthfuls of bacon per day If you can't feed us, you had better surrender us, horrible as the idea is hunger will compel a man to do almost anything This army is now ripe for mutiny unless it can be fed."*⁹¹⁷

Myron Knight sent more money home and Jim wrote to Cal.

Letter No. 15

**In the rear of Vicksburg
Sunday June 28th 1863**

Dear wife

another sabbath day has rolled around and finds me again in the land of the living and in tolerable health I cannot say that my health is good but I am able for duty and for my rations James Rice is well he is writing to Lib to day

I have heard nothing from the boys in the 9th since my last to you We drew our pay yesterday and George Purdy paid Jim and I what he owed us so that affair which gave you so much uneasiness is all settled Jim and I are sending home \$30 dollars each we put it all together in one envelope and gave it to Cap. Crook to be put up in a package and expressed to McGregor in care of lawyer Odell our package is directed to J. W. Rice he can get it by calling on Odell of McGregor

We are to be mustered again next tuesday and will probably be paid off again in the course of two or three weeks there will two months pay due us the 1st of next month I have received all your letters up to No. 23 the one you sent by Georg Dunn containing four postage stamps came through all straight but I received to later ones by mail ahead of it Your account of George Dunns behavior while he was back there does not surprise me in the least I always took him to be a scoundrel and now I know it he is the most disagreeable man in our company and has but verry few friends some of our boys entrusted money to him to carry home for them thinking it safer than sending it by mail but in this they were badly fooled for not a cent of it ever reached its destination he says he lost it on the way this is

⁹¹⁵ History of the 15th Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (R. B. Ogden & Son, Keokuk, 1887), page 261.

⁹¹⁶

Elsewhere its indicated they were formed on the 25th. Inducements included credit for the still unexpired term, a \$2 premium, a \$400 bounty paid in installments and a thirty day, transportation-paid, furlough home, with all pay and allowances to date of muster-out.

⁹¹⁷

Elsewhere it's indicated Johnston gave the order on July 1st. Authorship of the letter to Pemberton was never proven and speculation suggests it could have been written by one or more of his officers or could have been a Union forgery smuggled through the lines.

possible but I think it is verry doubtful I have kept \$12 dollars for my own use this time I think we will get paid again before we get a chance to go home but if we dont I can get home without any money we can get transportation and have it taken out of our next payment There is a great deal of gambling done here among the soldiers but I have never risked a cent on any of their games yet nor I do not intend to The siege is going on as usual our sharp shooters keep popping away the land batterys and gun and mortar boats keep throwing in shell but it does not seem to amount to much I heard yesterday that they had evacuated several forts on the left I cannot vouch for the truth of this but I hope it is so we have had a general order to be saving of our ammuniton and that on the fourth of July we were to give them a general bombarding we blew up one of their forts and bombarded their works one day this week but I believe it did not amount to much except killing a lot of their men

Your husband James Beathard

On the 29th, Salue Van Anda left for home, Joseph Carter entered St. Louis' New House of Refuge (a pre-war commercial building converted to a general hospital) for treatment of his hand wound and Myron Knight was one of many sent a mile to the rear for picket duty. Accompanying Myron was William Robbins, a big, strapping man who rarely complained of anything and had enlisted in place of his unhealthy brother but extreme exertion at the Big Black and during the assault of May 22d had been hard on William. Now, while serving as a vedette, a sentry usually posted in front of the pickets, he fell from his horse, dropped his gun, gasped for breath and grabbed his chest. One of the pickets, Christian Maxson (whose third wife would be William Robbin's daughter, Clarissa) helped him get up as William complained his heart was bothering him. Christian would later recall another occasion when they were "*in rather a dangerous place.*" William said he couldn't see and Christian led him back to camp. Others had been aware of William's "*moon-eyed*" problem for several months. William was sent to the hospital where George Crop watched as William tried to walk from his bed, but made it only a few steps before falling on his face. George thought his unconscious friend was dead or dying, but nurses revived him fifteen minutes later. Christopher Scovel had frequently tented with both William and Charles and many times had to lead William from one tent to another and Abe Treadwell and George Crop recalled that it was during this period that William first exhibited "*symptoms of being moon-struck - i.e. could not see after night,*" what "*the boys called mooneyed.*" According to Abe, the soldiers called the condition "*moonblindness. Any night, whether the moon was shining or not, as soon as the sun went down William had to be led around camp. There wasn't any of us but had sickness at some time or another during the service.*"⁹¹⁸

On June 30th, Robert Strane wrote another letter to his wife and John Rogman was injured. With warm weather ahead, Robert asked if Mary could send "*a couple of thin check shirts*" and a mosquito bar "*not more than four feet square, for the musketoos are very numerous.*" John Rogman's injury occurred while carrying a heavy cartridge box from an army wagon at the bottom of the hollow to their camp at the top of the steep, treacherous hill, a hill slippery from recent rain. With the box on his shoulder, John slipped and the box landed "*on my stomach & fore parts causing a rupture of the right side of the testicles.*"⁹¹⁹ John remained on duty for the time being but George Goodman was off duty for four days with a bad foot, the only time he missed duty during the entire war.

On the same day in Memphis, the *Memphis Bulletin* reported the forty-third day of the siege, a meeting of Union men of Memphis and the arrival two days earlier of more sick and wounded from the 21st Iowa:⁹²⁰

H. Buel Sergeant Company Ahand

918

"A classic nutritional deficiency syndrome associated with malabsorption, night blindness, did occur on both sides throughout the war. . . . The case reports, however, are skimpy, lacking in detail except for the visual abnormality." Alfred Jay Bollet, *Scurvy and Chronic Diarrhea in Civil War Troops: Were They Both Nutritional Deficiency Syndromes?* Page 60, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Inc.* (1992). Night blindness had also been noticed by Joseph E. Johnston while still a cadet at West Point. It could have been the hereditary illness known as *retinitis pigmentosa* but, in William's case, it was more likely *nyctalopia*, a not uncommon affliction caused by a lack of Vitamin A or by scurvy since his condition apparently ceased to exist after the war although his other health conditions would continue.

⁹¹⁹ Pension affidavit by John Rogman (December 12, 1889).

920

Michael Madden had been wounded on May 17th. Darwin Whipple would die in St. Louis on August 3rd. Patrick Hambley would die in St. Louis on September 17th. William Monlox and Martin Stearns had been wounded on May 22d. Joseph Bulet would recover. Frederick Meir would die on July 8th. Jesse Thomas would recover. Joseph Chantro would be transferred to an Invalid Corps on August 19th. Elon Raferty would recover. George Wilson was in Company F and Eli Wood in Company A. Eli would die on August 13th of chronic diarrhea.

Michael Wadden	Private	Company A	left shoulder
Darwin Whipple	Corporal	Company B	chronic diarrhea
Patrick Hamsly	Private	Company D	inflammation of bowels
George W. Munlox	Corporal	Company D	right leg
Martin Stearns	Private	Company D	abdomen
Joseph Bartlett	Private	Company E	chronic diarrhea
Fred Myers	Private	Company E	intermittent fever & diarrhea
J. R. Thomas	Private	Company F	chronic diarrhea
Joseph Johndro	Private	Company G	intermittent fever
Charles H. Jefferson	Private	Company I	sciatica
Elon Raferty	Corporal	Company I	inflammation of bowels
George K. Wilson	Private	Company I	right hand
Eli Wood	Corporal	Company I	typhoid
Reuben Pitcher	Private	Company K	typhoid fever

On July 1st, McPherson detonated a mine under the 3d Louisiana redan, George Brownell baked a dozen pies and sold them for \$.29 each, and a Union outpost at Hankinson's Ferry was attacked by an enemy force estimated at 2,000 with artillery support.⁹²¹ The Federals withdrew, their major reported the attack to the commander in Warrenton, he told Ord and Ord told Grant. Estimates of rebel strength varied greatly, but this brief engagement, coupled with an earlier report of Confederates on their way to Rocky Springs, was enough for Grant to direct Ord to rush a brigade to Hankinson's.

To lead the expedition to Hankinson's Ferry, Ord selected Lawler who roused the brigade about midnight and left before daybreak on the 2d. Myron Knight and Flavius Patterson were among many too ill to make the trip, but others joined the 99th Illinois, 1st Indiana, 11th Wisconsin and 7th Ohio Battery with Lawler mounted and "*setting a killing pace*" on the Warrenton Road.⁹²² Not having marched for almost two months, men suffered intensely from heat, thirst and fatigue. Many fainted by the roadside with blistered feet, parched throats, swollen veins and bloodshot eyes. By the time they reached the ferry that afternoon, the regiment could muster fewer than a hundred men.⁹²³ A relief detail searched for those who had fallen, but it was past midnight before all were accounted for, the rebels were never found and the brigade camped for the night near Redbone Chapel.

Still in Vicksburg, William Logsdon received a thirty day furlough to return home to recuperate from illness, but Arnold Allen's similar request was denied and Logsdon agreed to deliver \$70.00 to Arnold's mother. That night, Pemberton met with his officers and most felt they lacked the strength to fight their way out. Bowen saw "*no alternative but to endeavor to rescue the command by making terms with the enemy.*" His men, he was sure, could not "*give battle and march over 10 or 12 miles in the same day.*" Only Lee, the brigade's formidable foe at the railroad redoubt, felt his men might be "*equal to undergoing the fatigue which would be incident to our evacuation of the city.*" Pemberton could have surrendered immediately but felt he would get better terms if he waited overnight, to the eve of the nation's holiday. Meanwhile, Johnston moved five divisions, four infantry and one cavalry, closer to the Big Black looking, he claimed, for a vulnerable point to attack, but he had waited too long, every approach was well-fortified and his movements were monitored by Sherman's pickets.

On July 3rd, men in Lawler's brigade were stiff and sore when they left Hankinson's Ferry and marched back the way they had come with the 99th Illinois providing a rear guard. "*It was impossible to return at the same rate of speed, but as the General was still on horseback, and anxious to get back to his quarters, it was again a forced march,*

⁹²¹ Both were on the Big Black, Birdsong's north of Edwards Station and Hankinson's south of Vicksburg.

⁹²² Warrenton ceased to exist after a postwar shift of the river left it isolated behind a sandbar.

⁹²³

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co, Milwaukee, 1891), page 111. The roster still listed 737 officers and men, but many were suffering the effects of the assaults of May 17 and May 22, others were in hospitals in Memphis, St. Louis and elsewhere, and many others were just too debilitated to participate.

In a January 16, 1870, affidavit in the pension file of William S. Brown, Company D, Gilbert Cooley said it was on July 2, 1863, that William suffered sun stroke that affected his mind. On May 24, 1864, they were on Matagorda Island when William was sent to New Orleans where, on June 16, 1864, he was admitted to the city's Charity Hospital. From there he was transferred to the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington, D. C.

as far as he could make it so."⁹²⁴

Thirteen Union approaches were now within five to 100 yards of the Confederate lines. Twelve miles of trenches and eighty-nine batteries had been constructed. Casualties on both sides ranged from ten to 100 per day, Grant issued orders for an assault to occur on the 6th and eighteen foot long planks were prepared for crossing the ditches. It was time, he decided, to end the siege. July 3d was "hot and sultry" and Grant "forbade acceptance of any more deserters coming out from Vicksburg, and directed that all should be regarded as prisoners of war."⁹²⁵ The assault was only three days away when R. L. Howard, Chaplain of the 124th Illinois, saw "a white flag away to our left on the rebel works." Soon it was followed by others, firing stopped and men slowly showed themselves. About 10:00 a.m., Bowen rode out on Baldwin's Ferry Road with a member of Pemberton's staff. They were challenged by Joseph Leonard of the 96th Ohio and led to a tent where they asked to see Grant. Grant refused. He didn't meet subordinates, but agreed to meet Pemberton.

About three in the afternoon, Pemberton, Bowen and members of their staff, rode forward. Ridges were "covered by the waiting and anxious blue coats" and Myron Knight noted that the "rebels sent over a flag of truce in the forenoon - not much fighting done all day." Soldiers wandered between the lines while commanders met under an oak tree on the Jackson Road.⁹²⁶ It was the first time Grant and Pemberton had seen each other since campaigning together in Mexico. Two hours later they parted. An armistice had been declared until 10:00 p.m. when formal terms would be communicated by Grant. Many of Pemberton's men were indignant, but most were understanding while John Bowen was exhausted and violently sick with chronic diarrhea. Flavius Patterson described the scene from the camp of the 21st Iowa:

*"this morning the rebels Came out with A flag of truce I wonder what they want. do they want to surrender there goes 5 men on horseback the foremost one Carries the flag, there Comes A party of 5 men from toards General Grants headquarters see they meet, Salute & seam to be holding a Consultation, now they separate & each forty goes back from whence they Came. at 12 M another flag Comes out, this time it Comes to our lines, in the direction of General Grants headquarters, we lous sight of it for A while when it reappears, & enters the rebel works at the place it Comes out. at 3PM A 3 flag of truce Comes out & advances in the direction of Grants quarters . A squad of officers goes out to meet them, they meet about half way between the two lines dismount & shake hands, two of the officers walk away from the others & sit down beneat the branches in the sade of A live oak tree. The Councilll lasts some time. at last they shake hands & seperate, each party goes his own way. now Comes orders from headquarters, there will be no firing untill further orders, but let evry man, keep himself in rediness for anny thing that may happen, the rebels have asked tearms of surrender & have been given untill 10 AM tomorrow to consider"*⁹²⁷

With the lull in fighting came another round of promotions in Company B as Leroy Parker was promoted to 6th Corporal, William Robbins to 5th Corporal, John Farrand to 3d Corporal, Abe Treadwell to 4th Sergeant, Perry Dewey to 3rd Sergeant, Brad Talcott to 2d Sergeant and George Purdy to 1st Sergeant. That afternoon, a man and woman from Iowa's Sanitary Commission visited the 15th Corps hospital and arrangements were made for sick Hawkeyes to be sent to Keokuk hospitals. Names and addresses of next of kin were taken and the wardmaster announced who would go. Included was the 12th Iowa's Clermont resident Charles Wallace. A wagon took them to the landing, but it was a rough, dusty, three mile ride made even rougher when the wagon lost a wheel. At the river, they boarded the *Crescent City*, a "miserable old craft" serving as a hospital ship, and joined William McCarty, already on board and suffering from dropsy.⁹²⁸ Meanwhile, Jim Bethard and others in the detail that had been sent to

924

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 111, referencing "a soldier's correspondence."

⁹²⁵ Lonm, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998) page 95, fn 1.

926

The oak tree quickly "disappeared, its trunk having been cut up into walking sticks and other relics." History of the 15th Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry (R. B. Ogden & Son, Keokuk, 1887), page 274.

⁹²⁷

Journal of Flavius Patterson. A typewritten transcript is in the archives of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The original has not been available to compare with the transcript to determine the accuracy of the transcript.

928

Hankinson's Ferry were slowly returning from their forced march. Heat was intense and Robert Leitch was among many who fell from sunstroke. It was dusk by the time most reached a high point near camp, saw the white flags and suddenly "*we needed no urging to make, in quick time, the few intervening miles.*" Before long they were asleep under Vicksburg's trees while Pemberton met with his officers and decided to accept Grant's terms.

On the morning of the 4th, artillery shelled rebels in the woods along the Big Black, Kirby Smith notified Johnston that he hoped to get 300,000 percussion caps to Pemberton and the final edition of Vicksburg's newspaper, received by Federals throughout the siege courtesy of Southern pickets, was printed on the back of wallpaper and conceded the rabbit had been caught.⁹²⁹ The most important Southern city captured during the entire war was surrendered forty-seven days after the siege began and a circular advised men of the terms - the Southern garrison was to be surrendered, prisoners would be paroled and released as soon as paroles could be printed, mounted officers could keep their horses and all officers could retain their sidearms. Citizens wanting to leave could do so.

Grant preferred no paroles but recognized the strain thousands of prisoners would put on his army, the cost and difficulty of feeding and clothing them, the number of transports needed to move them and the number of fighting men he would have to detach for their escort.⁹³⁰ At 10:00 a.m. Southern soldiers marched in front of their trenches, stacked arms, laid down their colors and returned to their lines as "*many reeled and staggered like drunken men from emaciation and from emotion, and wept like children that all their long sacrifice was unavailing.*"⁹³¹ Logan was named "*temporary commander of the city*" and led his brigade as it gathered weapons and huge piles of knapsacks, belts, cartridge boxes, banners and cap boxes while gunboats and transports tied up at the Vicksburg landing, a landing quickly crowded with steamboats busily loading and unloading men and supplies.

Twenty-seven regiments of Iowa infantry, one of cavalry and half of the state's artillery had participated in the siege during which front line duty had been rotated regularly. The 21st Iowa had spent thirteen days and eight nights in the rifle pits which was considered about average.⁹³² The rest of the time, when not off duty, they had worked on fatigue details, stood guard while others dug trenches, served on picket, engaged in sharpshooting and performed other duties as assigned. During the day heads had been kept low to avoid snipers. At night, when not working, they slept in line of battle, well aware of Pemberton in front and Johnston to the rear. Stress was extreme, disease was rampant and burial parties were in constant demand.

A regiment that had 985 men on the rolls when mustered into service less than ten months earlier now had only 736. Most were unfit for service and many would soon die, resign or be discharged for their disabilities. Company D reported only twelve were still fit for duty.⁹³³

With the surrender came an estimated 172 pieces of artillery, 38,000 projectiles, 58,000 pounds of black powder, 4,800 artillery cartridges, 50,000 shoulder weapons, 600,000 rounds of ammunition and 350,000 percussion caps. Enough food was found to have fed the Vicksburg garrison on reduced rations for about a week.⁹³⁴ Grant's casualties totaled "*10,142 killed, wounded, and missing, while inflicting 9,091 battle casualties on the Southerners*" together with 29,491 who surrendered.⁹³⁵ An estimated 790 prisoners refused to be paroled and were sent to Northern prisons,

William was one of nine men in the 21st Iowa who gave Rockdale as their residence. In 1876 it would suffer one of the state's worst floods and, eventually, would be encompassed by the city of Dubuque.

929

Earlier in the siege Federals boasted they would have dinner in Vicksburg by the Fourth of July and the paper had responded that a prerequisite to cooking a rabbit was to "*first ketch your rabbit.*"

930

On learning of the surrender, Halleck feared the prisoners "*will immediately be placed in the ranks of the enemy*" and wired Grant to detain them but, by then, they were gone. Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters p384 (Literary Classics 1990). Many, if not most, did return to the war, including many who had previously been paroled after their capture at Fort Donelson.

931

Phil Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest* (Missouri River Press Inc., 1991), page 313, referencing Edward S. Gregory, *Vicksburg During the Siege. Annals of the War* (Philadelphia, 1879).

932

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 110. The Mississippi Historical Society (Oxford, Mississippi, 1900), Volume III, page 70.

933

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

934

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 1301.

935

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 1311.

some died in hospitals and a few managed to escape. Many elegant buildings were largely untouched but others had been destroyed, food was scarce, water was contaminated and citizens and soldiers suffered greatly.

A single Federal division, McPherson's third under Logan, entered the city, the 45th Illinois at the front in recognition of its losses in the crater, and raised the stars and stripes over the courthouse as soldiers cheered and bands played. *"We shall never, we can never, shout so again."* Still in camp, the men from Iowa watched Logan's division *"marching into the city from its position with flags unfurled and waving to the breeze and the dirty white flags on the Confederate forts. This is surely one of the happiest days of our lives."*⁹³⁶

Some had tobacco and haversacks filled with food which they passed out to famished Southerners while others, claiming the spoils of war, plundered what property they could find, often *"joined in this pillaging by Confederates."*⁹³⁷ With rare exceptions, there had been *"perfect amicability between the picket lines"* during the siege and, when not prohibited by their superiors, some thought *"the sociability between the rival soldiers is the wonder of the ages."* Now, with the surrender, *"no demonstrations are made, in deference to the feelings of our captured foe."* Amicable relations continued but, understandably, sometimes deteriorated as emotions ran high, tempers flared and fights broke out.

*"Among the spoils which fell into the hands of the Federal troops after they had taken Vicksburg was a trunk formerly owned by George Jones, son of Geo. W. Jones, of this city, which was captured by a company of the 21st Iowa regiment. - Besides several articles of clothing and an excellent fiddle, this trunk contained letters of the most treasonable character from several residents of Dubuque. Three or four of these epistles contained statements of matters which we think some of our Dubuque Copperheads would rather the Government would not know. The letters were immediately turned over to General Grant, who, after a careful examination of their contents, forwarded them to Washington. . . ."*⁹³⁸

On board the *Black Hawk*, Grant thanked Porter for the work of the navy and, in the afternoon after returning to headquarters, sent a staff member to Cairo to telegraph a dispatch to Washington. A relative unknown before the war, a heavy drinker who had been surprised at Shiloh and failed five times previously to capture Vicksburg, Grant was promoted from Major General of volunteers to Major General in the regular army and moved into *"the house, grounds, and an adjacent timbered and watered pasture lot, belonging to Mrs. Lum, a very wealthy widow. Gen Pemberton had taken the same premises for his headquarters during his stay in the city."*⁹³⁹

In the 21st Iowa, Cal's cousin, John Mather, had died. In the 46th Illinois, her cousin, Eli Frankeberger, had survived, although many others in his regiment had been captured. In the 9th Iowa, her brother George and cousins Squire and Sterling Mather had survived but their regiment had lost 121 men. One of the most decimated of all was the 38th Iowa with Frank Dibble and Wes Nichols. From its position on the edge of a swamp, it had been ravaged by disease. The combination of mosquitos, extremely hot weather, a lack of good water, *"poisonous odors"* and *"noxious effluvia"* had disastrous results. Virtually the entire regiment was unfit for duty. Over 200 were suffering from chronic diarrhea and many had already been sent to Northern hospitals.

The three day battle at Gettysburg had ended the same day as the siege at Vicksburg and, ultimately, would be better known due to its major battles, proximity to the nation's capital and other centers of population, and the subsequent address by the President, but Lee's army had been permitted to escape while Pemberton's had been destroyed.⁹⁴⁰ Gettysburg brought relief to Lincoln and, on the morning of the 4th, he asked states to hold religious remembrances, but celebrations had hardly begun when word came of the surrender at Vicksburg. Washington was euphoric. Only the doomed Port Hudson remained to impede Union traffic on the Mississippi.

⁹³⁶ S. C. Jones, Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry (Camp Pope Book Shop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1907; reprint 1993).
⁹³⁷

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 1298, referencing Wells, *Siege of Vicksburg*, page 88, and Walker, *Vicksburg, A People at War*, page 205.

⁹³⁸ The Clayton Co. Journal (July 23, 1863) referencing the Dubuque Times of July 20th.

⁹³⁹ Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant (Alfred A. Knopf 1955), page 123.

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When the President learned Lee had escaped from Gettysburg and recrossed the Potomac unmolested, he reportedly said, *"There is bad faith somewhere. Great God! what does it mean?"*

With the fall of Vicksburg the Confederacy's worries "were crushing." The "loss of Texas beef at once caused the number of cattle east of the Mississippi to fall off."⁹⁴¹ Sam Houston told his wife the fate of the South was sealed.⁹⁴² Grant agreed "the fate of the Confederacy was sealed," the "morale was with the supporters of the Union ever after," and other historians felt "it was in the West that the decisive blows were struck. The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July 1863, was the real turning point of the war." "Vicksburg, and not Gettysburg, was the crisis of the Confederacy."⁹⁴³ "We must go back to the campaigns of Napoleon to find equally brilliant results accomplished in the same space of time with such a small loss."⁹⁴⁴ Robert E. Lee had said, "if the Mississippi Valley is lost, the Atlantic States would be ruined."⁹⁴⁵ More than a year earlier, Lincoln had recognized that "Vicksburg is the key" and "the war can never be brought to a close until that key is in our pocket." He had reservations about an inland campaign but now told Grant "you were right and I was wrong." Sherman also acknowledged "Grant is entitled to every bit of the credit for the campaign; I opposed it" and, when others criticized Grant, Sherman came to the rescue - "It won't do at all! Grant is a great general. He stood by me when I was crazy, and I stood by him when he was drunk. And now, by thunder, we stand by each other!"⁹⁴⁶ The successful campaign "stamps Gen. Grant as the greatest military leader of the age," said another.⁹⁴⁷

RETURN TO JACKSON (July 4 to 17, 1863)

While negotiating on the 3d, Grant had contacted Sherman. The moment the surrender took place, Sherman was to attack Johnston and "drive him out of the State and destroy his army." With a force of 48,000 including part of Ord's 13th Corps, Sherman, who "always acted on the instant," started east on the afternoon of the 4th and continued through the night.

On the 5th, Union soldiers vandalized Davis' Briarfield plantation⁹⁴⁸ and extravagantly dressed city Negroes paraded in the streets of Vicksburg, many arm-in-arm with soldiers enjoying their whiskey - "you never seen a more lively set in your life." With William Jackson having died of typhoid and David Wing of chronic diarrhea the previous day, fewer than 200 members of the regiment were available "for effective service"⁹⁴⁹ when they joined the pursuit of Johnston about 5:00 a.m. on July 5th. Alexander Voorhees wrote of William's death:

Dear Friends,

941

Vandiver, *Texas and the Confederacy Army's Meat Problem*. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLVII, No. 3 (Jan.1944).

942 Houston died July 26th, a "devoted patriot, the fearless soldier - the meek and lowly Christian."

943

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 1311, quoting British General Fuller.

944

Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume III, page 1312, quoting Brigadier General Francis V. Greene, Civil War veteran, engineer and historian.

945

James Lee McDonough, War in Kentucky (The University of Tennessee Press 1994), page 320.

946

John F. Marszalek, Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order (Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1993), page 423.

947

Correspondence of the *Chicago Times* reported in the *North Iowa Times* (July 22, 1863).

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The Union troops "rifled it completely, destroying every implement of husbandry, all his household and kitchen furniture, defacing the premises, and carrying off every negro on the place. The plantation of Joe Davis, brother of the President, was treated in the same way, if we except four or five domestic servants which the robbers left." The Rebellion Record (D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1864), Volume 7, Page 4, referencing the *Jackson Mississippian* of June 11/1863. The residence itself "survived to become a Freedman's Bureau headquarters. Brierfield was occupied by a succession of caretakers and tenants until destroyed by fire in 1931." Lynda Crist, *Mr. Davis' Mail Bag*. North & South magazine (January 2000), page 40.

949

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 112. William Jackson is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery, Section E, Grave 1680. David Wing is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, Section 7, Grave 7798.

It is with heart felt sorrow that I sit down to inform you that poor "Willie" is no more⁹⁵⁰ he died yesterday on the Hospital Boat I will give you the particular of his sickness and death

he had been on duty ever since we crossed the river and been well as usual untill about the 20th of June he then looked unwell I urged him to lay still he done so very reluctantly & I had no seargeant with the company and he said he would not leave me alone as long as he could stand. but he thought by lying in camp a day or two he would feel better I saw he was getting no better and induced him to go to the hospital he was there well cared for . . . waited on him while there about the 30th he was taken worse with the typhoid fever the doctors then determined to send him up the river I wrote you at that time his case. I saw him every day until the first day of July I saw him that day for the last time he was very weak too weak to go to the boat there had been no chance to send him yet the doctors thought he would never be any better he thought so himself that night night . Our regiment was ordered to Black River so I did not see him again we got back the 3rd and they had sent him the night before to the boat said he was better. I supposed the boat had gone up the river but the day after the surrender of Vicksburgh the 5th Sunday - Merritt . . . Charley and myself went down through the city to the river and walking down the bank looking at the Boats for some reason we stopped oppisite a hospital Boat something called our attention to it we saw some of our regiment aboard we enquired for Willie they said he was on the upper deck I went and enquired for him and found he had died the day before and was then in his coffin to be burried at night.

so we then . . . and myself had the sad and mournful satisfaction burying him and oh what a sad time we had there were 5 to be buried all taken across the river opposite Vicksburgh we buried William ourselves and then offered our prayer and bathed his grave with our tears he was fully prepared to die and oh that we may all be as well prepared as he he told me he would like to see his dear friends once more but said he - 'the lords will be done not mine. I put his trust entirely in my savour' we marked his grave well so that it can be found out very easily⁹⁵¹ if I could have got a metalic coffin at any price I should have sent his body home but was impossible

I expect to get a furlough soon and then I will see you and tell you more of his sickness.

*To
L Jackson and
family*

*From your Friend
Alex Voorhees*

Ps excuse my not writing more to night we have just got back it is after one oclock we feel so sorrowful and yet thankful that we were allowed to perform the last sad rites of burial of a dear friend. A.V.

Due to the wounding of Merrill, death of Dunlap and absence of Van Anda, the regiment was without its three field officers and command fell to William Croke, the only captain still capable of command.⁹⁵² Technically he was outranked by Jesse Harrison of Company C, but Harrison had been wounded on May 22d and was still recuperating at home. The other eight captains were incapacitated and left behind with David Watkins, Henry Vanderburg, Myron Knight and Jerry Maloney who were ill, John Rogman who was admitted to the hospital for belated treatment of his rupture and chronic diarrhea, William Robbins who, to his brother Charles, "appeared out of his head," and Jabez Rogers who was sick with the "bloody flux" and taken to the *Nashville* for transportation to Jefferson Barracks.⁹⁵³

950

William Jackson was from Hopkinton and the friends who visited him may also have been Hopkinton. They appear include Merrit W. Harmon, Alexander Voorhees and William Voorhees. William is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery.

951

There are 17,000 Civil War Union soldiers buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery. Of these, 75% are "unknown," but William Jackson is not one of them. His friends had "marked his grave well," it was found and he was reinterred in Section E of the cemetery. The letter to "L. Jackson" was likely to William's parents, Leroy and Jerusha Jackson in Hopkinton.

952

Crooke says they "marched under the command of Captain Croke." George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 112. William Crooke's records also confirm his presence for the campaign. George Crooke then writes that they arrived in front of Jackson "with only one Captain (Swivel) on duty with his company, all others having been left behind." It's possible Swivel accompanied the regiment but was not capable of "command" and that William Crooke became incapacitated during the expedition, but this seems contrary to military records for William Crooke.

953

Hoping to avoid similar problems, the 22d Iowa took extra precautions and, on the way out of town, passed an open barrel of whiskey "well saturated with quinine." Proceeding in double file, those in need (and many not) dipped their tin cups, some more than once, into whiskey they

Ord's commanders included Benton, Hovey, Osterhaus and "Whisky Jack," but Colonel Owen of the 60th Indiana resigned. He was the administrator of his brother's estate and guardian of three children whose parents had died and he had been offered a "Professorship of the Natural Sciences" at Indiana's state university two months earlier. He had delayed acting on it until the siege was ended, but now it was time and he accompanied his own resignation with one on behalf of his Adjutant, his son Horace, so Horace could join him at the university.

On the first day of the march toward Jackson the regiment traveled ten miles along the rail line and camped by a small stream two miles west of the Big Black. They were traveling light, no baggage and no tents. Due to the drought they were accompanied by pack mules carrying extra kegs and canteens of water. Hardtack, flour, coffee and sugar would be transported by 200 wagons. Other food would be foraged.

On July 6th, Henry Chiles returned to duty after being treated for the thigh wound received at the Big Black. The regiment was ready to march at 6:00 a.m., but was delayed for several hours waiting for orders and Matthew King took the opportunity to enjoy a bath in the stream. Johnston had left for Jackson the previous day and destroyed bridges to delay his pursuers. The river had risen four feet which aided the drought but crossings were more difficult and Osterhaus worked hard near the burned out railroad bridge to complete a new floating pontoon bridge. Others moved up but it was 2:00 p.m. before they could cross. Continuing east, they skirmished with Johnston's rear guard from Wirt Adams' cavalry, covered ten miles in high winds and camped about sunset on a cool night near Edwards Station. Behind them, at the Vicksburg landing, Charles Wallace and Philo Woods had been permitted to leave the *Crescent City*. Enjoying their liberty, they toured the city, viewed the ruins and spoke with rebel prisoners before returning to their bunks for the night.

Suffering from tuberculosis, William Flowers was discharged at St. Louis on July 7th while, in Mississippi, Sherman resumed his pursuit at 6:00 a.m., Iowa's 3d Cavalry rode at the front and the 22d Iowa led the infantry. The 21st left about 8:00 a.m. While passing Champion Hill the 5th Iowa made a grisly discovery. Two months earlier retreating Confederates had tossed hundreds of their dead into a small ravine and covered them with dirt but subsequent rain exposed half-decayed corpses, some headless and armless, bodies badly mangled by dogs and wolves. Johnston reached Jackson in the afternoon, Sherman advanced eight miles, cavalry skirmished and the drought ended with a nighttime thunderstorm. Provisions were far behind and the regiment camped without rations in a field along the Clinton Road near Bolton station where water flowed through furrows between rows of cotton compelling the men "to take rails & lay them side by side to lie upon to keep out of the water."

On the 8th they left about 7:00 a.m. and passed the 12th Iowa outside of Bolton but heavy rain made marching difficult.⁹⁵⁴ "The dirt road would soon be worked into a loblolly of sticky yellow mud. Thereupon we would take off our shoes and socks, tie them to the barrel of our muskets, poise the piece on the hammer on either shoulder, stock uppermost, and roll up our breeches."⁹⁵⁵ Skirmishing in the mud for much of the day, they covered about twelve miles while cavalry met strong opposition west of Clinton, forced its way forward and camped about midnight.

On July 9th, George Hess returned from a Memphis hospital while Brad Talcott went north on a sick furlough and forty-five year old John Martin was hospitalized at Milliken's Bend. John's wife, Mary, wrote to the Governor. Her husband had worked as a hospital steward but now he was sick, "consumpted," she said. "He says he won't be able to stand it through the summer he has 6 small children and no way to make a living only by his help." She asked that he be released.

Colonel Merrill was still recuperating in McGregor where he was visited by a doctor. Merrill's right thigh was healing well but the left had developed an abscess and the doctor estimated another thirty days before he could go south. The 12th Iowa's Charles Wallace and others on the *Crescent City* were treated with daily doses of laudanum

sometimes called "old red-eye," "tanglefoot," the "oil of gladness," "pop-skull," "bust-head," "coon juice," "Louisiana fire-water" or good-ol' "rifle knock-knee" or "forty rod," the latter alluding to the fact that it was so powerful that it would kill a man before he could walk that far, about 660 feet, after drinking it.

This was not without some medical justification as to malaria. In late 1861 "the Sanitary Commission, after investigating the value of preventative doses of quinine, recommended the procedure to the Army. In some regiments one or two grains a day, usually taken with an ounce of whisky, lowered the malarial rate." George Worthington Adams, Doctors in Blue (Morningside House, 1985), pages 218-219.

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Elsewhere it's indicated that Osterhaus' Division led Ord's 13th Corps on the 8th and did not start until late afternoon. Evans, Return to Jackson, Blue & Gray magazine (August 1995), page 50.

955

Evans, Return to Jackson, Blue & Gray magazine (August 1995), page 22.

and three tablespoons of quinine, standard medication for malarial fevers and ague (the “swamp devil”) as they headed for Memphis where some would enter the city’s hospitals while others went on to Jefferson Barracks. Starting about noon, they backed down to the ice barge and took on a load of ice, moved to the upper landing at Young’s Point (Duckport) to take on coal and then headed upstream where they “ran the shoot” behind Paw Paw Island saving several miles before moving on to Milliken’s Bend.⁹⁵⁶ At Lake Providence they were joined by two gunboats and another hospital ship before continuing upstream more slowly so the gunboats could keep up but Charles’ excursion into Vicksburg three days earlier had been ill-advised and overly stressful. Early on the afternoon of the 9th, he died of general debility caused by his chronic diarrhea. He was survived by his wife and the young daughter he had never seen. Philo Woods wrote to Susan to tell her of Charles’ death while personal effects - \$24.60, a cap, great coat, pair of shoes, blanket, knapsack, canteen, vest and portfolio, two cotton shirts, three pairs of socks and three pairs of flannel drawers - remained on board for disposal by a Council of Administration.⁹⁵⁷ The *Crescent City* tied up at Memphis where the following Sunday’s *Memphis Bulletin* would report Charles’ death and the newly arrived sick and wounded:

Alonzo Cole	Company B local injury of right knee
William McCarty	Company C
Thomas Cooper	Company D diarrhea
Edward Goldsmith	Company G diarrhea
Harman Albert ⁹⁵⁸	Company G Marasmus
Harmon Greybill	Company G incontinence of urine
Freeman Fear	Company K chronic diarrhea

L. C. Wolfe

In addition to the knee injury received six months earlier, Alonzo Cole was treated for blepharitis (granulated eyes) that were, he said, “so much inflamed that by the time I got to Memphis the eyelids were almost closed and I could hardly see.”

Men still able for duty were on the road by 6:00 a.m. and passed through Clinton - nearly deserted but “quite a pretty town” with fine plantations and beautiful woods. Cavalry, reinforced by 9th Corps infantry, caused the enemy’s rear guard to withdraw but fresh water was scarce “as the rebels had destroyed all the water tanks by throwing dead cattle in them.” More comfortably situated at Port Hudson, commissioners had spent the 8th in a magnolia grove, sipping French wine and discussing a Confederate surrender. On the 9th, after a sixty-one day siege, longest in U.S. history, the defenders of Port Hudson laid down their arms and President Lincoln rejoiced. The Confederacy, said Lincoln, was split in half and the Mississippi, “the spinal column of America” to some, “the symbol of geographic unity” to others, “again goes un vexed to the sea.” President Davis tried to be optimistic and hoped the Yankees “may yet be crushed and the late disaster repaired,” but time was running out. Sherman’s army had already “appeared before the sight line of fieldworks thrown up for the defense of Jackson” as Joe Johnston by telegram urged his men “to chastise and expel from the soil of Mississippi” the “insolent foe.”

On July 10th, Henry Vanderburg died of chronic diarrhea, cavalry destroyed rail and telegraph lines outside of Jackson before camping near the Deaf and Dumb Asylum a mile and a half north and the 21st Iowa, after a march that started at 2:00 a.m. arrived in intense heat, exhausted, with only 158 fit for duty.⁹⁵⁹ William Fobes, a private in Company D, said he was the only private in the entire company who was able to report for duty at that time.⁹⁶⁰

Johnston knew he could not withstand a siege and hoped the Federals would attack, but Sherman dug in with Parke’s 9th Corps on the left, Steele’s 15th in the center and the 21st Iowa with the 13th Corps on the right. Within the

956

Island No. 103, known locally as Paw Paw Island and previously known as “My Wife’s Island,” was closer to the Louisiana shore and the narrow shoot between the two saved both time and distance.

957 He is buried in Memphis National Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3173513.

958 Herman Allert, Company G, enlisted at age nineteen from Buena Vista.

959 George Crooke, *Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891).

960

Col. J. K. P. Thompson, *Iowa at Vicksburg and the Vicksburg National Military Park*, *Annals of Iowa*, Volume Five - Third Series (Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, 1901-1903), page 272.

brigade, the 11th Wisconsin was on the right, the 21st Iowa on the left, and the 22d and 23d forty paces to their rear. Wells were dug and Sherman called for more food and ammunition while "a *cross-fire of shot and shell reached all parts of the town.*" Ahead of the regiment, in front of woods 500 yards away, was a "*neat and comfortable country residence*" with orchards and gardens and that evening, said Flavius Patterson, "*they opened their batteries upon us.*" A twenty-five year old Irishman, Jonathan Foster, was a vedette with an advance picket that was soon tested by Confederate cavalry. Struck between the shoulders by a spent Minié ball, Jonathan was knocked from his horse and fell on his right hand with his arm bent. His elbow was injured and the arm was fractured.

Meanwhile, in Vicksburg, the paroles were complete and proud men, many with tears in their eyes, marched past respectful Union guards and out of sight. Among them, as they walked southeast toward Enterprise and Demopolis to avoid the investment at Jackson, was Sid Champion. Another, conveyed by ambulance, was an emaciated John Bowen who had played such a prominent role since Bruinsburg. His condition would soon worsen and his wife would be with him when he died near Raymond on the 13th.⁹⁶¹ The parolees were not to return to duty until formally exchanged but the system could not effectively prevent their returning earlier than allowed. Grant expected many to desert, and many did, but many were also soon back in action.⁹⁶²

On the 11th, eight of the Jackson regiments were aligned along the road to Raymond, others moved up on their right, artillery continued its bombardment, Prussian born George Fengler was wounded, there was "*brisk skirmishing*" until night and cavalry took four days' rations, patrolled the Livingston Road and destroyed tracks of the Jackson & New Orleans Railroad before camping about 2:00 a.m. near Calhoun. In Lawler's Brigade, one company from each regiment, including the 21st's Company A under 1st Lieutenant Isaac Bolton,⁹⁶³ advanced as skirmishers while others remained behind, in the open under oppressive heat. Seeking shade, they asked permission to move up to the house and orchard. The request was granted and they moved ahead but soon heard "*the rebel yell.*" The skirmishers fell back amid bullets fired from the woods as the "*grey-coats came charging*" and "*we had a very hard tussel.*" With partial protection provided by the house and fence, they repulsed the attack but firing continued throughout the day until they were relieved at dusk by the 8th Indiana. Among the skirmishers from Company A was nineteen year old William R. Hall who was severely wounded in the right leg when a musket ball hit bone and caused "*permanent contraction of the flexor muscles.*"⁹⁶⁴ Also wounded were Patrick McDonough and Jacob Moss while twenty-two year old Corporal Robert Moore was killed. His widowed mother who also lost another son in the war, had relied on Robert for her support but would now be dependent on charity of friends and relatives for the next three years until finally gaining an \$8.00 monthly pension.

On July 12th, artillery lobbed shells from the Jackson woods, "*missiles fell in all parts of the town,*" cavalry destroyed two locomotives, twenty-five cars, a depot and tracks at Calhoun. Company H advanced to the left of the colors, stopping briefly to bury one of the previous days' dead. Supply wagons were emptied of food and ammunition, reloaded with sick and wounded, and headed back to the Big Black while Jacob Lauman "*got his line uncovered by skirmishers too close to the enemy's lines.*"⁹⁶⁵ Repelled by artillery fire and a flank attack by infantry from Florida and Georgia, he lost about 200 captured, 200 killed and many wounded as well as the colors of the 28th, 41st and 53d Illinois. On the same day in Cairo, Charles Dana was writing to Washington that Lauman was "*a very poor general.*" Lauman was relieved of command by Ord, Sherman approved "*because I want the corps commanders to be satisfied with their division commanders,*" Jim received a letter from Cal and Lawler advanced.

961

Years later he would be reinterred in Vicksburg's Confederate Cemetery.

962

"*After the surrender of Vicksburg General Pemberton found that nearly all the troops from the Trans-Mississippi and from the State of Mississippi had deserted, and he predicted that Georgians, Alabamans, and Tennesseans would go also as they approached their homes.*" Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 32. Passing through northern Alabama on their way to Demopolis, many parolees who had been "*contaminated by contact with Grant's soldiers*" *deserted and joined the highly secretive anti-war Peace Society while the Richmond Examiner reported that "large numbers" were also leaving Johnston's army in Jackson.*

963

George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co, Milwaukee, 1891), page 112.

964

After a year of hospital treatment, William would be discharged on July 24, 1864 pursuant to a Surgeon's Certificate of Disability for Discharge signed by Captain Alfred Jones and Lieutenant Colonel Salue G. Van Anda.

965

O.R. Series 1, Volume XXIV/2 [S#37].

"It was a pretty sight to see us go in. First was the long line of skirmishers, then the 11th Wisconsin and 22nd Iowa in line of battle, then the 21st and 23d Iowa. We expected to have a fight, but the rebels had withdrawn behind their fortifications, and we advanced through the woods in the order stated, and took up a position that was maintained until the close of the siege. Our present line is protected by brush, fallen timber, furniture from rebel mansions near by, and one of our companies has even a piano on its front."⁹⁶⁶ Foragers scoured local farms with care since "the country was full of rebel squads picking up stragglers," cavalry moved from Vernon to Jackson and Jim replied to Cal.

On the field in front of Jackson

July 13th 1863

Dear wife and friends

I will try to write you a few lines once more to let you know how and where we are well we started from Vicksburg the day after it was surrendered for Jackson where we are now engaged in another battle but I hope it will not be of so long duration as the Vicksburg siege the rebels seem to be well fortified and I fear it is going to be a more difficult task to whip them here than we had anticipated our company was skirmishing all day yesterday but no one hurt we gained considerable advantage yesterday by advancing across an open field and occupying a piece of woods in front of their works this is the fourth day that we have been engaged here and the engagement will probably last for several days to come our lines at present are about six miles in length and are closing up gradually every day I have but little of our success here but we may have some hard fighting for it what the next move will be I have no idea I have heard rumors that the 13th army corps has been ordered to Pennsylvania

Cal I received your letter No. 25 yesterday and glad to hear that you were all well but was sorry to hear the news of Mrs Stoddards death I deeply sympathise with Mr Stoddard for he has been bereft of a great treasure her death . . . also be deeply regretted by the neighbor⁹⁶⁷

Cal I did not write to you last week because I had no opportunity I was on guard duty the fourth and on sunday morning the march I left . . . knapsack . . . a blanket . . . furloughs are played out for the present at least . . .

As volunteers suffered and died in Mississippi, New York civilians rioted against the draft in an uprising that would not be surpassed in America until riots in Watts more than one hundred years later. Encouraged by the Copperhead press of the *Daily News*, mobs ruled the city for three days. Men, women and children were shot and beaten, the *New York Tribune* was attacked, the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue was burned, the draft office was burned, brothels were attacked and Negroes were lynched.⁹⁶⁸ Many, according to Dr. Lauderdale, complained that "a poor man had to be drafted and go to the war, but a rich man could pay his money and stay at home." More than 100 died but the riot was quelled and New York's draft would resume a month later. Fearing the effect leniency might have on conscription, Iowa Governor Kirkwood wired the War Department, "for God's sake let there be no compromising or half-way measures" and was assured the draft would be properly enforced.⁹⁶⁹

On July 14th, Perry Dewey, suffering from rheumatism, chronic diarrhea and an inflammatory streptococcus, received a thirty day furlough to go north for admission to Davenport's general hospital. Traveling with him and also suffering from diarrhea was "Old Man" Warner who carried a letter from Myron Knight to his family. James Brown

966

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 113, quoting "a soldier's correspondence."

967

Delia (also shown as Celia) Stoddard was married to Rev. Isaac A. Stoddard. She died on June 20, 1863, is buried in Cedar Crest Cemetery, Jesup, Iowa. This letter was torn and small pieces are missing.

968

The Negro servant of Adam Badeau, later on the staff of General Grant, was hidden by New York visitor John Wilkes Booth who deplored the rioting and killing of innocent Negroes. Blue & Gray (December 1996).

969

Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 305. O.R. Series 3, III, 488-489,494,525.

of Company G, wounded at the Big Black, had become ill at Vicksburg and, on the 14th, died of typhoid fever at Milliken's Bend, while water was scarce in Jackson where the rebels had poured coal tar into the cisterns.

Cavalry scouts examined fords and ferries, a two hour armistice under a "*flag of truce*" permitted burial of Lauman's dead and rebels from Arkansas visited Federals from Iowa, the first Hawkeyes they had ever seen. Many shared the opinion "*it would be much more reasonable if the politicians who brought on the war and are still pushing it forward, were made to do the fighting part.*" As they separated, each promised not to shoot until everyone was back in the rifle pits, "*a request that was always held sacred on both sides of the line,*" but soon "*we were shooting at each other with intent to kill*" and that night a rebel band played "*beautiful music*" to which the Federals responded with "*round shot and shell.*"

On the 15th, James Curtis died of chronic diarrhea while being treated on board the *R. C. Wood*.⁹⁷⁰ Also dying on the 15th was David Preston. After being wounded during the assault on May 22nd, he was one of many admitted on June 4th to the Gayoso General Hospital in Memphis. His personal effects - one cap, one dress coat, one blanket and one canteen - were given to his mother.⁹⁷¹

General Johnston wired President Davis, "*the enemy is evidently making a siege which we cannot resist. It would be madness to attack him.*"⁹⁷² The unwelcome news compounded the losses at Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Port Hudson and Davis issued "*his first conscription proclamation which called into the service of the Confederacy all white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who were not legally exempted.*"

Early in the war, Clem Dunton, Freeman Fear, Harrison Hefner, Arnold Horton and John Merry, five Delaware County friends in Company K, had decided to share a tent. Harrison had been killed in action at Hartville, Arnold died of wounds received during the regiment's assault at Vicksburg and on July 16th Freeman became the next to die when he succumbed to illness in Memphis. On the same day father south, the merchant ship *Imperial* reached New Orleans, the first boat in two years to complete the 1,200 mile journey from St. Louis without facing enemy guns, and Chaplain Bolles resigned while cavalry and artillery raided the Jackson countryside, skirmished at Grant's Mills and destroyed boats and bridges. That night, after dark, a second ammunition train arrived from the Big Black despite Confederate efforts to stop it, and picket Flavius Patterson listened to rebel brass playing *Bonnie Blue Flag* and *Dixie* as Johnston's defenders took what they could, burned much of what was left and withdrew across three bridges over the Pearl River. There was a "*racket all night with wagon trains, there was 2 trains of cars left Jackson during the night.*" As he retreated eastward, Johnston's "*demoralized army began by the hundreds to run to the mountains, to the pine woods, and to the enemy until his force was reduced to 10,000 men.*"⁹⁷³ "*It will be remembered,*" said General Chalmers, "*that Vicksburg had fallen and the whole country was greatly depressed.*"⁹⁷⁴

On July 17th in Vicksburg, Chaplain Lorenzo Bolles submitted his resignation "*for physical debility*" while, at Jackson, the Federals occupied the city and Flavius Patterson wrote: "*found several buildings on fire, look the city over & go back to camp. I am 22 years old to day.*" Two months earlier "*Sherman's Guerrillas*" had begun the destruction of Jackson's railroads before being called to assist Grant at Champion Hill. Now they completed the job of tearing up and destroying more rails, including tracks Johnston had repaired during his reoccupation. In a "*town so closely built that fire could communicate from house to house,*" buildings were burned almost at will leaving "*Sherman's Tombstones*" (chimneys among charred ruins) while food and medicine were distributed to wounded enemy and impoverished citizens in Jackson, Clinton and Raymond. Union casualties during the siege were estimated at more than 1,100.⁹⁷⁵

The 21st Iowa had one man killed and six who suffered non-fatal wounds but, "*forced to use stagnant water,*"

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James Curtis is buried in Little Rock National Cemetery, Little Rock, Arkansas.

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Military records on file with the National Archives and Records Administration. Most who died in the hospital are buried in Memphis National Cemetery, but a descendant indicates that David's body was taken north for burial in the Preston Family Cemetery in Dubuque County.

972

O.R. Series 1. Volume XXIV/1 [S# 36]. No.10.

973

Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 33.

974

Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 34.

975

Sherman's capture of Jackson was aided by the same spy, Charles S. Bell, who had carried news to Grant at Vicksburg. With Sherman besieging the city, Bell had made his way into the Union lines and drew a diagram showing the disposition of Johnston's forces. William B. Feis, *Charles S. Bell, Union Scout*. *North & South* magazine (June 2001), page 26.

their ranks were further reduced by illness.⁹⁷⁶ Company D lost seven and was reduced to a Lieutenant, a Sergeant, two Corporals and one Private, Billy Fobes, as its only five men fit for duty and, "for fear Billy would get sick and leave the Lieut without a command, the Corp used to do his duty and lighten his duties all that was in their power."⁹⁷⁷

The 21st Iowa lost 113 in killed, wounded and missing in the assault on the Confederate works May 22, 1863. I am unable to determine satisfactorily the number engaged, but assuming it to be the same as the 22d Iowa, to wit: 200, its loss would be 56+ per cent. Lieut. Cooley of Company D of the same regiment, in a recent letter states: "When we left for Jackson we had for duty about 160 men. Company D left Vicksburg with 12 men and during the siege of Jackson was reduced to 6 men."

Sergeant E. B. Snedigar, of the same company in a recent letter says: "In the record kept by Capt. Boardman I find "our regiment lost fully one-half in killed and wounded on the 22d of May."

Geo. Crooke, adjutant of the regiment says in his "History of the 21st Iowa," on page 112, "The regiment numbered for effective service less than 200 men and officers and arrived at Jackson mustering only 158 men for duty."

In a letter received recently from Wm. Fobes, a private in Company D, he states that he was the only private soldier in the company reporting for duty at that time."⁹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, on board the *City of Memphis* somewhere between Vicksburg and St. Louis, one of their comrades, John C. Pool, was suffering from chronic diarrhea when he passed quietly away. He was survived by his twenty-nine-year-old wife and their young children.

With Dunlap's death on the 22nd, the regiment was without a Lieutenant Colonel. In the normal course of events, the vacancy would be quickly filled by the Major while one of the captains would move up to take the Major's place as Major. Major Van Anda had been in field command ever since Merrill returned home a month earlier but, home or not, he was still Colonel, insistent on maintaining control and reluctant, for reasons that would later become obvious, to recommend Van Anda for promotion. Dr. Wiltse of Dubuque suggested Jacob Swivel be promoted to Major to fill the vacancy he assumed would be created by the elevation of Van Anda and Major General Herron agreed. Dubuque's Germans also supported their countryman and 317 businessmen signed a petition to the Governor expressing their belief that Swivel had earned it by leading his men "when they were wavering and about to recede before a murderous fire." Four of the ten companies had been raised near Dubuque but none of the senior officers were from Dubuque while McGregor was already represented by Merrill. Unfortunately for Swivel, Merrill chose to recommend the captain with the most seniority, William Crooke, whose captaincy preceded Swivel's by a week. On July 17th, almost two months after Dunlap's death, Merrill wrote two letters to Governor Kirkwood.

Excuse my delay in the recommendations sent in another envelope today. It's only been a few days since I could sit up at all. Am now rapidly improving - hope soon to join my command. Gov. I did hesitate very much about recommending the promotion of Van Anda & I do so now more because I believe you desire it than for any other cause. I refrain from writing my opinion of him. If I could see you, would explain many things. He has some good qualities. Capt. Crooke is the next ranking officer & is a fine & brave officer & in my opinion is the united wish of the Regt that he be promoted to Maj. . . . I hope to see you before leaving for my command."

In the second letter he wrote:

976

Crooke says one was killed, four wounded and one was taken prisoner. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 112. Regimental and national archive records indicate Robert Moore was killed, George Fengler, William R. Hall, Patrick McDonough, Jacob Moss, Jonathan Foster and William L. Wheeler were wounded, and none were captured.

977

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

978

Col. J. K. P. Thompson, *Iowa at Vicksburg and the Vicksburg National Military Park*, Annals of Iowa, Volume Five - Third Series (Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, 1901-1903), page 272.

I have the honor to recommend the promotion of Maj S. G. Van Anda to the office of Lt Col 21st Regiment and Capt Wm D. Crooke of Co. B for Maj of said Regiment.

I certify on my honor that Capt W. D. Crooke above recommended does not use intoxicating liquor to such an extent as to interfere with the discharge of his duties as an officer or as to set a bad example to those under his command.

Merrill had made the routine certification about the non-use of liquor as to Crooke but, very noticeably, had not done so as to Van Anda. He no doubt felt he could not. Despite the omission, the Governor quickly commissioned Salue Van Anda as Major and Captain William Crooke as Major, both retroactive to May 23rd, the day after Dunlap's death.

RETURN TO VICKSBURG (July 18 to 24, 1863)

On July 18th the men started back to Vicksburg. Some left Jackson at 7:00 a.m., moved about seven miles out along the rail line to Mobile "and commenced to tear up the track," while cavalry entered Canton "without opposition." In charge of the cavalry and "having completely destroyed every dollar's worth of public property," Cyrus Bussey posted a guard although enemy soldiers were gone and "citizens said they all went away, drunk, the evening before."

In Iowa, Thomas McNary's widow, Exceen, requested a widow's pension due to her husband's death in the war with the "so-called Confederate States" and Fayette County Judge H. N. Hankins signed a supportive affidavit confirming her marriage.

On the 19th, George Satchwell died of chronic diarrhea at Vicksburg while the regiment tore up another five miles of track on an "excessively hot" day and camped in a cornfield where they roasted corn and meat. Some moved back to Jackson on the 20th, but Sam Merrill was still at home when he wrote to the Adjutant General's office.

I am rapidly improving & confidently believe a less time than stated by the surgeon will be sufficient to enable me to report - For two & half months have been the most painful hours of my life, resulting in a stiffened leg at right angles, but I am daily improving it - & believe I will soon be all right - Please give my warm regards to General Lawler.

On July 21st, Alonzo Rutter, a private in Company K, was in the Fifth Street Hospital in Keokuk when he wrote to his aunt, Mrs. Caroline Stone, Friendship, Allegany Co., New York:

Keokuk, Tuesday July the 21, 1863

Dear Aunt

It is with plashure that I sit down this morning to pen you a few lines to let you know my whareabouts and how I am at giting along. I am hear in Keokuk and in a hospital sick I was taken sick the 27 of last January and have not been able to be with my Regt since, this is to goe on duty with them I went with them down as fare as Milligans Bend and was thare about 3 weeks and our division was ordered to march so they had to leave all of the sick thae and we all went on the Nashville hospital boat and I lade thare 4 weeks and then they transfured a lot of the sick up the river and among them was my self, we ware brot up to St James and I was thare 4 weak then they took a noshun to send me up the river further so they sent me up hear in my own state of Iowa whare I am likely to stay untill next winter and then they will send us sick soldiers to our Reg't that is all that is able for duty which I don't expect that I will ever be for field duty I am completely broke down and it will be a long while before I will be able for duty or eny other kind of work my health is not very good at the present time fathers folks were well the last time I heard from them and my folks ware the last time I heard from them wall I think that our arme is a prospering finley they are victorious in every battle they goe into lately O we are bound to give them an auful flogging so that they will remember it just so long as they live I must close excuse my poor writing and spelling my love to you all and to Arneal Roofos folks write soon direct to 5 Street hospital box 6 Keokuk Iowa

Alonzo J Rutter

*Hellie was well the last time I hard from him.*⁹⁷⁹

In the South, the balance of his regiment was ready to start its return to Vicksburg at 4:00 a.m., but didn't leave Jackson for another three hours. Water was scarce and roads were dusty as they passed Mississippi Springs and its five "*famed sulphur springs*" and continued on to the outskirts of Raymond where they camped at sunset.

On July 22d, a Dubuque doctor certified that Charles Morse had to extend his March leave to recuperate while, in the south, Myron Knight received letters from home, letters already a month old, and the regiment had its stars and stripes flying as it passed through the "*quiet little town*" of Raymond in the morning and passed its jail and "*fine courthouse*." A few miles later, on their way to Baker's Creek, they met "*a good many paroled prisoners*" on their way home in the rain.

On the 23d, they left the creek, passed the 16th Iowa at Edwards Station, crossed the Big Black and boarded a train for Vicksburg. Most completed their trip into the city, but some made camp and slept without blankets about five miles out. All were in camp by 8:00 a.m. on July 24th. An hour was spent taking down tents and gathering knapsacks and they then marched another ten miles before camping among abandoned earthworks on the river. Joseph Watson, Captain of Company H, was very sick with "*bilious fever*" and dysentery. A surgeon said a leave of thirty days was needed to preserve his life and Joseph's request for leave was granted. For the next several days as he waited to go north, he was cared for by Alvin Richmond, a drummer in Company H, who was assigned as William's nurse.

The return from Jackson has been described as "*leisurely*," but was made difficult by the intense heat and humidity of mid-summer. Men were exhausted, their health suffered and an estimated 3,200 were conveyed by wagons and ambulances. In the 21st, William Boynton had become ill at Vicksburg, but accompanied his comrades to Jackson. On the return to Vicksburg, he labored under a heavy load and his health worsened. According to doctors, William's heart, stomach and nervous system had suffered from sunstroke and he was admitted to a Vicksburg field hospital where his comrade Robert Grosvenor worked as a nurse. While there, William was treated for a severe malarial fever, a disease of the testicles and chronic dysentery "*from extreme exposure, privations and hardships in a very infectious region*" before being transferred to St. Louis for admission to the hospital at Jefferson Barracks where "*everyday fare was tough meat, boiled potatoes, bread and butter, the butter too rancid to eat.*"⁹⁸⁰

Jim Bethard was treated for "*sores on his hands and lower extremities which seemed to be aggravated by heat and rapid marching.*" Twenty-four year old Alvin Merriam had missed ten days' service earlier due to chronic diarrhea. On the return from Jackson, he became ill with fever and chills and was conveyed the final miles by ambulance. Lewis Bany was discharged for disability while, in Washington, President Lincoln discussed an invasion of Texas as a warning to Maximilian and to impede the shipment of arms to the Confederacy.

VICKSBURG (July 25 to August 12, 1863)

Jonathan Foster, with an injured arm and wrist, had been hospitalized for seven days in Jackson and for another three in Vicksburg. Still not recovered by the 25th, he requested and received a thirty day furlough. James Hill resigned due to illness and a friend arrived from Peosta to help a very sick George Moore travel home. Going north with them were Jim Rice and Leroy Parker who had recently been promoted to 6th Corporal. Leroy was well known as a soldier who never shirked duty and objected to being called "*sick*" but was so ill with diarrhea that a furlough was awarded for "*honorable service.*"

The 26th was Sunday. Rain fell heavily for much of the day while men rested in tents and caught up on their mail. Dyersville resident Frank Butts died on the 27th and Myron Knight received a letter from home (this one only a week in transit) while John Lett and Albert Mabb were "*going home on furloughs.*"⁹⁸¹

979

Alonzo, sick with fever and ague, had been unable to march with his regiment from Houston to West Plains, but was later taken from Houston, to Rolla, to St. Louis and then to Iron Mountain where he rejoined the regiment, but only briefly. From Milliken's Bend he had been taken north on the *Nashville* to St. Louis for treatment in the marine hospital before being taken to Keokuk. The original letter, posted at Keokuk on July 22, 1863 with a 3¢ stamp, was purchased on eBay.

980

Hannah R. Eaton, *Reminiscences [sic] of An Army Nurse*. W.A. Morse, W.R.C. No. 29, Manchester, Iowa (article about Rebecca Otis, Monticello, Iowa, a nurse at Jefferson Barracks).

981

Journal of Matthew King.

On July 28th, Henry Dyer was paroled at Milliken's Bend two months after his capture at *Somerset*. He had suffered severely from exposure, was now seriously ill and would soon receive a furlough so he could go home to recuperate. Andrew Hannah and George Brownell were also furloughed. George had suffered with pneumonia and chronic diarrhea for much of the Vicksburg campaign and often trailed well behind the regiment. Andrew, no doubt anxious to meet his seven month old son, headed for Dubuque and George for Strawberry Point while their regiment, looking for a site more healthy than down in the flats, relocated to a hill about a mile to the east, the sick were moved into a large brick building for better care and Arnold Allen again wrote to his mother.

*Camp near Vicksburg Miss
July the 28th 1863*

Dear Mother I received your letter yesterday and was glad to hear from you that you were all well and in good spirits well I suppose you have not got that money that I sent by Logsdon for I received A letter from him stating that he had been sick and had run out of money and had to open my letter and take the money out and spend it but he has been drunk and thought that I was A boy and you was A woman and he could do as he pleased with us but he will be disappointed when he finds his pay stopped til he pays it the commander of this company will see that I get the money back besides opening my letter he had better be careful whose letters he opens He promised me 30 dollars when he gets back to the regiment but if he has 30 dollars to give me when he gets back here why dont he give it to you before comes here for I told him when he left to be shure and give it to you for you needed it and he said he would so you see I cant help it But we are going to be paid soon again and then I will send you 20 dollars more when you write tell me how much money you have or if you have any when Burroughs⁹⁸² comes home he will give you some things that I got down here for Rev. Sakes and you must not let the children spoil them the cap is from the Vicksburg fight and the drawers are from Jackson and everything is from them places them buds and cords are for Mary she can tell the people there from Dixie where I have been tell Cynthia to keep that copperhead beau of hers ... for he might get beat

nothing more at present

*from Arnold Allen
to Elizabeth Allen
write soon*

Arnold was from Epworth and William Logsdon from nearby Centralia. Both were in Company C. Delivery should have been easy, but the money never made it and Arnold arranged to send more money through John Bell & Co. in Dubuque.⁹⁸³ Located at 445 Main Street, the firm operated as "wholesale dealers in dry goods and notions."⁹⁸⁴

The regiment was now part of the 2d Brigade of the 1st Division of the 13th Army Corps in the Department of Tennessee and would stay in the area several more weeks trying to recuperate from wounds and illness while more furloughs were granted and Negroes were put to work cleaning debris and rubbish from the Vicksburg streets.

On Wednesday, the 29th, Salue Van Anda was commissioned as lieutenant colonel with rank from May 23d, the day after Dunlap's death, and William Crooke was promoted to major despite the hometown lobbying for Jacob Swivel. Both were worthy, but rank prevailed and Swivel would remain captain of Company E for the duration of the war. On July 30th, the *Journal* reported.⁹⁸⁵

"From a private letter written by Corporal E. B. Snedigar to his brother in this place, we learn that Co. D, 21st Iowa regiment, went into the fight at Jackson with 11 men and came out with six sound. Burt thinks 'Co. D is about played out.' No braver boys ever shouldered a musket than belonged to that company."

"Our readers in the gallant 21st regiment will be glad to learn that Colonel Merrill is steadily though slowly recovering his health. The wound in the right thigh is nearly well, and the other, though obstinate, is gradually improving."

982 Zephaniah Burrows of Epworth.

983 August 9, 1865 affidavit of Jesse Harrison, Captain of Company C.

984 History of Dubuque County, Iowa (Western Historical Society, Chicago, 1880), page 892.

985 *The Clayton Co. Journal* (July 30, 1863).

William Boynton was still hospitalized at Jefferson Barracks when his uncle visited from Strawberry Point. Will had been incapacitated with tuberculosis for more than two months and was too sick even for the invalid corps. On July 30th he received a Certificate of Disability for Discharge and was taken home by his uncle.

It had been two and a half months since Henry Howard died at the Big Black. He was survived by a wife, mother, invalid father and three brothers but now, on the 31st, his father passed away. Henry's mother requested a pension but his widow eschewed federal aid and, instead, married one of Henry's brothers.

Oppressive weather continued in the South, commissaries ran out of fruits and vegetables and more and more men became ill despite their relative inactivity. Friends and relatives begged the Governor to intercede with the War Department, the Governor responded and a representative was sent with vegetables and supplies. Thanks largely to the efforts of Adjutant Poole, more than thirty men received medical furloughs to return home. Fever, ague and general debility were common but dysentery was still the major problem. Men who made it home could rest and receive care from family and local doctors, but many also encountered strong opposition to the war.

Dubuque, it was said, had two kinds of Democrats, "*one Loyal led by Judge Clark & Pollock, & one Traitorous & unloyal of whom the Jesuit Mahony is the head.*"⁹⁸⁶ Pollock, who had been suggested for the regiment's colonelcy, stood up to the city's secessionists and for that, was "*hunted & followed with unremitting malice by all the Traitors.*" Copperheads were active throughout the state, especially in the south, especially in Keokuk County. A year earlier the governor had organized a Southern Border Brigade, mostly older men, to guard against rebel sympathizers from Missouri and locals "*whose loyalty is doubtful,*" but numerous groups, some secretive and some not, reportedly including the Sons of '76 and George Bickley's Knights of the Golden Circle who "*spit out and fume their vile venom,*" worked hard to discourage enlistments and encourage desertions.⁹⁸⁷ A recruiting officer was attacked and threatened in Henry County, two Federal agents trying to enforce the draft were murdered in Poweshiek County and a band of fifty-four in Davis County "*abducted a man of color, and carried him to Missouri.*" Calling themselves *Democracy*, some pledged not to support the "*wicked abolition crusade against the South*" and to resist "*the introduction of free negroes into the State.*"⁹⁸⁸ In Ioka, eighty-four men sworn into service in January cheered Jefferson Davis and threatened to shoot the first bluecoat who threatened to make them go. In February, soldiers retaliated, left Keokuk's general hospital convinced the *Keokuk Daily Constitution* newspaper was "*exerting a treasonable influence*" and "*broke up the presses, cast them into the street, from whence the debris was loaded into drays, carried to the river and dumped.*" Members of Iowa's 7th Cavalry cheered Davis when ordered to the Dakota Territory and, on August 1st, copperheads led by "*rough, uneducated Baptist minister*" Cyphert Tally, a believer in slavery as a "*divine institution,*" held a meeting near South English. Inflammatory speeches were made, a large group "*exhibiting butternut and copperhead pins*" rode wagons into town, shots were fired and Tally was killed. A mob

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Hon. Ezekiel Clark was Governor Kirkwood's brother-in-law. H. W. Lathrop, The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood (self-published, 1893), page 142.

D. A. Mahoney was arrested in August, 1862 for "*treasonable utterances, both through his paper and in conversation . . . and was carried off to Washington. . . . He was confined until after the election in November, when he was discharged upon taking the prescribed oath.*" Iowa State Register (August 20, 1862). He was referred to as the "*Prince of Copperheads.*" When the *New York Times* devoted a column to Mahony, the *Dubuque Daily Times* (February 27, 1863) was quick to say the New York paper had betrayed "*thereby a singular misapprehension of the poor creature's importance.*"

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"*The Sons of Liberty, formerly the Knights of the Golden Circle and then the Order of American Knights, was a secret society in the Northwest which opposed the war, and sought to defeat Lincoln and other Republicans. During the summer of 1864 some of the society's hot-heads plotted an armed rising.*" Their oath "*required the adherents to desert with their arms.*" See generally Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998) and Beale, The Diary of Edward Bates 1859 - 1866 (U. S. Government Printing Office 1933). Also see Jimmie Hicks, Some Letters Concerning the Knights of the Golden Circle in Texas, 1860-1861. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXV, No. 1 (July 1961). Some estimated they had cells in every township and a membership of as many as 42,000. Orr Kelly & Mary Davis Kelly, Dream's End. Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War (Kodansha International, 1998), page 90; Hesselstine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 322. A similar Union organization encouraging desertions in the South was the Heroes of America. Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 100. H. W. Lathrop, The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood (self-published, 1893), page 238.

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To combat the problem, the Enforcement Act of March 3, 1863, penalized "*the crime of enticing a soldier to desert, or of harboring, concealing, giving employment to, or carrying him away, or of purchasing his arms by imposing imprisonment for a period of six months to two years and by a fine of \$500.*" Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 208.

intent on burning the town was deterred only when Union men were quickly organized by Lieutenant Henry Downs who was home on furlough, but the "Skunk River War" persisted and Governor Kirkwood found Sigourney "in a state of great excitement" with "ugly, scowling, armed rioters" when he spoke at the courthouse. Viewing the copperheads as traitors and their badges as "emblems of moral treason," the Governor "advised young ladies not to marry them" since, he said, "a man disloyal to his country would be unfaithful to his wife, and besides, he wanted the breed to die out."⁹⁸⁹

On the 31st, Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda, Adjutant Poole, Captain Childs of Company F, 1st Lieutenant Osborne of Company E and 1st Lieutenant Noble of Company H returned from furloughs and Jacob White died from chronic diarrhea. On August 3rd, Darwin Whipple died. Darwin had been moved from Memphis to St. Louis where he was confined in its Small Pox General Hospital. Due to the infectious nature of his illness, his clothing was "all destroyed by order of the Medical Director of the Dept." and he was buried on Arsenal Island.⁹⁹⁰ Darwin was survived by his wife and four children including the four-month-old namesake he had never seen. William Crooke sought leave "for the adjustment of matters of bizness" and Dr. Orr went home to recover from malaria. Taking his place was Assistant Surgeon Hiram Hunt who had transferred in from the 27th Iowa two months earlier and now drew bedding, pillows, fans, cordials, fruits and preserves from the Sanitary Commission.⁹⁹¹

Also granted furloughs were John Rogman, Henry Bollinger, Pat Burns, John Crop who had been in and out of hospitals ever since his enlistment, and Seymour Chipman who had been hospitalized with a severe cold and head pain. As a favor for Myron Knight, Seymour agreed to deliver \$15.00 and a gold pen to Myron's mother. Already at home was James Hill who had barely arrived after his discharge when he received an August 4th letter from Van Anda notifying him that "you are hereby in accordance with the request of the line officers of the 21st Rgt Iowa Vol Infty appointed Chaplain of the 21st Regt Iowa Vol Infty and you will report accordingly." With testimonials from Baptist clergy in Cascade, Davenport and Hopkinton, he was commissioned by Governor Kirkwood on September 23rd to replace Lorenzo Bolles, reported at Davenport to complete the paperwork and in another month would reach the regiment.

Receiving two months' pay on the 4th, men rushed to buy fruits and vegetables that suddenly became very expensive. Onions, said one, were ten cents each, potatoes \$1.25 a peck and apples ten cents each or \$20.00 a bushel, but another soldier found potatoes "from Seven to Nine Dollars per BBL. We can get a four pint tin full for Twenty or Thirty Cts and green apples from five cts a piece or forty or fifty cts a dozen and peaches fifteen to twenty five cts per doz and tolerable good sliced Onion is worth five cts a piece." "Watermelons sells from 75 cts to three dollars a piece," but even at these prices they sold quickly, often to men who resold them for a profit. Expensive or not, George DeHart was sure the city would soon be a "very nice place." "There will be plenty of airholes in the most of the houses," he said, "but I think that will be good for there health and will learn them a little what rebellion will do and help them to cool off."

On August 5th there was a general inspection of arms and an evening dress parade with men marching proudly behind their tattered blue banner. They had been in the field for less, than a year but the flag was torn by bullets from Hartville, Port Gibson, the Big Black, Vicksburg and Jackson. Linus McKinnie spent part of the day writing to the *North Iowa Times*.⁹⁹²

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Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 323, citing the *Davenport Gazette*, April 4, 1863. H. W. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (self-published, 1893), page 142 et seq.

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He was later reburied in the cemetery at Jefferson Barracks.

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Doctors kept records of the medical conditions they treated but, in a postwar affidavit regarding the pension claim of John Valiquet, Dr. Hunt said "there was always more or less of venereal disease in the regiment, but it was thought best not to place or record the fact as long as the men tried to cure themselves." Instead, he reported it as "catarrh, cold, poison or some such light disability" and it was only when he had to turn a soldier's records over to a General Hospital that "he always endorsed the correct disease." This he thought was a common practice among all doctors.

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North Iowa Times (August 26, 1863). At the top of the column, immediately before the letter, the *Times* said, "Letter from Lym. P. McKinnie of the 21st not intended for publication." Linus' surname was spelled McKinne, McKinnie and McKinney in different military records. He spelled it McKinne and McKinnie. The *North Iowa Times* used all three spellings at various times.

On November 17, 1862, he had been detailed as orderly for Colonel Merrill and was still serving in that capacity when Merrill went north after being wounded during the assault at the Big Black River. Accompanying McKinnie's letter, the *Times* said it received a four column issue of the *Vicksburg Citizen*, dated July 2d, 1863, and printed on the "white side of very coarse wall-paper."

Camp in Vicksburg Aug, 5, 1863

Colonel: - My mind has been up in your mountain city this evening, and among the many imaginary friends it met, was yourself. I got up, took a drink, and concluded I would send you a few lines to let you know that I was in the land of the living.

This, I can assure you, has turned out to be a very good place of business since U.S. Grant and his boys as he calls them, came here; there is no grass growing in the streets as was the case when we first came in. The stores are beginning to open up, and in less than one month this place will do more business than it ever did. The people have all taken the oath and are willing to play quit.

This evening I was up in town and met an old friend of mine that has been here for the last six years. He has a tin-shop, and made me the offer of one-half interest in the tools and shop if I would go in with him; but on going to Gen .Grant I found out that I was a soldier and there would be no chance for me as I was now; but if I would get my discharge, or a substitute, that he would grant me a permit and give me all the government work to do, which would amount to a good business of itself, but I am tired down and will have to let it pass on, as I cannot even get a furlough to go home on.

My friend, the tinner, gave me a copy of the "Citizen" that was printed on the morning of the 2nd of July, the last issue of that paper before the surrender; this is a genuine copy.

There are a great many getting sick, and you can hear the death march and the volleys of musketry firing over the grave of some poor soldier. We have not had the pleasure of burying any of our officers yet; when they get sick they can go up the river, and a private has to go to the hospital or —.

Col., do the boys ever take a drink to the health of us poor devils that are down here in this hot place and no ice? If you don't it is time you commenced, and as often as you drink, think to the good old toast, "One Flag, One Country, and swei glass of lager!"

Well, here I must halt! The order has just come to be ready to pack and start for Natchez at a moment's notice; they are bound to send the 21st if it takes the last man, and thank God there ain't but 208 of us reported for duty; the balance are in the ground, or in the hospital having the flesh taken off them before death claims his right to interfere and make them His own.

Have the people of Iowa no interest in the matter that they do not make arrangements to take their own sick home and not let them die in this country away from home? nine out of ten that go to the hospital keep on to the graveyard, and all that can be said to our officers does no good. --

Colonel, if you could have any influence with the Governor, do so, for God's sake, and your labors will be rewarded in heaven. Talk to the people, get them made on the subject, and I think there can be something done yet.

Give my respects to all.

I expect the next place you hear from us will be in Mobile Bay.

Direct to Vicksburg, 21st Iowa 13th Army Corps.

L. P. McKinnie

Despite Grant's recent success and over his objections, Washington decided it was time to break up his army so units could more effectively be sent where needed. On August 7th, George Norris died from lung disease at Vicksburg while the 13th Corps was detached from the Department of the Tennessee so it could assist Banks' in the Department of the Gulf. Van Anda was in command of the regiment and drilled his men for two hours every morning in preparation for their new assignment. With Iowa having approved voting rights for its soldiers, the War Department made provisions for the voting.

General Orders }
No. 275 }

War Department,
Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, August 7, 1863.

By an act of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, approved September 11, 1862, the right to vote for certain State officers is given to Volunteers or soldiers from that State in the military service of the United States, and provision is made for the appointment of one commissioner to each regiment of Iowa Volunteers for the purpose of carrying out this act. It is hereby ordered that all such duly accredited commissioners from Iowa be furnished with proper facilities for visiting the

*Volunteers from that State, and allowed access to them for the purpose indicated.
By order of the Secretary of War:*

*E. D. Townsend
Assistant Adjutant General*

On the 8th, James Russell wrote:⁹⁹³

*Camp Near Vicksburg
August 8, 1863*

Editor Dubuque Times:

New marching orders have been received and our destination is now fixed outside this Department to the one under Major Gen Banks, to report to him when the 13th Army Corps shall arrive at Port Hudson.

The weather has been extremely warm, and sickness of the milder form is more frequent, caused by the scarcity of vegetable rations, none have been issued for the last month, but we hope the worst is over, and that our removal will benefit the patients under medical treatment who are in their quarters. Over thirty of the regiment left his week on sick furloughs to visit their homes, and to the efforts of Adjutant Poole they are indebted for this privilege. No doubt many lives will be saved by it.

Lt. Col. Van Anda is in command and drills the regiment from eight till ten A.M. and our endurance is severely taxed those bright sunny mornings, but like other medical prescriptions must be endured, because its recommended for the health of the troops by our Medical Directors who sit leisurely in the shade watching our movements.

The troops were paid off this week, and many of the boys are buying fruit and vegetables which are very costly. Apples sold, yesterday, for ten cents a piece, twenty dollars per bushel. and were retailed in a very few moments by the boys who engaged in speculation. Onions are now worth ten cents each, and potatoes \$1.25 per peck.

The 21st was on dress parade this evening, and their blue regimental flag indicated to the spectators the rough usage its defenders have experienced. It was literally in rags and pieces with bullet marks of the ever memorable 17th and 22d of May.

Russell

Charles Elliott, Company K, had emigrated from Ireland to Cascade and enlisted as a twenty-three year old private. On Sunday the 9th, he died of from chronic diarrhea.

Traveling home from the 9th Iowa was Squire Mather and from the 21st Iowa John Crop. Squire was on a thirty day furlough. He had contracted chronic diarrhea and his health was slipping. He left by transport but on the way north would be hospitalized at Memphis before eventually reaching Lansing. John, also ill, traveled with him. He carried a letter from William Crooke guaranteeing "*safe passage.*" Soon after reaching home, John died in Newstand leaving a wife and two young daughters. He is buried in Clayton County's Brown Cemetery.

On the 12th, Company K's Reuben Pitcher died at Benton Barracks, Company D's William Garretson on the hospital boat *Nashville* and Company A's Wilson Royce at Vicksburg, all of disease.⁹⁹⁴

Kanute Nelson and William Jackson were sick on the *Nashville*, Jerry Maloney received a thirty day furlough after being hospitalized in Memphis and Vicksburg for chronic diarrhea, and Austrian native John Grutcek received a surgeon's certificate. Previously hospitalized in Houston, John's diarrhea had become violent at Vicksburg and his friend, Othmar Kapler, convinced the surgeon that John should go north. By the time the certificate was issued, John was so weak he could no longer walk and Othmar got a team of horses to take him to the landing and helped carry him onto the boat for the trip north. Only a week earlier, Othmar had been instrumental in helping a fellow German, John Rogman, secure a furlough. Jim Bethard, unable to get a furlough, was waiting for transportation when he wrote to Cal, knowing she would share his letter with her brother who was at home on furlough.

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Excerpt only. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 320.

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Reuben is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery and his name is on a memorial in Upper Bay Cemetery, Delhi, Iowa. William Garretson is buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery.

Vicksburg ..gust

Dear wife

I seat myself once more to write you a few lines It is sunday morning and my regular writing day⁹⁹⁵ it rather a pleasant morning for this country it is warm enough but there is breeze stirring which keeps up a beautiful fogue of dust and every time I shut my teeth I can feel the grit between them I suppose Jim has been at home long enough by this time to begin to feel a little old fashioned again you was no doubt verry much disappointed at my not coming home with him but I hope my turn will come before long although I can make no certain promises ... at all as they say we are transferred to Banks command and are only awaiting transports to take us down the river my health is verry poor but I still keep upon my feet every thing that I eat soures in my stomach in a few minutes and blotes me so that I am in misery all the time if I dont eat more than half rations and it dont seem to make any difference what I eat it all has the same effect but Cal you must not get discouraged I am worth half a dozen dead men yet I do not know whether I could shoulder a peck of brand or not but I believe if they would promise me a discharge ... up courage enough to try it ... place before ... sickness ... it seems to be on the increase I shall do my best to get a furlough as soon as possible for I want to go home in the sickly part of the season if possible I believe if I could get to breathe the pure fresh air and drink the pure cold spring water of Iowa for two or three weeks that I should feel like myself once more I will now say a few words for Jims benefit and quit There has been 5 of our company went home on sick furloughs in the last week They were Jerry Melany. John Rogman. John Grichae. Seamore Chipman and John Crop. Chipman and Crop are not gone yet but their papers are all ready and they will probbably be off to day they say ... sick furloughs not interfere with the ... Major Vananda has got back. and Cap Crook has gone home on a furlough Cap Crooks commission as a major arrived here the day after he left Vananda is Lieutenant Colonel Adjutant Pool is here putting on regular Houston style We had general inspection last week and there was an order issued that every man must have a full uniform suit and all the brass plates that belong on the equipment we have battallion drill two hours every day and dress parade every evening the guard is mounted every morning in as much style as you

CARROLLTON, LOUISIANA (August 13 to September 4, 1863)

Eli Wood, a Corporal in Company A, died of chronic diarrhea on August 13, 1863⁹⁹⁶ while his regiment and most of the 22d Iowa boarded the troop transport *Baltic* at Vicksburg and others boarded the transports *Autocrat*, *B. J. Adams* and *John Raines* and the iron-clad *Diana*. The *Autocrat* was "an ordinary river boat, boarded up and down with heavy planking along and around the sides to protect the inmates from musketry shots from bushwhackers. In the planking, there were cut loop holes or small holes to fire through in case of attack."⁹⁹⁷

The five boats started south about 8:00 p.m. while men unable to travel were left in the care of Assistant Surgeon E. H. Harris who had just arrived from Keokuk. Among them was Myron Knight who borrowed \$8.00 from Abe Treadwell to help cover expenses while away from the regiment and another was Milo Dalton who had been in and

⁹⁹⁵ Jim's letter was written at Vicksburg on the 2nd or the 9th.

⁹⁹⁶ Eli is buried in Memphis National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3175431.

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There is uncertainty about the date. Henry Dyer said it was the 15th.

There is also uncertainty about who rode where. Companies A and F of the 22d Iowa were on the *Autocrat* according to S. C. Jones, but he doesn't mention any other companies of the 21st or 22d. Reminiscences of the 22nd Iowa Infantry, page 47. Jacob Switzer of Company A, 22nd Regiment, said he was on "a marine boat" without giving a name, but it was presumably the *Autocrat* if Jones was correct. *Reminiscences of Jacob Switzer of the 22nd Iowa* (Iowa Journal of History, January 1958), page 37. In editing Switzer's Reminiscences, Mildred Throne referred to the regiment's Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers (State Printer, 1910), Volume III, which indicates the 22d "regiment" embarked on the *Baltic* and concluded the entire regiment, including Switzer's Company A, was on the *Baltic*, an apparently erroneous assumption. The description of the boat which Throne then implies is the *Baltic* is more likely the description of the *Autocrat*. The Roster and Record for the regiment indicates it boarded "transports" (plural) without naming them.

out of hospitals ever since his enlistment. He had worked the past three months as a company cook but now, like so many others, suffered from chronic diarrhea as the brigade moved downstream in oppressive heat.

With heavily loaded supply barges lashed alongside, men saw a “*great quantity*” of cypress trees lining the banks⁹⁹⁸ and passed Zachary Taylor's old mansion at Taylor's Point.⁹⁹⁹ Thirty miles later a Negro drowned when a barge loaded with wagons was cut loose after hitting a snag and springing a leak near Natchez. The *Baltic* and others stopped for a few hours, the barge was towed to shore and the wagons transferred to “*the fleet*” while some of the men went on shore to buy melons. On August 15th, they passed Port Hudson about 7:00 a.m. and Baton Rouge (“*quite a nice looking place*”) about 9:00 a.m. That night they arrived at Carrollton where Camps Mansfield and Williams had been occupied by the North since the previous year.

The state's white population at the start of the war was about 350,000 of which an estimated 56,000 were now in the Confederate army and many others were serving with local home guards. New Orleans' population was about 150,000 including 15,000 to 18,000 slaves and “*a considerable number of wealthy, instructed, able, and estimable persons*” among the 10,000 free colored.¹⁰⁰⁰ By war's end 500 to 600 military engagements would take place in the state, most minor but others, primarily along the Mississippi and in the western rivers and bayous, more significant. Rebels west of the river were still led by Kirby Smith but his command was suffering. Cut off from effective communication with Richmond, he faced a shortage of guns, ammunition and money to buy them. He had cotton for sale but getting it to its destination and meeting contracts were the exception more than the rule. Speculators sold to the enemy. Morale was low. Desertions were high. Many of the Vicksburg and Port Hudson parolees were willing to fight but there were no guns to arm them and, when Richmond tried to get money to Smith through Monterey, Mexico, it was detained for payment of Confederate debts owing to Mexican creditors. More successful was an English schooner with 10,000 Enfields, 2,000,000 cartridges and other supplies that reached the Gulf but had only partially unloaded at Point Isabel when it was captured by a French frigate concerned the arms were intended for Mexico.

On August 15th, Smith met with Southern governors, judges and state representatives in Marshall, Texas.¹⁰⁰¹ Louisiana could give him corn, sugar, molasses and maybe 5,000 to 6,000 men. Texas had four gun factories producing 800 guns per month and could supply 15,000 to 20,000 men plus grain, bacon and beef. Arkansas could add another 8,000 to 10,000 men and more provisions, but Missouri was occupied by the Federals and, at best, might offer a few recruits. Committees were formed and plans were made to resist an invasion but Smith told Davis conditions “*are wearing out my constitution and making me prematurely old.*” To his wife he admitted he was “*restless, dissatisfied - everything (officially) has gone wrong - I am miserable, discontented, unhappy.*”¹⁰⁰²

Samuel Lamb and Edward Goldsmith died on the 16th. Samuel, a young Englishman, died of illness on board the *Nashville* while Edward, suffering from chronic diarrhoea, was on a medical furlough and had almost reached his Millville home when he died in Turkey River.¹⁰⁰³ On the 17th, Michael Lynch, an Irishman in Company A, died. He had been sent north due to illness and died of chronic diarrhea in the hospital at Jefferson Barracks.

In the south, their comrades camped on level land on the outskirts of Carrollton about a mile from the river and pitched their hospital tent amid orange and fig trees. On a bend in the river upstream from New Orleans, the city of Carrollton, incorporated in 1859, had been laid out on the site of the former McCarthy plantation and was now the

⁹⁹⁸ Journal of Matthew F. King, Company H.

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Taylor's 67 year old brother, Joseph, was now serving as Commissary General for the North but would pass away on June 29, 1864.
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The “*free colored*” of New Orleans were “*chiefly of Santo Domingo origin; held themselves altogether aloof from the other blacks, owned numerous slaves, and were the most rigorous masters.*” Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865), page 53. In New Orleans, the “*free men of color*” held a public meeting in April 1861 “*to organize a battalion of black troops for city defense. With officers elected from their own race and sanctioned by the state government, the Native Guards, as they were known, made of part of the First Division of the state militia.*” Christopher G. Peña, Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 40.

¹⁰⁰¹ Elsewhere, August 17th. Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 112.

¹⁰⁰² Clayton E. Jewett, Texas in the Confederacy (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri, 2002), page 189

¹⁰⁰³

Samuel Lamb is buried in Mound City National Cemetery, Mound City, Illinois. Edward Goldsmith is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Colesburg, Iowa.

seat of Jefferson Parish. It had been a popular getaway for residents of New Orleans to which it was connected by a thirteen mile rail line running through neutral ground along St. Charles Street. Started in 1835 with cars drawn by horses and mules, the line was now powered by steam driven locomotives from England that pulled cars loaded with soldiers and civilians through the intervening faubourgs and into New Orleans on *"the crescent bend of the river."* The city had recovered from its yellow fever epidemic of 1853 to become a pre-war international port with:

*"cotton ships, eight or ten deep; a forest of masts, denser than any but a tropical forest; steamboats in bewildering numbers, miles of them, puffing and hissing, arriving, departing, and threatening to depart, with great clangor of bells and scream of whistles; cotton-bales piled high along the levee, as far as the eye could reach; acres and acres covered with hogsheads of sugar; endless flotillas of flat-boats, market-boats, and timber-rafts; gangs of negroes at work upon every part of the levee, with loud chorus and outcry; and a constant crowd of clerks, merchants, sailors, and bandanna-crowned negro women selling coffee, cakes, and fruits."*¹⁰⁰⁴

With gambling, opera, theater and large homes decorated with lush landscaping and wrought iron and cast iron galleries and balconies, wealthy planters and merchants had enjoyed an opulent lifestyle. Street language was French, but the city had an estimated 25,000 Irish and 20,000 Germans. Large crowds watched some of the country's best horses race on the Metairie race course, races frequently attended by Richard Taylor visiting from his home west of the river. Elegant balls, extravagant banquets, bull fights and slave dances in Congo Square (formerly Place des Negres) competed with voodoo and the city's famous Mardi Gras. Here the *Pioneer*, the first iron submarine, was built by the Confederate navy and the *"cocktail"* was invented by pharmacist Antoine Peychaud in a building that would later sell wartime artifacts. Horse drawn steam pumpers were used by five of the city's fire companies. A broad neutral ground separated the old Vieux Carré with its *"ancient looking, narrow streets, and the quaint old buildings with tiled roofs"* from the newer American sector to the immediate west and Carrollton beyond. The city had it all and, said war correspondent Kirkpatrick West, *"the pleasure seeker can find a room, all the whiskey he can stomach and feminine company (such as he might not be able to stomach, but for the whiskey) for ten cents."*

The St. Louis Hotel at the corner of Chartres and St. Louis became a prison for captured Confederates while Antoine Alciatore operated a small *"pension"* across the street. In Jackson Square, the base of Jackson's monument had been damaged by vandals but Butler *"caused to be cut deep into the granite base"* the motto *"originally designed to adorn it"* - *"The Union must and shall be preserved."*¹⁰⁰⁵ Uptown social gatherings centered around Lafayette Square, the St. Charles Theater and numerous churches and hotels. At Canal and St. Charles Streets, starting point for the streetcars to Carrollton, stood a monument to Henry Clay and the five-story white stucco St. Charles Hotel with its stone floors and *"imposing Corinthian portico,"* the same magnificent hotel where Admiral Farragut had made his headquarters after capturing the city.¹⁰⁰⁶ Once the site of slave auctions - where *"Betty aged 15 years, and child 4*

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Parton, General Butler in New Orleans (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1864), page 255. *"The value of shipments from the Crescent docks during the year 1860-1861 was recorded as being \$25 million in sugar and \$92 million in cotton."* Morris Raphael, A Gunboat Named Diana, (Morris Raphael 1993), page 23.

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While giving a toast on April 13, 1830, Andrew Jackson reportedly said, *"our federal union, it must be preserved."* Others, purporting to quote Jackson, said *"the federal union, it must and shall preserved,"* but this, said the *New York Times* (August 8, 1862), was a *"mutilated"* version of Jackson's *"compact, simple, and yet all-embracing sentence."*

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This was the city's second St. Charles Hotel, the first having been destroyed by fire in 1851. *"Within two days a decision was reached, and within a few weeks work was begun. Twelve months later the second St. Charles was ready for business. . . . In these years - from 1851 to 1861 - the St. Charles was the gathering place of the men who made the history of the South. It was in the famous "Parlor P" that Jefferson Davis and a number of the leading public men of the South held an important conference on their way to the Charleston convention. They decided then upon the course which they were to follow in that fateful meeting - a decision which probably led directly to the great war between the states.*

The war found the hotel in a very prosperous condition; it left it bankrupt. In 1862, when the city was occupied by the Federal troops, the manager of the hotel refused to receive General Butler, and the result was that a serious disturbance was narrowly averted. Hildreth was a relative of Mrs. Butler's. He was a man of Northern birth, but had identified himself thoroughly with the South, and was at the time a member of a local military company. Hildreth claimed that he had possessed the hotel and for that reason could not entertain the general. The Federal officials, however, easily settled the question. They took possession of the building, opened it themselves, and ran it as an accommodation for the officers of the army. Mrs. Butler occupied the ladies' parlor. She signified her wish to receive the ladies of New Orleans there, but none of

months, No. 1 field-hand and house-servant, very likely. Fully guaranteed" sold in 1861 for \$1,165 - it was now commandeered for use by Union officers and became the site of receptions hosted by Mary Banks, wife of the general.

From their camp in Carrollton soldiers rode the cars past Faubourg Boulogny, former plantation of Louis Boulogny, and Jefferson City, a town which the last census said had 5,107 residents including 131 "free black citizens," and into the city where Erastus Soper of the 12th Iowa was impressed by "the levees, the city's wide and beautiful Canal Street, with its statue of Henry Clay and other ornamentations, the Jackson monument on the Jackson battlefield of cut stone and brick, and seventy-five feet high, the various crafts, sloops and ships lining the shore, with the various flags and ensigns of many nations, the city's inhabitants, composed in large part of creoles and French."¹⁰⁰⁷

It was all here - Canal Street "perhaps the finest promenade on the continent" with two lanes of trees in the middle, lawn between them and long rows of gas-lights glimmering "through the quivering foliage;" the "French Quarter," more un-American even than the famous German portion of Cincinnati known as "Over the Rhine;" "the most Parisian of American cities. Opera-houses, theaters, and all other places of amusement are open on Sunday nights;" "the great French market" with wares "endless in variety;" Jackson Square, "a delicious bit of verdure fronting the river;" the "ancient cathedral, richly decorated within."¹⁰⁰⁸ "The soldiers here have good times," said Arnold Allen, "for they have nothing to do they can go down to New Orleans whenever they please and have a spree." He heard it was "a fine looking place the finest on the river," but told his sister he hoped for a furlough "to see you all and try what arrangements I can make for mother another year where she will go and how she will make a living I could send money enough to her to keep her if she had any handy place to live where she can have water at the door and be handy to church and everything handy ... give my best wishes to all the good looking girls up there and if they dont like soldiers the soldiers like them any how and they cant help it."

Without cotton, New Orleans had not regained its pre-war commerce, but "there was some life" along the levee, much of the city's "gayety and business bustle" had returned, brandy and wines were the "order of the day," the "far-famed rotunda of the St. Charles hotel again resounded with the noise of multitudinous conversation" and markets were "bright once more with red bandannas and noisy with the many-tongued chatter of the hucksters - Creole, French, German, Spanish, and English," all peddling their wares to the Yankees. Soldiers were far from home but health and morale improved rapidly with rest, better weather and good, healthy food from the hucksters, food that included birds, fish ("you no like him, you no hab him"), lobsters, alligators, oranges, cabbage, onions, "pa-ta-ta-s," and other vegetables and "victuals."¹⁰⁰⁹ "Regular visits were made to the camp by old ladies with cooked provisions such as mashed potatoes, fried eggs, and various other articles of diet" although, for some, "this method of living soon depleted our pocket books." Flour was \$8.00 a barrel, potatoes \$3.00 a bushel, "dry goods and fishes of all discription are tolerable cheap" and everything else in proportion. The camp had "every convenience," the air was invigorating and, to Jim, this was one of the most beautiful places he had ever imagined when he wrote a Tuesday letter to Cal.

Carrollton La

them deigned to respond to the invitation, and Mrs. Butler's receptions were limited for the most part to the wives of the army officers and Federal employees. Ultimately, Butler removed his headquarters to the Twigg's mansion, on Prytania street." John Kendall, History of New Orleans (The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1922), Chapter XLIII.
¹⁰⁰⁷

It's estimated that in 1860 there were 18,000 "free people of color" in the state who, "in New Orleans alone owned \$15 million in property" and their loyalties were split since many "owned and depended on slaves" and the war "threatened their privileged status as a separate socio-economic group." Although more fought for the North, many others fought for the South and loaned money to support its cause. Mary Gehman, The Free People of Color of New Orleans (Margaret Media, Inc., New Orleans, Louisiana, 1994), page 86.
¹⁰⁰⁸

Albert D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and the Escape (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1865).

¹⁰⁰⁹

Farm production, slowed by war and the loss of slave labor, had increased during Butler's tenure when he ordered the paid employment of "persons heretofore held to labor" on plantations of "loyal citizens" southeast of New Orleans. Although recognizing that "legal rights of either master or slave" were beyond his jurisdiction, Butler had required planters to furnish proper food and medicine, limit working hours and refrain from "cruel or corporal punishment."

four miles above New Orleans
August 18th 1863

Dear wife

since my last letter instead of coming home I have moved many miles farther away we left Vicksburg last thursday evening and arrived at this place on saturday night our regiment and the 22nd Iowa came down on the Baltic there was five transports came down loaded with troops at the same time There is a prospect of our staying here for some time and I hope we will for I like the place verry well we are camped on a beautiful green just in the edge of town It is a nice clean looking place and troops that have been here some time say it is healthy the cars run back and fourth from here to New Orleans every hour there are more peddlers here than you could shake a stick at in a week selling every thing that was ever invented in the shape of eatibles allready cooked and dished up in all sorts of ways Sweet potoes Irish potatoes onion fried roasted and boiled soups of all kinds fresh fish sausages eggs fried and boiled bread and butter and milk puddings of all kinds and cakes and pies till you cant rest everything is sold reasonable except eggs you can get two boiled eggs for 15 cents milk is ten cents a pint you can get as much soup or fried potatoes and onions as you can eat for ten cts that is my dish every time It looks more like living here than any place we have been in since we left Dubuque my health is some better than when I wrote you last and I think by being careful about what I eat I will soon come out all right the potatoes and onions and milk are bringing me right up I suppose the furlough business is played out and it would hardly pay to get a furlough from here any how for it would take nearly all the time to go and come and cost almost a years wages if I get my health I shall not ask a furlough I think it is a little curious that you dont get that money Drummond and several others have heard from theirs that was sent with the same package but I hope it is all right

You must not look for me home until the war is over which I hope will be before another summer at least Take good care of yourself and little Ellie and give my respects to all inquiring friends while subscribe myself

Your affectionate husband

James Beathard

I received your letter No 29 yesterday There are several letters here for Jim

While Jim was enjoying their new camp, Company C's Ellis Ellis Ellis died on board the *D. A. January* one year to the day from date of his enlistment at Rockdale,¹⁰¹⁰ Company B's Myron Knight was admitted to a general hospital and Company D's John Jellings was discharged. Ellis had been suffering from chronic diarrhea and is buried in the Memphis National Cemetery. Myron's feet and legs were so badly swollen that he could hardly walk but caring for him was Charles Reeves, a comrade temporarily working as a nurse while recuperating from his own head injury, while John, according to Gilbert Cooley, was "*discharged for deafness.*"

On August 19th, Milo Dalton died of chronic diarrhea on the hospital steamer *City of Memphis*. His personal effects - a cap, dress coat, trousers, two shirts, a pair of shoes, stockings, a blouse, an oil cloth, two blankets, a knapsack, a watch and \$1.90 in cash - were sent to the Quartermaster for storage in St. Louis.¹⁰¹¹ In Washington, the Adjutant General's office issued an order providing that designated privates and non-commissioned officers, already examined and "*declared unfit for further field service, but fit for duty in the Invalid Corps,*" were to be transferred to the corps.¹⁰¹² Included among the hundreds transferred were Joseph Chantro, Samuel Lescher and Andrew Wick of the 21st Iowa.

On the 20th, Knut Nelson, a patient in the Washington U.S. Army General Hospital in Memphis, died from chronic diarrhea. His effects were sent to his commanding officer in Company G. New Orleans' weather was "*very unsettled,*" there was a general inspection and Jim received a letter from Cal while, in Mississippi, the Colonel of the 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry was writing from his post at Redbone Church to an assistant adjutant general in Vicksburg:

"I forward to you under guard Private H. McCaverty 21st Iowa Vol Infy who has been going around the country at the head of a band of armed Negroes. I also send one of the band Daniel White (colored). They

¹⁰¹⁰ He is buried in Memphis National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3154413.

¹⁰¹¹ The site of Milo's burial is unknown.

¹⁰¹² General Orders No. 263, War Department, Adjutant General's Office (08/19/1863).

were taken by one of my scouting parties last evening. They were armed when taken.”

Under arrest, Hugh McCafferty told the Provost Marshal that General McPherson had “*sent him out as a Guard at a House beyond the lines, and that when taken he was in pursuit of a party of Rebels that had seized two Govt. wagons.*” McPherson denied the claim and said he was “*inclined to think that this Private McCafferty is a bad man. I never sent him out as guard, but briefly gave him a pass to return to the house at which he had been staying, his regiment was about to move at the time and he deserves some punishment.*” Hugh was returned to the regiment with a note from the Provost Marshall, “*I send herewith Pvt. H. McCafferty Company 'D' 21st Iowa also some papers in reference to him. I have had him in jail for two days and hearing that your Regt. was likely to leave I forward him to you for such punishment as you may deem proper.*” Despite the general’s suggestion, there’s no indication that Hugh was disciplined and, on his return, it was ordered that he “*is hereby detailed as teamster and will report to Capt. U.S. Constable Chief A.Q.M. 13 Army Corps.*”

On the 21st, Jabez Rogers entered the Keokuk general hospital where he would be treated for the next six months, Englishman Ralph Mullart died in Cairo while on his way home on sick leave and by proclamation of President Davis the South recognized a day of “*fasting, humiliation and prayer.*” Except as absolutely necessary, it was ordered by General Lee that all military duties be suspended and “*divine services suitable to the occasion*” be performed. Farther west, William Quantrill observed the day of prayer by leading 450 followers on a rampage through Lawrence, Kansas, burning, pillaging, killing 150 and destroying \$1.5 million worth of property before leaving the town in ruins.

The Vicksburg campaign had been hard on the regiment, especially on Company I. Captain Greaves had returned home due to injuries sustained in the assault of May 22d, 1st Lieutenant James Hill had resigned for disability and 2d Lieutenant Sam Bates, 1st Sergeant George Anderson and 2d Sergeant Curtis Dean had all died from wounds. Company command fell to 3d Sergeant William Lorimier. In early August he was promoted two ranks to 1st Sergeant while George Moser moved up to 2d Sergeant and Sam Walker to 3d Sergeant, but the company still had no commissioned officer present.

Lorimier and Walker were suggested for promotion to 1st Lieutenant and politicking began. David Greaves was in Dubuque when he recommended Lorimier and Sam Merrill was in McGregor when he seconded the proposal to Governor Kirkwood. Frank Herron had been Lorimier’s commanding officer in their early days with the 1st Iowa. Now he was a Major General with the 13th Corps in New Orleans. He reminded the Governor that Lorimier was the son of Peter Lorimier, one of the Governor’s “*oldest and best friends,*” and “*a gallant little fellow, but is thrown aside on account of favoritism*” and asked, “*for myself and on behalf of his father who has long been one of your staunchest friends that the commission be given him.*” On August 21st, a final appeal came from attorneys in Dubuque who told the Governor that Lorimier’s father “*is one of our most respected citizens and also one of the oldest.*” Walker didn’t have a chance. With rank from the 14th, William Lorimier was promoted another two ranks to 1st Lieutenant but Van Anda, unconcerned with protocol, bypassed Colonel Merrill, said he was not pleased and wrote directly to the Governor about “*my*” regiment:

“I feel very much like complaining about your move of making appointments and promotions in my Regt. and I trust justly too. For instance the case of Wm. Lorimier Co. I No man was more anxious than I that he should receive the appointment of Lt. and when I was at Dubuque a very strong pressure was made upon me to recommend him to you for promotion. But he is altogether incompetent, has not performed his duties as a soldier, and will be entirely worthless as an officer and I could not receive him. I understand he was recommended by Captain Greaves but the Captain had not been with his Co for 90 days and has no right to make a recommendation unless he is in comd. of his Co. Also tho he was recommended by Col Merrill he is not in com’d nor has been for a long time and has not been with the Regt more than a month since July 11, 63 What right has he to make recommendation. The trouble is here. I say to a Sergt. if you do not do your duty better I cannot recommend you for promotion. He says I do not care Col. Merrill is at home. My father has influence and he can get the recommendation of Col Merrill and others and I can get promoted in spite of you. There you see my influence is weakened. They see they need not perform their duties in order to get promoted for all they have to do is to influence their friends at home and they are at once promoted. I would be glad if Col. Merrill would return to the Rgt. or rather would be glad if he was able to return and relieve me of the responsibility for I assure you it is no pleasure to me to take full charge of the Rgt. without the rank or emoluments. But I feel disgraced at the promotion of Lorimier. 1st because he is incompetent 2d he has not earned it when he could and 3d because it has learned the boys that promotion lies in the hands of influential

friends at home rather than in the hands of those in the field who can scrutinize their conduct."

On Saturday, August 22nd, William Gaylord died of dysentery while being treated on the *R. C. Wood*¹⁰¹³ and, in Dubuque, Jacob Seigfried was at home on a medical furlough when he died from consumption barely a one year after his enlistment. George Brownell, having over-stayed his July furlough, visited a Strawberry Point doctor, Clark Rawson. Dr. Rawson was married to George's sister, Caroline, and wrote a letter indicating George was "*slowly convalescing from the Pneumonia but has a bad cough with much expectoration. The diarrhea is very troublesome. His debility is such in consequence of the above mentioned diseases that I consider him unable to return to his regiment at present.*"

In Louisiana, the regiment was examined by Nathaniel Banks whose reviews were often a sight to behold. Wearing yellow gloves to complement his blue uniform and sitting tall on a horse picked for its beauty, Banks was often flanked by a bodyguard of red-fezzed Zouaves in scarlet jackets and white leather leggings.

On Sunday, Jim wrote to Cal and expressed concern he might be assigned to an invalid corps. Created four months earlier, the corps was organized into regiments and companies and composed of disabled officers and enlisted men to perform garrison duty and hospital service as health permitted but Jim, like most soldiers, preferred to be with his regiment and was understandably happy with the regiment's new accommodations.

**Carrollton La.
Sunday August 23rd 63**

Dear wife

I seat myself this pleasant sabbath morning to write you a few lines in answer to your letter No 30 which came to hand last friday morning I am glad to hear that little Ellie is well again I hope her health will continue good Oh how I should like to see the little jade but it is verry uncertain when I shall have that privelage I am feeling some better than when I wrote you last. Our regiment is under marching orders, but when they will go I cannot tell they are liable to be call upon to move at any moment but there is not more than half the regiment fit to go those that are left behind are to be organised into battalions forming an invalid corps for the defense of New Orleans my name is on the list of invalids or convalescents but I hope by the time the regiment moves I shall be able to go with them for I had rather be moving around than laying in one place although I like this place verry well I always feel better on the march than when laying still Where the regiment is to go I cannot tell but it is generally thought their destination is Mobile¹⁰¹⁴

General Banks reviewed the troops here yesterday we muster for pay next monday I have eat none of uncle Sams grub since we have been here we draw nothing but musty crackers and strong bacon and coffee and sugar and that is to strong feed for my appetite in this hot climate there was an order read on dress parade that we were to draw all vegitables necessary for the health of the men but we have drawn nothing in the shape of vegitables yet the officers say our commisaries have not come down the river yet perhaps when they come we will be furnished a mess of potatoes by the comisary I hope so at least it would be quite a rarity indeed there is plenty of stuff here to buy but it rather expensive for a private soldier to buy all his living I suppose Jim is beginning to think about packing his duds to start back which he will not do with so good a heart as he packed them to start home. I hope he has had a pleasant visit Cal aint you glad now that I did not come home with him we would have had a pleasant time but it would have been all kicked over when it came to parting again Let us be patient until this scrape is wound up and we can meet and enjoy each others society once more without the dread of having to part again in a few days With my best wishes for your welfare I bid you good bye for this time

**Your husband
James Beathard**

¹⁰¹³ William is buried in Memphis National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3155840.
¹⁰¹⁴

Jim had probably heard rumors that were not unfounded. Grant had wanted to move on Mobile soon after taking Vicksburg. It would have been "*an easy thing*," he thought, but his request was denied by Halleck. The request was renewed later in July and again about August 1st but again Halleck refused. Grant, *Memoirs and Selected Letters* (Literary Classics 1990), pages 388-389.

With the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Grant had given Banks all the boats, men and supplies he requested. The reorganized 13th Corps, with almost 15,000 men, was headquartered at Carrollton and Dick Taylor's hopes of recapturing the city were gone. Blaming Kirby Smith for restraining him when he had the chance, Taylor withdrew up the Teche while Federals reoccupied Berwick and Brashear City. As Southern morale plummeted, many deserted and returned to their homes in Louisiana or fled to the vast remoteness of Texas where a Tyler resident said *"there was verry little dissatisfactions here untill Vicburge fell, and since that it is nothing strange to hear a man say that he thinks we are whiped."* There was even talk in many counties of holding conventions *"to force the state back into the union."*

The hospital tent was emptied on the 25th when its patients, and some who were ill in quarters, were sent to a general hospital in New Orleans while Matthew King visited a nearby cemetery with its above-ground vaults and *"nicely ornamented"* graves.

On August 26, 1863, Myron Knight, still in Vicksburg, was examined by a doctor. A *"quiet man & very reticent in making complaint of his disabilities,"* he had not sought a furlough but the doctor asked Charles Reeves to tell Myron, *"I have got a furlough for him."* On the same day, in New Orleans, Abel Griffin entered a hospital while George Goodman, William Lyons and John Presho were detached for service in a Pioneer Corps. Leroy Parker, who had been granted a furlough for *"honorable service"* on July 25th, reached Iowa *"much reduced by constant diarrhea and the fatigue he had recently undergone."* Leroy died of *"bilious pneumonia"* while Alvin McIntyre, a Sergeant in Company F, died of disease in Cairo.¹⁰¹⁵

On August 27th, a Surgeon's Certificate was issued authorizing medical leave for Myron Knight. That evening he boarded a boat that headed upstream, reached Milliken's Bend and stopped for the night. Quartermaster Charles Morse, already at home on medical leave, took the opportunity to marry Mary Jane Conger in Dubuque while William Crooke, recently promoted to Major, was interviewed by *The Clayton Co. Journal*.

*"Capt., now Major Crooke, of the 21st Iowa Regiment called on us about a week ago, and in a conversation about matters relating to the military informed us that the report so industriously circulated by the opposition papers of the unpopularity of Col. Stone with the soldiers is false. He says that, to the contrary, Col. Stone is well liked, not only in the 22nd, but also in the 21st regiment. Every commissioned officer of Iowa regiments, with whom the Major has conversed, is enthusiastically in the support of Col. Stone, and in no case would they vote for Tuttle, no matter whether he ran independent or on the Copperhead ticket. The fact is, no one can conceive what an immense hatred of Copperheads exists in the army and any man allied in the least with them will share the curses heaped upon them by the soldiers. Tuttle, by accepting the nomination of the Copperhead Central Committee, and running on their platform, has placed himself on an equality with those opposed to the Union and the government. For this reason the soldiers declare they will not vote for him. From what we can learn of Major Crooke and other army officers we may safely rely on a unanimous soldiers vote for Col. Stone."*¹⁰¹⁶

On the 28th, Robert Mansfield died of a bowel inflammation at Morganza¹⁰¹⁷ while Myron Knight's transport continued north, picked up more of the sick, passed Napoleon in darkness, hit a sand bar and was forced to stop for the night. On Saturday, the 29th, it reached Helena (*"a pest house of every disease"*) about 1:00 p.m. and stopped briefly before continuing, while General Banks watched 40,000 men in a grand review in Carrollton.¹⁰¹⁸

The next morning many attended a nearby Sunday school where their presence was tolerated by most, but not all, of the locals. When *"some of the unadjustable element began to object,"* the church Superintendent asked the soldiers to go elsewhere.

Carrollton. La.

¹⁰¹⁵

Leroy is buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #61521299. The site of Alvin's burial is unknown.

¹⁰¹⁶ *The Clayton Co. Journal* (August 27, 1863).

¹⁰¹⁷ The site of Robert's burial is unknown.

¹⁰¹⁸ Orr Kelly & Mary Davis Kelly, *Dream's End. Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War* (Kodansha International, 1998), page 69.

Sunday August 30th - 63

Dear wife

I am happy to inform you this morning that I am well I feel like myself once more the potatoes onions and sour crout has brought me out all right I received your letter No 31 last week my letters are not numbered anymore because I have lost all run of numbers I am on duty to day my turn comes to go on guard at 12 o clock We had grand review yesterday all the troops here were reviewed by general Banks about 40 thousand tomorrow is general muster day we muster for pay tomorrow there is no more signs of our leaving than when I wrote you before I have heard that our marching orders were countermand but whether this is so or not I cannot tell there is some talk of our going to Ship Island¹⁰¹⁹ I was down to the city of New Orleans last week O Cal how I wish you could visit that place with me you would see the most beautiful scenery that you ever saw you have read discriptions in books and novels of rich and beautiful buildings and yards and shrubery but they cannot begin to present to your immagination the beauties of the scenery between Carrollton and New Orleans I am as contented as a flee in a sheepskin since I have got my health again I should like to see my little family but if my health continues good I shall not ask a furlough unless we get nearer home than we are now I visited the 38th Iowa last week the 38th was at Dubuque when we left there I expected to see Fuller Flemmings but they told me that he never left Dubuque with them I saw Wet Nicholds and several of my old acquaintances from Clermont among whom was Frank Dibble Mr Dibles youngest son the 38th is in the worst condition of any regiment I ever saw there is not one hundred men in the whole regiment fit for duty although they have never seen but verry little real service either fighting or marching Jim Rice is probably on his way here as his time is up but we do not look for him here for several days yet Tell father if he can sell Duke and Lion for something near what they are worth in money or trade them for a wagon or into a piece of land or something that wont eat its head off to let them slide and if not if he wishes to keep them for their work this winter he can do so or let some one else have them who will take good care of them if they have been running on the prairie this summer doing nothing they ought to be fat enough this fall for beef I believe I have nothing more of interest to write this time so kiss little Ellie for me and remember Your husband

James Beathard

George Goodnough, a private in Company D, had been granted a furlough to help him recover from illness. He made it home but died on the 31st¹⁰²⁰ while Myron Knight reached Memphis at daylight. Company B's strength was down to sixty-four. With two commissioned officers, five Sergeants, five Corporals, a Musician and fifty-one Privates, they finally heard from Ambrose Fanning. After being left sick in Houston in January, it was thought that he deserted, but a report was received indicating Ambrose had been detailed for special duty with Hurlbut's heavy artillery at Fort Pickering (about two miles south of Memphis) and for service as a commissioned officer with the United States Colored Heavy Artillery. Carrollton soldiers were mustered for pay, Nelson Reynolds received a sixty day furlough, James Chiles was recovered enough from his thigh wound to work as a company cook and Abel Griffin died of typhoid.¹⁰²¹ The next morning he was buried and his personal effects were inventoried - a knapsack, two blankets, a dress coat, a shirt, a diary, a portrait, four letters, a wallet and \$13.00 cash. The \$48.82 he owed the government would be deducted from his final pay. The balance would go to his wife, five-year-old daughter and eleven-month-old son.

Still heading north, Myron Knight took deck passage from Memphis and reached Cairo about 6:00 p.m. but the train wouldn't leave for another nine hours so he "*bunked down at the depot*" and waited. Already in Iowa, Cyrus McLane, wounded at the Big Black and recuperating at his parents' home, died of his wounds, while Joseph Gilbert, captured at Beaver Creek and later paroled, passed away in Dubuque.¹⁰²²

John Baade and George Purdy started home on thirty day medical furloughs on September 2d, George Dunn was

¹⁰¹⁹ In the Gulf between Biloxi and Gulfport with a partially completed Fort Massachusetts at its western end.

¹⁰²⁰ The site of George's burial is unknown.

¹⁰²¹ The site of Abel's burial is unknown.

¹⁰²²

Cyrus is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, Washington, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #140581472. Joseph is buried in Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #83315516.

sick in Carrollton and Grant arrived in New Orleans to consult with Banks while Myron Knight's journey continued. Paying \$9.25 for a ticket, he boarded the train, reached Centralia about 11:00 a.m., changed cars and rode through the night. The next day he reached Dunlieth (East Dubuque) about 8:00 a.m., crossed the river, had a late breakfast at the Pacific House and paid \$.75 for a train ticket to Earlville. From there he went to Manchester and paid another \$1.00 for a stagecoach ticket to Strawberry Point where he finally arrived about 7:00 p.m., a week after he started. Still in camp on the 2nd, Robert Strane again wrote to his sister, a letter he continued the next day while Jim was writing to Cal.

*Camp at Carrollton, Louisiana
Sep. 2nd/63*

I now take my pen in hand to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well & hope these may find you all in the enjoyment of the same great blessing. I have not received any letter from home since I wrote. But tomorrow is the day of our departure from this & I don't know when I may have the chance of writing again. We are to go in very light marching order, not carry any napsacks, with ten days preparations. Not any of us, even officers, know where we are going, but it is Generally thought that we are going out into Texas. The orders says that when we get there we will find comfortable quarters. We have to carry 40 rounds of cartridges. The weather is very pleasant here, but very cold at night - nights as cold in Iowa as they are here now I think would freeze ice an inch thick. Since we have come to this place the troops have recruited in health a great I know our Regt. has any way & as for myself I have felt or got better, that is stouter & fater every day since we came here. At present I feel very well. I have not had any letter from Wms. since I wrote to mother. All the of your acquaintance is well. James & John Wallace are at N. Orleans today. Geo. Schollian & myself and 2 or 3 more of the Company was down to church last Sabbath day. N. Orleans is a gay city. We expect a mail in tonight. I will not close my letter to see if there will be any letter for me.

Sept 3d 1863

Dear Mother, I have postponed finishing up yesterday on account of a mail coming in. the mail has come and I got a letter from home bearing date August 20th I was glad to get just in time to answer it. I was glad to hear that you were all well and that you were getting along very well with the work. You must all have worked very hard. There is 3 more of our Company going home today on sick furlough. This is the day we were to start but we are not gone yet. Jane wanted to know if our Captain was back yet. I think I've wrote 2 or 3 times that he had got back and fetched my things through all right. Cap. is getting along first rate. he is very free and merry with the boys, and he is also very popular among the rest of the officers. As I have nothing more of importance, I will draw my letter to a close. Nothing more at present from you son & brother

Robert Strane

**Carrollton La
Thursday Sept the 3rd - 63**

Dear wife

this is not my regular letter day but as we expect to leave here in the morning I thought I would write you a few lines this evening they say we are to go from here to a little town call Algiers on the opposite side of New Orleans on transports and there take the cars one hundred miles out into the country and what course we are to take from there I have no idea we take with us 20 days rations 140 rounds of ammuniton to the man and no knapsacks or tents My health is good and I feel fully competent for the expedition I am gaining flesh and strength verry fast my appetite is good and I take a great deal of comfort in eating potatoes onions and saurcrount and drinking Lager Beer I hope the news of my returned health will be sufficient to reconcile your mind to my not coming home on a furlough it is a great pleasure indeed to me to write such news to you as I have been sick so much this summer that I know now if I never did before how to appreciate the blessing of good health

James Rice has not made his appearance yet and as we are to leave here tomorrow morning it is hard to tell when he will get to the regiment he is probably on his way between here and Cairo No more at present my respects to all inquiring friends my love to you and Our little Ellie

**Your husband
James Bethard**

With a menu heavy on hardtack and salted meat (giving rise to the term “*salt horse*” to describe an evening’s entre) and light on fruits and vegetables, scurvy was not uncommon and Jim’s fondness for onions and sauerkraut was helpful in warding off not only scurvy but also many other illnesses related to deficiencies common in the military diet.¹⁰²³

Also writing on September 3rd was Ernst Renner. Born in Germany, Ernst had entered the service as a 1st Sergeant, been promoted to Sergeant Major and then to 2nd Lieutenant but, for the second time, he requested a commission in one of the new colored regiments. Despite a recommendation from his Captain to Colonel Merrill and from Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda to the Governor, the commission was not forthcoming.

**SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA
(September 4 to November 26, 1863)**

A native of Maine, Cadwallader Washburn had served in Congress and started his military career as Colonel of the 2d Wisconsin Cavalry before assuming command of the 13th Corps in Louisiana due to the illness of Ord. Division leaders were William Benton, Francis Herron, Albert Lee and Mike Lawler as they prepared for campaigns into Texas and southwestern Louisiana. On September 4, 1863, Grant and Banks watched as Washburn led his army in a grand review “*in a large field or plain between New Orleans and Carrollton*” known to some as “*Champs de Mars*” and others as “*Camp de Mars*.”¹⁰²⁴ They were “*not to return to camp but to go from the field upon a campaign*” - no “*dress suits*,” no spit and polish. As one said:

*“the old 13th did not Please the Eye of the great Nathaniel Banks neither in their dress nor manners most of our clothes had gone through the two sieges (and they did look some Shabby besides the dress coats of the 19 Corps or in other words, Banks pets) Besides the 13th was composed of all western men they were verry noisy and would fight like the Devil”*¹⁰²⁵

“*Some of the boys have one pants-leg and others are barefooted.*” Many were in shirt sleeves and “*carried their coffee pots, kettles and frying pans with them, and frequently a soldier had a piece of bacon strung on the tip of his bayonet*” causing the ever dapper Banks to remark to Grant, “*those are rough looking men of yours,*” and Grant to reply, “*they are the men who took Vicksburg.*” According to Silas Shearer:

*“Banks says to General Grant I don’t like those men of yours. They have not got Style enough about them. Grant says well General by God if you do not like these men I will take them back. They was not drilled for Style they were drilled to fight and by God they will do it they know how to fight.”*¹⁰²⁶

Daniel Buchwalter recalled “*how the boys cheered Grant and not a whoop for Banks (Report says Grant told Banks there was no better men than the 13 and if he, Banks did not want them to say so and Grant would take them back).*”¹⁰²⁷ Soldiers presented arms and were reviewed by the generals who then started their return to New Orleans

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A scurvy “*diagnosis was made in a total of 46,931 Union troops during the war, but in retrospect it seems likely that only the most florid cases were diagnosed.*” *Scurvy and Chronic Diarrhea in Civil War Troops: Were They Both Nutritional Deficiency Syndromes?* Page 50, Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Inc. (1992).

¹⁰²⁴

Named, perhaps, for a similar large plain, Le Champ-de-Mars, on the left bank of the Seine that served as a parade ground for a military school and where the Eiffel Tower is now located.

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Jerry Frey, Grandpa’s Gone (Burd Street Press 1998), page 74, quoting Cyrus Willford, 120th Ohio Infantry.

¹⁰²⁶

Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996), page 63. In a letter to his brother and sister, Company B’s John Carpenter wrote that “*Banks is a good dresparade general but Grant is a good fiting General. Banks is all fer great stile while Grant is but a comin man among men.*”

¹⁰²⁷

Jerry Frey, Grandpa’s Gone (Burd Street Press 1998), page 74, quoting Daniel Buchwalter, 120th Ohio Infantry.

with Grant riding a "vicious but little used" horse. According to Sam Jones, the horse was startled by a locomotive and "Grant was thrown from his horse and severely hurt. His horse stumbled. We have great faith in Grant and do not believe any of the stories that he drinks." Jones was right (about the horse) and Grant explained it "fell, probably on me. I was rendered insensible, and when I regained consciousness I found myself in a hotel near by with several doctors attending me. My leg was swollen from the knee to the thigh, and the swelling, almost to the point of bursting, extended along the body up to the arm-pit."¹⁰²⁸ Grant would stay in the hotel for over a week "without being able to turn myself in bed" and would then go to Vicksburg to recuperate.

In the meantime, departure of the 22d Iowa was "delayed a short time," but the 21st went to the landing where men boarded transports and were carried downstream to disembark at 2:00 p.m. across the river near the coal depot at Algiers, a town named, at least according to legend, at the suggestion of a soldier returning after a Spanish invasion of Algeria. Originally granted to Jean Baptiste le Moyne, a founder of New Orleans, it was directly opposite and connected to the Crescent City by ferries transporting soldiers to the Algiers depot and goods to and from its warehouses.¹⁰²⁹ Left behind, sick at Carrollton, were Alvin Merriam, Andrew Lawrence, Hugh McCafferty and several others.

Traveling light, with a rubber blanket or shelter tent, blanket roll, canteen, bayonet, musket, ammunition, haversack and rations for only a few days, men boarded cars of the New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad about 7:00 p.m. and traveled west by night.¹⁰³⁰ The line as far as Brashear City had been opened in 1857 but at least three years earlier it was clear "the track would not reach Opelousas as planned." After crossing a 675 foot long railroad bridge guarded by the 91st New York, they stopped a few miles east of Brashear City about midnight of the 4th and camped on the banks of Bayou Boeuf that "swarmed with alligators."¹⁰³¹ While here, Surgeon Orr, who had been "prostrated with fever" and absent for a month, rejoined the regiment.

This had been a quiet, productive part of the Confederacy when the war began, an area of lush cotton and sugar plantations with scenery unlike any the Northerners had ever seen. To the eloquent Confederate general Richard Taylor, owner of a sugar plantation named *Fortune*, "with the sky and temperature of Sicily, the breezes from prairie and Gulf were as health-giving as those that ripple the heather on Scotch moors. In all my wanderings, and they have been many and wide, I can not recall so fair, so bountiful, and so happy a land."¹⁰³² With an estimated 139,000 slaves, Louisiana's 1,291 pre-war sugar plantations had created some of the state's wealthiest planters and provided the entire country with molasses and other sugar products. Its "Creole sugar-planters who held the best of the cultivated parts of the state" had "stood by the Union last of all" in recognition of the benefits they had received from Washington through "possession of the home market for their product, to the utter exclusion of all foreign competition." It was said by a New Orleans' lawyer that "no equal body of men in the South looked upon secession with so much

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Others had different versions - "Grant was riding a fine, unbroken horse that taxed his good horsemanship, particularly inasmuch as he was well fortified with liquor. The spirited steed ... shied at the sight of a carriage and fell to the ground, throwing Grant free. The next officer in line did not see the accident and rode over the unconscious and prostrate general with his horse." Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Louisiana State University Press, 1963), page 294. Another report said it "was solely due to his drinking." Cadwallader, Three Years With Grant p. 117 (Alfred A. Knopf 1955). Another said "his horse ran away with him, dashed against a carriage and fell with his whole weight on Grant's leg." W. E. Woodward, Meet General Grant p. 301 (Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928).

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Generally, see Wm. H. Seymour, The Story of Algiers, 1718-1896 (Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, 1971).

1030

Large Sibley tents were useful but men on the march were better served by the lighter shelter tent, also known as a "pup" or "dog" tent, "just large enough for two men, and so arranged that each man could carry half a tent. When these tents were used it was not necessary to await the wagons before camp could be made." Iowa Journal of History and Politics (January 1918). With "buttons and holes at the edge" and open on each end "so the wind and storm can blow threw them", they were just large enough for "two dogs that occupies one of those kennels" and an entire brigade in shelter tents made "a very nice dog town." Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996) (Mr. Shearer served in the 23d Iowa Infantry).

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Christopher G. Peña, Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), pages 9-11. After crossing the bridge, the rail line arched north and, for a short distance, was immediately adjacent to a similar northward arc of Bayou Boeuf. Peña map, page 222. Crooke was right about the alligators, but had the dates of travel wrong. George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 115-116.

1032

Morris Raphael, The Battle in the Bayou Country (Harlo Press, 1976), page 14, referencing Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction. Taylor had been educated in Scotland, as well as at Harvard and Yale.

reluctance, or were so unwilling to be dragged into it."¹⁰³³ Davis' initial call for volunteers "went virtually unanswered."¹⁰³⁴

Much of the area had been settled during the eighteenth century by French-speaking Acadians, "Cajuns," who named it Terrebonne. It had been in rebel hands until occupied by Federals under Godfrey Weitzel in October 1862 and designated by Benjamin Butler as the District of La Fourche.¹⁰³⁵ Banks had followed Butler and forced Taylor to withdraw up Bayou Teche. When Banks left, Taylor returned but with the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the Federals were back. The area was devastated, there was little left to destroy, residents were tired of all the attention and many still favored the North. Only a month earlier Taylor told them "it is determined to defend to the last degree South and West Louisiana" and, although "last degree" may have sounded ominous, he assured them his forces "are certainly sufficient to repel a new invasion." Relying heavily on conscripts, the effectiveness of the rebel defense was open to question but, said Silas Shearer, "they are under oald Zack Taylors Son and if he takes after his oald Dad he will be a hard nut to crack."¹⁰³⁶ Taylor undoubtedly hoped for the best, but his soldiers were disillusioned, mutinies were threatened, desertions were widespread and new enlistments were almost non-existent.

In nearby Vermilion Bay was Petite Anse Island, also known as Avery Island for its owner, Judge D. D. Avery. Prior to Banks' first invasion, Taylor had discovered a huge bed of rock salt under a brine spring on the island and with slave labor established a mining operation, the oldest salt mine in the country, that supplied Southern troops with salt for seasoning and preservation of meats. Corn, sugar, molasses, beef and salt had been stockpiled and sustained both Port Hudson and Vicksburg when access was possible but now those bastions were lost and commodities were scarce.

Subject to heavy rain and inundated by bayous and swamps overgrown with duckweed, the area was a breeding ground for alligators, wild hogs and mosquitoes - "gallinippers" to the rebels - and now, as rains fell at Bayou Boeuf, Union soldiers were finding the mosquitoes annoying and "of a prodigious size. Our minds naturally revert to Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was a "disagreeable camping ground," said Gilbert Cooley - low and flat, wet weather, land so swampy and unstable it was often called the "trembling prairie" - and "all joined in expressing their disapprobation of this place."

On September 5th, the *Charleston Mercury* editorialized that President Davis "has lost the confidence of both the army and the people" and, at sunrise on the 6th, John Marmaduke, the regiment's foe at Hartville, fought a "very business-like" duel, "pistols at ten paces to fire and advance," with his commander, General Lucius Walker, a nephew of President Polk. Feuding since the loss of Helena, Marmaduke had called Walker a coward, Walker challenged Marmaduke and Marmaduke's second shot proved fatal.¹⁰³⁷

Richard Wright caught up with the regiment after recuperating in St. Louis, but Brad Talcott was AWOL and Jonathan Foster was still at home recovering from his injured arm and a recent lung infection. On September 8th, a requisition was issued by the Provost Marshal asking that Jonathan be given transport on the *James Means* from Dubuque to Davenport at a cost of \$.02 per mile and he was soon on his way back to the regiment.

Camp on Bayou Beff
80 miles west of New Orleans
on the New Orleans Oppolusus and
great western rail road
Wednesday September the 9th 1863

Dear wife

once more I find myself seated with pencil in hand to write you a few lines to let you know that I am still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of tolerably good health We came down to New Orleans on transports last friday and came out to this place on the cars on friday night arriving here about twelve o clock at night we are expecting to leave here tomorrow for parts unknown we have been expecting to leave every day since we have been here we may go tomorrow and we may not go for

¹⁰³³ James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (Mason Brothers, New York, 1864). pages 253-254.

¹⁰³⁴ Christopher G. Peña, *Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District* (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 46.

¹⁰³⁵ Now "Lafourche."

¹⁰³⁶ *Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer* (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996), page 54.

¹⁰³⁷ Orr Kelly & Mary Davis Kelly, *Dream's End. Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War* (Kodansha International, 1998), page 64.

a week I do not like the country here at all it is low flat and swampy and the water verry poor we would be glad to get Mississippi water to use in preference to the water we get here the bayou on which we are camped emties in to the gulf of Mexico the water is tinctured with salt the tide here ebbs and flows with the tide of the gulf we get water for cooking and drinking from the dikes along the side of the railroad there is some talk of our going from here to Galveston Texas but there is no telling where we will go you cannot expect to get letters regular while we are on this campaign I have no knapsack to carry writing material I have no extra clothing with me at all except one blanket not even a change of shirts when my shirt gets dirty I will take it off and wash it and put it on again as I have done before the 13th army corps is all here under command of general Washburn we are beginning to look for James Rice he has not come yet

James Beathard

Jim's speculation about Texas was premature but not unfounded. More than a year earlier Benjamin Theron, French consular agent in Texas, had written to Governor Lubbock asking his thoughts on "*re-establishment of the old Republic of Texas*," in essence, Texas secession from the Confederacy.¹⁰³⁸ New York's *Post* speculated the Texans would invite French protection rather than submit to the Union and "*there will be strong inducements for the French to accept*." After the fall of Vicksburg Grant and Banks had urged a combined movement against Mobile but were overruled by politicians increasingly pressured by Union refugees from Texas (most notably former Congressman Andrew Hamilton) and concerned about vigilantism, the designs of the French and movements in Mexico. Hoping to establish an empire in the west, Louis Napoleon captured Mexico City in June and overthrew Benito Juarez. Ferdinand Maximilian was installed as Emperor and would reach Mexico with his twenty-three year old wife, Belgian Princess Charlotte - "*the beautiful Carlota*" - in May.¹⁰³⁹

Washington was worried that Texas might be next on Napoleon's agenda and, on July 24th, Lincoln decided he could wait no longer. He told Stanton "*no local object*" was "*more desirable*." Seward urged "*the immediate occupation of Galveston*." Gideon Welles asked if Indianola might be better and Halleck asked, "*Where is Indianola?*" On August 9th, Lincoln told Grant that "*re-establishing the national authority in Western Texas as soon as possible*" was essential. He was convinced a high profile on the Gulf coast would discourage the French and closing Texas ports would hinder the ability of the Confederacy to receive needed arms and supplies.

Banks was instructed to "*plant the Union flag in Texas*" with permission to choose his own objective "*at Galveston, at Indianola, or at any other point you may deem preferable*." With Federals from Vicksburg and Port Hudson, his initial expedition would include four gunboats and 10,000 men on eighteen transports sailing from New Orleans under Major General William B. Franklin. On September 8th, they bombarded enemy works defended by Richard Dowling at Sabine Pass on the Louisiana-Texas border but, faced with well-directed return fire by Dowling's band of forty-six Irishmen, the expedition ended in disaster with two gunboats lost, three badly damaged and 350 men taken prisoner.¹⁰⁴⁰ To Confederate Major General "*Prince John*" Magruder who had long been fearful of such an invasion, this was a "*brilliant victory*," a "*gallant achievement*," "*the most extraordinary feat of the war*" To Horace Greeley, Franklin had "*the distinction of being the first American General ... who managed to lose a fleet in contest with land batteries alone*."

It had now been a year since the regiment was mustered into service with a complement of 985 men, officers and enlisted. After casualties at Beaver Creek and Hartville and during the Vicksburg Campaign, and with many lost to chronic diarrhea, typhoid, measles and other ailments, it had only 670 still on the roster and many of those were on furloughs, in hospitals or otherwise unfit for service.

¹⁰³⁸ Carland Elaine Crook, *Benjamin Theron and French Designs in Texas During the Civil War*. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly (The Texas State Historical Association, Austin, TX; April 1965), page 432.

¹⁰³⁹

"What effect this might have in France is not known, but it is thought by some papers that it might induce Louis Napoleon to recognize the Southern Confederacy." The Clayton Co. Journal (July 16, 1863).

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Elsewhere it is written that Franklin had 5,000 infantry and Dowling opposed him with six cannon. Goodwin, *The Most Extraordinary Feat of the War*, Civil War magazine (October 1995), page 53. Also see Frazier, Cottonclads! The Battle of Galveston and the Defense of the Texas Coast (Ryan Place Publishers 1996). Another author references forty-five defenders and six guns opposing 1,500 men on twenty-one ships of whom two gunboats and 300 men were captured. Jo Young, *The Battle of Sabine Pass* (The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, April 1949).

On September 10th, John Farrand received a sixty day furlough pursuant to a surgeon's certificate, Jacob Swivel recommended promotion of Andrew McDonald from 2nd to 1st Lieutenant in Company E,¹⁰⁴¹ and Jim received a letter from Cal advising that her brother's return from furlough had been delayed by illness. The day was hot and many of those not on duty explored the waterways in canoes and sailboats before receiving news late in the day that they were again under marching orders.

The next morning, September 11, 1863, reveille was at 3:30 a.m. and the regiment advanced six miles - past orange groves, sugar houses and fine plantations, deserted except for Negroes and "the female portions" - to the east bank and south end of Berwick Bay where Godfrey Weitzel's Union gunboats patrolled the waterways and rebel pickets waited on the west bank.

Three years earlier, Dr. Walter Brashear had divided his Tiger Island plantation in St. Mary Parish into lots incorporated as Brashear City (now Morgan City) but an unimpressed New Yorker said it had been "dignified with the title of city, but it is in fact, a poor specimen of a squalid southern village, containing not more than three hundred people in time of peace." It was, in the words of a contraband, a town that had been "borned and hadn't growed" and consisted of storehouses, a dozen closely built frame houses and another dozen along the bayou. Its depot was a shipping point for crops and other goods although an embankment had already been built on the opposite side of the bay for an extension of the railroad north to Vermilionville (now Lafayette). At the western terminus of the eighty mile railroad from New Orleans, it was "protected" by an unfinished earthwork originally intended to prevent an invasion from the Gulf and it was here that Robert Strane wrote to his father and Jim wrote to Cal.

Camp at Breazure City
Louisiana Sep 12th AD 1863

Dear Father

Your letter of the 26th Aug't came to hand this afternoon which I read with pleasure and was glad to know that you were all well. I have not been in very good health for a while, though I am still able to get around. In the forepart of the week for two or three days I was greatly afflicted with a pain in my side. This past couple of days it has not bothered me. I am not very strong yet. I have a very poor appetite for eating & consequently I am not very strong. I am also bothered a good deal in my bowels at times. We left Carrollton this day a week - we came down the river to Algiers and took the cars and came out to within 27 miles of here and we was there till yesterday morning, when we was ordered up here. We are camped about 1/2 mile from town right close to the bay. The water in the bay is salt so we can't use it for cooking or drinking so we have to use rain water. Sometimes we get it out of cisterns & sometimes we catch it off our rubber blankets while it is raining, as our rubber blankets is all the tents we have. As I said in my last letter that we would not be allowed to bring our tents nor napsacks along neither, we did. They say our things are all locked up in a warehouse in N Orleans. You said in your letter that mother wanted me if my health was not well to apply for a furlough. I might apply & apply again & that is all the good it would do me. I aints sick enough to get a sick furlough. The weather is very pleasant here with the exception of a squall we have pretty near every day. It will be clear and shining nice & in half an hour the rain will be pouring down in torrents. We have plenty of oranges here & we can get them for less than 10 cts apiece. Too, we can get just all we want by going to the trees and knocking them off & they are first rate too. And there is sweet potatoes - here to any amount of the, but I ain't very fond of them. But the greatest dish we have here & the plentiest too is salt water crabs. A fellow can just go to the edge of the water & catch all he wants for a mess in 5 or ten minutes. Some of them will weigh over a pound, and they are real good too. I suppose you have seen them in the salt water.

I have not got a letter for a week from Wms., but James Wallace got a letter from Robert today. They are all well & they have moved their camp to Memphis. Well, this is a kind of a George Schollian is writing a letter home I suppose, though he has not got one from home for 3 weeks. I get my letters very regular. The boys are all well - next thing you will hear of us out at Galveston, Texas, I expect.

Your son Robert Strane

Brasher City La

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Jacob's letter was dated at Brashear City on September 10, 1863, which conflicts with other records indicating they didn't reach Brashear City until September 11th. Either could be accurate, since soldiers often misdated their letters. Gilbert Cooley's diary says "we marched to Brashear City" on the 11th.

September the 13th 1863

Dear wife

I received your letter No. 32 yesterday and was of course glad to hear from you I am sorry to hear of Jims illness I think it is curious that he has that diahrea so much at home after having his health so well in the army it was lucky for him that colonel Merrill was at Mcgregor to give him leave to stay ten days longer if I was in his place I would never start to the regiment until I got well there is not one of the boys that went home while we were at Jackson back yet If Jim is there yet tell him they have got Warren Bramen at New Orleans he got a furlough last spring and forgot to come back again I understood that he was caught in Illinois We have moved about 4 miles since my last our camping place is no better nor worse than the other only the musketoos are worse they are so thick it is almost impossible to sleep nights my health still continues good I am growing stouter all the time I have got an appetite equal to a thrashing machine we have been trying to fish some here but with rather poor success the fish are too large for our lines they take our hooks as fast as we can put them on and that is rather expensive for the hooks costs ten cents apiece and the lines 50cts Six of us put out a trot line which cost \$3 about three days ago and we have caught one fish large enough to make us a mess and lost about half of our line and hooks

I am glad you found sale for Duke and Lion for they were getting no better and would have eaten their heads off this winter \$75 was as much as I expected to get for them

There is a small force of rebels a short distance from here on the other side of the bay they have ordered us away from here several times since we came but their orders have not been respected and they have made no move toward enforcing the order yet what the strength of their force is I do not know I have heard it was 18000 but I have no idea they have any such force as that if they had they would not allow us to lie here so quietly for I dont think our force here would exceed 9000 If Jim does not start til you get this I should like to have you send yours and Ellies likenesses by him I think by the way it would be as little as Jim could do to write to me at least once while he is at home

Your husband JB.

The Iowa State Fair was held in Dubuque from September 15th to 18th while, in the South, Ord resumed command of the Corps on September 15th. On the 16th, Andrew Hannah returned from furlough and Dudley Shipton died from pneumonia.¹⁰⁴² On the 17th, Mathew King noted that "*Charley Morse, our Quartermaster has returned to the Regiment.*" Jacob Swivel also returned and Jasper Delong was promoted to 7th Corporal in Company I.

On September 18th, George Penhollow was granted a furlough from the Carrollton convalescent camp to go home to try to regain his health while returning from furloughs were William Warner and John Rogman who joined the regiment at Brashear City. Still in transit from St. Louis, Jonathan Foster was promoted to 4th Corporal.

Meanwhile, the regiment was enjoying its brief stay at Brashear City. Men "*saw porpoises, ate sea food, and drank salt water part of the time.*"¹⁰⁴³ Good drinking water was scarce but fish, crabs and oranges were plentiful and New Orleans' oysters could be purchased for \$1.00 per hundred. Taylor warned Smith the Federals were coming but there was little Smith could do other than tell Taylor to use his best judgment and be guided by the circumstances.

On September 20th, Arthur Nichols, John Lett and Albert Mabb returned from furloughs and Jim wrote to Cal.

Brashear city La
Sunday September 20th - 63
Dear wife

another sabbath finds me enjoying good health and writing to you. you will see by the date of my letter that we have not moved since I wrote you last. there is some talk of our leaving here tomorrow but it is only camp talk and it is uncertain when we will leave or which way we will go when we do leave I received two letters from you this morning and one from Jim I am sorry to hear of Jims ill health but he is lucky to be at home in such a time I am glad to hear of yours and Ellies good health I was somewhat discouraged some time ago when you were writing so much of Ellies ill health Oh how I should like to see the little jade but she wouldnt know me from a side of sole

¹⁰⁴² Dudley is buried in Memphis National Cemetery . Find-a-Grave Memorial #55010079.

¹⁰⁴³ Jerry Frey, *Grandpa's Gone* (Burd Street Press, 1998), page 74.

leather you almost make me homesick when you speak of her in your letters of her being fat and mischivous I have all kinds of imagination about how she looks. Cal can she talk any and does she understand that she has got a dad away off somewhere who is thinking of her every day I suppose if she does, she dont mourn his absence much Cal you must be sure and send me hers and your likeness when Jim comes for the one that I have is almost spoiled by carrying it in my pocket and the one that I brought from Dubuque I got broke all to smash in the rear of Vicksburg¹⁰⁴⁴ You spoke in one of your letters of sending me some potatoes and other things to eat if you are going to load him down with any such stuff as that I rather you would send onions instead of potatoes the potatoes would be verry exceptable but I would rather have one pound of onions than two of potatoes but it is not of much use to send either for if the regiment should be away from railroad or river transportation which it is verry likely we shall before he gets to us he will not be likely to carry any such thing as potatoes or onions verry far on foot the boots would be verry exceptable as we expect to march through a swampy country but they can be bought almost if not quite as cheap in new orleans as they can in Iowa As for clothing it is of no use to burden Jim with anything in that line as the government furnishes clothing cheaper than you can buy it there and of a better quality I would rather wear woolen shirts than cotton. Socks would be that most acceptable of anything in the clothing line that you could send

No more at present but
remain your
affectionate husband JB

With his letter to Cal, Jim enclosed a separate letter for his brother-in-law.

Brashear city
September 20th - 63
Mr. J. M. Rice

Dear brother

I take my pen in hand to answer your letter which came to hand this morning I am sorry to hear of your ill health but you are better off there than you would be here I suppose you have heard that Leroy Parker was dead he died at home we received the news this morning by a letter that Mr Warner received from home Able Griffin is also dead he died in the hospital at carlton Old man Warner and Johnny Rogman arrived here last friday evening Johnny Rogman John Gruchac Jerry Melony John Crop Semore Chipman went home from Vicksburg on sick furloughs Old Braman is in jail at New Orleans he was caught in Illinois near Chicago George Purdy and John Badee went home from Carrollton on sick furloughs Lieut Lions John Presho and George Goodman are detached in a pioneer corps John Ferrand has also gone home on a sick furlough

Jim there are three letters here for you one came this morning from Westport. N.Y. and think from the hand write it is from Lib I thought of sending it to you but you may start before this reaches you so I have concluded to keep it here until you come I spoke to Lyons about your surgeons certificate and he says he has nothing to do about it I have just been and seen the Colonel (Vananda) he says he received your certificate but he cannot renew your furlough but all you have to do is to come on as soon as you are able and bring a surgeons certificate with you

I am as hearty as a buck and getting fat and stout we have some cool weather for the last three or four days the nights are cool enough to sleep comfortable under a woolen blanket all the time Jim Cap Crook went home before pay day and your money could not be drawn consequently Charly Robins and James Chiles remain unpaid they are not in a hurry for the money but if you are not likely to return soon they want your note in order to have the thing all straight and safe providing any thing should happen that you should not return at all the regiment is in tolerably good health that is what there are of them here our company are in good spirits and we would all be glad to see you back here with us once more for my part I am as contented as a flee in a sheepskin I have give all idea of going home on a furlough It seems that those who went home on furloughs have fared worse for health than those who stayed Jim when you come bring me some calamus root¹⁰⁴⁵ I believe I will send libs letter at

¹⁰⁴⁴ The photograph was probably an ambrotype, common for the day but produced on glass and highly susceptible to breakage.

¹⁰⁴⁵ The aromatic calamus was often used to ease pain or relieve flatulence.

a venture as I have no way to take care of it here Write soon and often

James Bethard

Myron Knight was also still at home where, during the early morning hours of the 22d, his twenty-five year old brother Judson passed away. Myron attended the next day's funeral, a sermon was preached and the family returned home while Myron visited a surgeon seeking a certificate to extend¹⁰⁴⁶ his furlough. Quartermaster Charles Morse, only recently returned from medical leave, resigned on the 23rd due to disability. Back in Iowa, he would return to civilian life with his bride of one month and enter the real estate business in Grinnell.

With Colonel Merrill still in McGregor recuperating from his wounds, Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda wrote to Governor Kirkwood and recommended Frank Dale to replace Morse, but Jacob Swivel, Captain of Company E, wrote to the Governor and recommended regimental wagonmaster John Platt. Major Crooke, Surgeon Orr and ten other line officers signed a petition also recommending Platt. Further support came from Merrill who obviously recalled Van Anda's earlier criticism regarding William Lorimier's promotion, "*I am informed by one of my Captains that my Q.M. has resigned & his resignation accepted. I write to say that I desire John Platt appointed to the vacancy. He is a soldier of superior ability & honor. Lt. Co. Van Anda may nominate some favorite of his.*" Van Anda wrote a second letter to the Governor and said he would "*leave the matter with you but I cannot change my former recommendation.*" Effective October 12th, John Platt received the promotion to 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster.

After Banks' first invasion of Louisiana Governor Moore expressed concern about disloyalty of his citizens - "*demoralization of the people at home from various causes is very great.*" Moore was correct. Swamps were full of "*runaway conscripts*" and now the Federals were back. At eighteen years of age, Jonathan Dazey was a farmer and lifelong resident of St. Mary Parish when the Yankees arrived and, on the 24th, became the only Louisiana recruit, and only recruit born in and still living in the South, to join the 21st Iowa. Enrolled as a Private in Company D for a full three year term, he was awarded the regular \$100.00 bounty although, with a little foresight, he might have waited another few days when the bounty would be tripled.

On the 24th, with Merrill, Greaves, Quartermaster Charles Morse, Captain Jesse Harrison and Captain Elisha Boardman all having been absent for more than sixty days while recuperating from wounds or illness, the War Department, at the request of Lieutenant Colonel Salue G. Van Anda, ordered their dismissal from the military pursuant to General Orders No. 100. Charles Morse had already resigned, but the other four immediately sought, and would soon receive, reinstatement.

On September 25th, Warren Bramen was still under arrest when he was returned to the regiment, Tim Hayes and Elkport resident James Chiles were suffering from ague (a recurring ailment marked by fever, chills and sweating) and an Elkader doctor said Elisha Boardman's disabilities were such "*as utterly to unfit him for the varied duties pertaining to his office.*" On Saturday, September 26, 1863, Linus "Line" McKinnie wrote to the *Times*:

Brashear City, La.

Sept. 26th, 1863

Eds. times: - Once more the North Iowa Times is spread out before me like the rich trinkets of some Dutch pedler, and I can assure you that it will always be a welcome visitor in company G. We hope its present proprietors may live long and die game.

Perhaps you would like to know how we got down in this country, it is easily accounted for, when once understood! You see this war has turned out to be another Florida affair, and as blood hounds are a scarce article, they have taken the 13th army corps for that purpose! You can bet (small) that if there is a rebel in this neck of woods, he has got to come out and fight or throw up the sponge.

We left Vicksburg on the Marine fleet the 13th day of August, expecting to do guard duty at Natchez, but the next morning we passed the city like "the rich man passed Lazeras,"¹⁰⁴⁷ the poor man on Lake St. Chicago (I think it was.) Paying our salutes to the gunboats that are doing guard duty along the river, and not stopping until we arrived at Carrollton, at which place we remained until the 4th of September, when Gen. Grant came down and reviewed us, turning us over to Gen. Banks, taking a receipt for the same. After standing around in the hot sun for some three hours for the different Aid's to show the metal of their steeds (which I will here state were not of the Arabian stock,) we marched 3 times regularly around the parade

¹⁰⁴⁶ Judson was buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery, Strawberry Point, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #151305820.

¹⁰⁴⁷ The reference was apparently to the Bible, Luke 16:19-31.

ground. And the first thing you humble servant knew we all had tickets to cross the river to Algiers, and from there we had a pleasant ride on an open train, amid waggons, mules and camp equipage to this place which is distant from New Orleans 87 miles. Brashear City is situated at the confluence of Bugo Buff [Bayou Boeuf] with Burwick Bay. The country can best be described by taking a green oil spread and spilling a cup of water on it - it is so cut up with Bays and Bayous, but with all this city has been quite a place of business, it was the terminus of the New Orleans and Sabine Railroad and there was a regular line of steam ships connecting it with the Texas coast, making it a much nearer route from Texas than around by the Balize. The water of the Bay is salty and unfit for use, the tide sets up here and we all most think ourselves on the sea board, in fact we are only 18 miles from the Gulf and every day the oyster men come up the Bay, ladened with the fresh, which can be had at the moderate price of \$1,00 per hundred. The country also abounds with lemons, oranges and other topical fruits. the principle fishing is sea crabs, which to see the shells laying around camp one would think it was quite a business. It takes some nice calculation to trap crabs; the first place you take a piece of meat, no matter which kind, tie it to a string, then you have a net in the other hand, take up your position on the trunk of some old tree or on the edge of some treacherous rock, cast out the line and you sooner or later have your victim after the meat; you draw in gently until near the top of the water, then with the other hand you sink the net under him and commence raising (two to one you don't fall in!) you have him gobbled up. It is a common think to see the boys come in to camp, wet from head to foot but never without the crabs, with after boiling for a few minutes are fit for the table.

There are camped at this place two army corps, (the 13th and 19th) some of which are crossing to the other side of the Bay, and from there we will have to take up our line of march to Texas. The inhabitants say that we will have good roads all the way and plenty of fresh water after we strike the Atchafalaya; be that as it may, the 19th army corps takes the advance and the "pole," they can walk; the 13th army corps can "coon," the understanding among the boys is that we play second fiddler in this affair, and I hope the dance will not last long, and that we may all get back home before bedtime and dream of the many pleasant times we have had soldiering, forgetting the many scenes of carnage we have had to pass through. The weather has been very pleasant for the last few days, although the nights are rather cool for health and already you can see the fevered and sallow eye on many of the boys that were healthy when we left New Orleans. Chills and fevers is all we have to fear now, and we have a six mule load of quinine along for the 21st own benefit and a Doctor that knows how to put it up for family use. The routine of medical practice in the army is bluemass, castor oil, cocktails and quinine! The 21st has present for duty 246 men, and when she leaves here there will most likely be some left in hospital. There are some coming back every day from furloughs, looking as fat and healthy, as though they met with good treatment at home, and it is laughable to see how the boys will gather around them to hear the news and with mouth and ears open, drink in every word that falls from the lucky one's lips. I have been in the mines of the Rocky Mountains when it was announced, "A life woman in the mines!" And have seen men run fit to break their necks to catch a glimpse of some fair Rebecca, that had vowed to die and be buried in the land of her husband's adoption, and the scene is only equaled by the return of some furloughed soldiers to the regiment, and the rich store of information that he brings with him, but invariably they all come back "Tuttle men," and the men that have been denied that right at home, "to a man" are for the same. So that those that wield the Rod can take either horn of the dilemma they choose.

We are all anxiously looking for Colonel Merrill, hope he may soon come, and once more take the helm of the 21st and bring it around all right again. The camp this evening is full of rumors, such as the fall of Sumter, Charleston, Chattanooga, bread riot in Mobile and, lastly, Houston's proposition to withdraw his troops from the field and welcome us with outstretched arms to his dominions! I expect Houston will do this, but if you look at the "arms" you will find "Enfield" or "Springfield" stamped on them, and some are so heavy (artillery) that it will take "Eight" horses to enable them to shake hands with us! "And of such is the Kingdom of heaven!" If any one asks you where the 21st is please tell them you dont know, but that it is to the last point of land looking for the "last ditch," and at the same time keeping an eye on LaBelle France on the Rio Grande, if she comes out barefooted we can administer a few of Lincoln's never failing pills (put up 10 in a paper) warranted to cure all diseases of disloyalty or ambition the patient may be afflicted with. These pills were taken by the rebs. at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Black River Bridge and the Vicksburgh - at the latter place it took 47 days of administration of them before they fully operated, but a very fine evacuation followed. Now follow the 13th Army "corps" and (I fear) you will see it played out also.

You may soon look for the Western troops to stand like the big angel in scripture with one foot on the land

and the other on sea and cry with might voice, "What in ___ are we all fighting for?"¹⁰⁴⁸ Then will come the true proposition of the duel - "Aggrandizement of Property!" The first thing we know we will wake up amid pompous parades and Military Despotism! for already have rights been denied to soldiers which exigencies did not require and which for cruelty would make the history of Herod "blush"! At Vicksburgh we were all promised we should go home under the "Furlough Act" - the grave of Bob Pettys and many others along the shore will tell to Gen. Banks and others of the Vt. and Ill. Central R.R. that they have lied.

Linus P. McKinnie,
Co. G, 21st Iowa Infantry

P.S. - I have tired hard to get to send some of our sick boys home, but they have died - four in number, viz: Pettys, Daniels, Knud Nelson and Goldsmith - all McGregor boys; and how we have sick, John Burch and others who have been brave and efficient soldiers. Lieut. A. Stewart now in command of this Co. (and has been since Tim left,) is managing business as it should be.

"Line."¹⁰⁴⁹

The next day, Linus wrote to Tim Hopkins who had been discharged in January. The letter was published by the *Times* a month later:¹⁰⁵⁰

Line McKinnie writes to Tim Hopkins from Camp Brashear, La., Sept. 27th. In speaking of the death of Robt. Pettis, the 25th of August, Line says: "The mention of "BOB" among us causes a gloom and sadness to fill the hearts of all, which time can only wear off as but few possess the peculiar character for familiarity that he did"¹⁰⁵¹.

Tim, I want you Democrats at home to stand by Gen. Tuttle. The 21st is O.K., for him - It seems odd for me (a Republican) to vote a Democratic ticket, but I am going to do it this time by ___!

Tel Col. to send me a gilt-edged Democratic ticket - I have seen too much trickery in the army to vote for Stone." Just ordered to Texas.

From Brashear City they took two small steamers across the bay to Berwick, then in ruins, marched two miles north along the bay's west side and Jim wrote to Cal.¹⁰⁵²

La
Camp on Burwick Bay
Sunday Sept the 27th - 63

Dear wife

another sabath morning finds me in the enjoyment of good health and making my regular weekly report to you I have received no letters from you since my last I shall look for one by the next mail We have moved across and about two miles up the Bay since my last to you We expect to start on a long march before long but how soon I cannot tell it is the opinion of some of our officers that we will

¹⁰⁴⁸ The reference was apparently to the Bible, Book of Revelation, Chapter 10.
¹⁰⁴⁹

Linus' letter to the *North Iowa Times* was published on November 4, 1863, thirty-nine days after it was written. His deceased comrades were Thomas Daniels and Edward Goldsmith both of whom died on August 16th, Knute Nelson who died on August 20th and Robert Pettis who died on August 23rd, all of chronic diarrhea.
¹⁰⁵⁰

The letter was published in the *North Iowa Times* (October 14, 1863). William Stone, Colonel of Iowa's 23rd Infantry, would soundly defeat General James Tuttle in the fall election. The military vote reportedly went strongly for Stone (16,791 to 2,904). Samuel H. M. Byers, Iowa in War Times (W. D. Condit & Co., Des Moines, 188), page 263. On April 15, 1865, Stone would be present when President Lincoln was assassinated and would help carry the wounded President across the street from Ford's Theater.
¹⁰⁵¹

Robert Pettis, a McGregor resident serving as a private in Company G, died in Memphis on August 23, 1863, of chronic diarrhoea.
¹⁰⁵²

Linus' letter of the 27th was dated at Camp Brashear and said they were "just ordered" to Texas. Jim's letter of the same date referenced their camp on Berwick Bay. Since others also referenced Berwick on the 27th, it's possible Linus wrote in the morning before they moved to Berwick (or that Linus wrongly dated his letter).

lay here for 10 days we are waiting for the whole army corps to get up so as to move all together the 19th army corps is ahead of us and will march ahead of us in the impending expedition and they say if we are called into a fight it will be after the 19th army corps has been whiped they think that the 13th has blowed over them a little too much and they are determined to show us that they can march and fight as well as we can the 19th is composed of eastern troops and the 13th are all western troops O Cal how I should like to be up in old Iowa and go to church with you to day and drink out of fathers spring once more the water here is worse if possible than at the last camping place the water seems to get worse every time we move I wonder that we are not all sick but the regiment what there is of them here are in better health than they have ever been since we left Missouri I dont know why it is so unless it is on account of bathing in salt water and getting the sea breeze We get plenty of sweet potatoes by going out and digging them which is a great addition to the grub department¹⁰⁵³

I would like to know how Jim is this morning he must be verry lonesome since Lib has gone if he is there yet tell him that Dick Wright is here with us as full of the old Harry as ever Warren Bramen is also here he came to us night before last I dont know whether they are going to do anything with him or not William Boynton is at home discharged Tim Hayes has got the ague this morning Jim Childs¹⁰⁵⁴ has also got the ague I am on guard to day I am on the 3rd relief and will go on at 12 o clock I have no cloths with me except what I wear on my back we have shelter tents which we carry on our backs each man carrying half a tent a half tent is about as heavy as a rubber blanket I believe I have nothing more of any importance to write at present so good bye for this time

Your affectionate husband JB

Cal I send you this little card and verses to take care of because they are getting worn out and spoiled by carrying them in my pocket

Jim referred to competition, very real competition, between eastern and western troops (the "*clodhoppers of the prairies*") both wanting to demonstrate they were better fighters, faster marchers and more accurate shots. The 13th Corps was referred to by some as "*the most lawless, undisciplined and predatory troops in the whole army,*"¹⁰⁵⁵ a reputation, deserved or not, that many were proud of as they tore down fences, stole oranges, shot chickens and raided sugar warehouses but "*strict orders were issued against foraging*" and they risked discipline if caught. In one such instance, General Lawler ordered that the guilty "*be marched up and down the whole front of the Brigade all day from sun up to sun down, each carrying a log weighing fifty pounds or two carrying a log weighing one hundred pounds.*" The sentence was carried out under supervision of sympathetic company officers who "*winked and turned away*" when told the obviously undersized logs were of the specified weight. The clodhoppers had "*a good deal of bad blood*" with both the New Englanders of the 19th Corps and with residents as far as forty miles out where cavalry scouts talked to inhabitants who expressed "*widespread consternation at the news of the 13th Corps, or 'Grant's men,' being here.*" The 21st and 22d had competed against each other marching into Ste. Genevieve but quickly united when competing against army regulars or volunteers from the east.

On Sunday, the 28th, the division was reviewed by Ord and Pat Burns, Jonathan Foster and Henry Bollinger returned from furlough. On arrival, Henry entered the hospital for treatment of fever and chills and a stoppage was placed on Jonathan's pay. Essentially a payroll deduction to reimburse the government for personal travel or the loss of federal property, a stoppage of \$2.20 (\$.02 per mile for 110 miles) was for Jonathan's travel from Dubuque to Davenport and another \$.62½ for travel to Memphis and \$.62 for lost ordnance. Robert Strane wrote to his sister.

Breashear City, Lou
Sep. 28th A.D. 1863

1053

"The greatest thing the soldiers found to eat in this country was sweet potatoes," said Jacob Switzer. "We lived on them entirely for a long time. The country abounded in large fields of them and we had all we wanted for the digging. The great dish was sweet potatoes boiled, then sliced and fried in pork fat and bacon with flour gravy. The only butter we had for our sweet potatoes was purchased of the sutler in sealed cans." Iowa Journal of History and Politics (1958).

¹⁰⁵⁴ James R. Chiles.

1055

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 117, referencing "a soldier's correspondence."

Dear Sister Eliza J.

I once take my seat to answer your kind letter which I received 3 days ago bearing date Sep. 10th. I was sorry to hear of the sudden death of Mrs. Enver, though from her long delicatemp it was hardly unexpected. I sympathize with them in their bereavement. Mrs. Envers was undoubtedly a good woman. I think she is well that she has left this sinful world. Her death should be a warning to the rest of us - we don't know whose death we may hear of next. James Envers has had bad luck since he has been in Iowa. I hope he may do better where he has gone. Eliza J., your history of that young man Mr. Bean was truly interesting. I am afraid a bad misfortune has happened to him, though I must say or I think himself was entirely innocent of it - his mother was very foolish for insisting on him to stay away from his Regiment - though furlows are often turn out in that way. At least we have had some such cases in our own Company. You say you think a furlough would do me a great deal of good, & that I would be a welcome visitor. I am well aware of that, but when I can't get one, there is no use bothering about it. If I keep my health as well as I am now care about one at present. Since writing home last we have made one little step on our way Texasward - We have crossed over the bay and come a mile and a half out from the landing. We don't know for certain when we will go farther. There is a report in circulation today that we are to leave day after tomorrow. This is not confirmed, but it is very likely we will start before long. Our Army Corps is all across the bay & the 19th Army Corps is started on ahead. This is very pleasant day - there is a very good breeze blowing & it is cloudy & threatens rain. Another of our boys came back from being home on furlough 2 nights ago. I expect you will know him - it was James Stephenson, the black haired man that helped Lloyds to thresh the time we boarded the hands. He was wounded at Black River through the leg. He was at Memphis till he got a furlough & went home. Stephenson makes a very good soldier. We have to use very bad water here. We used water out of a big hole dug in the ground until yesterday. Co. H & our company dug a well, but the water ain't good in it yet. We draw flour & soda now & we bake pan cakes most every meal & I tell you we have got that we can bake pretty good ones. I wish you seen us bake some & taste some of them (we put in plenty of soda). George Schollier is rather delicate. he has quit the fifing and beats the base drum. James & John Wallace are well. John has been fined \$8.00 for to help to pay for a barrel of whiskey & some other things that was taken out of the Corps Commissary one night he was officer of the guard. James was on the same night & he was fined \$1/2. It is to be kept out of their wages. You will please not circulate this last. If you have not sent me some stamps lately, I wish you would.

from your brother
Robert Strane

The regiment remained at Berwick where men spent much of the 29th huddled in thin shelter tents while rain poured. "Cooking fires were out of the question"¹⁰⁵⁶ and James Hill, "much beloved and respected," assumed his new duties as regimental chaplain. Ahead of them, Kirby Smith authorized his chief Quartermaster to call for 3,000 Negroes to be organized under white superintendents. "This is as near a military organization as I dare venture upon" he explained, but cautioned there were to be no confrontations unless chances for success were good. Commanders should resort only to delaying tactics, lengthening Union supply lines and, if required, make a stand in the valley of the Red River.

To determine Banks' intentions, men under Thomas Green attacked a small band of Federals from the 19th Iowa and 26th Indiana at Mary Sterling's Botany Bay plantation on Bayou Fordoche six miles from Morganza during a daylong rainstorm on the 29th. Sending 468 prisoners to Camp Ford, Green decided the enemy was headed for Texas but was unsure whether they would go directly west or try a route up the Red River toward Shreveport. In fact, Banks had given William Franklin, now commanding the 19th Corps, authority to determine his own route and Franklin was undecided.

On September 30, 1863, the *North Iowa Times* reported (erroneously) that the 21st, 22d and 23rd regiments were still at Vicksburg. Instead, they were suffering in Louisiana where the rain continued for three more days, camp life was difficult, many were sick and Henry Bollinger, who had enlisted as a new recruit when the regiment was in Missouri, died in the regimental hospital of "congestive chills." His personal effects were sold and the proceeds sent to his wife.¹⁰⁵⁷ Also sick was Archibald Stuart. Only recently promoted to 1st Lieutenant in Company G, he too was

¹⁰⁵⁶ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 116.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The site of Henry's burial is unknown.

suffering from “*congestive chills*” but was well enough to be sent to a convalescent camp in Carrollton.

Jim learned of Milo Dalton's death and James Adams learned his sister had died in Hardin. General Warren was still in the east but, by October 1st, the *Journal* was able to report that “*Gen. Fitz Henry Warren has been ordered to Gen. Banks, and sails for New Orleans immediately.*” In less than two months Warren and the 21st Iowa would be together in Texas.

The country was now more than two years into an unexpected war and it was increasingly difficult for the South to produce adequate supplies of gunpowder. Production required sulphur, charcoal and potassium nitrate, niter or saltpeter. Northern manufacturers received saltpeter from India and nitrates from Chile and stockpiles were growing but Southern nitrates came mostly from caves in east Tennessee and northern Alabama. Many had been lost to Union occupation, a Niter and Mining Bureau was established and, to supplement remaining caves, the Bureau resorted to a more primitive process. Pits two feet deep were filled with carcasses, manure and vegetable matter. Putrid water and organic liquids were sprinkled over decaying compost and eighteen months later, after occasional mixing, the soil was put in hoppers and drained with water from which niter was then recovered. Stray dogs provided many of the carcasses which led to the remark that “*Soldiers using this powder are said to make a peculiar dogged resistance.*” Communities throughout the South were urged to develop niter beds and Jonathan Harlson was named Superintendent in Selma. A newspaper advised women that Harlson would be around to pick up the contents of their chamber pots.

Rebel Gun-Powder

The ladies of Selma are respectfully requested to preserve all their chamber lye, collected about their premises for the purpose of making Nitre Waggon with barrels will be sent around for it by the subscriber
John Harlson
Agent Nitre and mining bureau

Even Southerners made light of the practice and circulated various versions of off-color poetry, one of which Jim got from a Confederate prisoner and sent to Cal, telling her “*the above extract appeared in the Selma (Ala) Sentinel of Oct 1st 1863 and the following impromptu shortly afterwards was quietly circulated.*”

John Harlson! John Harlson!

*you are a funny creature
You've given to this cruel war
a new and curious feature
You'd have us think while every man
is bound to be a fighter
The women (bless the pretty creatures)
Should be put to making Nitre*

*John Harlson! John Harlson!
where did you get the notion
To send your barrels round the town,
to gather up the lotion
We think the girls do work enough
in making love and kissing
But you'd now put the pretty dears
to patriotic pissing.*

*John Harlson! John Harlson!
Could'nt you invent a neater
Or less immodest mode -
of making your saltpetre
The thing's so queer, you know:
gunpowder-like and cranky
That when a lady lifts her skirt*

she shoots a bloody yankee.

“The original of the above,” Jim said, “was taken from the person of a rebel prisoner and may therefore be considered genuine.”¹⁰⁵⁸

In the fall, six Russian warships anchored in New York's harbor,¹⁰⁵⁹ Russian surgeons visited New York's Academy of Medicine, doctors from France, Spain and England toured Bellevue, and the Federal government offered bounties of \$300.00 to men who would enroll for a full three year term. Cal's brother, nineteen-year-old Robert Rice, was working as a saddler in Grand Meadow when he enlisted in Iowa's 9th Cavalry and Jim wrote another letter.

**Camp near Burwick
Friday, October the 2nd 1863**

Dear wife

this is not my regular writing day but as we expect to march tomorrow I will write you a few lines to day I received your letter No. 25 yesterday evening which found me well We have just had a three days rain and we were not sorry to see it for we should have suffered for water if it had not come when it did the rain water which we dip out of the puddle holes is delicious compared with the water we were using before the rain It is clear today the sun shining bright and the air feels fresh and pure There has been a good many taken sick this week the complaint is mostly ague and diarrhea I suppose it must be on account of the bad water that we have been using

I am sorry to hear of Squiers sickness but I am glad to hear that he is at home among his friends where he can be taken care of It seems that those that did not go home on furlough have had their health better than those that did for nearly all that I know of that went home either had a spell of sickness at home or were taken sick immediately after they came back

Tell Jim we got the news yesterday evening of Milo Daltons death we left him sick on the hospital boat at Vicksburg I dont know whether he died there or whether he had been sent up the river Henry Buliger of Company G was also buried yesterday he had been at home and just returned to the regiment the first of this week he died with the congestive chills John Foster and Pat Burns of Co. G arrived here the first of the week Lieutenant Drummond received a letter a day or two ago from Brad Talcut he is at home yet he has had a hard spell of sickness but was getting better when he wrote Perry Dewry is also at home yet Jabe Rogers was sent up the river sick before we left Vicksburg and I have not heard from him since I have forgotten whether I spoke of John Crops Death in my last or not he went home from vicksburg and died shortly after his arrival at home I have not seen or heard of George and Sterling since we left vicksburg I do not know where the 9th regiment is

Cal I feel sorry for your sore nose and hope it will be well before this reaches you I hope I never hear any worse news from you than that James Adams of our company from Hardin received the news yesterday evening of the death of his sister We got the news here yesterday that Rosecrans had been partially defeated and had fallen back on Chattanooga I hope he will be able to hold out until general grants reinforcements reach him and then he will be all right¹⁰⁶⁰ we have had no news from the eastern department for a long time I guess the war must be played out there

well I believe I have nothing more to write at present so good bye for this time Kiss little Ellie for

1058

A similar version of the poem appears in Thomas P. Lowry, M.D., *The Story The Soldiers Wouldn't Tell. Sex in the Civil War* (Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA; 1994)

1059

Publicized by Washington as a show of solidarity with the Union, the warships *Oslyabya*, *Varyag*, *Vityaz*, *Alexander Nevsky*, *Almaz* and *Peresvyet* were actually seeking a safe haven while their government negotiated with France and England "on the Polish question." The next Russian warships would not visit New York for another 130 years.

1060

Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland had been defeated by Bragg at Chickamauga ("River of Blood") in September and only heroic action by George Thomas had saved it from destruction. Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga, Bragg occupied Lookout Mountain to the south and Missionary Ridge to the east, and Rosecrans was besieged but relief would come from Hooker's Army of the Potomac and Sherman's Army of the Tennessee.

me right slap in the mouth if it wont hurt your sore nose

Your affectionate husband

James Beathard

In Washington on October 3d, President Lincoln issued a proclamation inviting "*citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea, and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set part and observe the last Thursday of November next, as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens.*"

In Iowa, starting his return from sick furlough, William Logsdon took the *James Means* from Dubuque to Davenport while, in the South, John Presho, Alonzo Fuller and Jacob Haindel were among the sick who returned to Carrollton and Jesse Watson, Alexander Lawrence and Willie Brown rejoined the regiment. The regiment broke camp and became part of a long column marching on muddy roads along the Atchafalaya River and Bayou Teche - past broken wagons, dead mules and a burned out rebel boat - and through Patterson where soldiers admired homes surrounded by orange trees. The first day was cool, but clear, and they covered about twelve miles following the line of the new railroad embankment while advance units seized the Acadian/Spanish village of New Iberia and Willie, General Sherman's nine year old son, died of typhoid in Memphis. After capturing Jackson, Sherman had allowed his wife and four oldest children join him but would "*always deplore my want of judgment in taking my family to so fatal a climate at so critical a period of the year.*"

On the 4th, the regiment covered twelve miles and saw large plantations and fine buildings "*laid to waste*" by the "*cruel hand of war.*" In Centerville they passed a home flying a British flag "*for protection*" and that night pitched tents next to a large sugar mill on the edge of Franklin and enjoyed a sermon by James Hill.

On the 5th they were on the road by sunrise, passed through Franklin, a town Matthew King thought was "*the prettiest town I have seen in the South,*" and covered twelve miles. Apparently unaware of the prior week's order discharging David Greaves, a special order was issued at division headquarters providing that David be "*released from arrest and ordered to duty.*" He was, however, to stand trial as soon as possible and a military commission was convened, issued its findings and ordered that David be restored to his former commission without penalty.

On the 6th, the regiment received two months pay and was on the road by 6:00 a.m. accompanied by a steamboat moving up the bayou. They passed a house, this one flying a French flag for protection, saw large cotton fields and covered twelve miles over high ground before stopping at noon five miles from "*Newtown*" (New Iberia).

On the 7th it rained in the morning but cleared in the afternoon and Peosta resident Ebenezer "*Nezer*" Gilbert rejoined the regiment as it enjoyed a day of rest.

**Camp on the road between
Franklin and Newtown La¹⁰⁶¹
Wednesday. October the 7th 1863**

Dear wife

as Lieut Drummond says there is a chance of sending out a mail this evening I will write you a few lines We have marched 4 days since since I wrote to you last week making about 12 mile a day we camped at this place about noon yesterday and the talk is that we are to lay here 3 or 4 days or a week we are within about 5 miles of Newtown which they say is a handsome little town of about 2000 inhabitants the talk is that there is about 3000 rebs eight miles ahead but I doubt that verry much for there is always rumors of rebs ahead when we are on the march. The country we have marched through is the richest country I ever saw (or has been) it has all been cultivated in large plantations and sugar seems to have been the principal crop there is a large sugar mill on every plantation and some of them contain I think I may safely say as much one thousand hogsheads of sugar and molasses till you cant rest I saw one man slip through the floor as he was walking between the sugar hogsheads and he went into the molasses up to his A-s he was a sweet looking object when he came out as you would naturely suppose I could not make any guess at how much molasses there was there but I should think there was almost enough to set McGregor all afloat the building was about three times as

1061

Franklin had been founded by Pennsylvanian Guinea Lewis in 1800, named for Benjamin Franklin and, due to its strong Union sympathies would not be harmed by the Federals.

large as Len Frys barn and under the floor all over the whole thing was vats about three feet deep full of molasses We get plenty of sistern water on the road and oranges till you cant rest my health is verry good I stood the march verry well it made me quite sore but that was no more than I expected after laying still so long Tell Jim if he is there that Will and Charley Robins have both got the ague Frank Farrand has also got the ague today This is a verry good country for jayhawking we get lots of hogs sheep and chickens and geese and Muscova ducks and sweet potatoes I believe I will not write anymore at present as they say there is no chance of sending it away

By now the Federals were greatly extended, progress was slow and Taylor's cavalry made strategic strikes at vulnerable points along the column. Their hit-and-run tactics caused Franklin to over-estimate their strength, he ordered his men to close up so cavalry and infantry could better support each other and one of his soldiers remarked, "our generals, who made war according to rule, were disgusted with the irregular tactics of the Confederates, who played swordfish to the whale."¹⁰⁶² Another said the harsh terrain:

"made for excellent staging areas for Confederate guerilla warfare on Union occupation forces. Staging their raids from the swamplands of southern Terrebonne Parish as well as those swamps and marshes in other regions of the district, bands of guerilla fighters often harassed their Yankee adversaries. Suddenly appearing from nowhere these Southern patriots inflicted what damage they could upon the unsuspecting Union soldiers. Then just as quickly they disappeared back into the untraceable wetlands before there was time to mount a counter offensive."¹⁰⁶³

On the 7th and 8th, a convention organized by Annie Wittenmyer was held in Muscatine. A widow, Mrs. Wittenmyer had long been active in soldiers' aid societies and witnessed the growing number of orphans. At her suggestion the convention approved a proposal for a Soldiers' Orphans' Home with the first facility to be in Farmington.¹⁰⁶⁴ It was also on the 8th that Andrew Lawrence caught up with the regiment as it rested in camp, men foraged for chickens and sweet potatoes and *The Clayton Co. Journal* reported:

"Discharged. - From the Dubuque Times we learn that Col. S. Merrill and Capt. Elisha Boardman have both been 'honorably discharged from Sept. 25th, on account of physical disability."¹⁰⁶⁵

Thomas Cooper died of dropsy on the 9th and the regiment resumed its march, passed the 1st Brigade and heard heavy cannon fire on the left. Passing St. Martinsville and some of the most beautiful prairie Matthew King had ever seen, they captured five prisoners and camped late while Banks watched as his advance captured Vermilionville (Lafayette) in the very heart of Arcadiana, an area settled by French Acadian farmers after their expulsion from Nova Scotia.

*Beautiful is the land, with its prairies and forests of fruit-trees;
Under the feet a garden of flowers, and the bluest of heavens
Bending above, and resting its dome on the walls of the forest.
They who dwell there have named it the "Eden of Louisiana!"*¹⁰⁶⁶

On the 10th, they passed through a deserted village and over ground where the 19th Corps had skirmished the previous day, saw the signal corps stringing new telegraph lines and finally, after twenty-one miles and two days of

¹⁰⁶² T. Michael Parrish, *Richard Taylor. Soldier Prince of Dixie* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁶³ Christopher G. Peña, *Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District* (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 6.

¹⁰⁶⁴

Annie would later become President of the National Woman's Relief Corps.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *The Clayton Co. Journal* (October 8, 1863).

¹⁰⁶⁶

Evangeline, by William Wadsworth Longfellow. The epic poem tells the fictional story of a young woman who was expelled from her Canadian home by the English on the evening of her wedding and who is now searching in Louisiana for Gabriel, her betrothed, who was also expelled.

marching, crossed a pontoon bridge and camped along Vermilion Bayou near Vermilionville. Myron Knight, still at home, received the letter Abe Treadwell had mailed from Berwick. Tim Hayes, sick with ague, was with a convalescent corps. Salue Van Anda recommended Charles Brugh for promotion to 1st Lieutenant and William Barber was listed as a deserter. Like many others, William had overstayed his furlough but, after five months, was finally well enough to go south. On arrival he was hospitalized and, again like most others, reinstated without penalty.

The 11th was Sunday. “*Divine services*” were held twice during the day but William Crooke was sick and returned to New Orleans. That night it rained hard and the next day the 1st Brigade was placed under arrest for “*depredations on the citizens.*”

The 13th was election day and soldiers cast their ballots for governor while their comrade, George Penhollow, was at home in Mallory Township when he died from chronic diarrhea. On Wednesday, October 14th, Jim wrote a rare weekday letter, erroneously dating it the 13th.

**Camp on vermillion bay La.
Wednesday October 13th 1863**

Dear wife

**I received your letter No. 36 yesterday I am sorry to hear of your affliction with your arm I think there is something rong about that matter in Jims arm for there were several of our company vacinated with the same and they nearly all had trouble with their arms and some of them are not fairly over it yet We have made two days march since I wrote you last we stoped at this place last saturday to wait until the team went for supplies we will probbably start on again in a day or two the general impression is that we have . . . march ahead of us yet our advance are skirmishing with the rebel scouts every day the rebs are on the skedadle but it is thought that they will make a stand at sabine pass I am glad to hear that Jim has got well and returning to the regiment Colonel Merrill quarter master Morse cap Boardman of Elkader and cap Graves have been mustered out of the service on account as I understand of there being too many officers for the number of privates in the regiment I believe I have nothing more of importance to write at present So good bye for his time Your husband
JB**

A month earlier Merrill had recommended John Platt to take Morse’s place as Quartermaster “*that the right man may be secured,*” but Van Anda had not been idle. On October 13th, he wrote his own letter to the Governor enclosing “*Special Order No. 429 from the War Department honorably discharging Col Merrill Lt Morse Capt Harrison Capt Boardman and Capt Greaves of my Regt.*” He didn’t object to Platt’s promotion but said, “*as regards myself, I doubt very much whether I could get mustered as Colonel. Still I would like the command if we are consolidated or filled up or the orders should be changed I could then be mustered as Colonel.*”

On October 14, 1863, Elisha Boardman started his return to Iowa, the *North Iowa Times* carried a notice from Postmaster Willard Benton (formerly Captain of Company G) listing letters uncalled for at the post office and Adjutant General Baker wrote to the Governor about the Quartermaster appointment.

*“Col Merrill asks that no appointments be made until the results of efforts to restoration are answered. What shall I do? Special Order 429, War Department, honorably discharges Col Merrill, Qmaster Morse, Capt Harrison, Capt Boardman, Capt Greaves. Since then Capt Greaves has been restored. It strikes me that Merrill was very hastily dismissed.”*¹⁰⁶⁷

On the 16th, James Russell, one of the ambulance drivers captured at Port Gibson, was exchanged and free to return to the regiment and Myron Knight wrote a reply to Abe Treadwell. On the 17th, James Logsdon, who had been discharged for disability in January, was married in Dubuque and on the 18th Jim received letters from Cal and Jonathan.

On the 19th and 20th, pursuant to special orders from headquarters for the defenses of New Orleans, soldiers in the Carrollton convalescent camp were organized into battalions with Tim Hayes, Jonathan Foster and John Presho assigned to the 2d Company of the 1st Division of Convalescents of the 13th Army Corps. Jim was on picket on the 19th while many not on duty gathered sweet potatoes and other “*good things*” before going out on picket. Washburn

¹⁰⁶⁷ Quartermaster Charles Morse had already resigned, but the other four would be reinstated to their commands.

resumed temporary command of the Corps and by October 21st Franklin's advance had taken Opelousas and Kirby Smith counseled an anxious Taylor to "restrain your own impulses" to attack the Federals.

**Camp on Vermillion Bayou La
Wednesday October the 21st 1863**

Dear wife

I received your letter No. 37 last Sunday evening and also one from Jonathan at the same time written the same day he was well when he wrote he is at Bridgeport Alabama

I am glad to hear that you are well and that Jim has got able to return to the regiment he ought to be pretty well on the way here by this time I should like very much to see him and talk with him about the upper country and the people of Northern Iowa I am very anxious also to see the pictures that you spoke of sending by him although I would much rather see the original but that is too good to talk about that will only do to think of in my dreams of future better days which I hope to see by the dawning of another spring although I may be disappointed in that as I have been before you will see by the date of my letter that we have not moved since my last and there is no more prospects of marching now than there was then I understand that our brigade has been assigned the duty of patrolling the road from here to a little village and military post about 80 miles back if this is the case we will not go any farther and at present at least and maybe not at all we have a very pleasant camping place where we are and plenty of good spring water which is a rare thing in this country we go on picket by regiments our regiment was on last Monday and Monday night no prospect of any fighting here although the 19th Army Corps are skirmishing with the Rebs almost every day ahead of us. The pay master was around last week and paid off the regiment but I did not draw my pay as I had enough for spending money I thought it would be safer in the hands of the government than anywhere else so I just let it run along to be drawn at some other time my health is still good I am as hearty as a bear

my respects to all inquiring friends and my love to you and Ellie

**Your affectionate husband
James Beathard**

The 22d Iowa left on the morning of October 22nd and the 21st was under marching orders, but the orders were changed and they stayed in camp on a cool, cloudy day while their absent Colonel Merrill wrote to Adjutant General Baker:

Your 14th rec'd. My Q.M. has resigned & resignation accepted. I nominated John Platt for the vacancy & hope he is the one referred to in yours as having been appointed. He has worked most faithfully as wagonmaster on common soldiers pay. I promised him the position long ago in case of vacancy. Captain Boardman returned to duty over two months ago & is the coolest & bravest man in my regiment. Capt. Harrison is brave & daring, but is aged & really unfit for foot service but is very anxious to be restored & then if unable to perform resign. For his gratification having been so faithful & wounded, I would recommend his restoration. I am daily improving & will be ready to report for duty as soon as ordered to do so. I can ride horseback with but little difficulty & by the time I can get down to my regiment will be all right.

Then, he added:

I learn by Q.M. Morse that we were reported by Van Anda as 'absent without leave' & that Gen. Thomas who was there at H.Q. returned the application 'disapproved' as not coming under Gen. Order No. 100. Van Anda then made application to War Department direct as absent over sixty days & still unable to return & asking that Order No. 100 be enforced. He doubtless needs a few lessons in military etiquette.¹⁰⁶⁸

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"Officers of volunteers who are absent from duty on account of disease contracted before they entered the service will be immediately mustered out. Those who have been absent for more than sixty days on account of wounds or disease contracted in the line of their duty, and who are still unable to return to duty, will be reported to the Adjutant-General of the Army for discharge, in order that their places may be filled by others fit for field service." General Orders No. 100, War Department, Adjutant General's Office (August 11, 1862).

At Vermilion Bayou, the regiment spent a “*very cool*” 23rd of October guarding a bayou bridge in heavy rain, Myron Knight received a surgeon's certificate to extend his furlough in Strawberry Point and George Brownell reached Davenport's Camp McClellan after being arrested as a straggler by the Provost Marshal.

On Saturday, the 24th, Calvin Penny, a private in Company B, died in St. Louis. His body was shipped to Mound City for burial while Franklin's advance was several miles north of Opelousas and nearing an ambush set by Taylor who had positioned artillery and cavalry in woods and ditches.¹⁰⁶⁹ When a “*well-dressed matronly looking lady*” rode by yelling at Southern soldiers to “*come on and let us whip the darned Yankees,*” they charged out of hiding and the Federals withdrew. The skirmish was minor but worried Franklin who weighed his options. Foraging had become difficult, his troops were spread out, his superiors could furnish no more cavalry and he was unsure of enemy strength now hovering “*on all sides.*” At Opelousas he received a surprise message from New Orleans and learned for the first time of Banks' movements in the Gulf. Franklin was to make “*as much show as possible*” so the enemy would “*regard the movement in your direction as the real one.*” The “*real one*”? His advance had, it seemed, been a mere diversion for Banks. Franklin abandoned the idea of marching across Louisiana and decided to pull back to New Iberia where cottonwood trees were budding, gardens were ripe and oak trees dripped with Spanish moss that was “*used for Buggy Seats and Cushions.*”¹⁰⁷⁰

On October 25, 1863, Company G's Daniel Donahue wrote from the Adams U.S.A. General Hospital in Memphis that “*he would like to have stayed here this winter till he got well but military orders forbid it. What good the 'ordering' of a man badly wounded in foot can do we cannot imagine.*”¹⁰⁷¹ Meanwhile, at Vermilion Bayou, the 25th was cloudy and cold and many suffered from fever and ague while James Hill conducted religious services.

On the 26th Perry Dewey was arrested as a straggler and more transports left New Orleans for Texas. George Dunn was transferred to a convalescent camp, William Crooke recovered after being ill for most of the month and the regiment continued to guard the bridge over Bayou Teche at Vermilionville.

Meanwhile, hurrying to undo the unexpected dismissals engineered by Van Anda while in field command of the regiment, Adjutant General Baker wrote to Governor Kirkwood regarding “*efforts to restore certain officers to command who have been hastily dismissed.*” Kirkwood replied to Baker “*for the restoration of Merrill & Harrison - write for Boardman if Merrill desires it.*” Baker wrote to Merrill, “*Will Col Merrill endorse hereon his wishes & return to me.*” On the 26th, with Charles Morse having resigned and David Greaves already restored to duty, Merrill replied to Baker, “*Myself, Captains Boardman & Harrison desire restoration. I desire that further appointments of officers to the 21st be deferred till I report for duty.*”

On October 27th, in Louisiana, Walter McNally “*was detailed to go out to governor mutons Plantation and run a steam engine for to grind corn meale. I got the mill a running al rite,*” he said, “*and had a good time of it.*”¹⁰⁷² On the 28th, he finished the grinding and returned to camp while E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General in the War Department, wrote from Washington to Baker:

“I have respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant asking a reconsideration of Special Orders No. 492, Adjutant General's Office, War Department, September 25th 1863.

In reply I am directed to inform you that the action was based under General Orders No. 100 of 1862, par. III, on a report of the Commanding Officer of the 21st Iowa Volunteers, approved by the Major General commanding the Department and that the same being made in compliance with orders of the Department the action taken cannot be set aside.

If these officers, mustered out, are physically able to endure the fatigue of an active campaign, which fact must be established by competent medical authority and the Governor desires to recommission them, the disability arising from their discharge will be removed at his request.”

On October 29th a “*good many*” locals came into the regiment's camp to take an oath of allegiance, mail was

¹⁰⁶⁹ Calvin Penny is buried in Mound City National Cemetery, Mound City, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #22920538.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996), page 59.

¹⁰⁷¹ *North Iowa Times* (November 4, 1863).

¹⁰⁷²

Alexander Mouton, Louisiana Governor (1843-1846) had a sugar plantation at Ile Copal outside of Vermilionville. He would return after the war and live on the plantation until his death on February 12, 1885.

delivered, and the Pioneer Corps and the rest of the division arrived as part of Franklin's withdrawal. Most of the division continued back to New Iberia but the 21st remained on guard duty and Lieutenant Noble and other convalescents arrived from New Orleans on another cold, rainy day. In Iowa on the 29th, the effort to reinstate the four discharged officers continued and Adjutant General Baker wrote to Governor Kirkwood:

"Capt. Greaves, Boardman & Harrison are here today. Greaves & Boardman have just returned from below where they met the Order of dismissal. Greaves is restored & Boardman undoubtedly soon will be. They dislike to go back without Merrill. Capt G & B brought up the old flag of the 21st for the State Historical Society. They would like a new one."

With Harrison and Greaves already restored, efforts to reinstate Boardman and Merrill continued with Assistant Adjutant General Culbertson writing on November 2nd to Governor Kirkwood:

*"I write today to Sec. of War asking in your name and as a personal favor to yourself that investigation in case of Col. Merrill & Capt Boardman be had and that they then be restored. If re-commission the Com. of Muster may refuse to muster-in Col Merrill on the ground that the Regt. is below the minimum (Genl Order 182 Series 1863) and he might refuse arbitrarily to muster in Capt Boardman on ground of physical disability or some other cause Besides, if authorized by order of War Department restored officers can draw pay for time they are out of service. A re-commissioned officer only from time they enter upon actual command under new commission. For these reasons, I have applied to War Department for their restoration as it seems according to rule of the service, a re-hearing under Special Order 429 cannot be had and hope my action will meet with your approval."*¹⁰⁷³

In Louisiana, religious services on November 1st were conducted morning and evening and Franklin's withdrawal continued. His intentions were not immediately clear to the enemy - or to his own men - but would become clear once they learned of Banks' November 2d landing at Brazos Santiago. After the landing, Banks moved to Brownsville and, if Franklin had continued to fight in Louisiana, the dual movements could have stretched Taylor to the limit. Instead, Franklin was withdrawing, Banks stayed on the coast and Taylor had time to regroup and strengthen supply depots and defenses on the Red River.

On November 3rd, the regiment left Bayou Vermilion, but David Drummond did not go with them. A Special Order issued on that date at the mouth of the White River ordered that David *"is hereby detailed for special service in pioneer Corps and will report without delay to Lieut McKibben comdg pioneers Corps 2d Div. 19th A.C. for duty."* Others in the regiment were in good spirits when they moved out at 7:00 a.m. with a large train of wagons. Twelve miles later they stopped at Camp Pratt near the Old Spanish Trail on the southwest side of Spanish Lake (Lake Tasse). About five miles northwest of New Iberia, near the Nickerson pecan grove, the camp had been established a year and a half earlier by Richard Taylor as a Confederate camp for conscripts and named for John G. Pratt of Saint Landry Parish, first commander of the 9th Brigade of the Louisiana Militia.¹⁰⁷⁴ Now, during October and November, it saw minor skirmishing and became temporary headquarters for Franklin while the sick were quartered in local residences and the Federal column advanced with cavalry and a five-regiment infantry brigade including the 60th Indiana and 96th Ohio as rear guard.

The battle at Gettysburg, the battles and siege at Vicksburg and other campaigns during the previous summer had greatly depleted the Union armies. By the end of October, the 21st Iowa had only 644 men still on the rolls (a 35% reduction from when it was mustered into service) and many were no longer able for duty. Other regiments were similarly depleted and military leaders and Northern politicians took notice. The *North Iowa Times* of November 4, 1863, reported the incentives being offered for the arrest of deserters, for retaining men willing to lengthen their current enlistments and for the recruitment of new volunteers. In addition to their regular salaries, veterans willing to

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In short, there was a significant difference between being *"restored"* and being *"recommissioned."* If Merrill were restored to duty it would, in effect, be as if he had never been discharged and there was the probability that payment would be made for the time he was gone. If the request was for recommissioning, there could be no back pay and there was the possibility that he and Boardman, for different reasons, might not be commissioned.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Morris Raphael, *A Gunboat Named Diana*, page46.

reenlist and new recruits enlisting on their own would receive bounties in varying amounts depending on the eventual length of their service. For the "arrest and delivery" of a deserter the government would pay \$30.00 while bounties of \$25.00 would be issued for procuring a veteran reenlistment and \$15.00 for the acceptance of recruit who had not previously served. The *Times* also noted that Willard Benton, who had returned to McGregor after being discharged in May:

"has committed a raid on the orchards of Michigan and in company with Met Lampson he has captured 1200 Barrels of Applies of the choicest fruit.- Most of them are now in Lampson's cellar. We are told the Captain will be authorized to receive volunteers under the new call. . . . Capt. Jesse M. Harrison of Dubuque, 21st Regiment of volunteers has been recently restored to command. He was discharged for inability to do the duties physically demanding on him. Captain Boardman of the same Regiment is also restored. We had the pleasure of taking him by the hand on Monday at McGregor."

On the same day in the south, Jim Rice, Jerry Maloney and John Grutchek returned on the *St. Mary's* and rejoined the regiment at Camp Pratt. John had overstayed his furlough in reliance on another surgeon's certificate but the regiment, unaware of the extension, considered him absent without leave. By order of Major General Washburn, all were returned to duty without loss of pay or allowances and the next day Jim misunderstood the name of their camp when he wrote to Cal.

Camp Plat. La.

November the 5th - 63

Dear wife two weeks have passed since I wrote to you or received a letter from you I should have written last week but I had no chance of sending a letter out James Rice arrived here yesterday he is well with the exception of diarrhea. that has not entirely stoped yet although he is getting better I am writing on a sheet of the paper that he brought me it is pretty badly mashed up this is one of the best sheets but it will soon be mashed worse for I have no good way to take care of it my knapsack is still at New Orleans containing my portfolio and one blanket and dresscoat and kneedle couchion I have a second knapsack with me that one of the boys gave me at Burwick bay the shirts you sent me came in verry good play as I had but one with me and there has been no chance for a long time to draw any but the best present you sent me was the pictures they look like home yours specially Ellies is no doubt as natural as yours but she has changed since I saw her I think she grows better looking. you have also changed some since I saw you you have grown so fat that I can notice it quite plain in the picture Jim was as tickled as a stray dog that had just found his master when he came to the company and the boys were all equally as glad to see him there was two others of the company came with him and we had a great old time shaking hands and asking and answering questions. The postage stamps you sent me came in excellent play for I was clear out and that is the reason my last was sent without a stamp the letter that you mailed when Jim started I received about two weeks ago and have received none since we are expecting a mail now and I am expecting a letter with it We moved back day before yesterday about twelve miles toward New Orleans our brigade is all split up and scattered along the road to guard the road and telegraph line how long we will remain here I cannot tell Nothing more of importance at present I will try and give you a letter every week hereafter

**Your affectionate husband
James Beathard**

November the 6th

I received 4 letters yesterday afternoon 3 from you and 1 from Libby She had received yours and Ellies likenesses I think Bob has done a good job in getting into the army as saddler I have not time to write any more as they are call for the mail

By now, Grant was back in the saddle with a new command but he was still not fully recovered from the fall two months earlier. On November 5th, the *Journal* reported that:

General Grant is described by a correspondent who recently saw him as about five feet seven inches in

stature, youthful in appearance, whiskers and mustache, modest unsophisticated, pleasing in his manners, an inveterate smoker, and still walks on crutches. Gen. Grant's new command, it is said embraces all the territory west of the Alleghanies, with headquarters at Nashville, Tenn.

On the 7th, John Birch, a private from McGregor, died of chronic diarrhea in a New Orleans hospital. His personal effects were inventoried and sold with the proceeds mailed to his wife.¹⁰⁷⁵ Meanwhile, at Camp Pratt, men used lumber left by rebel conscripts to build quarters that were only partially completed when they resumed their march at 5:00 p.m. On a forced march under Lawler, they walked in mud and water until “*very late*” at night.

On the 8th, John Hunt, captured in Mississippi in May, deserted from a camp in St. Louis while, in Louisiana, his regiment started a march at 6:00 a.m. - down the Teche and across the southern plains with wagons strung out as much as six miles. They passed through New Iberia and Jeanerette, stopped for coffee at noon and marched until sunset before camping three miles from Franklin. They had covered twenty-five miles and men were tired but they started again at 6:00 a.m. on the 9th, passed through Franklin and another “*small town,*” had dinner and continued through Centerville and Patterson. Along the way they waved to others traveling down the bayou on the *Red Chief* and *Starlight* and finally camped within five miles of Berwick.

In Iowa on the 9th, Harmon Graybill, Company G, was discharged at Davenport on a surgeon’s certificate of disability. Harmon had been hospitalized at Milliken’s Bend earlier in the year but rejoined the regiment at the rear of Vicksburg. The day after the city’s surrender he was sent to the Washington U.S.A. General Hospital in Memphis and from there was furloughed to Iowa where the surgeon said Harmon was suffering from an “*injury of the spine and paralysis of the bladder*” that was serious enough to prevent further service, even in the Invalid Corps.

Prostrated by ague, Jim jostled along most of the way by ambulance while Frank Farrand was almost totally disabled by a rupture on his right side, a hernia that would require a postwar truss. Averaging more than twenty-five miles a day with knapsack, rifle, ammunition and accouterments, there was constant griping. Most saw no need to be marching so fast and were unhappy with their leaders, especially Franklin, a man who led his class at West Point. According to one westerner, “*if we had a general with as much spunk as a mouse, we would have turned about and whipped them soundly. This was the first time the 13th Army Corps ever turned its back.*” Even the popular, but hard-driving, Mike Lawler shared the criticism as he kept the men moving “*as fast as his horse could walk, giving no thought, apparently, to the men behind him, who with blistered feet, many of them barefoot, carrying their shoes, lugged at a quickstep their heavy load.*”¹⁰⁷⁶ Flavius Patterson said “*the report is that we tired out gen Lawlers horse today.*” For Flavius, the march had been especially hard. He said he “*contracted inflammation of the bowels and kidneys,*” was treated in a regimental hospital and for the rest of his life would suffer pain in his lower back.

The 10th was cold. They reached Berwick about 9:00 a.m., made camp, and dismantled buildings to make fires. Previously at the rear of the column when it was advancing, they had covered almost sixty miles in just two days on a “*forced march*”¹⁰⁷⁷ and were now near the head of the column as it arrived in Berwick long before the rear guard reached New Iberia.

On the 11th, there was a morning frost, the first of the season, but the day was warm, men watched Negro dancing and a large steamer arrived with mail. Tim Hayes returned from the Convalescent Corps and resumed work as a cook for Major Crooke and Jim wrote:

Brashear City
Nov the 11th 1863

Dear wife you will see by the date of this letter that we have moved back to Brashear we are laying on the oposite side of the bay from the City we arrived here yesterday after two days and a half hard marching I had a brush of the ague while we were at Lake Plat and so I got to ride in the

¹⁰⁷⁵

The site of John’s burial is unknown. In April his wife and all but one of their minor children would die of small pox. A guardian would be appointed for twelve-year-old David who was taken to Illinois by an uncle but later relegated to the Poor House when the guardian took David’s pension money and David was unable to work due to his own poor health.

¹⁰⁷⁶ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 118.

¹⁰⁷⁷

“*[O]n or about the said 11th day of Nov 1863 while on duty on a forced march between New Iberia and Brashear City*” Frank Farrand suffered a rupture. Affidavit of Salue G. Van Anda in pension file of Frank Farrand.

ambulance from there here James Rice is well he is writing a letter to Lib at present

Where our destination is from here I cannot tell certain I have heard several different stories as to where we were going one is that we were going to New Orleans and up the river to Memphis another that we were going around on the gulf to Brownsville Texas the last I think most likely to be true for if we had been going to New Orleans we should have crossed the bay as we cannot take the cars on this side for my part I dont care much where we go I should like to take a ride on the Gulf of Mexico and see Texas we can serve our time out just as quick in Texas as any where but if we should happen to go up the Mississippi I should try to get a furlough and make you a visit which would be one of the greatest pleasures in the world I have a great curiosity as well as desire to see that little jade that you call Ella not forgetting yourself at the same time my wife and baby occupy my thoughts almost continually O when will this infernal war ceas that I may enjoy the luxury of liberty and peace with my little family once more I have not had the Ague since we left Lake Plat I hop I shall not have it any more my head roars today with the effects of quinine I hate to take the stuff but I consider it better than having the Ague here in the army

Well Cal considering the quinine¹⁰⁷⁸ and taking all things in consideration you must excuse this dry letter and I will try and do better the next time but I may fail after all

No more at present but remain ever

Your loving husband

James Beathard

Still in Iowa, John Farrand's furlough expired but he was not well and, on the 12th, was admitted to a hospital in Keokuk. The city's location on the river and at the southeastern corner of the state was ideal for the seven medical facilities that would be located there by war's end. Hospital ships arrived regularly and treatment was some of the best available, but many patients would remain forever in Keokuk's National Cemetery, one of twelve established by Congress in 1861 and the first west of the Mississippi.

In the South, some men left on furloughs while others returned. Charlie Robbins, his brother William and James Chiles were ill on the *St. Mary's*. George Dunn and Jonathan Foster returned after being discharged from the Carrollton convalescent camp,¹⁰⁷⁹ but Archibald Stuart was transferred from the same camp to a hospital in New Orleans that occupied the city's Levee Steam Cotton Press Building. Before being appropriated by the army in September 1862, it had operated the largest cotton press in the world.¹⁰⁸⁰

Hiram Libby was ordered back to the regiment after seven months with the artillery and, on the 14th, William Dickinson returned with knowledge of his pending discharge due to wounds received at Vicksburg. Also rejoining the regiment was John Loes, seven and one half months after being captured at Port Gibson.¹⁰⁸¹

Men were told to be ready to move at a minute's notice but, on the 15th, were still in camp where many heard Chaplain Hill give a Sunday sermon on "*profits and losses*." On the 18th, the *North Iowa Times* reported that Wisconsin was drafting soldiers "*with great activity*" and an Iowa draft was possible:

"unless the people rouse to the necessities of the occasion and bend every nerve to the work of filling our

¹⁰⁷⁸

Quinine, from the bark of the South American cinchona tree, was effective in treating and preventing malaria, ague and other fevers, but was in limited supply in the blockaded South. Produced in pure and combined forms, its bitter taste made a lasting impression on those who used it and it was considered more palatable with a dose of whiskey.

¹⁰⁷⁹

Jim indicated Jonathan Foster had joined the regiment at Berwick. It appears likely he was then returned to Carrollton for further convalescence. George Dunn's return date is given as both November 11th and November 18th.

¹⁰⁸⁰

After the war, a claim was made for damages arising from the federals' use and occupation of the building. It was eventually referred by the U.S. Senate to the Court of Claims in 1910 and resolved in 1915.

¹⁰⁸¹

From Port Gibson he had been taken to Maryland where he was paroled and sent to Benton Barracks in Missouri before being allowed to return to the regiment.

quota. Capt. Willard A. Benton is now ready to enrol volunteers and subsist them. . . .

Last week we stated that Col. Merrill was reinstated and had gone to his regiment. The Col. advises us that he only went to Iowa City to attend a Bank meeting and that he is not re-instated. He is offered a re-Commission but very properly he refuses to accept any such compromise with those who discharged in such haste a soldier severely wounded at home. Sam's head is level."

The regiment had been waiting a week for new orders, life was good, discipline was relaxed and the camp was "*in an uproar of boisterous merriment*" as men wrestled, raced, competed in games and played tricks on each other.¹⁰⁸² Finally, on Wednesday, November 18th, they were roused at 4:00 in the morning, ate breakfast at 5:00, assembled at 6:00 and crossed the bay to Brashear City.¹⁰⁸³ The railroad depot was "*a fine building*" and they expected to board the empty rail cars immediately but, instead, fourteen cars were loaded with sugar brought down the Teche while the men made camp in mud and rain. By morning the ground was flooded and, said Gilbert Cooley, "*thus ended the Teche Campaign, the most pleasant of any since we came into the service. We enjoyed the luxury of sweet potatoes and fresh beef and our men recruited in health very fast,*" but it was here that Jim learned of the death of Cal's cousin, Squire Mather, who had died while home on leave. Squire's mother, Cal's Aunt Philena, had previously lost her husband. Three of her nine sons had died in infancy and two had now been lost to war. She had been dependent on John and together they had managed the family farm but her circumstances became critical when John died at Vicksburg. It became worse with Squire's death, but security reentered her life when she married widower William Bishop.

President Lincoln visited Gettysburg and, on November 19th delivered a brief but historical dedicatory address and resolved "*that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*" Later, critical of his own remarks, he commented, "*I failed, I failed, and that is about all that can be said about it.*" History would prove otherwise.

In Louisiana it was stormy and unpleasant and men drew clothing while the Corps d'Afrique worked on a fort well-mounted with artillery.

Brashear city Nov the 20th 63

Dear wife I take my pen in hand once more to let you know how and where I am we have crossed the bay since my last to you and are now laying at Brashear city awaiting transportation to take us to Algiers on the oposite side of the river from New Orleans from whence we expect to be shiped to Brownsville Texas on the Rio grande my health still continues good James Rice is well he looks much better than he did when he first came to the regiment I received your letter No. 40 just before we crossed the bay I am truly sorry to hear of our much loved friend Squiers death but it is the fortune of war I have become so accustomed to hear such news that nothing of the kind startles me any more but I must confess that I was a little astonished a the news of Aunt Philenas marriage Tell her I wish her much joy and although she has borne a great deal of trouble in the last two years I hope her last days may be her best I hope Mr Bishop will be a comfort to her in her old age and he certainly can relieve her mind of a great deal of trouble in the way of managing the place and all her buildings

Cal I should have written this letter sooner but when we crossed the bay we expected to take the cars right off for Algiers and I thought I would postpone writing until we got there but this is the 3rd day and there is no more prospect of our going now than when we first stacked arms here we are liable to be called upon at any moment to take the cars I heard to day that there was a prospect of our going up the river somewhere between Port Hudson and vicksburg instead of going around to Brownsville but I do not put much confidence in the statement

Well Cal supper is ready and I must bring my letter to a close Give my love to all the family reserving a large share for yourself and give little Ellie a rousing kiss right in the mouth for me while I subscribe myself your affectionate husband. James Beathard.

The 22d Iowa and part of the 11th Wisconsin boarded ocean transports in Algiers and left for Texas on November 20th, but it was cloudy and wet in Brashear City where others remained under orders to be ready to leave on a minute's notice. On the 21st the regiment left about 11:30 on a clear night and John Guiselman died in New

¹⁰⁸² George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 118.

¹⁰⁸³ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), pages 118-119.

Orleans.¹⁰⁸⁴

Swiss native Christian Snyder died from chronic diarrhea the next day, also in New Orleans,¹⁰⁸⁵ and the train reached Algiers at daylight after traveling on a "very chilly" night with open cattle cars (elsewhere "platform" cars) in which the men "suffered very much." Camping near the rail line, some visited the docks and town and listened to an old church bell, some attended "Divine Service" and Jim finished the letter he had started at Brashear.

Algiers. Nov. the 22nd. 63.

Well Cal you will see by the dates of this letter that it has been kept over a couple of days since writing the first the reason is I was to late for the mail the day I wrote and the next day we were ordered away before time for the mail to go out we took the cars last night about 12. o clock and arrived here at Algiers about sunup this morning we are now awaiting transportation either up the river or around to Texas and I cannot say certain which but I think the latter is our destination I hope so at least for I would rather go to Texas than to go into Tennisee. we are expecting to move every hour but it possible that we may remain here a week we expect to be payed off soon I have four months pay coming to me

I received letter No. 41. to day containing Nancys letter

That night, about 8:00 p.m., they boarded the ocean steamer *Corinthian* and crossed to New Orleans to prepare for a voyage to Texas. Frank Noyes, Acting Chief Commissary, was helping supervise the loading of supplies when an order was received to sail immediately.¹⁰⁸⁶

On November 23rd, Myron Knight visited his Iowa doctor and received a third certificate extending his furlough, but there were problems in New Orleans where the *Corinthian* had not left until 8:30 that morning. Mike Lawler explained the delay to Brigadier General Charles Stone, Banks' Chief of Staff for the Department of the Gulf and an officer personally acquainted with proper procedures of military arrest.¹⁰⁸⁷

About half past 3 o'clock on the morning of the 23d ins. an officer of Gen. Banks' staff or one who reported himself as such came into my room at the St. Charles Hotel and after awakening me informed me that he was the bearer of an order from you to Lt. Col. Vananda instructing him to embark his Command on the steam transport "Corinthian" and sail immediately, that he had delivered these orders to Col. Vananda who was occupying a room in the above Hotel and that he had found the said Vananda so intoxicated as to be unable to either understand or execute them and as a consequence the Staff Officer ordered me in your name to relieve said Vananda and place some Officer in Command of his regiment who could comply with your orders.¹⁰⁸⁸

He was relieved accordingly and Maj Crook placed in Command who lost no time in embarking with his regiment and leaving port.

To satisfy myself more fully as to the Col's condition I sent my Provost Marshal Captain Peckinpaugh to his (Vananda's) room to ascertain the name of the vessel upon which the Col's regiment was to embark. I enclose herewith the Captain's written statement which I have every reason to believe reliable and worthy of credence and endorse it accordingly.

In reference to Lt Col Vananda's character as an officer I regret to state that it is unquestionably bad and from the best information in my possession I am of the opinion that his Regt and the service generally would be benefited by the acceptance of his resignation.

With William Croke in command, the *Corinthian*, with most of the regiment on board, traveled downstream in a

¹⁰⁸⁴ John is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #45741168.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The site of Christian's burial is not known.

¹⁰⁸⁶

After serving as Governor Kirkwood's Aide-de-Camp, he was commissioned by President Lincoln as a federal Captain and Commissary of Subsistence. Genealogical Record of Some of the Descendants of James, . . . , page 200-202. He then saw service in Maryland, but now he found himself in New Orleans when the 21st Iowa was there.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Stone had been arrested and imprisoned in 1862, but formal charges were never preferred and he was eventually released.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Article 45, Articles of War, prohibited "drunkenness on duty" but enforcement and possible court-martials were sporadic.

heavy fog on the 23d, passed orange groves, Forts Jackson and St. Philippe and several "fine brigs," and crossed the bar into the gulf about sunset. Due to overcrowding Jim, Hiram Libby and the rest of Companies B and K traveled on the *St. Mary's* and left later in the day.¹⁰⁸⁹ Company D's John Lowe remained in New Orleans "with the Regimental teams"¹⁰⁹⁰ while Lawler submitted statements from Van Anda, Captain Noyes and Captain Peckinpaugh who reported:

"while at the St. Charles Hotel in the City of New Orleans La. About 4 o'clock A.M. of said morning I received an order from you to ascertain the name of the ship upon which the 21st Iowa Vols Inft had embarked and order her to sail immediately. I went to the room occupied by Lieut Col. S. G. Vananda and found him in bed but was unable to gain any information from him from the fact that he was intoxicated. About 7 o'clock A.M. I found the ship and ordered her to sail. Just as she was leaving the wharf Lieut. Col. Vananda came. From his appearance and actions I judged him to be too much under the influence of liquor to attend to any business."

Noyes' report, which Lawler felt was entitled to the "highest consideration," indicated he had been with Van Anda on the 22d from 3:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. supervising him in the embarking of men under his command. The order had been to sail immediately, but Van Anda told Noyes he had been ordered by Stone to take twenty days' rations for his men and could not leave without them since there were only two days' rations on board. While still in Algiers, Van Anda said, he put his second in command, William Crooke, in charge with orders to load the equipment and troops and then take the boat to the Canal Street landing in New Orleans where Van Anda would be waiting for him. Van Anda went ahead to find Stone and draw rations and said he intended to leave under orders of the *Corinthian's* captain as soon as the provisions were loaded. As late as 11:00 p.m., Van Anda was still trying to get the rations and, according to Noyes, was "not under the influence of spiritous stimulants" at that time. Lawler pointed out that Noyes' report shed no light on what Van Anda had done after 11:00 p.m. and, in his own statement on November 23d, Van Anda said:

At 11 o'clock last evening I reported to Genl Stone at his residence tho my comd was embarking at Algiers. But the reg Q.M. had been unable to draw the twenty days rations which he had ordered me to supply my comd with. He informed me that he had ordered the proper officer to furnish the rations at the wharf and ordered me to report to him as soon as the rations arrived.

I went to the landing every hour until about 2 o'clock this morning at which hour the rations had not arrived. I could not leave without the rations without disobeying the order of Genl Stone, and being worn out through excessive labor in preparing to embark and believing that it would be impossible to get the rations on board before daylight I returned to the St. Charles and went to bed leaving instructions to be called at daylight. I was not called and consequently slept beyond the time that I should of been at my post. The order for the 20 days rations has changed and the rations were not taken. Every exertion on my part was made to get the troops off and I was not idle an hour from the moment I read order to embark until I had retired at 2 o'clock.

He did not deny being intoxicated or admit to drinking but submitted a statement from Brigadier General William Vandever who was also staying at the St. Charles. As a fellow lawyer and Iowa politician, he had known Van Anda for about eight years and felt "he is a gentleman of standing and influence in the community where he dwells. I have not been associated with him in the service & cannot therefore speak of his qualities as an officer. I believe however that he has served with his regiment in several hard fought actions and acquitted himself with credit. I trust a speedy opportunity may be afforded him of explaining the charges now pending against him." On November 25th the *North Iowa Times* reported:

1089

There were numerous vessels of the same or similar names. The steamer operating on the Gulf in this time frame was referred to as both the *St. Mary* and the *St. Mary's*.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

*"The battle on the Teche, Louisiana, resulted in a Federal loss of 600 to 1,500 - varying reports varying the numbers. The Federals lost two cannon and fell back before superior numbers. This is also called the 'Carrion Crow' battle. Price was at Alexandria with 15,000 men and hence the retreat of the Unionists. The 13th Corps (our 21st is in it) are ordered to Texas."*¹⁰⁹¹

TEXAS GULF COAST (November 25, 1863, to June 17, 1864)

Texas was the only southern slave state with an international boundary, a history as an independent republic and an extensive line of western frontier settlements. It had two large "*ethnic groups - Mexicans and Germans - whose culture and language set them apart from the plantation society of the Old South*" and its prewar governor had been staunchly against secession.¹⁰⁹² Its coastline arches north from the Rio Grande and east to the Louisiana state line with the mainland protected for much of the distance by long, narrow barrier islands and peninsulas that bear the brunt of fierce storms and hurricanes blowing in from the gulf.

Between the mainland and its protective barriers is a correspondingly long, narrow, waterway and only at gaps, or "*passes,*" through the barriers can ships from the gulf reach the sheltered waterway and the towns and harbors of the mainland. Some names have changed and many sites have disappeared or been reconfigured, but the main islands starting near the Mexican border were Padre (named for Padre Nicolas Balli, a Mexican priest), Mustang, St. Joseph (San José), Matagorda and, up the coast a bit past Matagorda Peninsula, Galveston. At the southern end of St. Joseph the gap to the mainland was known as Aransas Pass. At the northern end, the gap was the narrow, frequently plugged, Cedar Bayou with Matagorda Island on the opposite side. From there the barrier bends to the northeast with Pass Cavallo on the northern tip of Matagorda and Espiritu Santo Bay between it and Calhoun Peninsula on the mainland. This pass, it had been ordered earlier in the year, was to be defended "*to the last*" to prevent the Federals from reaching the Confederate port of Indianola.¹⁰⁹³ Continuing its arching path, the barrier continues as Matagorda Peninsula adjacent to Matagorda Bay, the same bay French explorer Rene-Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle had entered in 1685 at the start of an expedition that would lead to his death two years later.

During the trip across the gulf the *Corinthian* battled wind and choppy seas causing "*nearly all on board*" to become seasick.¹⁰⁹⁴ Under crowded conditions and a "*heavy gale of wind,*" they were "*very uncomfortable to say the least,*"¹⁰⁹⁵ but weather improved as they neared the Texas coast. Traveling about twelve knots an hour, they passed Matagorda Bay and a rebel-occupied lighthouse, were "*hailed to*" by a Union man-o-war about 12:00 a.m. and were ordered to drop anchor for the night off Mustang Island where rows of campfires lit the sky. The captain anchored a mile off shore and Major Crooke and some of the men climbed into a small boat and headed for a point near what they thought was Porto Santo del Espirito. By then it was early morning and before long, thoroughly soaked, they landed and there was Washburn "*not more than fifty yards away, seated by a mess chest and eating a breakfast of baked potatoes.*"¹⁰⁹⁶ He was getting ready, he said, to attack Fort Esperanza but, since the *Corinthian* drew nine feet and could get no closer, he directed it to "*proceed down the coast to Aransas Pass, land there and follow us*" up St. Joseph's and Matagorda and rendezvous near the fort.

Crooke returned the next morning, November 26th, and the *Corinthian* hauled anchor and traveled along the shore until locating the blockading squadron about 10:00 a.m. With 350 men on board, they dropped anchor in Aransas Bay off St. Joseph's (San José) Island where a small, dilapidated, steamer came out to meet them. The

1091

Careno (French for carrion crow, i.e. vultures) is on the rail line north of Lafayette. It was also known as the Battle of Bayou Bourbeux, Battle of Grand Coteau and Battle of Boggy Creek.

1092

Baum, The Shattering of Texas Unionism (Louisiana University Press 1998), page 229. Also see Claude Elliott, *Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865*. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. L, No. 4 (The State Historical Association, Austin, Texas; April, 1947).

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Fitzhugh, *Saluria, Fort Esperanza, and Military Operations on the Texas Coast, 1861-1864*. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXI, No.1 (The State Historical Association, Austin, Texas; July 1957).

1094

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 119.

1095

Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 121.

steamer was the *Planter* and it made repeated trips from the *Corinthian* to shore, carrying men as far as possible before they climbed over the side to wade the final hundred yards holding guns and ammunition overhead in an "interesting and picturesque scene."¹⁰⁹⁷ Joseph Baule said it was about this time that he was "ruptured in the right side of groin while assisting in unloading a vessel and in handling the barrels of meat," that he had "over-strained" and was assigned to light duty.¹⁰⁹⁸ Reorganized on shore, they made camp among "many pretty shells" lining the beach and watched as the *Corinthian* weighed anchor and headed for Galveston with its remaining cargo of horses, tents and equipment.

The sick were sent to Mustang Island where the "medical faculty" occupied the area's lone house and, still in New Orleans and still fighting for reinstatement, Salue Van Anda secured a statement from a fellow officer with whom he had served for more than a year and who wrote that Van Anda's:

*"ability and capacity to command troops both in camp and in the field is unquestioned. Although a strict disciplinarian, he is kind and generous to his men always anticipating the wants of his command and usually prompt in obeying and carrying out all orders from his Superiors. His career during the campaign in front and rear of Vicksburg is well known to every officer and soldier in the Division in which he serves as having acquitted himself on every occasion honorably alike to his Country and himself at the Battle of Big Black River Bridge he led the charge in which one third of his men were killed and wounded he also commanded his regiment in the charge on the enemy's works in rear of Vicksburg on the 22d of May and distinguished himself for his bravery and gallant conduct. . . . his reputation has always been beyond reproach among those who have known him long and well. his Gentlemanly qualities and strict observance of the rights of others gaining for him the respect of all who know him."*¹⁰⁹⁹

Most of the brigade had landed earlier with the 11th Wisconsin having put five companies ashore near the mouth of the Rio Grande and the balance at Aransas Pass together with the 23d Iowa and the 22d Iowa that had arrived after a seven day voyage on the *T. A. Scott*.¹¹⁰⁰ Now reassembled on St. Joseph's, soldiers prepared for a march along the "hard and smooth" sand. Weather turned bad and the gulf was "very high." A Texas "Norther" blew across from the mainland and "fatigue and disgust" replaced early jubilation as "we took five days rations and our blankets on our backs and started during a tremendous northerner without a team of any kind."¹¹⁰¹ Officers walked with enlisted men and they were, said Matthew King, "all on an equality now" as they fought the wind and cold. From mid-November to the end of February "fifteen to twenty polar air masses" reach Texas at irregular intervals with winds up to fifty miles per hour and biting temperatures. "Most northers blow through in 48 to 72 hours" and a lifelong resident in one of the nearby German settlements recalled that:

*"for one state of weather we did have holy respect, and that was the Texas Norther. It deserves its name It came suddenly, with little warning to us. The air would become sultry - there would be an ominous hush the first signal of danger was generally given by the cattle the cloud would lie like a solid black band upon the horizon, and then it would advance upon us with astonishing rapidity then we would feel the first whiff of chilly breeze until the cold seemed to cut like knives and make us fairly whimper under its punishment."*¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁷

George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 121. Picturesque it may have been, but not from personal observation since Crooke, who had been discharged the previous January had still not returned to the regiment. There were several boats named *Planter* but it's unlikely this was the better known *Planter* that had been captured single-handedly from the enemy by Robert Smalls, a South Carolina slave.

¹⁰⁹⁸ On March 12, 1883, Joseph Baule, working as a Dubuque grocer, applied for an invalid pension citing the rupture from which he was now "much disabled from obtaining his subsistence by manual labor."

¹⁰⁹⁹ The statement was signed "A C, Capt & Provost Marshal, 1st Div. 13 A C."

¹¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere it's indicated these remaining Companies of the 11th landed on Mustang Island.

¹¹⁰¹ Diary of Gilbert Cooley.

¹¹⁰² Nagel, A Boy's Civil War Story (Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia, 1935), pages 142-145.

November 28th continued cold and men were nearly blinded by blowing sand as they started at 11:00 a.m. and marched along the shore. There were many deer and sheep and, said Walter McNally, we saw “*large herds of cattle up here and we got plenty of beef*” but it was a “*lone barren sandy isle*” and they marched for only three hours before stopping for the night. On the 29th, they started at 7:00 a.m. and marched northeasterly until they came to Cedar Bayou where one company from the 33d Illinois had been left behind with a crude ferry to help them cross to Matagorda Island. Some crossed on the 29th, the balance crossed early on the 30th and, once reassembled, they resumed their advance about 8:00 a.m. They could hear the sound of artillery ahead of them as they searched for Washburn and the rear guard of the Union army during a trip Jacob Switzer of the 22nd Iowa thought was more reminiscent of a “*hunting expedition than a march.*” “*The boys,*” he said, “*spread across the island and drove along the game as they proceeded. The second night out we camped in an old building on one of the islands and had for our suppers venison, wild goose, fresh pork, fresh beef and mutton, I believe.*”¹¹⁰³

Far from home, they were on an island that was thirty-eight miles long and three-quarters to four miles wide, nearly 57,000 acres of sand dunes, mainland soils and, before the war, about 250 residents. The 21st Iowa made camp about 3:00 p.m. on November 30th, set their picket and enjoyed local sheep, but little water, for supper.

The following day Pass Cavallo was surveyed by Charles Hosmer to show the location of Fort Esperanza and its rifle pits to the south.¹¹⁰⁴ Vegetation was sparse - sea oats, Spanish daggers, prickly pears, morning glories and other hardy, low-profile plants with occasional salt cedars as the only trees. Animals were also few with native rabbits, rodents, raccoons, coyotes and white-tailed deer mingling with hogs, cattle and a few sheep from the mainland. Magruder notified Kirby Smith of the Union movements and asked for reinforcements. Smith agreed to send a division of cavalry but kept others in Arkansas and along the Red River to prepare for a Federal invasion anticipated for the spring. Further help for Texas was doubtful.

With only 500 men and limited artillery, pummeled by Union gunboats and besieged by infantry, Confederate commander W. T. Bradfute recognized the futility of resistance, blew up powder magazines, burned barracks, spiked guns, abandoned Fort Esperanza and withdrew to the mainland.¹¹⁰⁵ On December 1st Washburn took control of the ruins and eight prisoners and the *St. Mary's* arrived from New Orleans.¹¹⁰⁶ Officially, Jim, Louis and several others had been reported “*absent on board St Mary's*” but, after a trip of eight days, twice as long as the *Corinthian*, they were put ashore on Matagorda Peninsula. Returning with them was George Purdy, two months late but not penalized when he presented another surgeon's certificate. The regiment was still on Matagorda Island, but had advanced a short distance, watched passing gunboats and camped about 1:00 p.m. near a few huts where residents tended large droves of cattle.

On December 2d, the Statue of Freedom was affixed to the steel-tiered dome of Washington's capitol¹¹⁰⁷ and the regiment left camp at 7:00 a.m., left the beach, passed the enemy's outer breastworks, arrived at the fort about noon

1103

Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa, edited by Mildred Throne. Iowa Journal of History (January 1958), page 43.

1104

Charles H. Hosmer was born in Ohio around 1840. After the Civil War he lived in Bristol, Rhode Island with his wife, Ellen, in the late 19th century and worked for the United States Coast Survey throughout the 1870s and 1880s. A collection of his postwar work is held by the Manuscripts Division of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

1105

Fort Esperanza was referred to on some maps as Fort Debray, a reference to Colonel Xavier Debray who, for a time, commanded the Sub-Military District of Houston. Malsch, Indianola (State House Press, Austin, 1988). Others speculate Fort Debray was a “*headquarters project abandoned*” or merely a picket outpost. Fitzhugh, *Saluria, Fort Esperanza, and Military Operations on the Texas Coast, 1861-1864*, The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Volume LXI, No. 1 (July 1957).

1106

There were several vessels named *St. Mary's* or *St. Mary* but it appears probable this was the same boat that had brought men downriver from Iowa in early November, had several on board sick two weeks later and then left New Orleans for Texas. If so, it was likely a light draft riverboat that could easily have been blown off course and delayed by the storm in the Gulf.

1107

The 14,985 pound 19' 6" bronze “*Statue of Freedom, Armed and Triumphant*” was designed in 1856 with a “*Liberty Cap.*” Secretary of War Jefferson Davis viewed the headgear as anti-slavery propaganda and insisted on a change to a Roman-style helmet crowned with feathers that, to some, makes the statue appear to be an Indian. Despite heavy wartime expenses, President Lincoln insisted that it be put in place as “*a sign we intend the Union to go on.*” The statute remained in place until May 9, 1993, when it was temporarily removed for repairs.

and camped near the 23rd Iowa not far from the lighthouse.¹¹⁰⁸ Men were tired and “*very foot-sore*” from marching on the hard sand and for three nights it had been so cold they “*could not get a wink of sleep.*”¹¹⁰⁹

On the 3rd, Brad Talcott, AWOL in September, was arrested in Dubuque by a Provost Marshal who listed him as a “*straggler.*” Brad was taken to Davenport’s Camp McClellan where it was noted, “*this soldier has expired sick furlough and has been too ill to return sooner. He reported to the Hdqrs. for transportation and was taken in charge by orders of P.M. Genl. as straggler. He is deserving of and should receive the greatest leniency.*”

On a foggy morning in Texas, Brad’s regiment walked north about two miles to the settlement known as Saluria and camped near the warehouse and wharf of Judge Hugh Hawes. Hospital stores were landed and the next two days were spent seining for some “*very curious fish*”¹¹¹⁰ and crossing the pass on barges, skiffs, yawls, schooners and a captured two-masted sloop. Their former site had been poor, miles from drinkable water, but on Matagorda Island they found water from a large spring although it was still “*quite brackish and unwholesome*” and they did a “*good deal of drilling.*”

Walter McNally said they crossed the bay to Decros Point on December 5th, camped on the beach and had “*quiet a little excitement*” that evening when General Lawler rode out to inspect the camps. Men in the 22nd Iowa remembered the previous November when Lawler rode a fast walking horse and it had been hard for them to keep up with him. Now:

*“as he got to the 22d Iowa the Boys all around camp comenced to blate like a sheep in derision of him he then rode down the 21st when our Boys comenced to blate at him he then ordered the two Regts to fall in without there armes or equipments and to march up to his head quarters heare he told us that if the comanders of Regts did not find out the men that blated at him and report them to him that he wold have those two Regts to march in the morning ... miles up the beach and back in heavey marching order and keep repeating the ... every day only haveing to march each sucksessive day until we gave up the men that blated then dismissed us.”*¹¹¹¹

Guilty parties were required to do fatigue duty for two or three days and pleased when Lawler “*was relieved of this command soone after to the joy of every one of us.*”¹¹¹²

Many, including James Chiles and John Grutcek, were still sick in New Orleans, but Jim was enjoying trips to the beach and the wonders it held for a Northern farmer although he was unclear about their location when he wrote his first letter from Texas.

**Camp on powder horn peninsula on
the bay of Mattagorda. Texas.
Sunday Dec the 6th 1863**

Dear wife you can see by the date of this letter just where we are we have had a short sea voyage since my last to you I say a short voyage but it was plenty long enough to suit me especialy under our circumstances we were so crowded that a part of us had to stay on deck all the time even the hurricane deck was crowded so that there was scarcely room to lie down and there we had to stay rain or shine I had been having the Ague before and had three days in succession while on board I had the Ague and sea sickness both at once so you may imagine what comfort I must have taken while at the same time the wind blowing cold as greenland and the ship rolling and pitching and the water dashing at times clear up on deck but we had a chance to try all kinds of weather we were on board 8 days and

1108

In operation since the end of 1852, the lighthouse had featured a beehive prismatic lens by French scientist Augustin Jean Fresnal, one of the first of its kind in the country, on a seventy-nine foot metal tower at the edge of Pass Cavallo. A year earlier under orders from Magruder, Confederates had buried the lens but a keg of gunpowder caused only minor damage to the tower. After the war the tower would be dismantled and moved to the mainland where it can be seen in the Port Lavaca museum.

¹¹⁰⁹ Journal of Gilbert Cooley (a typewritten copy of the journal is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa).

¹¹¹⁰ Journal of Matthew King on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹¹¹¹ Journal of Walter McNally (handwritten) on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹¹¹² Journal of Walter McNally (handwritten) on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

a part of the time we had verry nice weather we landed here last tuesday night I have not had the ague for over a week I guess I wamicked it all up while board the st. Mary The place where we are camped is all sand and shells but we have plenty of good water which I did not expect to find so near the gulf Jim Rice stood the trip verry well he was not seasick at all how long we will remain here or wher we will go from here I cannot tell

O Cal I wish I could send you some of the sea shells that I can pick up along the beach there are shells of all shapes colers and sizes and some of the most beautiful ones you ever saw if you was here you would want to do nothing else but select and admire the beautiful shells and besides that I could interest myself for a month walking up and down the beach looking at the different kinds of birds and fish and other little sea animals

Well I guess I must wind the thing up and get ready for dinner

Your affectionate husband

James Beathard

William Dickinson, one of the Vicksburg wounded, had recuperated at home before being admitted to a convalescent camp in Carrollton followed by a general hospital in New Orleans. Still unable to join the regiment, he was discharged on the 7th. On the same day, and also in New Orleans, Lt. Col. Van Anda wrote to Brigadier General William P. Benton:

*"I have the honor to report to you that on the 23d day of Nov I was placed under arrest by a verbal order of Brig Genl M K Lawler and given the limits of New Orleans & Algiers. That I am subject to perplexity and detention by the Provost Guard of this City who claim that I have no right to be here by any such order. And I further report to you that no charges have been filed against me nor in my opinion will there be and I therefore ask most respectfully for advice in the premises."*¹¹¹³

In Texas on the 7th, Fitz Henry Warren landed, gave a short speech, thanked "the boys" and was roundly cheered. General Washburn also arrived, a gun was fired from the fort, Companies E and H fished with "little success" and Congress reconvened in Washington where Elihu Washburne, the Illinois Congressman who had visited Grant at Port Gibson, introduced a bill permitting the President to appoint a Lieutenant-General to command all northern forces. Actively promoting Grant for the position, he recalled the Vicksburg campaign when:

*"General Grant took with him neither a horse nor an orderly nor a servant nor a camp-chest nor an overcoat nor a blanket nor even a clean shirt. His entire baggage for six days - I was with him at that time - was a tooth-brush. He fared like the commonest soldier in his command, partaking of his rations and sleeping upon the ground with no covering except the canopy of heaven."*¹¹¹⁴

The bill passed 96-41. The President signed it and nominated Grant for the position. On December 8th, the President offered amnesty to Confederates willing to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and abide by Union legislation and proclamations regarding slavery.¹¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, complaints were being received in Iowa about Thomas W. J. Long who had been an Iowa State Sanitary Agent in St. Louis but whose agency had ended. Martin Rice, a drummer in Company I, had been discharged for disability in October but Long was holding the discharge papers and, on the 8th, Major Robert Smith, paymaster with the Pay Department, Office for Payment of Discharged Soldiers, in St. Louis wrote that:

"some Iowa Officer ought to see that this Thomas W. J. Long does not longer rob the Iowa soldiers. Long has still a sign up as 'Iowa State Sanitary Agent.' I have satisfactory evidence that Long collected money for

¹¹¹³ Military records of Salue G. Van Anda on file with the National Archives and Records Administration.

¹¹¹⁴ T. M. Eddy, The Patriotism of Illinois (Clarke & Co. , Publishers, Chicago, 1865), Volume 1, page 189.

¹¹¹⁵

The *Proclamation of Pardon and Amnesty* recognized a need to plan for postwar reconstruction. Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 95. The proclamation alarmed many in the North who feared the deserters from the South would prove disloyal in the North. Iowa's Governor Kirkwood "was so alarmed that he wanted arms for loyal citizens to protect themselves from deserter bands." Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955), page 291.

Iowa soldiers in April 1863 and in Sept. following, the money had not been paid over to the soldiers. This case in my opinion demands the prompt action of the Authorities of Iowa to protect the honest soldiers from swindlers."

Nathaniel Baker referred the matter to Governor Kirkwood who suggested a notice should be circulated "*stating that Long was at one time an Agent of this State, that his agency ceased some months ago, that you understand he has still shown a sign at his office in St. Louis as agent for Iowa, that complaint has been made that he does not act fairly by our soldiers.*" The notice, he said, should be sent "*to our regiments in that state particularly to the hospital at St. Louis & all that region but send to all.*"

For the men in Texas it was still cold and windy. With little to do, they were drilled twice a day causing many to report sick but they cheered on dress parade when the Union victory in Chattanooga was announced. Mail went out on the 9th and pioneers worked on the pier and other facilities. There was more drill on the 10th and some of the men gathered shells. On the 11th they received orders to move at 8:00 a.m. On a warm and pleasant day, the engineering corps surveyed ground for a new fort, the signal corps was in full operation and artillery began moving from the island to the mainland. On the 12th some went fishing while others struck tents in preparation for the anticipated move. The 13th was Sunday with its regular inspection and religious services while the 14th saw another mail delivery - including three letters for Jim - and the regiment received four months' pay.¹¹¹⁶ On the 15th, John Rogman continued treatment for his diarrhea and rupture and Jim was still recovering from the ague when he wrote to Cal from Decros Point.¹¹¹⁷

**Deckers point Mattagord Bay Texas
Dec the 15th 1863**

Dear wife I take my pen in hand once more to try to pen you a few lines I cannot say that I am well but I am not seriously sick I have had one brush of the ague since we landed I broke it up with quinine and how long it will stay broke I cannot tell I have a kind of dull dizzy headache all the time and I am weak I have never had my strength since I had that spell of sickness last spring although I have felt quite well a part of the time and had an appetite like a saw mill it is no use for me to say anything about James Rice as he has just been writing home we were paid off yesterday and I received \$52 I dont know whether I am going to get a chance to send it home just now or not I thought when I drew it that I could send it to New orleans with the paymaster as there were several talking of send money that way but I am afraid they have all backed out so that I cannot get up a package large enough to bother the paymaster with if I get a chance to send it before this goes out I let you know if not I will write when I do send it If I thought the Irve Sheldon place would be sold reasonable and you could get it by paying down what money you have with what I could send I would send you \$50 I should like verry much to have the place so as to have a home to go to as soon as I get home let Father be the judge and if he thinks the price is not to high and you can get the place as I spoke of and it suits you; you may buy it; but recolect the old times when we were in debt dont go in too deep. Cal I have received all your letters up to No. 44 which was dated Nov 22nd I received the last three yesterday I am sorry to hear of little Ellies ill health I hope her health will return and be good hereafter; As the mail goes out in half an hour I cannot tell you in this letter whether I send the money or not. no mor at present but remain

**your affectionate husband
James Beathard**

William Benton commanded the Division, Fitz Henry Warren the 1st Brigade and Harris the 2d Brigade. The 17th

¹¹¹⁶ Elsewhere, two months pay.

¹¹¹⁷

Decros Point, also known as DeCrow's Point, Decros or DeCrow's Landing, Port Cavallo, Port Cabello and Paso Cavallo. Rachel Jenkins, *Decros Point, TX. Handbook of Texas Online* (www.TSHAOnline.Org/Handbook/Online), a publication of the Texas State Historical Association (www.TSHAOnline.Org). It was probably named for the Daniel D. DeCrow family that settled the site and constructed a "substantial wharf" and warehouse. Not far away, only a dozen feet under the surface, lay the remains of "La Belle," one of La Salle's ships that had sunk almost 178 years earlier but would not be discovered for another 131.

was cold, another Norther they said. The 18th was clear but still cold, special orders were read on dress parade and Salue Van Anda continued to languish in New Orleans. Federal law codifying an existing article of war required that arrested officers, except at remote posts, receive a copy of the charges within eight days and be tried within ten days after that unless military service necessitated otherwise in which case they were to be tried or released within thirty days after expiration of the ten days. After their release they could still be tried for up to a year.¹¹¹⁸ It had been twenty-two days since Van Anda's arrest and it was suggested that he be released and allowed to leave New Orleans.

In Iowa, Colonel Merrill continued his convalescence but he had not been idle. Prior to the war, most banks were state-chartered institutions, often referred to as "*wildcat banks*," many with limited reserves and little regulation. In February, Congress had authorized a system of national banks to create a single national currency and help prevent problems resulting from notes of various descriptions emanating from multiple state banks throughout the country. Merrill had long been active with the McGregor Branch of the State Bank of Iowa and, with enactment of new federal law, became one of the founders of the new National Bank of McGregor that was chartered on December 19th. He and his brother, Jeremiah ("Jere") who helped organize the Congregational Church, were two of the nine incorporators and Sam served as the bank's first President.

John Baade, like many others, had overstayed his furlough but on December 20th reached the New Orleans convalescent camp on his way back to the regiment that was enjoying Sunday services and the first warm day in a long time. On the 21st, Nelson Reynolds was listed as a deserter, Myron Knight received a fourth extension of his furlough and went into Strawberry Point to visit Seymour Chipman who was still at home on his own August furlough and it was with "*particular joy*" that the *Journal* announced the issuance of a special order restoring Sam Merrill to command providing his colonelcy had not already been filled.

For their comrades in Texas it was a day of rain. William Crooke was still in temporary command, gunfire could be heard in the bay and ships continued to arrive with more and more subsistence. On the 22nd, brothers Charles and George Burge, were detailed for fatigue duty under Lieutenant Noble. Not enamored of their assignments, the brothers left their posts and returned to their quarters without permission. Charges were preferred, guilt was admitted and they were quickly sentenced to twenty days imprisonment at hard labor with directions to their commanding officer to "*see that the men are put on all fatigue details for the time specified and when not on duty they will be placed under guard.*"

On December 23d there was a general inspection. On the 24th, after a foggy morning, the day was warm and Jim visited with James Tanner. On Christmas day, he helped move supplies from one ship to another while most of the men enjoyed a good dinner and a visit from Andrew Jackson Hamilton, the North's military governor of Texas. Myron Knight and Seymour Chipman spent the morning with their families in Iowa before leaving for Davenport. The next day they arrived and checked in at Camp McClellan.

In Texas, a forage detail of 1,700 men visited Lavaca, "*killed 13 beeves, sundry hogs, and took what meal and corn they could find,*" and Jim wrote to Cal.

Texas
Mattagorda Bay
December the 26th - 63

Dear wife I seat myself once more to write you a few lines, I am thankful to the great giver of all good that I am able to inform you once more that I am well I have been verry hearty ever since my last to you. yesterday was Christmas but rather a dull one for me I was on fatigue duty and worked all day moving comisaries from one ship to another and had no dinner except a few dry crackers that I stole from some of the boxes that got busste open in moving the boxes were verry well put together but a lot of hungry soldiers are not apt to handle comisary stores verry careful You will see by the date of this letter that we are still at same place where we first landed so we have not got to see much of Texas yet

1118

Ironically, the Act of July 17, 1862, had been a reaction to the confinement of Charles P. Stone arrested on February 8, 1862, following a Union defeat at Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861, the same Stone to whom Van Anda now looked for his release. After 189 days in prison, "*the necessities of the service not permitting the trial, within the time required by law,*" Stone had been freed on August 16, 1862, without explanation and Van Anda hoped for the same. *The Committee on the Conduct of the War, America's Civil War magazine* (November 1999); James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (Oxford University Press; 1988), pages 362-363; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: from Lincoln to Garfield* (The Henry Bill Publishing Company, Norwich, Connecticut; 1884), Volume I, pages 378-395.

the place where we are is a little neck of land running down between Matagorda bay and the gulf I have heard so many names for it that I hardly know which is the right one; but I beleive it is marked on the map; Matagorda penincially it is called here or Gross's point¹¹¹⁹ I have called it in some of my letters Deckers point but I have learned since that Deckers point is another place several miles from here We get plenty of tolerable good water by digging down in the sand from two to three feet and seting in boxes or barrels; the place is all sand and nothin grows on it except a kind of wiry grass all the wood we get for cooking we have to gather up along the beach where it been drifted from other shores and that is getting verry scarce and we have soulcart it about a mile and it is poor wet soggy stuff when we do get it we have used wood here that drifted from south America we know by it being a kind of wood that grows no where else Cal you have complained some of not getting letters regular and I expect you will complain more now that we have got down here but I cannot help it. I have sent a letter with every mail that has went from here since we have been here and intend to continue to do so and if you dont get your letters regular you must not blame me for I shall surely send you a letter every oportunity My old friend James Tanner call on me day before yesterday he is just from the old Buckeye state where he has been on a furlough I must go and make him a visit tomorrow as it is sunday and there will be no drill we drill four hours every day except saturday and sundays James Rice is well and able for his rations and a little more for he bought 25cts worth of hard tack the other day and I should have had to have done the same; but I happened to get on comisary guard and managed to get a cracker box open and filled my havresack¹¹²⁰ which with my rations has kept me going I dont know when this letter will go out but I will send it the 1st oportunity and if it is to long I will write again before it goes
yours James Bethard

In was about this time, said Charles Kellogg, that he was "*detailed with 6 men and sent with army stores to Texas on Steamer Corinthian, was blown to sea and cruised around for five days in the Caribbean Sea and adjacent waters finally returning to Pas Cavallo, landed stores and rejoined by Regt. and shortly after was detailed to raise a company of mounted scouts which I did.*"¹¹²¹

On the 27th a morning Norther blew in causing cancellation of religious services while Jim visited with James Tanner. In Iowa, Elisha Boardman was ordered "*restored to his command, with pay from the date he rejoins his regiment for duty*" and Myron Knight and Seymour Chipman were ordered to the Davenport hospital.

On December 28, Ambrose Fanning, Company F, said his good-bye to the regiment. He had been transferred to the 1st Tennessee Heavy Artillery, African Descent, and promoted to Sergeant Major.

Hd Quarters 1st Tennessee Hy Arty

*Fort Pickering Memphis Tenn
Dec 28th 1863*

*Commanding Officer
21st Iowa Infantry
in the field*

Sir:

I have the honor herewith to transmit my Discharge (officially signed) with a certificate of muster. the spirit and tenor of Special Orders No. 318 is sufficient I presume and will explain itself. Please refer to "Instructions to Mustering Officers" & c. Par. 117 Rules 4th & Particularly Rule 8th & Par 121

1119

They were camped near Fort Cavallo on Gross's Point near the tip of Matagorda Peninsula with Decrow's Point a short distance away byside.

1120

Jim's haversack was probably the typical white canvas bag, about a foot square, usually carried by a long strap diagonally from the right shoulder to the left hip. Often with a waterproof lining and flap that buckled over the top, it may have had a Company insignia or other designation to which men often added their own initials.

1121

Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891).

Please be kind enough to inform my company commander of the facts of the case that I may be taken up & dropped on the rolls of the co to which I formerly belonged.

Being still an enlisted man I need no papers from my Regiment. Hoping that company "F" of the old 21st with her young commander¹¹²² will fare well & that the 21st will also fare well. I now take my farewell from the 21st forever.

*I have the honor to be sir
Very Respectfully
Your Obt Svt
Ambrose Fanning
Sergt Maj 1st Tenn Hy Arty*

Meanwhile, in Davenport, Seymour Chipman and Myron Knight were unable to find the doctor and it was not until the 29th that they could be examined. Seymour was admitted to a hospital with chronic diarrhea but Myron was cleared for return to the regiment. Starting his long journey the next day, he boarded a train, transferred once and reached Centralia about midnight. About 4:00 p.m. on the 31st, after being delayed by heavy snow, Myron resumed his trip while the *Journal* noted that Elisha would also be leaving in another four days.

Many regiments, both North and South, were in winter quarters. Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather, was still with the 9th Iowa at Woodville in northeastern Alabama, Alva Tanner's 15th was at Clifton on the Tennessee River and Jim's brother, Jonathan, was with the 10th Illinois at Rossville, Georgia, across the state line from Chattanooga, Sherman's winter headquarters. South of Chattanooga, only thirty-five miles away, was Dalton, headquarters of Joe Johnston's Confederate army where men built log huts with fireplaces and bunk beds. Throughout the winter commanders, North and South, organized their armies, speculated about each other's intentions and planned spring campaigns while enlisted men enjoyed furloughs, foraged for food and tried to recover their health. Early enlistments were coming to an end and

1122

Born in 1843, George H. Childs was mustered in as 1st Sergeant of Company F at only nineteen years of age. He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on September 17, 1862, and to Captain effective May 28, 1863.

many volunteers accepted government inducements, including immediate furloughs and bonus payments, to reenlist as veterans. In December Bethard was honorably discharged at Rossville, "minutely inspected," certified to be "entirely sober" and reenrolled. At Woodville, Cal's brother, George Rice, did not reenlist in the 9th Iowa but Sterling Mather did, declaring "I know of no impediment to my serving honestly and faithfully as a soldier for three years." West of the Mississippi, William Bowen was one of 600 who extended their enlistments in the 3d Iowa Cavalry at Little Rock. In the 32d Ohio, seventy-five percent reenlisted, but Leonard Richey, who had been with the regiment during its hectic early days, was one of those who elected to serve out the remaining nine months of their commitments.

On New Year's Day, 1864, in four separate locations, Alva Tanner, Jonathan Bethard, Sterling Mather and William Bowen were reenrolled in their respective regiments and received downpayments on their reenlistment bonuses. One by one, as transportation and circumstances permitted, they would start their furloughs. William would leave immediately for Iowa, Jonathan for Ohio on January 11th, Sterling for Iowa on February 4th and Alva for Iowa on February 13th.¹¹²³ On December 31st, *The Clayton Co. Journal* reported that "Capt. Boardman has been reinstated in the command of his company. He leaves for the regiment next Monday," a regiment still in Texas where the new year began in wind and rain. Company B listed a "present strength" of sixty-four, the same as four months previously. There were still 654 on the muster rolls but several were new recruits who had not yet reached the regiment and others, both at home and in the South, remained unfit for duty. The *St. Mary* arrived with mail while rain turned to a full-fledged Norther, temperatures dropped below freezing, the hospital tent was blown away and the sick were moved to separate quarters. Meanwhile, Myron Knight, still on his way south, reached Cairo about 8:00 a.m. on New Year's Day, went to the Soldier's Home near the landing, had a late breakfast and waited for transportation while Texas weather temporarily eased. The hospital tent was re-erected, the sick moved back in, Joseph Watson,

1123

"In January 1864 over 136,000 time-expired Union veterans reenlisted, amounting to about sixteen percent of the men under arms at the time." *North & South* magazine (February 2002), page 8.

Captain of Company H, resigned and John Baade, Henry Dyer, John Farrand and Brad Talcott were listed as deserters.

It was not unusual for soldiers to be slow returning to their regiments, but Dyer and Baade were now three months overdue, Farrand almost two and Talcott four. Still unknown to the regiment, Baade had reported to a New Orleans convalescent camp, Farrand to the Keokuk hospital and Talcott to Camp McClellan before being sent south, but Dyer's problem was more complicated. Following his release from capture, he had gone home on sick furlough, but the regiment's only copy of the furlough had been lost. From Dyersville he had twice sent medical certificates to extend his stay but, in each case, the certificates had been directed to Lieutenant Van Anda who, unknown to Dyer, was detained in New Orleans and the certificates never made it to Texas. Also in New Orleans was John Grutchek who had been restored to the rolls without penalty. Persuasive on his behalf was David Drummond who was convinced John had been *"unavoidably detained by sickness and from no fault of his own."* Elisha Boardman, also expected to be on his way back to the regiment, was still at home where the *Journal* reported that *"Capt. Boardman has not yet left for the seat of war. He expects to leave next Monday. Persons wishing to send letters by the Cap. to the boys in the army should send them in at once."*

On the evening of January 2d, Myron Knight boarded the *Emmadale* and another Norther hit Texas.¹¹²⁴ For days it howled and *"sleep was impossible within the thin cloth walls of the tents,"* many of which were ripped to shreds. *"Ice froze to the thickness of half an inch, and the soldiers suffered intensely from the keen piercing winds."* Pickets were close to freezing. Cooley thought the Texas winters were *"apparently as cold as northern Iowa in midwinter,"* but Switzer felt the winds were *"much more penetrating and cutting in this climate than they are in the north."* About 4:00 a.m. on the 3d, Myron Knight was on the *Emmadale* when it left Cairo and that afternoon Jim wrote to Cal.

Texas
Mattagorda penintula
January the 3rd 64

Dear wife I seat myself once more to address you through the pen I received two letters from you last week both No. 46 I did not get a chance to mail my last until nearly a week after it was written I should have written some more in it before it went out but I did not have time after the mail was called for I cannot tell when this will go but I will write it and have it ready James Rice and myself are well I feel the best that I have since we left Missouri I have been verry hearty and have felt no signs of the Ague for two weeks I hope and believe I have got rid of that plague There are a great many of the soldiers here enlisting in the vetteran service the most that have gone from our regiment have gone into the artillery the excitement still prevails and a great many more will enlist some are going into cavalry regts the inducements offered ar quite temting to a poor man and some think they will get out of the service as soon as those that do not reenlist: if I was sure that this would be the case I should pitch in but as I am not and my time is almost half out I think I shall not sell myself for another year and a half the four hundred dollars looks quite big but in a year and a half I could make something towards it at home and the difference between soldiering and living a civil life at home with my family and enjoying the accessaries and comforts of life is no trifling consideration Jim Rice has no notion of reenlisting We are still at the same place where we first landed they are making fortifications here and there is some prospect of our brigade being stationed here for garrison for my part I dont care whether we stay or march I should like to see some more of Texas but if we stay it will save us of a great deal of marching and lugging knapsacks and perhaps fighting it is quite healthy here now and I think it will be all summer as it just a little narrow strip of land between the bay and the gulf where we have a sea breeze all the time there is plenty of tolerably good water here the most objection I have to the place is the scarcity of wood I will just mention here that we were paid off since we came here and I expressed \$40.00 to Odel and Updegraff for you the package is directed to J. W. Rice. I wrote it once before but I thought I would mention it again for fear that one of the letters should not get through I have a few stamps yet but as it letters so long to go and come that I shall probbably be out by the time I get an answer to this letter so if you have them on hand it would be well to send half a dozen or so in your next Nothing more of interest at present if anything of interest takes place before this goes out I will write again

¹¹²⁴ Others placed this storm two days earlier.

Your husband JB

Myron Knight reached Memphis about 10:00 p.m. on January 4th while Texas mortar boats bombarded Confederates camped at Alligator Head (now Port O'Connor). The 21st Iowa left tents, baggage and teams behind, boarded the *Planter* and moved with the 22d and 23d Iowa slowly up and across the bay to Indianola where Jefferson Davis had landed his camels more than seven years earlier.¹¹²⁵ It was "*a lively place before the war but was much dilapidated when we arrived*" said Gilbert Cooley. The "*bridges and ferries affording communication between Indianola and Matagorda Island had been burned or removed*" by the Confederates and, as a result, it took almost five hours of maneuvering in fierce winds and currents before the steamer could get close enough to unload about 3:00 p.m., all to the amusement of a small force of rebels who watched from town before withdrawing to the interior.¹¹²⁶ The night was bitterly cold and by the time they returned from their self-styled "*escapade*" all were nearly frozen.¹¹²⁷ As the suffering continued in sub-zero temperatures the "*men came nearer to perishing on picket duty than ever before, even in the severe winter in Missouri.*"¹¹²⁸

The move to Indianola was an effort by Fitz Henry Warren to cope with the wind and cold and the regiment was assigned to vacant houses and the concrete courthouse where eight large rooms, each with a fireplace, provided shelter from the storm.¹¹²⁹ Overly crowded, even with their reduced numbers, Companies D, F and I were moved a few days later to a private house where they "*got fixed up very comfortable.*"¹¹³⁰ Warren's remaining regiments were housed in the hospital and other buildings in the almost deserted town and men were quick to give their commander credit for making sure they were always fed and clothed as well as possible. Most local men were away, fighting for the South but women and children watched as foraging parties walked miles searching for firewood, dismantling fences, removing timbers from old buildings and scavenging shipwrecks along the shore, foraging made difficult by rebel cavalry that patrolled regularly and exchanged fire on a daily basis.

The brigade was part of David Herron's 2d Division and, on his way from New Orleans to Mustang Island, Herron stopped to visit. He tried to assure them they were performing valuable service, but conditions were harsh, they were far from major scenes of battle and any meaningful contribution to the war effort was hard to see. When they left Fort Cavallo on the peninsula, food had been exhausted and a supply ship from New Orleans was overdue. The last cracker had been issued and the only food in sight on the "*barren sand-heap*" was beef - "*thin, impoverished and hungry looking, humping their backs against the storm and ready to perish*"¹¹³¹ - "*the flesh was entirely without fat, red, dry and tasteless and, at home, we should say entirely unfit to eat*" - but, for the next six days, Texas beef sustained the regiment, "*a steamer with provisions for us, floating in plain view, waiting for the winds to subside so that they might enter the Bay and unload.*" The steamer was the *Matamoras* with the regiment's pickets from Decrow's Point and eight companies of the 11th Wisconsin on board. Landing on the evening of the 5th, the pickets rejoined the regiment while the 11th Wisconsin moved up the shore to take possession of Old Town.¹¹³²

In his letter of January 3rd, Jim said many soldiers had enlisted in the veteran service. The incentives were obvious - a \$400.00 re-enlistment bounty and a thirty-day furlough - but procedures were unclear to some who elected

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Others placed this move on the 4th. Sometimes known as Lower Town, Lower Indianola or Brown's Addition, it had surrendered to Union gunboats in October 1862 but was reoccupied by Confederates after the gunboats left.

¹¹²⁶ Malsch, Indianola (State House Press, Austin, 1988).

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Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa's copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891).

¹¹²⁸ George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 122.

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 123. Established in 1852 after a vote to relocate it from Lavaca, it would remain the County courthouse until 1886.

¹¹³⁰ Journal of Gilbert Cooley.

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George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 123.

¹¹³²

By 1860 *Brown's Addition* was generally referred to as *Indianola* although many called the settlement *Powderhorn*. The original *Indianola*, three miles up the Bay at *Indian Point*, was becoming known as *Old Town*.

to reenlist in other regiments without having been discharged from their own regiments. Francis Stevenson, absent the tip of his thumb, had been detailed temporarily as a teamster at division headquarters after Vicksburg and, instead of returning to the regiment when relieved, was one of sixteen who enrolled as unassigned recruits in the 1st Indiana Heavy Artillery without proper authorization. When he didn't arrive at his own regiment he was listed as a deserter while the Indiana artillery gave him an immediate thirty day furlough. It probably sounded good at the time but Francis should have stayed with the infantry. Heading up the Mississippi on January 6th, he fell overboard and drowned.

Meanwhile, the *Matamoras* left for Pass Cavallo and Abe Treadwell, "very particular to have every thing done up according to the army regulations," received his commission as 1st Lieutenant. Men without a pass were confined to quarters and food was scarce - nothing but "a little cornmeal and beef" - but weather was "warm and pleasant."

On the 8th, Myron Knight boarded the *Atlantica* at Memphis and got under way about 4:00 a.m. At Helena he picked up rations, changed transports and resumed his journey at 4:00 p.m. still on his way to Texas where the few local men who remained wore "citizen's clothes," women were in hoop-skirts and children played in the streets. There were dances and riding parties and "fair maidens and social evenings" but war was never far. On January 9th, they were on dress parade at Indianola when word arrived that the enemy was marching on Old Indianola.¹¹³³ In line of battle they hurried to investigate but found only a few Confederate cavalymen who had driven off the cattle but were soon scattered by "our Texan Scouts." A small quantity of corn was found in a shed but ran out quickly and other provisions were almost gone when, on the night of the 10th, a small flotilla including the *Matamoras* and *Planter* arrived with mail and crackers and other rations just as the regiment was preparing to make a more permanent move to reinforce the garrison at Old Indianola and Jim wrote a hurried letter to Cal.

Sunday January 10th 64
Indianola Texas

dear wife I set myself once more to write you a few lines James Rice and I are well we have moved about 15 miles up the bay since my last we are now on the opposite from where we were we have been having some verry cold that ice froze an inch thick in the little pond we have been short of rations for the last week but the long looked for boat came this evening and brought us rations and a mail it brought 3 letters for me one from you one from sister Lib and one from cousin Harvy Behard Libby sent me her likeness Well Cal they have called for the mail so I have not much time to write at present. we are comfortably quartered in the Indianola courthouse Indianola has been a verry_____ town of about five or six thousand inhabitants Cal there is no interesting news to write and to make sure of getting this letter of with this mail I must finish up and take it to the adjutants office kiss Ellie for me while I bid you good night

Yours ever the same
James Beathard

Myron Knight reached Vicksburg and wrote another letter while waiting for transportation at the Soldiers' Home while his regiment was again under fire in Texas. For days they had seen Confederate cavalry on the nearby plain and were on brigade drill when told the enemy was advancing in three columns, this time at Indianola. Weather continued "warm and pleasant" as they formed on the Union right and rushed into line of battle as artillery unlimbered. After brief skirmishing starting about 4:30 p.m., they were relieved by part of the 22d Iowa but the battle never developed, the rebels retired and there were no Union casualties.

To prevent more surprises, seven companies "moved up to Old Town" while the remaining three, Companies D, F and I, formed a heavy picket throughout the night at Indianola and the entire regiment was under arms before daylight. The next day, the 13th, was clear and warm as the regiment was reunited in the Karlshaven area and quartered in Edward Clegg's old "meeting house" (also known as "the old Tavern Stand Planter's House)," and in tents along the road in front. Nearby were the 22d and 23d Iowa and the 10th Ohio battery. Pickets brought in four

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Platted as *Indian Point* in 1846, the town was adjacent to the tract known as *Karlshaven* that had been leased by Prince Karl Solms-Braunfels to house German immigrants. Three miles down the coast, *Brown's Addition* was formed in 1848, *Indian Point* became *Indianola* in 1849 and before long, now bilingual and including *Karlshaven*, became known as *Old Indianola*, *Old Town* or *Upper Town* while *Brown's Addition* became *Indianola* or *New Town*. All very confusing to soldiers writing letters home.

Confederate deserters and Companies A, F and H joined three companies from the 11th Wisconsin in search of beef. They thought they'd be going to Galveston in a month or two to "*drive the rebels into the sea*" but, in the meantime, daily drills continued in cool weather and, when more firewood was needed, half the regiment escorted wagons as they scoured the countryside while a similar number waded into Lavaca Bay behind the house to harvest oysters.

The fall elections were few but decisive as Republicans gained important victories in New York, Pennsylvania and, perhaps most satisfying, in Ohio where Clement Vallandigham was overwhelmed. In Iowa, the Republicans adopted the name "*Union*" to signify their support for its preservation. Their nomination of William Stone, late Colonel of the 22d Iowa, for Governor wasn't popular with many in the party but the entire ticket was elected with comfortable margins.¹¹³⁴ On January 14th, Governor Kirkwood's term ended and Stone's began while an Indianola resident, "*German by birth*," committed suicide by cutting his throat and Matthew King was detailed to "*lay him out*."¹¹³⁵ On the 15th there was a general review, the German was buried, some of the men were detailed as scouts and Arnold Allen wrote to his mother.

Dear Mother

I once more take the opportunity of writing to you to inform you that I am well hoping these few lines may find you all well with plenty to eat and good clothes to wear and no hard work to do this leaves me well excepting a bad cold which will soon play out the weather is fine here and has been for the last 3 or 4 days and I hope it may continue this way till spring we have moved our quarters from the court house to a meeting house in this town we will probably stay here a month or 2 till we get things ready for moving by land and then we will go up through Texas to Galveston and drive the rebels in to the sea iff they skidaddle from there before we get there for my part I dont think we will have much fighting to do in this state because there is plenty of union men in this state and some are in the army who are waiting for an opportunity to give them selves up and go home they know there is no use of fighting with us for we will be shure to whip them as usual so that is the reason that I think we will not have much fighting in this state well I have not heard from Smith for a long time I am expecting a letter from him soon we have plenty to eat here and some drilling we had review this morning we are getting a large force here so the rebs will have to mind there eyes or we might run in to there calculations a little the boys are all well here as far as I know Davy Haggard and Smey Collins are well we are expecting to have some more pay soon and then I will send it to you write and tell me iff you have received the 45 dollars that I sent I have nothing more to write at this time write soon and tell me the news so good bye¹¹³⁶

From your son Arnold in Texas soldiering

Direct as before

give my best wishes to all whom it may concern iff you cant read this send it back to me and I will try to read it my self

On Sunday, after four months with the pioneer corps, William Lyons assumed his duties as captain of Company B, there was preaching by "*an old veteran of the War of 1812*" and Jim wrote to Cal.

Old town Texas

Sunday January the 17th. 64.

Dear wife another sabath finds me in good health and writing to my wife Jim Rice is also well and writing to his wife I have received no letters from you since my last to you the last from you is No. 47 you will see by the date of this that we have left Indianola but we have only moved three miles up the bay¹¹³⁷ we are quartered in houses we have fixed up bunks and are verry comfortably situated

¹¹³⁴ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹¹³⁵

Some said Stone's Democratic opponent, Gen. James M. Tuttle, was better liked by men in the army, but most of their votes went to Stone whose politics they preferred. With strong backing from Kirkwood, Stone received 70,000 votes to Tuttle's 5,000. Kirkwood had, in effect, declined his appointment as Minister to Denmark by advising Sec. of State Seward he did not feel free to go until the expiration of his term as Governor, but he would serve as a Senator and Secretary of the Interior under Presidents Garfield and Arthur.

¹¹³⁶ Davy Haggard was David Haggard from Peosta. Smey Collins was Samuel Collins from Epworth.

¹¹³⁷

but we are not likely to remain long here for we are drawing shelter tents and preparing for an active campaign we expect to march into the interior before long. We have seen a few armed rebs and heard a touch of old Vicksburg music in Texas already last tuesday while we were out on drill a party of rebs made their appearance we immediately left the drill ground and went to our quarters for our amunition which the most of us had carelessly left in quarters when we went out to drill we were then placed in position for battle a few of their skirmishers came within rifle rang of our pickets who gave them a volley while our battrry shelled the main body and they all skedaddled no body was hurt on our side I heard that there were one or two dead and three or four wounded rebs brought in but I am not sure that this is so they have showed themselves several times since but they take good care to keep out of range of our guns Cal you say you have got your hair cut short and you ask me not to scold I wont scold but if you want me to come home and live with you again you must let it grow out and not have it cut again for I dont want to see you with your hair cut short You know I never would consent to it when I was at home I am sorry that Ellies health is so poor I hope she will have better health after a while Mr Lyons of Hardin who has been with the pioneer corps for some time past has received a captains commision and will return and take command of the company I think Lyons will make a good captain he was verry well liked as orderly and lieutenant by the majority of the company his worst enemy is from his own town and I think his enmity originated mainly from jealousy We also have a new 1st lieutenant his name is Abram Treadwell he was a private in the start and has gone up by degrees to 1st lieutenant he puts on a considerable of style but I think he will mak a verry good Lieut he is verry particular to have every thing done up according to the army regulations I beleive I have nothing more of interest to write at present I am quite anxious to get a letter from you for I want to hear from little Ellie with my best wishes for your wellfare I bid you good bye for this time

(Your husband JB

I have only got four postage stamps left

On the 18th, twenty-three-year-old Nehemiah Aldrich signed a Volunteer Enlistment at Fayette, Iowa. Before long he would start south to join his two brothers, Frank and Ruel, in Texas where the regiment was ordered into line of battle "at the firing of the sunrise gun," there was a general inspection of arms and Assistant Surgeon Hiram Hunt and the sick arrived in camp. By the 19th, they were "comfortably settled" and Robert Strane wrote to his sisters.

Camp of the 21st Iowa, Indianola, Calhoun Co. Texas January 19 AD 1864

Dear Sisters

I have the pleasure to inform you that I received letters from you both yesterday. Rachels dated December 17th and E. Janes 24th, to which I will now respond though I have nothing of much importance to write to you. I was happy to learn from your letter that you were all in the enjoyment of good health, which I always consider the most important matter. At the head of this page you will see the letter that I spoke of in my last of having commenced and did not have time to finish. Since my last letter to mother, we have had quite stirring times. We have moved from the Cort House to a private dwelling about a quarter miles distance. The second time we moved 4 miles up the Bay to the old original Indianola, what the inhapitants call old town. Co. L, D & I are now quartered in the planters house. This is a very large ugly old house with the windows & doors all broke out, & part of the weather boarding tore off, but we have fixed it up considerable & fixed bunks all through it, and in our department or room, we have erected a new fashioned stove. It is an old steam boiler of a steam boat or some other steam engine, with the one end placed in the middle of the room on a box of sand to keep from burning the floor, and the other end stuck out through the side of the house & elevated enough just so that it draws first rate. The boiler is about 20 feet long & 1½ through, and I'll just tell you it answers the purpose very well. It is not an unusual occurrence to be called out in line of battle here for we have been called out in double quick as much as half a dozen times since we have been here, & every time expecting an attack. One time in particular some of the boys had their guncocks raised & at that time we could see the Rebs quite plain. Their line of skirmishers reached intirely round us, but did not come within reach of our rifle muskets. Our artillery played on them some, & they killed one of the rebs & wounded 2 that we know of, for they was found on the field the next day. We are now in the country where oysters are to be

The reference to Indianola, which had not been mentioned in his letter of January 3rd, indicates a letter probably written on Sunday, January 10th, was apparently lost.

had in abundance. There is a bed just opposite to our quarters, & we can get all we want quite easy. The tide is so low this morning that they can be had in abundance by just rolling up the trousers and wading out a little ways into the water, & I tell you there is plenty of boys out at it too.

William Kerr got here last night from the point or peninsula & he brought the remainder of our things. He looks harty but he says he has the chills yet. He also has been out in the water after oysters this morning & I expect he will have a chill before night for his pay. He is very careless about his health. I wonder he has not killed himself before this time - he is a very hard boy Here comes Buck with a loaf of corn bread - He says boys, lets have a lunch. J. Wallace, Vanhorn & myself went to eating. There is someone braks through above us & pretty near comes down on our table - close to where [he] broke through there was a kettle of water siting & in his fright he knocked over the water & it come down all over our corn bread & some got on my paper. This is a most beautiful day it is just like spring. We have had very nice weather here for a week --

Cap Childs is officer of the day today. Lieut. Wallace was officer of the guard last night. They are both in good health & both universally beloved by the Company. We have more unity in the company now than we have ever had before. We have just 45 men in the company now that is with us now and all but 2 & sometimes 3 are for duty.

I have been on a detail of fatigue since I commenced this letter - the company has just gone out on battallion drill I am excused for being on fatigue.

Rachel, that is rather a curious circumstance you spoke of in your letter about Dan Corts pig. I should think it would be rather a disappointment to Fred Wolf. I expect old Dan will put them through to the full extent of the law. I am sorry that a brother of mine had anything to do with it. Tell Hugh that I am sorry that he didn't get the mittens when he expected them. It would learn him to know who he is going with. Jane says Jackson is a great boy among the girls. I am afraid he's going to be a bad boy. Tell him to take the example of his Brother & have nothing to do with them, for they may get him into trouble. There is a few girls in this town but they don't bother me any. I have not had a letter from Wms. for a long time. Oh, I forgot to tell you that I was greatly surprised & sorry to hear of Mary Jane Daugherties marriage and was not in condition to hear such unexpected news, though I wish her a great deal of happyness truely. Carpenter still wears the old white straw hat yet while the rest of us wear's caps. There is active preparations being made for this expedition to start on its campaign. It is generally supposed we will start before a week & it may be 2. Every man is ordered to have a pack tent & a rubber blanket. I believe I have nothing more to say. But the boys are all well. Lev Scollian is still in the convalescent camp at N. Orleans - haven't heard from him for a long time. The old troops have pretty near all enlisted over again that are here.¹¹³⁸

*I remain your brother
R. Strane*

William Monlux had returned to Elkader after receiving a disability discharge in November due to his Vicksburg leg wound. Now, saying his sole "*occupation has been doing nothing,*" he applied for an invalid pension with a supportive affidavit from Elisha Boardman who had carried him from the field. Dr. John Blanchard examined William and said "*one half of the middle third of the tibia was separated by a musket ball & the whole bone fractured. He is obliged to walk with crutches.*" An \$8.00 monthly pension would be granted in April.

Meanwhile, Myron Knight's efforts to get back to the regiment continued at Vicksburg as he drew rations and boarded the *Northern* about 1:00 p.m. on the 19th. They cast off the next morning at daylight, passed Grand Gulf about noon and stopped at Natchez about 5:00 p.m. Starting again at daylight, they passed the mouth of the Red River about 11:00 a.m. on the 21st, stopped briefly at Port Hudson about 3:00 p.m. and continued to Baton Rouge for another short stop.

As soldiers were dying, Iowa's widows were trying to put their lives together. Abel Griffin 's widow, Marion, requested a pension for herself, five year old Nellie and two year old Elmer. Leroy Parker's widow, Amanda, signed a similar application, an application witnessed by her sister, Exceen (who was already pensioned as the widow of Thomas McNary) and supported by William Crooke who noted that Leroy had been:

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William W. Kerr, a resident of Buncombe, would die from lung congestion on June 15, 1865. Jerome "Buck" Bucknam would be mustered out on May 15, 1865, James Wallace and William Vanhorn would be mustered out on July 15, 1865; all three were from Zwingle. Captain George H. Childs would be mustered out on July 15, 1865. 1st Lieutenant John Wallace of Buncombe would resign on June 3, 1864. George "Lev" Schollian of Zwingle would be discharged for disability on April 17, 1864. There were several men in the regiment with a "Carpenter" surname.

"a very earnest and resolute soldier, particular averse to being classed with 'sick men' especially during active operations - and from my knowledge of his character I have no doubt that he was often 'on duty' when he ought to have been in hospital. When he went home he was much reduced by constant diarrhea & the fatigue he had recently undergone."

When the regiment reached Texas, its roster had reflected a total strength of 645 men including three recruits but, as usual, many were unfit for service.¹¹³⁹ Some were transferred to the Invalid Corps while John Edwards was transferred to the Mississippi Squadron. More recruits were needed and bounties were about to expire but Congress agreed they would continue "until further provision." The *Journal* rejoiced, "Another day of grace! There is yet time to save Clayton County from the draft. Will it be done? Lieut Hooper is still at the Davis House ready to enlist any and every able bodied man desirous of serving his country. Each recruit has his choice of regiment." When Garnavillo residents paid "the liberal bounty of \$100, and the young men came readily forward and enlisted" the *Journal* offered congratulations - "Well done, Garnavillo. Have other Townships in the county done as well?"

Joining the regiment were two recruits in November, thirteen in December, eleven in January and fifty-one in February including George Blood who had been discharged for a disability more than a year earlier but now rejoined his comrades in Texas. Also joining were nineteen year old Robert Mansfield from Winneshiek County and forty-four year old David Lane from Mitchell County. Robert and his mother had moved from Ohio after the death of his father and Robert worked as a farmer giving most of his wages to his mother and kept her well supplied with potatoes, flour, butter and other necessities. He was her sole support and the \$300.00 federal bounty for new enlistees and \$13.00 monthly salary would go a long way. Daniel was from County Cork in Ireland where he had been married in 1843 before moving his family to the U.S. Robert had seven months to live; David fewer than five.

In Illinois, Cal's eighteen year old cousin, Aaron Frankeberger, was finally old enough to enlist and joined the 46th Infantry to be with his brother Eli. At 5'4½", Aaron was a feisty farmer from Freeport and the two brothers would soon be well known to their comrades - and their commanders.

In Texas the mail came, the mail went and drill continued on the 22d while Myron Knight, ill for seven months, away from the regiment almost five and on his return for one, traveled on the *Northern* throughout the night. At noon they reached New Orleans and Myron was sent by the Provost Marshall to a convalescent camp where he was reunited with several of his comrades. On the 23rd, Robert Strane wrote to his younger brother, Hugh Strane.

January 23/64

Dear Brother

I am anxious to see a little of your writing, as you are the only one of the family that is old enough which has not wrote a few lines at least to me. And this I will write plain & I want you to answer it, though Brother I have nothing of much importance to write to you. I received a letter written by Eliza Jane yesterday containing 4 postage Stamps which I was very glad to receive. The letter was very interesting to me, though I had got some before of later date.

Well, Hugh, this is the Sabbath day, & I suppose you have different sceens before your eyes this day than I have. In almost any direction I look I can see the works of the worldly being caried on the same as any other day of the week; in one corner a squad is playing cards, in another place some more is pitching hoes shoes, & in another a squad is gathered playing all, & out in the Bay several boats or skifts are in sight gathering oysters. None of these are the works of necessity. So you can imagine the temptations the soldier is exposed to, & Brother, I am afraid if such an unfortunate thing should happen that yourself should have to shoulder the musket & go into the field as three of your brothers have done, that your mind would not be strong enough to resist the temptations that would be introduced to you every day. We have specimans in our own Company of such young men comeing into the Army. They make as good soldiers as any as far as military Duty is concerned, but they have not the respect for themselves that they had when they left their Fathers house. But I hope such a thing will not need to be that you will have to enter the field as a soldier, & you need not wish to, for it is not as pleasant as many boys would imagine. I can say for myself that I was a little taken in, but it was my duty & I have never rued the day. I expect to be a soldier to slavery is abolished from our American soil, which time I think is not far before us. The slave holder is bringing this upon

¹¹³⁹ The three new recruits were Henry Bollinger, Roger McCoy and Jonathan Dazey

themselves thus have set the trap for their own destruction. Our arms have been crowned with success in almost every quarter during the last year, & if the coming year affords us the same or equal successes I don't know where Rebeldom will make its stand. Our Chaplain preached this forenoon in the church of this place, & a German citizen preached this afternoon. The Chaplain of the 23 Iowa is to preach this evening.

Hugh, I am sorry that your name is so popular in such ugly little scrapes as the one about Dan Cort's hog, but such things will. I think it rather a soft trick in John McKittrick to go & acknowledge it & expose the rest of you. I am glad you have such good times in the old neighborhood this winter. When you go to your parties put in an extra word for me occasionally won't you? Yes do, & a kiss too if you want to. The Rebs still hold Port Lavacka yet. That is a little town 12 miles farther up the Bay, but it is because we have not got ready to go up there yet. It is reported they are fortifying & getting reinforcements. Captain Chiles & Lieut. Wallace are well & so are all the rest of the boys of your acquaintance. Nothing more at present.

I ever remain your affectionate Brother

Robert Strane

On the 24th, Myron Knight visited Carl Presho in a New Orleans' hospital and men signed payrolls in Texas. Chaplain Hill preached in the morning, Chaplain Barton of the 23d in the afternoon and "a Dutch Citizen" also in the afternoon.¹¹⁴⁰ "He preached in Dutch for there are a great many Dutch here."¹¹⁴¹

Old Indianola. Texas.

Sunday. January 24th 1864

Dear wife I seat my self to address you by letter I received yours of the 27th No. 48 last friday I should like to have been with you in your Christmas sleighride but I was in far different business out on the water moving commisary stores from one vessel to another and the weather had more the appearance of the 4th of July than Christmas but I hope you enjoyed your sleighride as it was but if I had been with you I have no doubt but we would both passed a merrier Christmas than we did your letters still bring the news of Ellies bad health I hope your next may bring the news of a change for the better we are still at the same place where we was when I wrote you my last and no more signs of leaving than when we first came here and I dont care for my part if they keep us here until the war is over the worst objections I have to the place is the scarcity of water we got plenty of cistern water when we first came here but the cisterns are about played out now we still get cistern water to drink but we have to use water for cooking and coffee from wells and it is quite brackish but better than none The weather is quite warm at present so much so that men prefer the shade without a coat on I should like to be in Iowa to slide on snowshoes and sleighride but I expect if I should go from here there now I would be as stupid as a snake and would hardly dare stick my head out of doors There is an Oyster bed right close to our camp and we can get all the Oysters we want by raking them out I have become verry fond of raw fresh Oysters and I find them a verry healthy thing to eat my health is good at present with the exception of a bad could which causes quite a severe headache to day James Rice is well No mor at present but remain your ever true and loving

husband. James Beathard

Myron Knight visited a New Orleans doctor on January 25th to get medication for the mumps and, on the 26th in Shreveport, Henry Allen was inaugurated as the successor to Confederate Governor Thomas Moore. A military hero with the 4th Louisiana Infantry, Allen had been wounded in the legs in a pre-war duel, shot in the face at Shiloh, had his right leg shattered by cannister at Baton Rouge and escaped a hotel fire in Jackson. He walked with crutches but gave a passionate speech that was widely disseminated and inspired the entire South.

Nelson Reynolds rejoined the regiment at Indianola and was detailed as a company cook. Desertion charges were pending but three days later, by order of Major General Napoleon Dana at Headquarters of the U.S. Forces in Texas, a

1140

"Dutch" (i.e. Deutsche; German). Most of the German "Forty-Eighters" were opposed to slavery, "an evil whose ultimate removal is indispensable" according to an 1854 Manifesto. Clare, *Dark & Bloody Ground*, *Civil War* magazine (October 1998). Many voluntarily took an oath of allegiance to the North, but there was little effort "to compel the citizens generally to swear allegiance." Malsch, *Indianola* (State House Press, Austin, 1988).

¹¹⁴¹ Dear Companion. *The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer* (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996), page 67.

Special Order was issued by Assistant Adjutant General Hugh G. Brown providing that "*Private Nelson R. Reynolds G. Co. 21st Iowa Infy. reported as a deserter is hereby returned to duty without trial or loss of pay - the evidence being satisfactory to the Maj. Genl. commanding that his absence was justifiable.*"

Work details continued to dig rifle pits and fortify Old Indianola, the *St. Mary* arrived with more mail and sixteen rebel deserters surrendered to the Federals. After a rainy night, weather cleared on the morning of the 29th but the 30th was foggy and cloudy. William Ferris, a young Scotsman from Millville, and Warren Ewing, a native Hawkeye, left for New Orleans where they would be discharged for disability in another two weeks. Brad Talcott, arrested as a straggler in Dubuque, was on his way back to the regiment, reached New Orleans, was sent on a brief expedition across the lake and returned to the city. On the 30th, Linus "Line" McKinnie wrote another letter to the *North Iowa Times*:

Indianola, Texas, Jan. 30, 1864

Dear Times: Moved again. Once more the 21st has gone the length of the battalion into Dixie, and we are now encamped on the banks of the Bay Levacca, and quartered in comfortable houses, with a fair view of the Bay and surrounding country. From the housetops we can, with a glass, see the towns of Levaca and Texana, which are occupied by rebel Cavalry. The towns from this point look as if they were of considerable size, presenting two large steeples and and [sic] several three-story business houses. Levaca is the point at which our army, under Scott, commenced their advance on Fort Brown and Mexico; it was a post for military stores prior to this rebellion. It was here that the 1st U.S. Infantry embarked for N.Y. after being surrendered by Gen. Twiggs. The Bay is a fine sheet of water 18 miles in length and from 3 to 5 miles in breadth, with a channel sufficiently wide and deep to admit of small sized ocean steamers, but they say the channel is filled with torpedoes, and therefore unsafe to navigate. our transports do not come farther than Powderhorn which is four miles below us on the bay where it makes into Matagorda. The shoal of water of Bay Levaca is one continuous oyster bed, of fine quality, very easily obtained, and you can bet that our mess tables are made to grunt under the load of Stewed, Fried and Raw that is heaped upon them, done up in the latest approved style. Often do we hear the remark, "I wish our folks at home could have some of these blessings." This is the first instance in my life where "distance has lent enchantment to the view" of Home. It has almost faded from my memory, yet with a fondness amounting to idolatry, do we cling to the shadows of those happy faces we once greeted at the fireside. In the pursuit of wealth and enjoyment you may for a time forget the soldier, but he will not forget home, never. While you are enjoying your feast days and fast days, do you occasionally drop a line or tip a glass to absent friends. [Well we do, hoss!]

The troops encamped here are the 1st, 2d, and 3rd Brigades of 1st Division 13th Army Corps, commanded by Brig. Gen. W. P. Benton. The expedition is in command of Major General N. J. T. Dana. Brig. Gen. Fitz Henry warren is in command of the 1st Brigade. Col Harris of the 11th Wisconsin commands the 2d Brigade. We are having a nice time of it here, nothing but picket guard, cook and eat, and occasionally have a small party, or a dance to pass off the lonely hours. The majority of the inhabitants of this place are Germans, honest appearing, industrious, and prior to the outbreak they had good homes, and the comforts of this life around them, but they raised the arm of the rebellion. The blow they aimed at the government has been effectually parried; the blow has passed between them and their once happy homes, and now, even in this small town you can find families who are depending on our Commissary for the necessities of life; the Husband and perhaps Father, in the rebel ranks fighting against us! Many of these instances are deserving of sympathy while others are deserving a death worse than starvation, if it were not for the name of America starving her own.

There is considerable excitement here on account of enlisting in the veteran volunteer service. The 33d Ill. has gone, the 8th and 18th Indiana, and 11th Wisconsin are going next month, and there is some talk of the 21st, 22d, and 23d Iowa going in too; but none of it is for me. I am veteran enough, and if the fanatics that are at the head of this are allowed to keep on in their own way, this war will make many an old veteran; but never mind; God will step in and play the Babel game on them. The spoils are getting to be quite a bone of contention.

The 21st is commanded by Major W. D. Croke, who is working both day and night to make us comfortable, and from the loads of the piles of clothing, rations, & c., in the Q. M. Department, his "gentle voice" has been heard at Headquarters, and his noble efforts have not been fruitless. It is his intention to parade the 21st this evening in new Clothing and full haversacks. This is a feat accomplished that will afford

him happy reflections in coming years.

Let me here remark that the 21st, when it is dressed up and plenty to eat, can take things as they come about as cool as any of them. Young ladies when they return, look out when they set themselves down to seize those hearts of yours. The batteries that can repulse their advances will be of no mean construction; their "present arms" will, if not guarded; so captivate you that at once you will give the command, "Support!!" Depend upon it, they can eat a poor dinner with as little murmurings as any of the stay-at-home rangers, besides they will be perfectly acquainted with the Infantry drill.

It was read to us on dress parade that Col Merrill and Capt. Boardman had been reinstated, and would report at once to their command. This was good news to us all. Their return will be hailed with joy. There are some that will be mutton chopped over it, but that makes - never mind; the strap game will not always win.

The health of the regiment is good. There has been no death in a long while, but we all dread the hot weather. It seems so strange, 30th of January, doors and windows open, wind S.E. and warm as May.

Tell Tim Hopkins that he has been struck from the roll on hearing that he had been transferred to another branch of the service. Tell him that 1 bbl. of flour, 1 bush. potatoes, and five dollars laid out in groceries will afford him more true comfort than the glittering tinsel and trumpet flourish of this military life. Set him up, show him how to build a fire and put the tea kettle on, and make him useful until I come home.

Dinner is ready. Fried oysters. Who can wait! Respects to all.

Line McKinne¹¹⁴²

On January 31st weather was "warm and pleasant," the chaplain from the 21st spoke in the morning, the chaplain from the 23d in the afternoon and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Indianola Texas
January 31st 1864**

Dear wife once more I am seated to have a little conversation with you by means of the pen I received your second letter numbered 48 this week I am well at present and hope this may find you and Ellie in the enjoyment of good health James Rice is grunting a little with a kind of an neuralgia or sun pain over his eyes originating from a bad cold Jim has been lately promoted to the office of 5th Corporal I received a letter from sister Nancy last week she was well and verry well pleased with her new situation and her new acquaintances and especialy her relations who were strangers to her when she went there¹¹⁴³

We are still at Old Indianola and no visible prospects of leaving yet There seems to be some prospect of a reunion of the north and south as some of our soldiers are getting married to the ladies of Texas I understand that several of the first brigade down at the lower town have got married since we came here and one of the 11th wisconsin of our brigade was married last week in this town girls are not overly plenty here the most of them having gone off with the rebs but what there are left seem to be ready and willing to accept the hands of the yankee soldiers¹¹⁴⁴ I hope the Southern Confederacy will soon be as willing to accept the hand of Uncle Sam and peace reign over the land once more but Uncle Sam courts the southern confederacy in a far different style from the way the boys court the southern ladies instead of soft whistered words he speaks from the cannons mouth and his words cut like a two edged sword and those who come within hearing of his voice are caused to tremble and shrink from his presence or submit to his desires Well Cal our company has just received a mail but there was no letter

1142

Major Crooke was in command since Colonel Merrill had not yet returned to the regiment and Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda was still under arrest in New Orleans.

1143

Nancy, Jim's younger sister, was born February 1, 1840. At the time of his letter, she had recently moved to Illinois where she would teach two terms of school before moving to Kansas.

1144

Pro-Union sentiment had been rabid in the counties north of Indianola early in the war and was still present but more subdued by 1864. Elliott, *Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865*. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. L, No. 4 (April 1947).

for me nor Jim Rice I believe I have nothing more of interest to write at present so with my love and best wishes for your welfare I bid you good bye for this time

**Yours ever the same
James Beathard**

On February 1, 1864, President Lincoln called for another 500,000 men. If enough volunteers were not secured by March 10th, a draft was to be instituted. Nathaniel Baker replied the following day.¹¹⁴⁵

Des Moines, Feb. 2, 1864

To President Lincoln, Washington D.C.

I have just received your dispatch for a Draft for Five Hundred Thousand Troops after March 10th. There will be no Draft in Iowa. You shall have our quota without it.

"We are coming, Father Abraham, with Five Hundred Thousand more."

*By order of Gov. Stone
N. B. Baker
Adj't Gen.*

On February 3rd, Frank Dale submitted his resignation due to protracted illness in his family. Since the previous August, following his father's death, Frank said he had been "*the sole support of my aged and infirm Mother. My family having emigrated from England are almost total strangers in this country.*" They relied on Frank for protection and care and two weeks later his resignation would be approved. The *North Iowa Times* of the 3rd reported that "*Col. Merrill is President and J. H. Merrill is Vice of the State Bank here.*" The paper also noted that "*Col. Merrill has left for his command*" carrying a present, a new watch for Linus McKinnie from his friends in McGregor.

In Texas rebels were driven away by federal scouts on the 4th. On the 5th, the 1st and 3d Brigades took three days rations and went almost as far as Lavaca searching for lumber. They returned the next day while some of the men went "*oystering*" and recruiting efforts continued in the north. "*Clayton Township offers a bounty of \$100 for recruits. Giard will do the same or better,*" said the *Times* on February 10th. It also clarified that the President's call was intended to mean 200,000 in addition to 300,000 previously called for.

Meanwhile, Myron Knight's return had stalled in New Orleans where steamboats were coming and going, down the Mississippi and up from the Gulf, a large squad of recruits arrived on their way to replenish numerous Iowa regiments, and the four convalescent battalions organized in October were disbanded. Men who were still sick, including Myron who was suffering from chills and fever, were sent to hospitals while those fit for duty were sent to their regiments. Salue Van Anda was also still in the city where Luther Whittlesey, Lieutenant Colonel of the 11th Wisconsin, wrote to an Assistant Adjutant General with the 13th Corps. Whittlesey asked that Van Anda be permitted to rejoin the regiment and argued that his "*courageous and gallant conduct*" at Port Gibson, the Big Black and Vicksburg should be considered. The request was granted and Van Anda left for Texas.

Jim's Aunt Elizabeth, widow of Sam Satterlee, was granted a monthly pension of \$8.00, six months after applying but faster than normal. Processing of new claims was lasting months, sometimes years, and it was taking almost sixteen months just for the overwhelmed federal government to forward accrued pay of deceased soldiers to their next of kin. Similarly, new recruits were enlisting at an increased rate and processing was often slow. John Patterson had enlisted on November 28th, Smith Bass on December 27th and Henry and John Chapin on January 2nd, but it was not until the week ending February 6th that they received their \$13.00 advance pay for one month from William Grier, the government's Chief Mustering and Disbursing officer in Iowa.

Texas weather was warm and pleasant on the 7th, Chaplain Hill spoke in the morning, Van Anda arrived from New Orleans and took command, General Ord and his staff reviewed the troops in the evening and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Indianola. Texas.
February 7th. 1864**

Dear wife one more sabath morning finds me in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good

1145

North Iowa Times (February 3, 1864). A similar call for 500,000 men, General Orders No. 232, was proclaimed by the President on July 19, 1864, pursuant to an act of congress approved July 4, 1864. A call for 300,000 men, General Orders No. 302, was proclaimed by the President on December 21, 1864, pursuant to the act of July 4, 1864.

health James Rice suffered considerable last week with neuralgia in the head but he is well now and was out on inspection this morning I received two letters from you and one from Mort last friday evening I am glad to hear that Ellie has got well again I hope she will have better health hereafter I am glad to hear also that our money went through all straight for it was so long before I heard from it that we had begun to be a little afraid it had not went all right

Cal when you write again tell me how much money you have and how much you have coming to you, I have sent you \$110 since I have been in the service besides my county bounty and what I received at Dubuque you have said nothing for a long time about your county allowance tell me in your next whether you still draw it or not

Well Cal since writing the above I have been and drawn one days rations of beef and Ill bet a hard tack it is poorer than the poorest cow in uncle Joels yard we have fresh beef about half of the time and corn beef and pork the other half it is my business to draw and keep an account of the rations for the company I have no guard duty nor drilling to do but I have to keep my gun in order and go on dress parade and be ready for fight when there is any figting to be done

We are still at Indianola¹¹⁴⁶ and no signs of leaving yet although we have drawn shelter tents and are ready at any time for an active campaign we may leave here in a week and we may stay here until the end of the war which I hope and beleive is not far distant Well I must quit and eat my dinner Well Cal I will try once more to finish my letter I had just finished my dinner and sat down to write when we were ordered to fall in, in heavy marching order for review. we packed and strapped on our knapsacks and marched down to the lower town a distance of three miles and formed in line of battle and stood about an hour and a half with our knapsacks on and finaly general Ord made his appearance and rode along the line.¹¹⁴⁷ we then made a circuit of about a mile passing in review and then marched back to our quarters we verry often have such reviews and they dont amount to a pinch of snuff it seems that whenever a general gets a new suit of cloths he calls out all the troops under his command on review so as to have a good chance to exhibit his new duds and some of them put on so much style that they resemble monkeys dressed for a show more than human beings but it is getting dark and I must bring my letter to a wind up Tell Mort I will answer his letter soon Tell Hiram and Phila if they have any time to spare a letter from them would be quite exceptable Yours ever the same James Beathard

Corodon Hewitt had been wounded in the foot the previous April and, while lying on the field, suffered a spinal injury when a shell burst above him. Since then, he had been treated in hospitals in Memphis and then St. Louis. On February 8th, he was discharged. At the request of Corodon's wife who had heard that her husband "*would need help in order to get home,*" John Doud went to the hospital, found Corodon "*nearly in a helpless condition*" and "*brought him home.*"¹¹⁴⁸

Major General Napoleon Dana sent a communication to Texas on February 8th advising Fitz Henry Warren to maintain "*great vigilance and use every precaution*" to avoid surprises. "*Do not,*" he said "*weaken your picket line or reduce its distance from the post, and scout as much as safety and your disposable means will admit . . . Hasten forward the defenses as rapidly as possible to completion.*"¹¹⁴⁹ Due to the departure of Wisconsin's Colonel Harris, Colonel Merrill assumed brigade command and, said Walter McNally, Merrill "*came up while we were on dress parade the boys was all very glad to see him back and gave him a hartey welcome.*" He gave a "*short speech to the boys,*" said Matthew King and was roundly cheered.¹¹⁵⁰ Also returning was Elisha Boardman who was "*cordially*

¹¹⁴⁶ Old Indianola.

¹¹⁴⁷

Recently returned from a lengthy sick leave, Ord no doubt felt a need to review his troops and reassert his authority. While his visits may have been impressive, and even necessary, the pomp and circumstance of a General Review were rarely welcomed.

¹¹⁴⁸

Doud's 1886 account said he found Corodon in a Memphis hospital, secured a furlough for him, and took him home. Military records, however, are clear that Corodon was in a St. Louis hospital when he was discharged.

¹¹⁴⁹ Malsch, Indianola (State House Press, Austin, 1988).

¹¹⁵⁰

Journal of Matthew King.

received” as he resumed his duties as captain and the weather “got beautiful, warm and pleasant. It was like spring weather in Iowa; the grass commenced to grow; the cattle, which ranged the country all winter, began to get fat and eatable.”¹¹⁵¹ On the 10th, Linus McKinnie thanks his friends for the new watch, the “delineator of Time.”

Camp of the 21st Iowa
Indianola, Texas, Feb. 10, 1864

Messrs. “Chum’s” of McGregor: Your favor per the hand of Col. Samuel Merrill has been received, and I was happily surprised at receiving so valuable a present. I am not aware of having done anything that should merit this mark of esteem; but as is the case with most of us when unexpected blessings come, we are always willing to take the bright side of the mirror in which we see ourselves in the light of Favor. As I gaze on the face of this model delineator of Time, my mind will go back in fancied dreams to many jolly times we have had together.

If God spares my life I will surprise you one of these fine mornings with a life-size portrait of “Line,” so natural in all its parts that it will at once be recognized as the same, though somewhat soiled by exposure to wind and sun. Yet “when War shall have smoothed his wrinkled front” you will find him the same gay and happy c__s as of yore.

In conclusion I would say I hope that God will take a liking to you all.,

So when this fitful life has fled
And I am done with staff and rod,
I only ask that you may tread
With me the pathways of our God.

Much yours

Line

To T. M. Hopkins, Jesse Lampson, L. Peavy, A. McKinne, M. McKinne., O. Parker, J. W. Norton, F. Bradley, Wash. Saulsbury, “Old” Bulick, Geo. Church, A. French, Frank Hammer, D. Hammer.¹¹⁵²

Meanwhile, Myron Knight, discharged from the hospital two days earlier, boarded the *George Peabody* about noon and left New Orleans. He reached the mouth of the Mississippi the next day and turned west across the Gulf. They reached the Texas coast on the 13th and Myron was transferred to a coastal steamer.

Temperatures were warm, two more boats arrived and a detail was sent down to Powderhorn to pick up supplies including potatoes, dried apples, pickled cabbage, canned milk, cornstarch, bandages, rags and towels. A heavily-armed, well-mounted, thirty-seven man patrol was sent out from Old Indianola. Since the regiment's horses had been returned to New Orleans, men had spent long hours alleviating boredom by capturing wild horses on the plains and by mid-February had a stable of thirty-five. On the 13th, near the James Foster residence on Chocolate Bayou by the upper crossing of Lavaca Bay, a patrol found itself inadvertently confined in a 200 acre cattle corral when a body of seventy-five well-armed cavalymen from the 33rd Texas Cavalry began closing the gates. The Federals, said Charles Kellogg, who was “slightly injured by the accidental discharge of my pistol,” “were able to cut our way out with our sabres and pistols with the loss of two men taken prisoner, both having been thrown from their horses and ‘roped.’”¹¹⁵³

1151

Of the five men who had been discharged as a result of Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda’s letter to the War Department, Quartermaster Morse (due to his continuing disability) had not sought reinstatement. The four who did seek reinstatement had all been successful. Their continued service in the same regiment as the man who had secured their discharge no doubt created a somewhat strained atmosphere.

1152

The letter was published in the *North Iowa Times* on March 11, 1864, with an introductory paragraph: “Acceptance of a present. It will be remembered by our readers that the *Times* some weeks ago noted the fact that Col. Merrill had carried to Line P. McKinne of the 21st Regiment, a beautiful watch bought here by his friends and forwarded to him as a memento of friendship. Line’s reply is just at hand, and it is so thoroughly his own that we have asked a copy of it for publication.”

1153

Accounts of this engagement vary. George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 125, says “about thirty-five of our men” were sent out as scouts and “a party of these” under Lt. Renner, Company E, was 16 miles into the country when they came upon an enemy camp, drove in the pickets, and were surrounded by a force “many times their number.” He claims that 13 were captured, taken to Tyler, and rejoined their regiment in June. But, Crooke had not been with the regiment for more than a year and his account, written twenty-six years after the end of the war, was not based on personal knowledge. Stephen A.

The 14th was another Sunday and an elderly local, "Father Orr," spoke in church.¹¹⁵⁴ Returning to the regiment were John Farrand and Brad Talcott who were restored to duty without loss of pay or allowances, although John was charged \$7.30 and Brad \$10.62 for transportation and, with them at last, was Myron Knight who said he "found the boys in pretty good health" after his fifty-one day journey. The regiment also learned of Banks' planned expedition on the Red River and Jim heard rumors they might be called to help.

**Indianola. Calhoun. co. Texas.
Sunday. February the 14th. 1864**

Dear wife another sabbath day has rolled around and finds me in good health and penning my regular weekly letter to my wife Jim is in good health he is writing a letter at present to Isabel Haines. he nor I have neither of us received any letters this week but we are expecting a mail this afternoon we are still at Indianola and there is no visible signs of our leaving for some time yet I heard a day or two ago that we were ordered back to New Orleans but I do not put any confidence in the report I hope it is not so for if we were ordered back there I should make up my mind that our destination was Mobile. There was three of our company that went home on sick furloughs last fall arrived here a few minutes ago they look fresh and hearty and they seem to be as well pleased to see the company as though we all belonged to the same family Colonel Merrill arrived here last week and was received with cheers and shouts of joy by his regiment and he seemed to be equally as well pleased to see the officers and men of his regiment he looks healthy but he does not walk so suple as he did before the charg at black river bridge he made us a short speech and then got off his horse and went around shaking hands with and saying something to every man in the regiment he said we were the happiest looking set of men he ever saw he said that as he had travailed over the state of Iowa he had heard the 21st spoken of everywhere as one of the bravest regiments that ever left the state he said he loved us all and felt proud that he belonged to the 21st Iowa Colonel Merrill is now in command of our brigade in consequence of Colonel Harris having gone home with his regiment (the 11th Wisconsin) on furlough they having enlisted in the vetteran service Lieut Colonel Vananda arrived here from New Orleans about a week ago where he had been under arrest ever since the regiment left there last fall he is now under arrest again for the same offense: drunkenness. I hope he will be courtmartialed and sent home this time for he is a disgrace to the regiment Major Crook has learned the regiment more in drill than they ever learned before he is well liked by all the regiment

Cal you speak of having had verry cold weather up in Iowa but yours are not the only letters that speak of cold weather it seems that this has been an uncommon cold winter all over the united states the citticens here say that this has been the coldest winter they ever saw in this country it has been warm and verry dry for the last month the citizens here made garden and planted potatoes several weeks ago but it has been so dry that things do not look verry flourishing Cal I am out of stamps and have been for some time I expect to get some in a letter from you this evening they say the suttlar has got some stamped envelopes I must go and try to get some. so good day.

Yours ever the same. J Beathard

Townsend, The Yankee Invasion of Texas (Texas A&M University Press), page 76, says thirty-five Iowans were 8 miles from town when they were surrounded by 55 of the enemy who captured fourteen of the Iowans and took them to Tyler. The casualties were apparently from other regiments since the roster for the 21st Iowa reflects none killed, captured or wounded (accidentally or otherwise) on February 13th. Kellogg says Renner was not present on the 22d, but on the 13th "went along as a sightseer and was not armed."

Both authors confused this incident with one on February 22nd. A memorandum by Charles Kellogg (who was second in command on the 22d) is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa. Military and pension records obtained from the National Archives of the five men captured on the 22nd and numerous other accounts confirm the error. The regiment's roster for the 22nd shows the five, including Kellogg, captured on February 22nd and these were the men Crooke says rejoined the regiment at Algiers the following June, although he is also wrong about that. They were exchanged on July 22, 1864 at the mouth of the Red River.

¹¹⁵⁴

Rev. Green Orr, a Methodist Episcopal minister, was one of the state's earliest protestant ministers. He was "licensed" by the church in Arkansas in 1822 and later certified to "ride the circuit." One source indicates, erroneously, that he died in 1863. His twin brother, Washington Orr, was also a Methodist preacher. Horace Jewell, History of Methodism in Arkansas, (Press Printing Company, 1893). The Orr brothers had visited the Red River area of Texas as early as 1818-1819. Rev. Homer S. Thrall, History of Methodism in Texas (E. H. Cushing, 1872). Rev. Green Orr died of yellow fever and was buried in Indianola, but his body was washed out to sea during the great storm of 1875. The Texas Methodist Historical Quarterly, Volume 1 (1909). He was the uncle of the regiment's surgeon, William Orr who "attended to his uncle in his last sickness." Rev. Homer S. Thrall, History of Methodism in Texas (E. H. Cushing, Publisher; Houston, 1872), pages 13-14.

On February 15th, two twenty-three-year-olds, Calvin Blake and Isaac Mace, were mustered in as new recruits for Company I. From Dubuque they went to Davenport and then, said Calvin, “*we crossed the River at Davenport to Rock Island on the ice in early spring & went to join our Regiment.*” In Texas on the 15th, Myron Knight wrote a quick note to let his family know he had arrived safely after his forty-six-day journey from Davenport. He then left for brigade drill, his first in more than seven months, while work details continued to build forts and dig rifle pits and nearly every evening relaxed by playing ball.

The 17th turned windy and cold as another Norther blew in, David Greaves was named Acting Assistant Inspector General of the 2d Brigade, history was made in the Atlantic when the Union’s *Housatonic* was sunk by the Confederate *Hunley* in one of the first sinkings by a submarine, and the South called up 20,000 Negroes for unarmed duty and passed its third conscription act. In Iowa, with the possibility of a draft in another four months, Governor Stone urged “*all who have lagged behind to come forward and vindicate their claims to manhood and courage.*”¹¹⁵⁵

The 18th continued cold and seas were rough but winds eased by nightfall and religious services found new converts as a revival swept the regiment “*awakening sinners to repentance.*”¹¹⁵⁶ A nighttime freeze killed mulberry leaves and peach blossoms, but the 19th was warm and the health of the regiment was generally good. On the 20th, Jim Rice was on picket and John Gruthek worked as a tailor with the division quartermaster while most of the regiment continued work on forts and rifle pits.

The 21st was warm and clear. The 23d’s chaplain spoke in the morning and the 21st’s in the evening before a large congregation including “*some ladies of the town which was very gratifying.*”¹¹⁵⁷ For Silas Shearer the women made it “*a little like oald times for it is the first I have seen at Church since I left home*”¹¹⁵⁸ and Jim wrote another letter to Cal before receiving one from her that evening.

**Indianola Calhoun County Texas
Sunday. February the 21st 1864**

Dear wife another sabath finds me in the land of the living and in tolerably good health although my old friend (the Ague) made me a couple of visits last week I had a shake last Wednesday afternoon and one on friday afternoon I feel tolerably well between times. I have not reported sick nor do not intend to as long as I can avoid it for I dont want to take any more of that miserable quinine I have got to much of it in my system already James Rice is well he was on picket last night and is now laying on the bunk asleep I received yours of the 24th Jan. No. 51 last week. I am sorry to hear of Ellies continued illness but I am glad it is no worse I hope when spring comes it will bring with it a change for the better

Cal do you feed her painted candies if you do I would advise you to stop it at once for the paint used in a great deal of the candy is made of poisonous drugs and there has been thousands of little childrens health ruined and there teeth rotted by eating those painted candies¹¹⁵⁹ Cal take my advice and give Ellie no more of the miserable stuff. You can substitute a lump of sugar or a cake or some thing that you know to be clear of poison and she will soon forget the candy Cal you requested me in your letter to send you a box of shells I should be verry glad to comply with your request if it were possible for me to do so but it is not at present as we are about 15 miles from the gulf. there is no shells along the bay except oyster shells and a few other rough ugly things entirely void of beauty and even if I could get the shells I could not express them from here as there is no express office short of New Orleans I would have paid a big price when we were at Decrows point to get a box of shells home. in

¹¹⁵⁵ *North Iowa Times* (February 17, 1864.)

¹¹⁵⁶ Diary of Matthew King, Company H.

¹¹⁵⁷ Diary of Matthew King, Company H.

¹¹⁵⁸ Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas Shearer (Sigler Printing & Publishing 1996), page 70.

¹¹⁵⁹

“Poisoning from Painted Candy. - The Chicago Medical Journal says: Two cases, in one family, have recently come under our observation of quite severe symptoms of irritant metallic poisoning, from eating the richly colored candies offered for sale in the shops. The yellow colored candy (probably from the presence of orpiment) appears to have been the active agent. Cannot measures be taken to prevent this dangerous practice? It is well known that children are liable to similar attacks from sucking off the paint from their colored toys.” St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal (George Knapp & Co., St. Louis, 1860). Highly toxic *orpiment* is a sulphide of arsenic and due to its bright yellow and orange properties was often used as a pigment in paint.

my last I sent you a few flowers which I plucked from a garden. they were not the first that I have seen but it was the first time that I thought of sending them to you I saw flowers here the first of this month and the citizens have been using lettus for the last four weeks and it was not raised in hot beds either the fig trees are leaving out and I saw some fruit trees in bloom three weeks ago I dont know what kind of trees they are but the flours resemble peach flours I saw potatoes up several days ago but they are verry backward on account of dry weather

I have received no letters from any quarter except from you since my last I should like verry much to hear from George and Jonathan as I see by the papers that both of their regiments have gone into the veteran service I expect that George and Jont have both reenlisted There are still no signs of our leaving here soon we are building strong fortifications down at the lower town The three leaves that you find within are Fig leaves; there are figs on the tree that I plucked those leaves from as large as hazlenuts I received four stamps in your last letter thats right send on your stamps for the chances for getting them here are few and far between. No more at present but remain your ever true and faithful husband James Beathard

On February 22d, Matthew King sat up with Rev. Orr (an “*old and feeble*” local), while a party of twenty-two to twenty-five scouts from several regiments, mounted on “*poor scrubs,*” rode out about eight miles to graze lame horses and gather cattle. Each had been carefully selected for “*known ability as horsemen marksmanship and courage.*”¹¹⁶⁰ Included in the party were Henry Beuter, a Prussian officer of Hussars, as commander, and several men from the 21st Iowa including Charles Kellogg who was second in command and Charles Voorhees who carried the colors. When a deserter “*furnished information that a body of Duff’s Cavalry was encamped*”¹¹⁶¹ nearby, the scouts received a “*perfunctory*” order to make a reconaissance about ten miles farther west near Green Lake, “*the nearest point to the coast where pure water, fuel, and good grazing can be obtained.*”¹¹⁶²

Although not fully armed, they proceeded as directed, completed their mission and were rounding up cattle about 4:00 p.m. when they realized they were surrounded by “*well armed and well mounted cavalry of the enemy, 55 strong*” and led by Major John T. Brackenridge of Duff’s cavalry. After a few quick shots and a “*spirited*” engagement in which Kellogg’s horse was shot from under him, four of the federals were wounded and fourteen captured.¹¹⁶³ Slightly injured and realizing he was being overtaken, Voorhees tore the colors from their staff and passed them to a comrade who sped to safety on a faster horse. The colors were saved but Voorhees, Kellogg, Hiram Libby, William McCarty and George Parker were among the captured.¹¹⁶⁴ Those who made it back to camp “*reinforced and went back and all they could find was some dead horses and two guns.*” Even though Warren

1160

Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa’s copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891). Kellogg says four were from the 21st Iowa and three were captured, but either did not include himself or was merely wrong since five from the regiment were captured (Charles Kellogg, Hiram Libby, William McCarty, George Parker and Charles Voorhees).

1161

Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa’s copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891). Born in Scotland, Colonel James Duff commanded the 33rd Texas Cavalry along the Gulf coast.

1162

C. A. Waite, C.S.A. Colonel, Commanding Department of Texas, San Antonio, March 13, 1861.

1163

A report by General Dana indicated their horses were not accustomed to gunfire and “*when the men fired a volley at the distance of 50 yards, 14 of them were unhorsed*” and those are the men who were captured. Malsch, Indianola (State House Press, Austin, 1988). It’s also indicated elsewhere that three men may have been killed.

1164

Charles Kellogg wrote, “*on the 22d of February 1864 I was captured with thirteen others of my Company of Scouts. I had my horse killed under me and myself slightly wounded.*” Crooke and Townsend in their account of the February 13th incident also seem to assume all were from the 21st Iowa. Of the 13 that Kellogg says were captured, the 1910 roster identifies five from the 21st Iowa. The remaining eight were apparently from other regiments. Handwritten notes by William Kellogg in State Historical Society of Iowa’s copy of George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Company, Milwaukee, 1891), page 93. Kellogg indicates Crooke got the incidents of the 13th and 22nd confused and he was “*a man wholly unfamiliar with the facts and not at that time a member of the Regiment but living in Milwaukee. . . . I was 2” in command and was one of the captured.*” Crooke had been discharged January 26, 1863 and returned north. He was remustered and started south to serve as Colonel Merrill’s adjutant on June 5, 1864, but, in the interim, had missed much of the regiment’s service in Missouri, all of the Vicksburg Campaign and all of Texas.

indicated the affair should not reflect on the officer in command, Beuter was “*relieved and gone recruiting for a colored regiment.*”

By now, after almost three years of war, many regiments, even those mustered under the more recent calls, were badly depleted and in need of more enlistments to fill the ranks. Recognizing the service of its soldiers, Iowa’s Adjutant General Baker required officers to make copies of their official reports and returns to the federal government so the state, as well as the federal government, could maintain accurate records. Blank forms were sent to the field so the copies could be made and on, February 23rd, the state’s Tenth General Assembly supported Baker by passing a resolution requesting the colonels to provide him:

*“at their earliest convenience, with a brief history of their respective regiments, showing what they have accomplished and endured, not only on the battlefield, but upon the march and in camp, with a view that the information thus obtained may hereafter be embodied into a permanent history and monument of the patriotism, the heroism, and achievements of the soldiers of Iowa.”*¹¹⁶⁵

Company muster rolls listed 674 men, but thirty-eight of those were recruits who had not yet reached the regiment and many who were present weren’t able for duty. In the field on the 23d, Abe Treadwell was ordered north to meet with the Lieutenant Colonel in charge of the draft in Davenport and to seek more recruits. Anticipating cold weather, he borrowed Myron Knight’s overcoat and the next day he and John Dubois, Jacob Swivel and several others started their long journey north.

That evening a small detachment of Confederates entered the Union camp under a white flag with letters from the prisoners captured at Green Lake requesting blankets. Skeptics suspected, with justification, that they had also come to assess the strength of the garrison. On the 26th Myron Knight came in from picket and wrote a letter home, rebel scouts on the peninsula advanced within three miles of Decrow’s Point and learned most of the federals were gone and soldiers led by General Warren’s Chief of Staff entered Confederate lines and took blankets to their comrades.¹¹⁶⁶ The rest of the regiment spent the day working on one of four connected forts they were constructing on a line between Indianola and Old Indianola.

On the 27th, James Duff reported to Major W. T. Mechling, Assistant Adjutant General, that “*I have sent the 14 Yankees taken by Major Brackenridge to Bernard Station,*¹¹⁶⁷ *to be carried to Houston under charge of Lieutenant Ogè, Thirty-third Texas Cavalry.*”¹¹⁶⁸ Duff’s report also confirmed what Union skeptics suspected.

“The officer sent with the flag of truce was able to obtain but little information, but by a little strategy he obtained a glimpse of their works, which he says are capable of containing 1,000 men; this is, as before stated, at the court-house, at the upper end of Newtown. I have as yet been unable to discover what defenses they have erected at the lower end. They have artillery placed so as to sweep the approaches to the town from the north and west.”

**Indianola. Texas.
Sunday February 28th - 64**

Dear wife I am seated once more to write to you a few lines I received your letter No. 52 last sunday evening after I had mailed my letter to you I received four stamps in each of the last two letters from you they came in verry good play for I was entirely out your letters still speak of Ellies bad health which is a source of great anxiety to me but knowing she is in good hands I may as well rest contented for I could do no good if I was there I missed the Ague last sunday and have been quite hearty and well ever since James Rice is quite hearty and well I believe we are in a verry healthy place and the prospects at present look favorable for our being stationed here. I hope we will The fortifications at the lower town are about completed with the exception of mounting the guns which is a

¹¹⁶⁵ Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume VI (State Printer, 1911), Introduction, Page xvii.

¹¹⁶⁶ Matthew King indicates “*the rebels fired upon our flag and ran.*”

¹¹⁶⁷

The station, near the intersection of today’s State Highway 60 and U.S. Highway 90A, was on the east side of the San Bernard River and served as a depot for the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway, the first operating railroad in Texas.

¹¹⁶⁸ O.R., Series 1, Volume XXXIV/2 [S#62].

short job they are the best works that I have ever seen the rebel fortifications at Vicksburg are nothing but play houses in comparison with our works here and the most of it has been done in the space of about two weeks our rifle pits encircle the town at a distance of from one to one and a half miles from town connecting with the bay on both sides of the town there are five forts for artillery situated at an equal distance around the line of rifle pits and the ground being perfectly level all around an attacking force would have to advance under fire of the guns in the forts from the time that they came in range and all around within from a quarter to half a mile of the works are miry ponds of water with a few narrow passes between through which it would be impossible for them to advance with more than one company in line and as for their forming a line of battle for a charge inside of those ponds that would be impossible as they would be within easy rang of our small arms as well as artillery and if they should even get to our out side ditches they are so arrange that we can rake them from within with our rifles I will not tire your patience any longer with the description of our fortifications I was up to church last night but the house was crowded so full that I could not get in so I came back there is preaching at the church every sunday and last week there was preaching every night we have got a first rate little chaplain his name is hill he was formerly a lieutenant in one of the companies of our regiment and resigned last summer on account of bad health and went home; and having regained his health and our old chaplain having resigned Hill returned last fall to the regiment as chaplain Wel Cal I bleive I have nothing more of interest to write at present take good care of Ellie and yourself and do not fret about me for I am doing well. health good, duty light, plenty to eat, and plenty to wear, what more can I ask

so good bye for this time

Your loving husband

James Bethard

On a cold February 29th, Alonzo Moore was transferred to an Invalid Corps. Father Orr died about 5:00 a.m. and was buried during an afternoon Norther while the regiment was mustered for pay¹¹⁶⁹ and John Mathews, a 7th Corporal in Company C, was discharged so he could accept an appointment as a 2d Lieutenant in what was then known as the 4th Regiment Engineers, Corps d’Afrique. A nighttime rain “*was a great blessing to the inhabitants,*” the Norther dissipated and the sun shone “*in all its beauty*” on March 1st.

Later that month they would be moved from the 2d to the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, William Crooke would serve on another court martial, David Greaves would return from brigade duty and Jim’s eyes would be injured by blowing sand while he was building breastworks. During a postwar medical examination, Demosthenes Scott also said his eyes were injured on Matagorda Island by the sand that “*blew there like snow.*”

The 46th Illinois left home on March 2d and, would soon join Sherman for his spring campaign in Georgia but, for the time being, was assigned to garrison duty at Vicksburg. Many plantations outside of town and along the Big Black were occupied only by women and children. Men, slaves, money and animals were gone. Families had no income and no means to plant cotton or sustain themselves and many leased their lands to Northern farmers and speculators who furnished seeds, food, animals and tools and permitted the families to continue in residence. Beyond the protection of Union pickets at Vicksburg, the Northerners tried to keep a low profile and were rarely bothered by roving Confederates who recognized the benefits they were providing. The 46th, including Cal’s cousins, the

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Rev. Orr was the uncle of the regiment’s surgeon, William Orr. “*Up to almost the period of annexation in 1836, the region of country between the Sulphur Fork and Red River was supposed to belong to the United States, and was under the jurisdiction of officers appointed to govern the territory of Arkansas. As early as 1818-1819, this scope of the country was visited by Methodist preachers. Among these preachers were William Stevenson and Henry Stevenson, and twin brothers named respectively Washington and Green Orr. . . . Washington Orr died in Missouri in 1852. Green M. Orr travelled two years in Arkansas; then located on the south side of Red River, in Lamar County, and for twenty years was a useful local preacher. He then removed to Indianola, in West Texas, where he spent the last twelve years of his life. In period of afflictions, when Indianola was visited by yellow fever, Father Orr (as everybody called him) devoted his entire time to visiting the sick, burying the dead, and laboring to supply the destitute. In 1860 he personally raised the money and superintended the building of a church. In 1863 the Federal forces entered Matagorda Bay, and established a post in Indianola. While the army was there, the old gentleman died. It was fortunate for him that Dr. Orr, surgeon of the post, was the preacher’s nephew. He attended to his uncle in his last sickness, and saw him buried. By common consent, the citizens call their church Orr Chapel.*” Rev. Homer S. Thrall, *History of Methodism in Texas* (E. H. Cushing, Publisher; Houston, 1872), pages 13-14. “*Orr Chapel*” should not be confused with “*Orr’s Chapel*” in Fannin County.

Frankeberger brothers, traveled on a crowded *J. C. Sevon* and mingled with civilian passengers including one woman who claimed to be a medium and Sam Lauderdale on his way to the plantation of Susan Bolls, a widow with five children and 250 acres along the Big Black. According to Lauderdale:

"we had very pleasant passengers on board and a great many unpleasant ones - the 46th Ill Vol. They were on their way to join Sherman having enlisted & been home on furlough. A more ungovernable lot of fellows I never before met. Their officers had no control over them whatever and it was a continuous riot with them.... one [of] the soldiers feigning to be crazy or having the delerium tremens and would not allow any one to come in his room - he having been given a room on account of his sickness - and cut his Captain very badly. Finally one of his Co having more courage than the rest took a gun & knocked the door in. When the door fell the fellow rushed & tried his best to kill the one that was trying to capture him & succeeded in stabbing him severely, though not dangerously. He was knocked down & ironed."

In Texas, a couple of deserters came into the Union lines on the night of the 2nd. On the 3rd, six Union scouts skirmished briefly with nearby rebels and Horace Poole was discharged from the regiment. Promoted to Assistant Adjutant General with the rank of Captain, he was assigned as Aide de Camp for General Fitz Henry Warren

The 4th started warm and pleasant but another Norther was brewing and the brigade continued to drill. David Maxson, weakened by the wound received at the Big Black, had battled ague, spent several days on the hospital boat *Charles McDougall* (formerly the *D. A. January*) and received another promotion but finally, on the 4th, was transferred to the Invalid Corps while the rest of the regiment continued its duty at Old Indianola. Meanwhile, recruiting efforts were continuing as reported from Davenport.¹¹⁷⁰

<i>Camp McClellan March 4th 64</i>		
<i>Recruits for the 21st Regt Iowa Vol Infantry</i>		
<u><i>Names</i></u>	<i>/</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>Allen Abel</i>	<i>/</i>	
<i>Allen Joseph W.</i>	<i>/</i>	
<i>Blanchard Ira D.</i>	<i>/</i>	
<i>Patterson Osbra</i>	<i>/</i>	
<i>Weeks Bradford T.</i>	<i>/</i>	

Texas weather was getting warmer, although it was still very dry and, on March 5th, John Carpenter had time to write a letter mailed in an envelope addressed to *A. Marshall Sr., Linden, Lycoming Co. Pa.*, that was apparently taken by steamer to New Orleans where it was postmarked March 22, 1864.¹¹⁷¹

*Matagorda Bay, Taxis
March 5, 1864*

Brother & Sister, as this morning affords me a little leasure time I thot I would improve it by teling you how times is with me now. I am thankful that I can to you that I am well and have had goo health ever since we came in to Texas we have had the nice kind of weather all winter, about New years the wind blew rather cold to bea comfortable also about the first of March, but the rest of the time has ben warm and nice, you would hardly believe me, when I tel you that the gardens was all green here 2 weeks ago, but it is so, the peach bloms is out and gon, the grass is green but does not seam to be growing very fast the people here say that the reason is, it is too dry there has not ben rain anuff here this winter to wet the ground an inch deep..

This is splendid country it is all Civil as far I have seen that is to look at but there is not much farming done here on account of it being so much dry weather the people make a big living by raising stock because it does not cost any thing to rais it here they have no feeding to do a tal. when the gras dries up it is like hay, the cattle that belongs here in town goes out in the morning and feeds an hower of too then they come back and lay down till the afternoon then they go out again. the people here think if they have not got over 3 or 4 hundred head, they have none atol there is 2 men here that has over 3,000 head and it does not cost one

¹¹⁷⁰ These men would reach their regiment on March 28, 1864.

¹¹⁷¹ This is a typewritten transcription by a descendant, Doris Rembold, Louisburg, Kansas.

dollar to rais them horses and mules is very plenty her hogs is scarce there is more goats here than sheep in Lycoming

the people here tell me that 50 or 60 miles north of here it is a good farming country they can rais good crops of wheet and corn, oats and mose of this state is prarie which makes timber rather scarce. we have used fencis and buildings ever since we come here for wood. it is all yellow pine at that, we are now quartered in homes in a place coled

Page 2

Letter to Andrew Marshall and his wife Elizabeth Carpenter Marshall

From her brother John J. Carpenter - March 5, 1864

old town, in Calhoon Co., 25 miles up the Matagorda bay, 475 m. west of here at a place coled mustang iland but we come back to this place, we have found rebs where ever we went but they took good care to keep out of our reach, when ever they hear that the 13 arma core is coming they fix to leave for they know that core has never been whipt yet, and I hope they never will

I am sorry to say that we are now under Banks instead of Grant. Banks is a good dresperade General but XXXX Grant is a good fiting Genera. Banks is all fer great stile while Grant is but a comin man among men. we are now holding the Cavallo Pass but I do not think that we will stay here much longer. I do not wish to for I want to see more of Twxis we have got a long ways from home, but one thing is surtin they cannot take us much further, for we are now in the South west corner of the United Sates. if you have a map you can see where we are.

I wont you to remember me to all of your family, by best ___ and wishes is for them all

I would wright oftener but I cannot get post stamps to put on my letters so you must excuse me for not hairing (?) this If you think this worth answering please do

J J Carpenter

A and E Marshall

direct to Co B. 21 Regiment of Iowa Via New Orleans

On the 6th Chaplain Hill preached a sermon regarding the well-liked "Father Orr and Jim wrote to Cal.

Indianola. Calhoun. co. Texas.

Sunday. March the 6th - 64

Dear wife once more I am permitted to address you by the aid of pen and ink another week has rolled around and this pleasant sabbath morning finds me still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health James Rice is also in good health he is gone to church this morning I should have been there also only for writing to you I intend to go this afternoon and to night there has been meeting at the church every night for the last two weeks and prospects look favorable at present for a great revival there was about twenty went forward last night for prayers there has been several conversions allready

Well Cal I received two letters from you last night after I returned from church one containing 4 postage stamps and a valentine in the shape of a double card representing two hearts pinned together by Cupid's dart I think it is verry beautiful indeed the other contained a valentine from Tero representing a henpecked husband tell Tee I think he is a verry comical looking husband indeed I showed it to the boys and we had a great deal of fun over it each one having some remark to make about it if being henpecked has the effect of making a man lay eggs as the picture represents I should not mind being henpecked a little at present for a mess of eggs now would be verry acceptable and quite a novelty I assure you

Jim Rice also received three letters from Lib last night one of them contained a verry comical looking old buck and another was a written valentine without name or date tell Lib if she is going to write valentines and send them where they will fall under my eyes she must practice a little more in changing her handwrite if she does not want them detected tell her I feel to sympathise with her in her troubles with little Eddie in learning him his letters but Jim does not seem to take the matter to heart so much as might be expected he seems to mourn the most over the large bills for house rent and meat he also grieves some about the house being so open for he thinks that she will burn so much wood that that with other expenses will get him in debt so deep that it will take all his wages bounty and all to pay

his debts when he gets home Well enough of this

Cal I will send you in this the tip end of a leaf or blade and a flower from a tree called the Spanish dagger and also a twig from a kind of cedar peculiar to the south it is not an evergreen like the cedars north the leaves die and fall off in the fall and put forth again in the spring Cal I have no news to write this time we are still in the same old place and no signs of leaving I am truly glad to hear that little Ella has got well again I hope she will have better health hereafter Cal tell me in your next how to direct a letter to Bob and also how to direct to George no more at present but remain

Yours ever the same

James Bethard

As Jim predicted, the evening service presided over by Chaplain Barton of the 23d Iowa was well-attended, the house "was full to overflowing" and the revival continued with another service on Monday morning. On Wednesday, the 8th, a 13-gun salute announced the arrival of General McClernand¹¹⁷² and Robert Strane wrote another letter to his sister.

Indianola Texas March 8th 1864

Dear Sister

I don't know to whom I am indebted to a letter this time, for I have not received any this week, and yesterday I postponed writing on account that we expected a mail, but it did not come, and it may not come today, & when it does come there may not be any for me. We are still in the same place and are enjoying the best health and having the best times that we have had since we have been in the service. Yesterday there was quite a number detailed for fatigue, and I was in the number. We made a general cleaning up of the town. The soldiers cleaned the streets and we made the citizens clean up around their houses. There is another large party on fatigue too today. They are to bury or cover up all dead carcasses and carion that is around, and you can bet there is plenty of them too. Since I commenced to write this there has been a flag of truce come in from the Rebs. I should like to know what their business is. We have very pleasant weather here at present.

We have plenty of preaching here now -- there is preaching or prayer meeting every night in the church, and the house is crowded full and more than full every night. The house is large enough to acomodate about 300. The Chaplains of the 21st & 23d are the ministers. The 22d has a chaplain too, but they don't consider him very sound in his mind & they don't appear for him to have anything to do with it, but some times he takes advantage of them and has preaching on his own hook. One night he had preaching and some of the boys bombarded the house with sticks and rocks and broke in the windows, and throwed sand on him. But there is a very good prospect at present -- numbers of outsiders & backsliders go forward ever night and express their desire to leave of their wickedness and live a holy christian life. I think the meeting is going to be the means of doing a great deal of good in the Brigade. I believe there has none been converted in our Company but there has in a great many others.

James Wallace has not been very well for 3 or 4 days. He has the disease which is so well known to the soldier -- it is the diarea. But James is a good deal better today. Lt. Wallace is well. The boys do not like him for a drill master - - he is too awkward and slow. James Wallace got a letter 2 days ago which sayed that one of your horses had died. I hope it might be a mistake. The boys are all well. I believe I have nothing more to say. I hope this will find you all well.

Remember this from your brother

Robert Strane

On the 9th, the Union Army was reorganized in Washington where the President commissioned Grant as Lieutenant General, the highest rank then existing. Henry Halleck became Chief of Staff, Grant began organizing the army for its final campaigns with Lee in Virginia and Johnston in Georgia as his primary objectives, and Robert Strane added a note to the previous day's letter.

Indianola Texas - Mar 9

I received fathers letter of the 18th Feb. last night. I was glad to know that you were all well, though I am

¹¹⁷² March 15, 1864, letter from Jeffrey Parker, Company I, to *Dubuque Daily Times*.

sorry that the old mare died. This is a beautiful morning. We have a big days work before us today. Major General McClennard arrived here last night, and we're going to have a general review. This McClennard is the man that ordered the charge on the defenses of Vicksburg. The mail will start out pretty soon, and I must put this in. The boys are all as well as usual. Nothing more at present. Robert Strane

That same evening, the 21st, 22d and 23d Iowa prepared for a move back to Matagorda Island. Invalids headed for New Orleans while food, equipment and other supplies were sent to the wharf with the 21st's Company B and the 22d's Company A ordered to load the boats with lumber, tents and other baggage. In consideration of their efforts, they would be permitted to travel to the island by transport. The remaining companies would go by foot.

Everything seemed ready by the morning of the 10th. The marchers left for Powderhorn at 6:00 a.m. but had gone only a few miles before being ordered to turn back due to rough water that prevented the boats from leaving. During an evening Norther, while Company B was guarding the boats, one of the steamers had broken loose and washed up on the beach and help was needed to free it. As a result, most stayed in camp but Company K moved down to Powderhorn while men unable to march were sent to the transports. Weather cleared on the 12th, the beached steamer was refloated and the Hawkeyes spent the rest of the day loading the *Matamoras*, *Planter*, *Warrior* and another small boat with local citizens, lumber and other goods. Sick soldiers under the care of Joseph Lundbeck were carried on the *Planter*.

The following morning, the 13th, the wagons were under way by 4:00 a.m. and the marchers left Old Indianola at 7:00 a.m. Weather turned cool but all able-bodied men were ordered to leave and with them was a local resident, Mrs. Crane, and her two children under the protection of Dr. Orr and traveling with the rest of the regiment near the rear of the brigade.

Company B sailed up the bay, reached the island about 10:00 a.m. and "*found some recruits there for our Regt. and 2 for our Co. and one old soldier.*"¹¹⁷³ From the boat's deck they had watched the other nine companies in "*long, marching columns of fours, with bayonets bristling in the sun for miles*" along the shore but their fifteen mile march had not gone well. About two miles north of Fort Esperanza, the marchers had to cross Saluria Bayou on heavy "*scow pontoons.*" The 21st had crossed and camped between two bayous but seventeen men from the Corps d'Afrique and twenty-three from the 69th Indiana, including Assistant Surgeon William Witt of Dublin and First Lieutenant Joseph Senior from Connersville, drowned when one of the pontoons sank. According to Silas Shearer of the 23d Iowa:

*"We crossed the Bayous on a Board constructed of several boats probably you would call them Skiffs. These small boats numbered three when the accident happened. They were placed in the water lengthways with the Stream and Scantling fastened on them and plank for the flore and then the Board is drawn back and forth by a roap while the 69th Indiana was crossing the Boat sunk and twenty four white Soldiers were drowned and some say Sixteen black Soldiers They got scared and drowned one another Some would swim up and down the Stream for a hundred yards and would not get to shore So they would perish in the water."*¹¹⁷⁴

They were among an estimated 3,000 who drowned during the war. Men in sailboats searched for bodies in the deep, fast-moving, water but finally had to move on. Exposed to wind and cold, traveling with only one day's rations and delayed by the accident, the march took a day longer than expected but they finally passed the fort and, about three miles later, made camp near the remains of the old lighthouse at Pass Cavallo on the morning of the 15th, the same day veterans from the 9th Iowa were ending their furloughs and reassembling at Davenport. By the end of the month, they also would be headed back to war with Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather, as Acting Orderly.

Meanwhile, after his capture near Louisiana's *Somerset* plantation on May 30th, Henry Dyer had been paroled in July, exchanged in October and recovered his health sufficiently to go south and rejoin his regiment. Traveling downriver, he reached New Orleans where Banks' social and political whirlwind continued with the hosting of a masked ball at the new opera house to celebrate the installation of Michael Hahn as the state's Union Governor. Guns

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Accounts differ as to whether Company B traveled on the *Planter*, the *Matamoras* or another vessel and its possible that not all men traveled on the same boat. The two recruits for "*our Co.*" were probably John Bachel and Frank Herring who enlisted February 29, 1864, for Company B. Another recruit was William H. Lambert who enlisted in Company C on December 12, 1863 but was still in Davenport on February 19, 1864 and whose Descriptive Book says he "*Joined the Co. at pass Carallo [sic] March 14, 65.*"

¹¹⁷⁴ *Dear Companion. The Civil War Letters of Silas I. Shearer* (edited and published by Harold D. Brinkman, 1995), page 72.

were fired, bells rang and crowds packed Lafayette Square where rebel Zouaves had paraded three years earlier, young, "boyish-looking," holding muskets "as if a little afraid of them," "raw material of good soldiers." How many still lived? Banks ordered an election of delegates for a constitutional convention with representatives from all forty-eight parishes, including those he was confident he would soon conquer, and, since his regiment might soon be recalled from Texas to help Banks, there was no reason for Henry Dyer to go farther. On March 15th he was designated Acting Sergeant Major of New Orleans' Camp of Distribution.

Much of the 13th Corps had already been recalled from Texas to help General Banks on the Red River but the 21st Iowa remained as part of a shrinking detachment on Matagorda Island where they performed garrison duty and worked on the fort then manned by the 14th Rhode Island Colored Infantry. They enjoyed the sand and the surf with its "crest of foam and a roar of rushing water," possibly their most pleasant duty of the war, but all were anxious to get home and eager to fight if that's what it took to get there. Instead of being part of Banks' campaign to capture Kirby Smith and his headquarters at Shreveport they were relegated to a sandy plain with little growth except cactus and small scrubs, a place where scorpions and lizards replaced the cattle they caught on the mainland. Fresh water was available only by digging wells ten or twelve feet deep. The wind whistled and the sand blew. A long "desolate heap of sand, without tree or bird," the only two permanent households were the "Englishman's" and the "Irishman's," both miles from camp. Social life was non-existent, but spirits lifted and men cheered when a new regimental flag arrived from home, a flag bearing the names of prior battles in gold letters and replacing their original flag that David Greaves and Elisha Boardman had taken to Davenport for the State Historical Society the previous June.¹¹⁷⁵

Colonel Merrill resumed command of the regiment and William Barber returned on the 16th. With him was Demosthenes Scott, fifteen-year-old brother of Allen, Aristides and Cornelius who had enlisted during the regiment's initial organization.

On the 18th, Confederate scouts found Indianola abandoned with no pickets north of Powderhorn and, "strange to say, none of the citizens notified us of the departure of the enemy until their absence was discovered."¹¹⁷⁶ English-born Ben Cox and "two more boys" left on furlough, the regiment started work on another fort and an Acting Judge Advocate wrote to Captain B. Wilson, Assistant Adjutant General:

*"as Lieut Col Vananda 21st Iowa was acquitted it was the duty of the officers who had the power to review the proceedings to order him to report for duty to his command and forward the proceedings with a copy of such order to the Judge Advocates officer Washington D.C. In this case Genl Warren as Div Commander & the officer who convened the court martial approves the proceedings & acquittal of Lieut Col Vananda but makes no order restoring him to duty. This order should be made by the comdr of the Div. & a copy of it forwarded with the proceedings."*¹¹⁷⁷

On March 18th the War Department issued General Order No. 111 renaming the "Invalid Corps" a more politically acceptable "Veteran Reserve Corps" and reorganizing it into two Battalions.¹¹⁷⁸ The first included men whose disabilities were comparatively slight so they could still handle a musket and perform guard duty. The other was for men with more severe disabilities. These men were often utilized as nurses in the many military hospitals, as guards or as cooks as long as no strenuous marching or other duties were required. On the same day in Texas, Jim wrote another letter to Cal.

Fort Esperansas

¹¹⁷⁵ If correct, it's unclear what "colors" were saved when members of the regiment were captured on February 22, 1864.

¹¹⁷⁶ Report of Colonel James Duff. O.R., Series 1, Volume XXXIV/2 [S #62].

¹¹⁷⁷

Letter from H. C. Warmouth, Lieutenant Colonel and Acting Judge Advocate, Headquarters, 13th Army Corps, Pass Cavallo, Texas, to Captain B. Wilson, Assistant Adjutant General, 1st Division, 13th Army Corps. Lieutenant Warmouth was in error when he said Van Anda been "acquitted." He had not been tried and the time for doing so had passed.

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"Due to an absurd, if understandable, prejudice against the word 'invalid,' which had led men in the field to throw aspersions on a garrison organization, the name was changed in the spring of 1864 [from Invalid Corps] to Veteran Reserve Corps, a change which also permitted the enlistment of discharged soldiers, not incapacitated but no longer subject to the draft." Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 177. Some had also objected to the "I.C." acronym which was the same as that used for "Inspected-Condemed" stenciled on defective equipment.

Mattagord. Island. Texas.

March the 18th - 64

Dear wife I did not get to write my regular letter last sunday owing to our moving from Indianola to this place and as I have nothing else to do I will write this afternoon instead of waiting til sunday I might have written to you last tuesday but Jim wrote to Lib that day and we think it better for one of us to write in the middle of the week and the other at the end of the week because that way you hear from us twice a week where you would not hear but once if we both wrote on the same day Jim and I are well the regiment is on fatigue duty to day building fortifications I was just relieved from guard duty this morning which exemps me from fatigue I am verry hearty at present I feel more like myself now than I have before since last spring we had a verry cold disagreeable snap of weather the first of this week and I lived through it witout having the ague I am in hopes that I have got rid of that plague now altogether our company got to come down here from Indianola on the transport Matamoris on account of being detailed to load her with lumber while the rest of the brigade came by land a distance of about 18 miles they had to cross two bayos on pontoon ferries and while they were crossing one of the ferries sunk with three companies of the 69th Ind on board drowning about 25 men among the drowned was one doctor and one lieut a private of the 18th Ind a few days ago undertook to force guard belonging to the 99th Ill on board a boat coming from indianola to this place the Indiana man drew a spade and threatened to split the guards head when the guard plunged his bayonet throug his heart killing him on the spot they say the Indiana man was tight so much for drinking whiskey

I received your letter of the 21st of Feb No. 56 the first of this week and Jim received one from Lib and one from mother to us both which was verry gladly received we get all the news in yours and Libs letter it true but it is pleasant and cheering to get a line occasionaly from the old folks in their own hand writing give my love to mother and father and tell them not to think hard of me for not addressing letters particularly to them as I consider my letters to you sufficient for all we are camped about three miles from fort Espeansas on Mattagorda Island just across the bay from Decrows point where we first landed when we came from New Orleans last fall Fort Esperansas was built by general Taylor during the Mexican War but it has been repaired and improved a great deal since the present war commenced. we are building a line of fortifications here clear across the Island from Mattagorda bay to the gulf a distance of about two miles but the way the line runs it is considerable farther I have heard some of our officers express the opinion that we were here to watch the french more than any thing else and that there was a probability of our remaining here all summer I think it will be quite a healthy place to spend the summer and we get tolerably good water by digging from three to four feet in the sand for it is all sand here

I received a letter from Jont a few days ago he was at quincy Ill where he just returned from home on furlow having reenlisted but as my sheet is about full and supper is about ready I will make short work of it by putting the letter right in with this and let you read for yourself so no more at present from

Your affectionate husband
James Bethard

March 20th was cloudy and warm, James Hill preached in the forenoon and a light guard watched the perimeter, but the beach that had fascinated the Northerners when they first arrived had lost its allure as work on the fort and rifle pits continued with the 22d and 23d Iowa working in the morning and the 21st Iowa and 11th Wisconsin relieving at noon. Very slowly they *"fortified the island from the inside coast to the Gulf with rifle pits and two forts. These works were built of sand and were only kept in place by being sodded after they were built, as the sand was very fine and drifted like snow."* *"The sodding of this work is somewhat difficult,"* said John Cobb, Colonel and Chief Engineer, *"and it can only be prepared to receive the sods as they are laid. It will be necessary to sod the entire interior of this work, as well as the superior and exterior slopes, with the berme and scarp, in order to preserve it from destruction by heavy winds."*¹¹⁷⁹

Work parties alternated during increasingly warm weather and near the end of the month William Warner was

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injured in one of the war's more unique accidents when he was hit by a house. A detail including William, his son Jehiel, James Hicks and several others had been sent to Indianola to help load the house on a steamer so it could be moved to the island but the building slipped from the pier and William was thrown violently against the edge of the roof. With his collar bone displaced, William could no longer carry his accouterments and would be incapacitated for months while others continued their dreary work with little change.

March 21st was cloudy and warm, the sand blew and 250 from the regiment continued their labors while George Carter was among those detailed for temporary service as scouts and ordered to report to "*Captain Armstrong commanding Texas Scouts.*"

The 22d was pleasant, 250 members of the regiment worked on the fortifications and mail arrived bringing with it the commissions of James Noble as Captain and Willis "Willie" Brown as 1st Lieutenant of Company H.

The 23d was cloudy and windy, iron cots for the sick arrived from the general hospital, men worked on the second line of fortifications and Robert Strane wrote to his brother.

Fort El. Esparensa Pass

Cavello Matagorda Island

Texas March 23d / 64

Mr. Hugh Strane

Dear Brother

As our day's work is over, I will try to write you off a few lines in answer to your welcome letter of the 23d Feb which come to hand last evening. And brother I must say you wrote a handsome letter for the first. I could make out every word of it. It was great -- better writing than a great many letters that I have read for boys since I have been in the service. And if you will practice and take pains you will soon can write first rate. And it would be better if you would make a little more space between your words and have the letters in each word more united, that is closer together. Well brother in fact we are a long ways apart, but for all that when I read your account of the time you had at Isaac Dehlingers especially the exercise in which you had John Mc. married, I could not keep my face strait. I imagined I could see John just at the time with the 2 girls on his knee. O Brother you don't know how much good it does me to read such little incidents from home. I was surprised to hear of the narrow escape of Corts horse. The only sorrow I feel about the matter is that the powder hadn't blown up and thrown the house all to atoms & two or three of the inmates with it. It is well for them that there wasn't many soldiers around for they would have set a slow match to it just to have the fun of seeing it blow up. Well Hugh, we would through about 2 months ago that a days hard work would most kill us. But times has taught us better, and practice makes perfect. When we left Indianola that we had done working on fortifications. But it has proved to the contrary for since we have been here we are at it all the time. We have worked 4 hours a day for 5 days, and will until further orders. We are fortifying this place to death. I don't think it is for dread of our present enemies the rebels, but I think it calculated for defence against Foreign invasion at some future time. Today is very windy and the sand is very dry - I say sand for the soil is nothing else but sand, and the wind raised the sand off the works like the wind does the light snows in Iowa in winter, and it will come into our tents any way we can fix them. I was surprised that Frank Kelly went with Pat Foster. I don't think it is for any real love for her that he goes with her - perhaps it is just because he can go. If I understand your letter you were at McGregors -if you were, let me know how Mary Mc. is getting along. I suppose your school is out by this time and you will soon be comencing to put in your crops. I wish I were there to help you for I know you will have more to do than you are able to do, but if wishes and dreams were any good for me you would get along well, for my thoughts wander away off there at nights when I am asleep very frequently. I can't account for it but I have dreamed about Brother Jackson 2 nights in succession - the first night I dreamed he was killed in a battle, the next that he was Major of some Regiment. I did not know what Reg't, but I hope it was not a negro Regt. for I don't like the Negro officers.

Our time is just one month over half out and it seems the shortest 19 months that I have ever seen. Madam rumor says that we are going to stay here this summer, but many things are rumored which there is no foundation to. At present I lack none of the necessities of life - for clothing Government furnishes us all that we need, and food the same, though it is rather coarse, but we have got used to. You won't hear a growl now from the boys concerning their food - our principal food is hard tack and coffee and some times sow belly, as we always call it, which is side meat. And sometimes salt beef and beans and rice occasionally, and peas too is common to the soldier. We get them whole some times, and some times they are cracked. Very few of the

boys like pease, but I do. So you see our varieties are quite numerous. Perhaps you would like to know something about our bedding. At present our bed is the ground - every man has a ruber and woolen blanket. So we just throw our rubers down on the ground and put the woolen ones over us. But I am afraid it is going to rain toonight and we will have to put our ruber over our tent to keep the rain from comeing down on us.

Hugh, I suppose you will can sing prety near everything that is in the Bugle Call by this time. We have one in our tent - we sing a little in it occasionally, but it don't sound so well where there is no femenine voices. You said in your letter that you could have written more. The next time I want you to write it all, for you don't know how much pleasure it gives me to get a good long letter from home. I am about as heavy in flesh as I was when I left home - I weighed 155 pounds about a week ago. I received a letter from brother Wms. yesterday - he was wall. He said they had been on another very rough Scout and had some fighting - none of the acquaintenances was hurt. I will answer his letter in the morning if I am well.

The 24th saw more work on the fort and rifle pits after a heavy nighttime rain and Salue Van Anda returned to duty. A report the following day indicated "five steamers inside the bar and one outside; twelve sails inside and four outside."

The 26th was warm and pleasant, men worked on rifle pits, the Engineering Corps sodded the forts to help hold the sand, paymaster Major McAllister arrived from New Orleans with two months' pay and Arnold Allen wrote to his brother.

Matagorda Island

March the 26th 1864

Dear Brother

I take oportunity of writing you a few lines to inform you that I am well hoping these few lines may find you all enjoying good health I have nothing important to write at this time the weather is fine and pleasant we are making some fortifycations here and we will be likely to stay here some time we are going to get 2 months pay some time to day if that is all we get I wont have much to send home this time for I am behind on cloathing but I will try and send some we thought that we would get 4 months pay this time if Bill Logsdon gets any pay this time I will get some from him well I must stop writing and go and draw my pay if there is any coming to me Bill Logsdon did not get any pay this time so I will have to wait till he does I will send 10 dollars in money home this time the next time we get our pay I will have more money to send home it will not be long till we get our next payment well I have nothing important to write the Boys are all well Bill Russell's well Samey Collins is well Dave Haggard is well William Putnam is well nothing more at this time From Arnold Allen To W H H Allen writ soon good bye

Company D's John Robinson returned. He had been furloughed on a medical certificate for remittent fever, reached home on September 18th and started his return on February 3rd but travel took time. He was detained for five days in Dubuque waiting for transportation, was then ordered to Davenport where he arrived on February 9th and was held by order of the surgeon in charge until March 12th when he was finally released for a two week trip to his regiment. Also arriving was Jim Smith, "the clown of the Regiment," who returned to Company C after being detailed for detached duty in a Vicksburg hospital.

Sunday saw more good weather, the chaplains administered baptisms (some by immersion and "one by pouring") and men not paid the previous day received their money. While some attended church, Walter McNally noted in his journal that, "I can heare the voice of prayer and prase go up to God on each side of our camp and at the same time heare the voice of blasphemy and gambling all around us."

**Camp near fort Esparensa
Mattagord Island Texas**

Sunday morning March the 27th 1864

Dear wife I am seated once more to write a few lines to you inspection is just over and I have nothing else to do the rest of the day but write that I know of now unless it is to attend church you will see by the date of this that we have not moved since my last we are still working on the fortifications every day except sundays and saturdays in the afternoon which time we are allowed to clean our guns and clean up the camp and in and around our quarters so as to be ready for the sunday morning

inspections I have been quite lucky lately in the letter line I received four letters last week from you and Jont and Libby and cousin Harvey Bethard Harvey is in the state service quartered at Columbus Ohio Jont was at Chattanooga where he had just arrived when he wrote he was well I must answer his letter to day this makes two I received from him in the last month he does not write quite so desponding in his last as he did in the one that I sent to you althoug he says he is sorry that he reenlisted but I hope he will soon become contented and enjoy himself as he did before he went home Libbies letter brings the news of the death of Mary Jane Farnums oldest child¹¹⁸⁰ and also of the death of Albert Bethards child Albert is still living in Springfield Ohio he is working in a machine shop the folks were all well at home Mary Janes two youngest children were both sick with the typhoid fever and one of them was not expected to live. We received two months pay yesterday we should have received four but it seems that Uncle Sam had not money enough to pay us up in full Jim rice did not receive any the reason of which I do not exactly understand but it seems that it was on account of there having been something wrong about the muster rolls in regard to him and several others owing to their having been absent so long on furloughs but they have been properly returned for duty without any stopages and what they dont get now they will get some other time and it is as safe in the hands of the government as anywhere I loaned Jim twenty-five dollars and consequently have none to send home this time I will have \$78 coming to me on the next payday which should be the first of May I received \$14 yesterday yesterday in payment for clothing allowed on the first year which I had not drawn a great many had went over their allowance and had to pay it out of their wages there was one in our company whose clothing bill overrun his allowance so far that it took almost four months wages to pay it and that same man has went the shabbiest of any man in the company the reason of this is because he was to lazy to wash his cloths and spent all his money for foolery instead of hiring his cloths washed and would wear them til they were dirty lousy and rotten and then throw them away and draw new my present years clothing bill will be verry small as I have almost clothing enough on hand to last til the end of the year I think I go as well dressed as any of the company and full better than the average Cal there are some being furloughed from our regiment now and I dont know but what I could get one if I should apply but I think I shall not apply; just now at enerate for if I should go now it would bring me back here right in the heat of the summer which would be dangerous to my health but if I could get a chance to go about the 1st of June I might possibly go but I would not except a furlough for less than 60 days from here and Cap Lyons says they will give only 40 so you need not look for me this summer as it is not at all likely that you will see me until the end of the war or the end of my term of enlistment unless I should be taken sick and could not get well here for I think that as long as I have my health here it is safer for me to stay than to go north and return No more at present but remain yours as ever

James Bethard

The typhoid that struck the Farnums was not uncommon either at home or in the military and was easily transmitted by contaminated water, milk, shellfish and other foods. Jim's cousin, Mary Jane Bethard, had married Henry Farnum and was pregnant on March 29th when, less than six weeks after burying their five-year-old daughter in Buxton Cemetery, Henry enlisted in Ohio's 32d Infantry. On the way south to join the Richey brothers, Henry would contract a severe cold and indigestion at Cairo during a week he described as "*one of the most foggy muddy damp times of that spring.*" Refusing to enter the hospital, he was helped by friends during their subsequent march and rode in an ambulance as much as possible.

Texas was windy and the sands blew "*very bad*" on the 29th, too strong to permit sodding of the new fortifications, while Mrs. Crane and her children left for Dr. Orr's home in Ottumwa.

On March 30th the *North Iowa Times* reported continuing concerns about the intentions of the French in Mexico. A week earlier, discussing the activities of Maximilian I, it said, "*Max, the new Mexican Emperor is offering titles to all the secesh bloods who will come with him to the land of the 'greasers.'*" Now it reported that "*a French fleet has appeared off the mouth of the Rio Grande, and an attack upon Matamoros is anticipated*" and it noted that boats, *the first of the season,*" had reached Dubuque from St. Louis.

On Matagorda Island on the 30th, soldiers had brigade drill in the morning and a prayer meeting in the hospital

¹¹⁸⁰ Maranda (aka Melinda) Farnum (11/29/58-02/12/64) was the daughter of Henry and Mary Jane (Bethard) Farnum.

tent in the evening and some of the men visited the division's commissary and bought a barrel of potatoes for \$2.50. In the 27th Iowa, Cal's cousin, Darius Mather, had become ill with a rash, chills, fever and nausea and was sent to a convalescent camp where he was diagnosed with erysipelas, but there was no medicine to treat him. A medical steward arranged for him to be transferred to a Vicksburg general hospital, but Darius died on the 30th leaving Amanda with their four young children. Of the four Mather brothers who had entered the service, only Sterling was still alive.¹¹⁸¹

In Texas, Myron Knight borrowed \$5.00 from Frank Farrand, promised to repay it on their next payday and ordered books from New York. That evening the 22d Iowa was ordered to put the 14th Rhode Island under guard to quell a threatened mutiny until ringleaders could be isolated and punished.¹¹⁸² The division was reviewed by the impressively named Major General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana on the 31st and Company B listed its "*total strength*" at sixty-one including forty-eight Privates. On paper, regimental strength at the end of the month was 631, but many of those were new recruits who had not yet reached the regiment, others were incapacitated by illness, some were on detached duty, and some were traveling on furloughs.

Jonathan Foster was promoted to 3d Corporal on April 1st, James Noble was mustered in as Captain of Company H, three men in Company D were AWOL and Warren Braman was tried on desertion charges, acquitted and ordered returned to duty without loss of pay or allowances. On Sunday the 3d, Chaplain Barton preached in the morning and Chaplain Hill in the evening and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Matagorda Island Texas
April 3rd 1864**

Dear wife I seat myself taylor fashion in my little kennel to write you a few lines I have no news to write this morning James Rice and myself are well we have received no mail since my last and are getting a little anxious to hear from our fraws it is sunday morning inspection just over the air is . . . and heavy and quite warm. O what a lonesome place this is they say it is a healthy place and I suppose it is but I would rather march every day through such country as we passed through in Louisana and Mississipi than to lay here in camp and do nothing we are still in our shelter tents they keep telling we are to have new tents next week but next week keeps coming and going and it is next week still but I hope they will come after a while the shelter tents are made of two sheets about six feet square buttoned together and stretched over a pole and staked down on each side and then we can get down on our hands and knees in the sand and crawl in at either end we please aint that handy; the material of which they are composed is common brown muslin they are about as pleasant to lay in of a hot day as a tin reflector and about as good in a rain storm as a rail pen without any covering on it we dont have many rain storms here but we have wind and sand storms which is more disagreeable if possible Jim and I were out on the beach last week as far as we could get for the picket guard in search of shells but had rather poor success they do not seem to wash up here as they did on Decrows point and there has been so many gathering them since we came here that the prettiest were all gone we got a few however and some sea beans which will be as much of a curiosity to you as the shells I put up about 25 or 30 shell and three or four beans in a small pasteboard box and Jim put up some 50 or 60 in a cigar box and we are waiting for a chance to send them Lewis Eno of our company who lives in Mcgregor is trying to get a furlough and if he succeeds he will take them for us if not we will probably get a chance after a while to send them to New Orleans and have them expressed Well what next John Gruchac keeps poking his head out of his tent and botthering me John is as fat and saucy as a pet sheep ever since he came back from up north Wm Barber Frank Farrand and Judge Lawrence are all well Frank is the champion checker player in our company

Cal I was weighed last week and 147 lbs I expect you are as heavy as I am if you are as fat as Jim says you was when he left home I am heavier now than I have been before since I was taken sick in Louisana almost a year ago my usual weight when I was at home was from 160 to 65 I weighed 166

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Brothers John and Darius Mather are buried in the Vicksburg National Cemetery.

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The 14th Rhode Island was an artillery regiment manned by colored troops. According to Matthew King, "*one Battalion of colored troops that was put under arrest for refusing their pay*" on the 31st.

when we left Houston Mo As dinner is about ready I must close but I must tell you first that we are going to have something extra for dinner to day we have dried apples and potatoes in addition to our usual fare the usual fare is hard tack sow belly and coffee and occasionally a mess of beans or dried peas O Cal how I should like to set down to a meal of your getting up once more but that is to good to talk or even think about so I will bring my letter to a close and go and enjoy the luxury of a military dinner

Yours ever the same

James Bethard

"Sow belly" or "sow bosom" was a common companion to the infamous and appropriately named "hardtack," a staple of the military. A "ship's biscuit" made from flour, water and salt and baked in 3" squares to extreme hardness, it was delivered in barrels or boxes often marked "BC" for "Brigade Commissary," letters men said referred to the date the hardtack was baked. Sometimes called "flour tile," it was so hard that it "nearly created insurrection" when first issued to the 8th Iowa. Also known as crackers, army bread or hard bread, it gave rise to much military humor:

Sergeant: Boys, I was eating a piece of hardtack this morning and I bit on something soft. What do you think it was?

Private: A worm?

Sergeant: No by God, it was a ten penny nail.

The private's guess was not far-fetched since crackers were often so infested they were called "worm castles." Some soldiers claimed the only meat they ever got came in the crackers and heated them to kill the worms or dipped them in coffee so dead worms could float to the surface. Recipes included "dandy-funck" (soaked in water and baked with molasses and salt pork), "hardtack pudding" (mashed into meal, mixed with water, kneaded into dough, filled with apples, wrapped in cloth and boiled), "hell-fire stew" (boiled in water and bacon grease until soft enough to eat), "lobscouse" (stewed with salt meat and vegetables) and "skillygalee" (softened in water and fried in bacon fat).¹¹⁸³

At Matagorda Island on April 5th, Peter McIntyre was detailed by Colonel Merrill as Corporal of the color guard and Company D's Thomas Larkin was reduced from 6th Corporal to Private for "using language to His Superior Officers unbecoming a Soldier and for the disobedience of orders."¹¹⁸⁴

At McGregor on the 6th, the *North Iowa Times* included a note from William Reed, Company G: "Will. Reed of the 21st, writes Harding that 'the boys' are all as well as can be, but the Times dont reach them regularly."

Alexander Voorhees went to New Orleans "to express money of the soldiers to their families and transact other important business," there were more baptisms, more sermons and more mail from the north, one of the gunboats went up the bay and captured two small boats and the captain of a gunboat near Indianola but the infantry had light duty in constantly changing weather. After a nighttime drill, the 7th was cloudy and warm, the 8th was windy and the sand disagreeable, the 9th was pleasant, the 10th was warm, and Jim absentmindedly misdated his next three letters. Although written on the days indicated, the month was April, not March:

Matagorda Island. Texas.

March the 10th 1864

Dear wife I seat myself once more to pen you a few lines I am well with the exception of a diarhea which has been running me for about a week but it is better to day Jim Rice is well I received 4 letters last week two from you one from Mort and one from sister Nancy tell mort I will answer his letter this week but can not to day as I have got three likenesses taken to send away and as I have no good way of keeping them I must write the letters and send them to day I will send one to you in this letter and the other two to my two sisters in Ohio and Illinois the two that I am going to send to my sisters are taken in a sitting posture on smaller plates the three cost me three dollars and a quarter you wrote that you wanted my likeness with gun and accouterments so here I am armed and equiped as

¹¹⁸³ *North & South* magazine (August 2000), page 9.

¹¹⁸⁴

Special Orders #59, Headquarters, 21st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Matagorda Island, Texas, signed by Colonel Merrill. The reduction was also noted in Gilbert Cooley's journal.

the law directs you say you think I am getting rather lazy about writing but I do the best I can under the circumstances but when the wind is blowing the dirt on my paper faster than I can blow it off and blowing the paper away from me whenever I happen to take my hand off of it it makes it rather unpleasant work and I generally make as short work of it as possible if I was sitting in a house at a desk I could afford to take a little more pains and besides you cannot expect a large sheet crowded with news every week when we are laying in camp and nothing going on but the common business of the camp I heard today that a few men were to be allowed 30 day furloughs and you think Uncle Sam is opening his heart big to allow a man thirty days to travail over two thousand miles and make a visit at home and return Cal I hope you will not think hard of me for not trying to get a thirty day furlough for I would not have but verry little if any more than time to go and come Nancy was getting along well with her school when she wrote she had five weeks to teach yet she intends to remain there until next fall if she can get a summer school Cal if I knew whether you had moved or not I would know better where to direct my letters but I shall direct to Clermont until you tell me different we have had no oportunity to send our shells yet they are of such a poor quality that it would hardly pay to send them by mail as it is getting late in the day and I have another letter to write I must bid you good bye for this time

(James Bethard

John Rogman shared a tent with his German countryman, Othmar Kapler, who again came to his friend's aid when he asked Dr. Orr and Chaplain Hill to see John "on account of his great suffering to administer medical aid" for the rupture. On April 11th, Joseph Poor returned after hospitalization in St. Louis and Quincy for chronic diarrhea while Abel Allen, Isaac Mace, Sears Richards, Joseph Allen, Elisha Root, Merritt Smith, Robert Mansfield, Ralph A Weeks, Nehemiah Aldrich, John Valiquet and Wm A Hamer arrived as new recruits.

It was during their stay on Matagorda Island that about a dozen members of Company D complained of "sore eyes." John Thurber said one of the recruits, "*John B. Valiquet stated that while on the boat coming to Matagorda Island, he woke up one night to find a woman laying alongside of him, he believes he had a good thing and topped her off several times, but in the morning he found she was a black woman and soon after he found that he was pretty badly burned, at the time he Valiquet was complaining of his privates and walked rather funny.*"¹¹⁸⁵ According to 2nd Lieutenant Gilbert Cooley, "*John B Valiquette a member of the Co had a severe case of gonorrhoea and we had a mess pan which we used for a wash pan Valiquette, as was afterwards found out, took this pan into his tent after night and washed his penace in the pan. Mr. Kimbro the Co. cook was the first to wash in the pan and took the sore eyes first and right following that some ten or twelve of the Co. took sore eyes and it is supposed they took them from washing in that pan. I don't know this to be the case it might have been ordinary inflammation of the eyes but it is possibly the former was the cause of it.*"¹¹⁸⁶ John Lowe and John White agreed with Cooley. Valiquette "*was caught washing his penis in the company wash basin,*" said White.¹¹⁸⁷

Hiram Buel had joined the regiment as a corporal during its original organization but the accidental injury at Vicksburg led to amputation of his left hand above the wrist. Discharged in September, he had returned home and made a proposal - if he raised thirty new recruits, could he have the Governor's assurance of a Lieutenant's commission? A response was received by telegraph from Washington, the deal was made and before long he had enrolled a sufficient number of recruits to receive the commission and start his return. It was also on the 11th that Colonel Merrill wrote to an Assistant Adjutant General in Iowa that:

*"Since the organization of my regiment no commissioned officer has been permitted to represent the regiment in the recruiting services in the State of Iowa - My regiment is now reduced to 466 'present' - I ask to be ordered to Iowa to fill up the ranks. Three field officers are now on duty in the regiment."*¹¹⁸⁸

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Deposition of Justin Thurber (December 6, 1881). An unidentified soldier while in Memphis wrote that black prostitutes "*felt loving toward us because they thought we were bringing them freedom and they would not charge us a cent.*" Thomas P. Lowry, M.D., *The Story The Soldiers Wouldn't Tell. Sex in the Civil War* (Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA; 1994), page 84.

¹¹⁸⁶ Deposition of Gilbert Cooley (August 13, 1885).

¹¹⁸⁷ Depositions of John Lowe and John M. White (January 7, 1886).

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After the discharge of William Ferris and Pleasant Ewing, both for disabilities, on the 11th, the regiment still 679 on the rolls. With only 466

Warren Braman returned on a warm and rainy 12th of April as did George Fisher who had been treated at Jefferson Barracks for the leg wound suffered eleven months earlier at the Big Black. Traveling with them was John Conner, an eighteen year old new recruit. In another month John die from typhoid fever.

Tendering his resignation was 2d Lieutenant Ernst Renner who said Company E was "*far reduced in numbers*" and he had family problems at home that needed his attention. His wife and family had opposed his enlistment and, he said, "*subsequent privations seem to have further alienated them from me.*" His resignation was approved until it reached command level where, by order of General McClernand, he was invited instead to "*forward an application for a leave of absence for sixty days,*" a leave that was subsequently granted.

Robert Mansfield, the young recruit from Winneshiek County, reached the regiment on the 13th and several furlough requests were granted. Company B's William Lyons supported furlough requests for Tim Hayes (due to his "*meritorious conduct*" and no "*censure of his superiors*"), Louis Eno (who had served faithfully and "*is worthy of a furlough*" for "*good conduct in the line of duty*") and Alvin Merriam ("*said soldier's father having died on the 8th day of August 1863 and left a large estate to be settled which cannot be done without heavy loss to said soldier unless present*") while Company D's Elisha Boardman requested a furlough for Asa Haskins ("*he has a family of three small children that are motherless and are not provided for as they necessarily should be*"). Colonel Merrill supported the requests and certified that their leaving would not increase the number of men on furloughs above five percent of the total.

On April 14, 1864, John Baade was restored to duty without penalty. He had returned two days earlier with Warren Braman and convinced his superiors his delay had been unavoidable due to poor health. On the 15th, Jabez Rogers rejoined the regiment after recovering from illness and the steamer *Clinton* arrived with mail from New Orleans. Myron Knight was among the fortunate who received a letter from home but the hospital was "*fast filling up*" as more and more of the new recruits became ill.

Company E's Thomas Burns, a native of Ireland, was in a Memphis hospital on the 16th when he died from small pox. His possessions were burned to prevent the spread of the disease, while Sam Merrill, Tim Hayes, Lewis Eno, Alvin Merriam, George Moore and "*a good many of the boys*" left Texas for New Orleans on the first leg of a long trip home. With him, Tim had a letter from Myron Knight to his family while Lewis carried a letter and the pasteboard box of shells that Jim was sending to Cal. As Merrill was leaving on the 16th his regimental antagonist, Salue Van Anda, was writing to Adjutant General Baker.

"Col Merrill I believe is going home. You will see him in Iowa probably. I wish to call your attention to one thing. We have had a great deal of trouble although he has been absent ten months in the last year. He has had me court martialed but the court found me 'not guilty.'¹¹⁸⁹ He is now working to get me dismissed on ex party statements at the War Department. He does not intend to stay with the Rgt only to get me out of it. I have informed Gov. Stone what I think are his designs. I can assure you it is all malice on his part and will show you at a proper time. I only desire that no commissions be issued for promotion without my knowledge."

Fearful that Major Crooke might be promoted over him, Van Anda expressed his confidence that Baker would "*not allow any advantage to be taken of me without I have an opportunity of defending myself. If he succeeds in getting me dismissed which I think doubtful I will be reinstated.*" The next morning, Jim wrote an early mis-dated letter before joining his company at the landing to unload supplies:

**Matagord Island Texas
Sunday morning before breakfast
March the 17th 1864**

Dear wife I take my pen in hand this morning to write you a few lines to send with Lewis Eno who is going home on a furlough there are three of our company going Eno of McGregor and Alvin

¹¹⁸⁹ "*present*" that meant more than 31% were on furloughs, on detached duty or traveling and, of the 466 who were present many were undoubtedly not able for duty.

There had been no trial, he hadn't been found "*not guilty*" and it wasn't Merrill who had him arrested in New Orleans. Merrill was not even with the regiment at the time federal officials had Van Anda arrested.

Marium and Timothy Hayes of Hardin¹¹⁹⁰ I am sending a small box of shells by Mr. Eno he has been tenting with Jim and I since we have been on this Island you can safely trust anything with him that you may wish to send but do not encumber him with anything heavy or unhandy to carry for you must remember he has a long way to travel I do not think of anything no that I wish to send for unless it is some Calimus if you have a chance to get some of that while he is there I would be glad if you would send me some I can get clothing of the government cheaper than you can get it there I sent you my likeness last sunday look at it and tell me what you think of the old soldier by this time Cal I cannot promise you that I will come home before the war is over or my time is out for they only give 30 days from here and it wont pay to go home from here on a 30 days furlough unless a man has some verry urging business to attend to. well I must stop and eat my breakfast. Well breakfast over here goes again. it is half past seven and the regiment starts at 8 to escort the 18th Indiana down to the landing they are going home on furlough having reenlisted the bugle is blowing now so good bye for this time your husband (James Bethard

The bugle was blowing, said Jim, and to soldiers it sometimes seemed to blow constantly. Both North and South used musicians to send directions by bugle or drum. A soldier might answer fifteen or twenty calls a day from a 5:00 a.m. Assembly of Buglers to Reveille, Fatigue Call, Drill Call, Dinner Call, Taps and lights out at 10:00 p.m. The daily routine of reveille, meals, falling in and closing up for inspections, fatigue duty, drill, cleaning of equipment, dress parades and marching, often for no apparent purpose and orchestrated by musicians and overly pompous officers, played hard on soldiers' enthusiasm. One man from Georgia was reported to have said that if he survived the war he was going to buy two dogs, name one "*Fall In*" and the other "*Close Up*" and as soon as they knew their names shoot them both so there would be no more "*fall in*" or "*close up*."

It's possible Jim had heard "*Guard Mount*" letting the regiment know it was time to fall in for their escort duty with the 18th Indiana or perhaps they were about to learn that reinforcements were being ordered to the Red River where Banks' campaign had ground to a halt. By the time word reached Texas that reinforcements were needed it was already too late but part of 2d Brigade immediately boarded transports at Matagorda while the 21st and 23d Iowa stayed behind.

On the 18th, Captain Lyons again took command of a pioneer corps, men unloaded commissary stores and a salute was fired for General McClernand as he left "*for the front*."

April 19th was pleasant after a morning drizzle and the regiment again moved camp but this time only one-fourth mile so they could get out of the sand. At their new site, between the 99th Illinois and part of the 18th Indiana, they learned of Banks' defeat. Colonel Merrill had reached New Orleans on his way north, his regiment was under marching orders for the Red River and Merrill was anxious that George Crooke be appointed Adjutant as soon as possible since "*the records of my regiment need immediate attention*."¹¹⁹¹ He hoped to have the necessary order signed by General Banks but Banks was too busy extricating himself from the Red River so Merrill continued north while the regiment continued without an Adjutant. On April 20, 1864, the *North Iowa Times*, unaware that Merrill was on his way home, reported that:

"Line McKinnie writes us from Matagorda Texas, under date of March 18th, but as the old veteran arrived here before the letter, he deems it useless to chronicle amusing jottings. 'Line' is among us, in good health and enjoying himself in first rate fashion."

"Col. Merrill, of the 21st, now commanding a Brigade, is at Matagorda Bay, Texas. Report said lately that the division of the army would return to New Orleans, but it seems to be an error of the reporter."

On the 21st, General Warren led two steamers with detachments from the Matagorda regiments on an expedition to Port Lavaca. Rebel cavalry saw them coming and wisely left town, the steamers unloaded, there was a brief unsuccessful pursuit, pickets were set "*and the rest of the troops were put to work loading the steamers with lumber*

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Officially, the three furloughs started April 17th. Myron Knight indicates they left on the 16th, possibly since a boat was then available, but Jim indicates they were still there on the 17th and he tented with Eno and presumably would have known when he left.

¹¹⁹¹ Letter dated at New Orleans on April 20, 1864 from Colonel Merrill to General Baker, Iowa Adjutant General

obtained from the buildings and yards of the town. I might remark here," said Jacob Switzer, "that at Port Lavaca we saw the first timber we had seen since landing on the coast." Some of the men wandered beyond the pickets, were fired on by observant rebels, fired back, mortally wounded one of the attackers and:

*"toward evening we were called in and ordered on board the boats, preparatory to returning to Matagorda Island, but just as the boats were about to leave a fire broke out in the town, which was built of wood entirely, there being no brick or stone buildings. In the hot dry weather the fire burned and spread like wild fire, and the old General ordered the troops all off the boats to put it out."*¹¹⁹²

There was little they could do, "the town was nearly all in ashes" and "the General swore vengeance on the man who started the fire if he could be found." Meanwhile, in the North, the Governors of five states asked the President for permission to raise 100-day regiments but no bounties would be paid and responsibilities would be limited.¹¹⁹³ It was hoped the eighty-five anticipated regiments would free veterans and three-year men for more active service with Grant during the upcoming summer. The President agreed and the plan was implemented while the men in Texas were getting anxious.

Weather was wet and windy. There was thunder and lightening. For months they had moved from one site to another seemingly without purpose. No battles were fought and few enemy were seen. Sitting on a desolate island, virtually alone, far from the heart of combat, they gathered shells, bathed in the surf and worked on fortifications no one expected would be needed and Jim was frustrated with the war, with Fitz Henry Warren and other officers and with the continued inactivity when he wrote another mis-dated letter to Cal:

**Mategord Island Texas
Sunday March [April] the 24th 1864**

Dear wife again I am seated with pen in hand to write to my wife this is a fine sunday morning and I am in the enjoyment of good health I came in from picket yesterday morning and found our tent deserted Jim Rice having gone off on a hunting and fishing expedition to be gone until this evening there are plenty of deer on the Island and plenty of fish in the bay and gulf so we look for a supply of venison and fish when the boys return we received no mail last week but the week before I received three or four letters from you I believe the last one was No. 58 dated March the 28th

We may not get any more mail at this place for as I understand we are ordered away within ten days the 2nd brigade went last week and we are to go as soon as transportation can be furnished the 2nd brigade went to New Orleans and they say they were to go up red river to reinforce Banks there whether that is our destination or not I do not know our movements have been a mystery to me ever since we were transfered to Banks department we never know when we start where we are going to and are sometimes puzzled to know where we are when we get there and what we are there for we never know I never knew what we went to Indianola for nor why we built those fortifications there or why we left them as soon as they were finished I cannot understand why we are building so many fortifications here when there is not half enough men here to man them and what there is here are ordered away all except a regiment of negroes. there is to be a review this afternoon we have to come out with our knapsacks on and stand three or four hours in the hot sun while general Warren and his pimps¹¹⁹⁴ ride up and down the line to display their fine duds and red tape it seems the fighting has entirely played out with us and building fortifications standing guard where there is no guard necessary and putting on style generally is the order of the day I am not overly fond of fighting myself and if putting style amounted to anything toward putting down the rebellion I could cheerfully put on all the style that is required and spend all my leisure time in scouring my gun and U.S. jewelry but all the style dont amount to a pinch of snuff and if this rebellion is to be put down by fighting before I can go home I want to be at it and have it done with Well Cal I suppose you are living in Mcgregor by this

¹¹⁹² Iowa Journal of History (1956).

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At the suggestion of Ohio's Governor John Brough, Governors from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Wisconsin joined him in Washington.

¹¹⁹⁴ From the French "pimpere," meaning to dress elegantly.

time in the last letter I received from you you told me to direct to McGregor and I shall do so you have probably seen Mr Eno and received the letter and shells that I sent by him before this letter has reached you and also my likeness which I sent two weeks ago to day I will send you in this a piece of the telegraph line that ran from Burwik to Opolusas Louisiana I got it, while we were on the march out to vermilion last fall on purpose to send to you and never thought of it again until a day or two ago I happened to find it in my cartridge box Wm Barber is quite sick at present with a fever caused by the inflammation of his old wound received at vicksburg last spring the ball is working out toward the surface and the doctor thinks he can cut out after a while
no more at present

Your husband J.B.

The 24th saw a pleasant morning, more preaching, another baptism by Chaplain Hill and, according to Matthew King, an *“operation performed on a young man who was wounded at Vicksburg in the groin. The ball is in there yet.”* The *“young man”* was twenty-year-old William Barber, but doctors were still unable to find the ball.

Good weather continued on April 25th as the 23d and part of the 22d Iowa left for New Orleans on the *Clinton* while

*“there was a Negrow regiment came on to relieve them.”*¹¹⁹⁵ The 21st was under orders to be ready to embark with three days' rations on an hour's notice, a boat arrived with colored troops to replace the white troops who were leaving for Louisiana and there was an evening dress parade.

Abe Treadwell returned to Matagorda with two recruits (William M. Carpenter and Andrew Hughes) and David Drummond was arrested *“for disobedience of orders and gross and wilful neglect of duty as Officer of the Guard.”* The regiment was ready to leave for Louisiana but there were no boats. A steamer showed up on the 28th with Sgt. Major John Dubois, James Russell who had been wounded at the Big Black and a few more recruits but only the pioneers were embarked for New Orleans. On April 30th men were mustered for pay in the morning, Myron Knight swam in the Gulf in the afternoon and Walter McNally and several others went fishing *“and caught a good lot of fine fish.”* It rained hard in the evening and Seymour Chipman was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps due to his continuing dyspepsia and fever. With the convalescent corps disbanded, the reserve corps had become the organization of choice for convalescents able to perform light tasks until well enough for full duty.

With most regiments having left Texas, the balance of the brigade at Matagorda was led by George Bailey, Colonel of the 99th Illinois, while the post was commanded by Benjamin Stone Roberts, a general and the son and grandson of generals. The fifty-three-year-old Roberts had helped build a railroad in Russia, practiced law in Iowa, fought in Mexico, served in New Mexico and been recognized for gallantry in action but his service had not been without controversy and he was now relegated to minor command on the beaches of Texas where Jim Rice was promoted to 4th Corporal, William Robbins to 3d Corporal and John Farrand to 1st Corporal. Church services were in the fort with the text being Ecclesiastes, Chapter 12, Verse 1, and Jim wrote to Cal.

Matagord Island. Tex.

Sunday morning May the 1st 64

Dear wife I seat myself once more to write you a few lines to let you know that I am still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health James Rice is also well or was at least yesterday morning when he went out on picket I have not seen him since Wm Barber has had quite a serious time with his old wound but was getting better yesterday I have not seen him this morning the wound inflamed and swelled up causing a fever and he has been quite sick for about a week the doctor probed his thigh on the back part and it has discharged a great deal of matter and he is getting along finely now but it is my opinion that he will never be of any account in the army

Cal I received two letters from you last week dated April 4th and 12th No's 61 and 63 you must have made a mistake in numbering them for there can be none between the 4th and 12th unless you wrote three in two weeks the last one contained four stamps you say you are lonesome at your new home in McGregor but this is no strange news for it is verry natural for people and epecialy women to be lonesome when they move into a strange place I hope you will be contented after you become acquainted with some of your neighbors in McGregor I understand that the small pox is in McGregor

¹¹⁹⁵ Journal of Walter McNally.

but I hope it will not get into your family for it seems from the report of your last letter that you have Pox enough in the family to deal with all ready but if your account of Teros case is true there is no danger of his getting the small pox for two kinds of Pox cannot work on a person at the same time this is a strang peice of news indeed I can hardly beleive it to be so for if it is so why didnt it have the same effect on others that it did on Tero I always though there was something wrong about it but I never supposed it was anything of that kind I am sure that Jim had no such disorder for we have bunked together ever since we have been in the service and it would have been impossible for him to conceal any such thing as that from me I cannot believe that Squier ever had any such disease for I saw him and George both several times last summer and if there had been anything of that kind the matter with Squier I should have been verry apt to have found it out there were several of our company vaccinated from Jims arm last summer before he went home and two of them had quite a serious time one of had swelling under his arms and our surgeons examined and doctored him but never called it any such thing as that I was vaccinated from the same and had no trouble at all I had a small sore on my arm and it got well in due time

The white troops are all gone from here now excep our regiment and the 99th Ill and one or two battries there is some prospect now of our being stationed here for the summer if we are not we will leave here in a short time General Warren has left and General Roberts of Iowa is now in command of this post Cal I hope you have got over the mumps all right you didnt say anything about in your last With my love to you and Ellie I bid you good bye for the time

Your loving husband. James Bethard

Jim was right. Cal had misnumbered her letters but their system had been marginally successful at best. Each was to number every letter and then write to the other about which numbers had been received. After suggesting the system two years earlier, Jim had stopped numbering his own letters and, combined with misdating of several letters, probably had Cal hopelessly confused. Cal had tried to continue the numbering but often forgot which number she was on and their problem was compounded by the occasional letter that was lost forever and by delayed and irregular deliveries that often resulted in letters being received out-of-sequence.

Jim was also right about smallpox, an airborne virus that could be contracted by inhalation or contact with bodily fluids. Victims typically experienced splitting headaches, fever, chills, backaches and nausea and, after a brief respite, a rash, usually on the face and spreading to arms, legs and the rest of the body. The rash erupted into open sores especially painful in the mouth and throat and no treatment was effective. Death could occur before the rash but more often during its first week and in the Union Army almost 19,000 soldiers contracted the disease and more than 7,000 died. Those who survived usually could not get the disease again but often continued to suffer from pockmarked faces or blindness.

Hastily recruited regiments had often been rushed to the field without a thought of smallpox or protective vaccinations. Other times, the disease was brought to a regiment by soldiers returning from furlough, especially those who had visited large cities. In close confinement, it could spread rapidly from the breath of one already contaminated or through corpses, clothing and blankets. Vaccine was provided when possible but supplies were often short and blood was sometimes drawn from the arm of a soldier who had already been vaccinated and injected into the arm of another. Since there were still many unknowns and conditions were less than perfect, contaminated serum was sometimes used without knowledge. Squire Mather may or may not have died from small pox when it ravaged his regiment during February and March 1863 while Squire was present and it's not unlikely he had contracted the illness before returning home. Jim said he had been vaccinated from Jim Rice's arm and suffered no ill effects,¹¹⁹⁶ but this

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With serum in short supply, arm-to-arm inoculations were common during the war. Shurkin, *The Invisible Fire* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979). Also see Donald R. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants, Smallpox in History* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1983).

Edward Jenner had demonstrated the effectiveness of vaccination decades earlier and "regulations required the vaccination of recruits," but the regulation was not always followed. Segregation of the infected "was generally observed" and "carelessness in this respect, and failure to revaccinate, became unusual after the middle of 1862, except among colored troops." George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (Morningside House, 1985), page 219.

While deaths from disease were reported, the specific disease was not always shown, some reports were very general (e.g. death from "fever" may have been caused by what some called lung fever or pneumonia, malarial fever, remittent fever or typhoid fever, or the fever may merely have been a symptom of the actual illness), and different doctors used different terminology. In the 21st Iowa, five deaths, all after 1862, were specifically attributed to "small pox." In Jim's case, vaccination from the arm of Jim Rice most likely meant he had been vaccinated with

was not the case. It's possible he didn't want to alarm Cal or he may not have been aware the serum he received was impure but Jim was infected and would suffer from sores and scars for the rest of his life.

On May 4th, David Drummond, arrested six days earlier, was released by order of the Brigadier General commanding U.S. forces in Texas:

*"It is not known at these headquarters why this officer was placed under arrest; it is understood that he was charged with neglect of guard duty, the most serious violation of regulations of which an Officer can be found guilty. In the present instance, on account of the uncertainty of the charge, the arrest is revoked; in future, any carelessness or neglect in the discharge of guard duty will be visited with severity on the offender."*¹¹⁹⁷

On the 6th it was business as usual. Weather was pleasant, drill was twice a day, fishing was good and there were more prayer meetings. The *Exact* arrived with war news from New Orleans and word that, a week earlier, the *Harriet Lane* had run the blockade only a few miles away at Galveston. Named for President Buchanan's niece, the federal steamer had assisted in the seizure of Galveston's harbor in October 1862, anchored offshore and been captured two months later by Confederates under J. Bankhead Magruder. Now it had eluded federal gunboats and escaped to the open sea.¹¹⁹⁸ Weather continued warm and windy, the *Crescent* came up from Brownsville on the 8th, the chaplain held religious services and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Matagorda Island Texas
Sunday May the 8th 1864**

Dear wife I seat myself once more to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well I am in better health now than I have been before since we left Missouri I am hearty and feel well and am gaining in weight and strength gradually every day I weighed myself a few days ago and weighed 150 lbs James Rice is well Wm Barber has had quite a serious time with his old wound but he is getting along verry well now he has got so that he walks around without any cain Frank Farrand is well Judge Lawrence is the same old Judge he keeps his gun in splendid order devoting the whole of every saturday afternoon to scouring and cleaning it up we have had no mail for over two weeks there was a boat came in from New Orleans last friday but she brought us no mail I think it quite probbable that our mail has been sent up red river as the biggest part of our division is there and we have also been ordered there but there is nothing certain yet as to whether we will go or stay here General Roberts the commander of this post wants to keep us here but whether his request will be granted or not I cannot say but I hope it will for it will be much easier for us to lay here all summer than to go smashing around all summer as we did last summer It is rumored here that they have had another fight up red river and that our forces have got badly whiped that the rebs have taken all our gunboats there and that our men ar falling back but I hope it is not so bad as represented if it is so it is rough on the yankees sure I was sorely disappointed at not getting a mail when that boat came from New Orleans for I expected two or three letters from you and four or five from other sources and a gold pen and silver extension holder from New York for which I sent my dollar the fore part of last month Cal I was in swimming in the gulf last week it is the gayest place to swim that I ever was in the water is as clean and clear as can be and the bottom is all sand and goes off gradually so that we can be in as deep as or as shallow as we like the waves are allways rolling from two to ten foot high and it is great amusement to go in and be tossed up and down by the waves it is easier to swim in salt water than in fresh it requires but a verry sligt motion to keep upon the surface of the water I was once or twice caught off my guard and overwhelmed by breakers and got my mouth and nose filled with salt water which was not overly pleasant the water tastes about as salty as cold fresh water would be with all the salt that could be dissolved in it it does not taste exactly like fresh water salted but worse if possible the water in the gulf is always cool and does not get warm like the water standing still in the bay bathing in salt water is considered verry healthy Cal I have written you off a beautiful Battle song to send you in this

pus from the blister on Jim Rice's arm.
¹¹⁹⁷

Special Orders No. 5, Headquarters, United States Forces, Pass Cavallo, Matagorda Island, Texas, by command of Brigadier General Roberts. National Archive and Records Administration, pension file of David Drummond.

¹¹⁹⁸ It then made its way to Havana where it would remain until the end of the war.

letter but Jim says he saw it in the advocate and if that is the case you have probbably got it before I did but I will send it anyhow I got it from a ballad printed by the U. S. Christian commission Chicago Ill I will also enclose a song in this letter for Mort which you can read if you like as there is nothing indecent or improper about it I sent rather a smutty one to Mort last winter and I have been expecting to hear from you on this subject as Mort says he showed it to you but maybe you are mad and pouting over it if you are just let me know and I will try and feel as bad as I can about it but it is impossible for me to feel verry solemcolly when I think of the beautiful sentiment contained in the song
Yours forever James Bethard

Headquartered in New York, the Christian Commission of which Jim spoke had been organized by the Y.M.C.A. in 1861 to provide moral and spiritual support to Union soldiers. It stocked reading rooms with magazines and newspapers and furnished stamps, writing materials, extra food and medical assistance to men in the field but was only one of dozens of organizations distributing Bibles and religious tracts. Among many others were the Protestant Episcopal Book Society in Philadelphia, a South Carolina Tract Society, the North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, an Evangelical Tract Society in Virginia and the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York. In the parlance of the day, soldiers were told that all were sinners and death was certain, repentance was necessary or hell was assured and soon they would *"meet thy God you may never see old age; you may never see another year; nay, another day, another hour."*

To help fill the ranks, Iowa was to muster ten of the 100-day regiments. On May 11, 1864, the *North Iowa Times* reported that *"'Line' McKinney and 'Tim' Hopkins are heading the 100 day organization at this place, Tim taking the lead."*¹¹⁹⁹

At Pass Cavallo on May 13th Charles Wilson, a private in Company F, was detailed for duty as a sentinel at division headquarters. That night, about 11:00, instead of pacing he was found sitting in an area that was allegedly too removed from his post. He was arrested, charges were filed, Major Crooke was appointed to hear the matter and Charles admitted he had been sitting down although he would not admit he was in the wrong area. He was ordered to forfeit \$3.00 of his monthly pay to the regiment's hospital fund and to be publicly reprimanded on dress parade.

On the 14th, eighteen year old Delhi resident Henry Cruver died of measles only eighty-six days after enlisting in Iowa.¹²⁰⁰

**Matagorda Island Texas
May the 16th 1864**

Dear wife

after about four weeks of anxious suspense we have at last received a mail and I have just finished the pleasant and interesting task of reading six letters three from you and one from Jont one from Libby and one from cousin Albert the three from you were dated March the 17th-24th and May the 1st Nos 62-63 and 64 I was glad to hear once more that you were all well I hope you will not get the small pox in your family my folks in Ohio were all well when Libby wrote they had just received a letter from Nancy she was well she had not determined whether she would go home this spring or not it depended upon her success in getting a summer school she had one partly engaged Jont was well when he wrote he seems to be much better contented than he was when he wrote before he has high hopes of the war ending in less than a year It seems from Alberts letter that they have had an increase in the family it is a girl they are living in Springfield Ohio he was well and doing well Henry farnum and his two brothers have enlisted in the 32nd Ohio¹²⁰¹ Harveys regt is still at Columbus Ohio Jonts regt when he wrote was at Rossville Georgia I am at present on detached duty doing guard duty at general Roberts head quarters about 5 miles from the regiment the regiment is going to move down near the fort tomorrow about three quarters of a mile from where I am staying there is 25 of our regiment here from all the companies except two we are elected for this place as long

1199

Tim Hopkins had been discharged for disability on January 23, 1863, while Linus "Line" McKinnie was at home on furlough. The paper also noted that *"bonnets now imported from Paris are said to be growing beautifully less in size and hugely larger in price."*

¹²⁰⁰ Henry is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54751925.

¹²⁰¹

Henry Farnum (age 32) and Chester Farnum (age 21) enlisted in the 32nd Ohio Infantry as recruits on March 29, 1864.

as we stay on the Island I like the change verry well our duty is light we only come on guard about once in four days and we have no drill nor picket nor fatigue duty to do and we have better grub than we did with the regiment I saw Jim Rice last Friday he was well my own health is verry good I am as hearty as a buck the regiment is ordered to work every day on the fortifications until further orders it seems that you have not received my likeness yet but I hope to hear from it and also the box of shells that I sent you by Eno in your next letter I could pick up plenty of shells now but it is spawning season and they are not pretty I will put a few small ones in this letter they may get all smashed to pieces before the letter reaches your hands but if they do it will be no loss as it will cost nothing to put them in Cal you keep asking me to come home on furlough and nothing short of going for good would be more agreeable to me than to do so if I could go a 60 day furlough and thought it would not be endangering my health but I have been sick so much in the last year and having gained my health once more the fear of losing it again is a great consideration with me for good health is one of the greatest blessings that the almighty can bestow upon mankind and especially a soldier in the field I think taking all things into consideration that we had better try and rest contented without seeing one another until I can come home to stay which period I hope is not far distant for I have great confidence in the success of Grants movements in Virginia our last news from there was dated May the 5th at which time our army had crossed the rapihanock and Lee was falling back It seems that Banks has got rather the worst end of the bargain up red river but I hope the skales will turn there before it is done with
your husband James Bethard

May the 17th 1864

Well Cal as the mail did not go out yesterday evening I will scribble a few lines more to you but it is now almost one o clock and I have to go on guard at two and the mail goes out at three so you see I have not much time to write I will just say that the pay master has come and is paying off the troops here our regiment will be paid off in a day or two and I am going to send you seventy (\$70.00) Major Crook is going to send a package to New Orleans by the paymaster and have it expressed to Odell and Updegraff and I will have mine sent in the package with his and you can get it by calling upon Odell and Updegraff I saw Jim Rice to day he is well he said he was going to send home (\$50.00) fifty dollars I understand that soldiers wages have been raised privates to \$18.00 per month corporals \$20.00 and seargeants \$30.00 the law as I understand it takes effect from the first of January last but we will not get but 13 this time as the pay rolls have been mad out at the old rate but I must close and get ready for guard My love to you and Ellie and all the family

Your husband James Bethard

At Jefferson Barracks on May 17th John Simpson died of chronic diarrhea and a hip abscess. At forty-three years of age, he had enlisted in February as a new recruit but became ill on the way south, never reached the regiment and was buried in the barracks' cemetery. On the same day in Texas, paymaster McAllister returned to Matagorda where the remnants of the 13th Corps received the long-awaited order to abandon the island. George Croke was still at home when he signed an oath of office as 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant. Notarizing it was McGregor attorney Thomas Updegraff who charged 5¢ for his services. On May 18th, the *North Iowa Times* noted the appointment

*"Geo. Croke, brother of our Maj. Will. B. Croke, has been appointed Adjutant of the 21st Iowa Infantry, and leaves home on Monday next to join his regiment. None more highly respected than these brothers have gone from McGregor into the service, and our readers will be glad to learn that we are promised an occasional letter from Croke & Bro."*¹²⁰²

Guns were removed from Fort Esperanza on the 18th, the regiment moved camp preparatory to evacuating the island and Salue Van Anda was named Special Inspector in the Commissary Department with orders to report on food stores unfit for consumption or not worth transporting. Spoiled food would be destroyed and the rest would be taken to New Orleans as space permitted. Men were paid and Jim had been right about an increase, but wrong about the date

1202

George had been discharged due to illness (chronic diarrhea) on January 5, 1863, and would rejoin the regiment in New Orleans after its service in Texas.

and amount. Pay for privates had been increased to \$16.00 per month but not until May 1st and Jim and other privates were paid at the old rate of \$13.00 for the four months ending April 30th while officers received considerably more. As a major, William Crooke was entitled not only to higher pay but also to a soldier-servant and received his own pay of \$56.00 plus \$26.00 for rations and another \$14.00 for clothing for his servant. On the 20th, Arnold Allen again wrote to his brother.

Matagorda Island

May the 20th 1864

Dear Brother

*I take the oportunity of writing you a few lines stating that I am in midling health I have been sick but I am on the mend the weather is fine here at this time there is nothing going on here I expect we will leave here for New Orleans in a few days we were paid the other day and I sent seventy dollars home I sent it to the same place that I sent the other Bill Logsdon got his pay this time he give me 30 dollars the Boys are all well tell Mother to pay what is behind on them ... and use the rest of the money*¹²⁰³

That night a squad of eighteen volunteers¹²⁰⁴ under Van Anda's command boarded the little steamer *Zephyr* about midnight for an expedition to Indianola. By 4:00 a.m. on the 21st they had anchored in the bay, transferred to small "surf boats" and, with a gunboat for protection, "struck out for shore above the court house" while Dr. Hunt stayed on board with the captain. Part of the squad went to Powderhorn and part to Old Indianola "after some few families" and found a rebel conscription officer, a Sergeant Major who "hid under some old rags." Returning to Matagorda with their prisoners and thirty or forty women and children on their way to New Orleans, they took surf boats to the shore at Fort Esperanza and started preparations for their voyage

Sunday, May 22, 1864, was warm, Chaplain Hill preached twice and administered baptisms to three converts and John Conner died from typhoid. Only eighteen, he had been in the service fewer than three months and the next day was buried while the *Zephyr* left taking the sick to New Orleans.¹²⁰⁵ The *Corinthian* and *Warrior* also left with "sick and munitions of war" while Jim and the rest of the regiment waited and Rufus Grosvenor, a hospital steward in Company A, expressed frustration shared by most of the regiment:

*"Just a year ago to-day our brave boys under Grant were making the memorable charge at Vicksburg; and just a half year since we started from Algiers on this fruitless expedition. What a contrast in execution! As we cast our eyes over the abandoned fort, and the long line of fortifications, and the utter desolation soon to follow evacuation. Guns dismounted, commissary stores despoiled, and preparations going on to destroy what a week ago looked so strong, impregnable and enduring; millions expended, our time, which might have been useful in an active campaign, lost, and our energies misdirected - is it expected that the intelligent soldier will look on quietly and say nothing?"*¹²⁰⁶

For months they had camped on the gulf - fishing, swimming, regaining their health and "walking the smooth shelly sand." It had not been unpleasant but these were soldiers, they were anxious to see the war end and they hoped for more active service.

On Monday, May 23rd, Jonathan Dazey, the Southern recruit from Brashear City, was detached and detailed for temporary boat duty at Fort Esperanza while Company C's Stephen Barton was admitted to the University General Hospital in New Orleans for treatment of fever and chronic diarrhoea.

Matagorda Island Texas

May the 24th 1864

Dear wife I am seated with pen in hand once more to write you a few lines this is tuesday I did

¹²⁰³ Only the first page of the letter was in the records of the National Archives.

¹²⁰⁴ "about 200" according to Flavius Patterson.

¹²⁰⁵

The place of John's burial is not known, but his name and those of others are on an obelisk in Upper Bay Cemetery, Delhi, Delaware County, Iowa.

¹²⁰⁶ William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), pages 325-326.

not write last sunday because I thought we would start for New Orleans on monday morning so I thought I would postpone writing until we got to New Orleans but we are not gone yet and may not be for a week so I will write you a few lines now and if there is any chance to send before we go I will send it along there is no telling when we will go for the boats are not here yet that are to take us but they are getting ready as fast as possible and the large guns that were in the fort are already gone and they are piling up a lot of hams and shoulders to burn that should have been issued to the soldiers long ago but the quartermaster keept them to sell that he might pocket the money but since we have been ordered to leave he cannot take them back to New Orleans so he has managed to get them condemned and is piling them up to burn such rascaly proceedings as this is what makes me sick of the war I am not sick of the cause in which we are fighting at all but I am sick of the rascaly way in which the army is managed Our destination is New Orleans from here but where from there I cannot tell certain but red river I think I think we are destined to a field of more active service than we have seen for the last six months I told you in my last that I would send you 70 dollars and I suppose it has been sent as I told Jim Rice to draw it and send it I have not seen him since the money was drawn but I heard that Major Crook had sent a package by the paymaster and I suppose Jim sent ours with his I am still doing guard duty at head quarters we will probbably be the generals body guard from here to New Orleans and how much longer I cannot tell We are having good times here the general furnishes us a sein and we go fishing about every other day and just catch as many fish as we please varying in size from the little chubs of Roberts creek up to 50 lbs and almost all kinds cat fish sunfish redfish speckled trout Sheepheads Angel fish starfish Drum fish Jew fish flounders toad fish and a variety of other kinds the names of which I do not recolect and among the rest we have caught several Sharks from 12 inches to three feet long they are an ugly thing we have to handle them careful we cleaned one and tried to eat it but it had a strong disagreeable smell and was not fit to eat I will send you a piece of a sharks hide in this letter there are two kinds of shark here the shovel nose and the long bill we have caught both kinds they are just alike only their heads are shaped differently the shovel nose has a head almost in the shape of a shovel while the other runs off allmost to a point

My health is still good and I hope yours is the same I cannot tell where my next letter will be dated but probbably New Orleans so as it is quite warm and I have no convenient way of writing and nothing interesting to write I will close for this time

Yours ever the same
James Bethard

Although not identifying him by name, Jim's letter was hard on the quartermaster but he didn't indicate if he was referring to the regiment's quartermaster, the brigade's quartermaster or another. Charles Morse, a pre-war corn merchant, had been the regiment's first quartermaster and performed well before being discharged due to illness. It's possible Jim was referring to Gilbert Cooley who at various times served as the acting quartermaster for both the regiment and the brigade or to the regiment's quartermaster sergeant Judson Hamilton. Judson was still in that capacity at Matagorda but would soon be reduced to the ranks at his own request for reasons not specified.

The 25th was cloudy and the *Exact* arrived with mail from New Orleans, breezes from the gulf made fatigue duty and drill more bearable during warm weather on the 26th and weather continued warm on the 27th when Company H caught a "fine mess" of fish and others went swimming. The *Crescent* arrived from Brownsville on the 28th with another 150 civilians, Negroes were loaded on board and Matthew King wandered out beyond the pickets to gather shells. The 29th was windy and overcast and Jim wrote to Cal.

Matagorda Island Texas
May the 29th 1864

Dear wife

another sabath has rolled around and still finds me in Texas on old Matagorda Island I expected when I wrote you last to be in New Orleans before this time but Military movements are verry uncertain and another sabath may find us here still but I think it quite probbabl that we shall see New Orleans before another sabath as we are ordered away and they are shipping everything and preparing to evacuate the island I received a letter from you and one from Jont last week both of which were verry welcome messengers Jont was at Fisk springs Georgia when he wrote they were preparing for

a long march and expected to start the next day but where they were going he did not know he was well and in good spirits he had just received letters from his wife and Nancy and you and I and he said they all bring the satisfactory news of all well I am glad to hear that Mr Eno has been to see you and delivered the shell all right he must be pretty well along on his way back by this time I shall be verry glad to see him for it is a great satisfaction to see any one just from the north and especially one who has seen and talked with my wife and Little Ellie I am still on duty at head quarters our tents were sent away yesterd on the boats and we are now quartered in the hospital building the sick having been sent to New Orleans over a week ago we have verry comfortable quarters and I dont care if they keep us here all summer I am on guard to day I go on duty at twelve o clock I saw Jim Rice last Thursday he was well and in high spirits over the news from the eastern department the news from there is indeed cheering O how I should like to know how things stand there this morning we have got no news from there later than the 12th of this month I expect there has been something big done since that time and I cannot believe that Grant will be defeated and if he is successful I cannot see how the rebels are going to hold out much longer for if Grant does not capture Lees army which I hope and believe he will it will be so discouraged and demoralised that it will never amount to much in another campaign I am in hopes of getting home before another spring but if Grant gets defeated in virginia I shall be greatly disappointed Cal you keep urging me to come home on furlough and if I expected to serve my time out I should try and gratify your request but as things look at present I think I shall wait and see which way the cat jumps for I hope by next fall to get a furlough without limit Cal as I have nothing else to send I will send you a couple of fish scales in this letter that you may see what kind of fish we ketch here the fish that these scales came off of was a sea pike weighing about 50 lbs

My health is verry good and has been for the last two months I hope I shall have better health this summer than I did last you think I look poor in the likeness I sent you but I have got as much flesh as I want for this country as long as my health keeps as good as it is now I dont want any surplus flesh to carry around in this warm climate As it is almost time for me to go on guard I must close so with my love to you and Ellie and my best wishes for your welfare I bid you good bye for this time Your husband

JB

That morning, Frederick Richardson, Orderly Sergeant in Company G, had detailed William Reed for guard duty, but William refused and said he was sick. Later, when “*sick call*” was made, William did not appear. Sgt. Richardson couldn’t find him, but walked down to the landing and on the way met William. Richardson told him he had two choices - guard duty or the doctor - but William refused and said Richardson could “*suck his arse.*” At a court martial hearing the next day, Sgt. Richardson testified to the events, Captain John Craig said he had not given William leave to go to the landing and Private Obed Harrison said he heard William say he would “*go wherever he had a mind to.*” William presented no defense, was found guilty of “*conduct prejudicial to good order*” and was sentenced to confinement “*for the period of thirty days with a ball & chain attached to his left leg.*” The next day Fort Esperanza was designated as his place of confinement.¹²⁰⁷

On May 31st radical Republicans, abolitionists and Germans opposing the renomination of Lincoln met in Cleveland, demanded suppression of the rebellion without compromise and nominated John C. Fremont for President and General John Cochrane of New York for Vice President. Like many in the North they were impatient, as were soldiers in the field, but they differed in their approach.

Colonel Merrill’s request to return home to seek new recruits had been granted and, on June 1st, he was in McGregor when he wrote to Major General Drake, Assistant Attorney General:

I respectfully tender my resignation as Col 21st Regt Iowa Infantry for the following reasons:

1st My regiment is now reduced to about 500 soldiers 'present' with three field officers -

2d A wound through both thighs a year since renders it still difficult to ride my horse with comfort & my health otherwise impaired I feel unable to endure severe field service in an extreme climate - I feel it a duty to leave the service, tho I regret exceedingly to do so before the rebellion is over¹²⁰⁸

¹²⁰⁷ Military records of William T. Reed.

¹²⁰⁸

In a separate letter Merrill told his friend, Assistant Adjutant General Culbertson, that he had several recent attacks of “*bilious colic*” that prevented him from exercising. His doctors thought it was due to climatic influences, his resignation was accepted and he returned to civilian life as President of the First National Bank of McGregor.

The *North Iowa Times* of June 1st reported on plans for a Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair to be held on the 21st. “A contribution of \$5 on the average, from each man in the county, with what the Ladies ‘Aid Societies’ will contribute, will place Clayton county where she ought to be - First at the Fair,” it said. There had been problems in the past when dried fruits, crackers, sheets, shirts, pillows and other items didn’t make it to their intended destination but those problems, it said, had now been solved.¹²⁰⁹ It also carried a message from McGregor’s Mayor Douglas Leffingwell.

To the Citizens of McGregor and Northern Iowa:

I have the satisfaction of being now able to state that the small pox has disappeared from the city of McGregor.

All the physicians have assured me that they have no cases under treatment, and have had none for the last two weeks, and no more cases have been reported, as far as I can learn, and my means of knowing have been better than those of any other. There have been in the aggregate thirty-six cases of this disease in both its forms, small pox, and varcoloid - fifteen cases of small pox, and twenty one of varcoloid. Of these some have died of small pox”

In the South, the *Laura* and *Clinton* reached Texas with mail from New Orleans and it was about this time that McGregor’s Francis Ruff suffered a serious injury. Francis was serving as wagon master when, “*while getting up some vicious mules and harnessing them one of them kicked me on my right knee.*” According to Dr. Orr, the kick “*caused a transverse fracture of the right patella.*” Francis was hospitalized and granted a furlough but by the end of the month was back with the regiment.

On June 2d Matthew King borrowed a horse and rode out to the Englishman’s to buy milk for the sick and the *Corinthian* arrived from New Orleans.

On the 3rd, a “*hale and hearty*” Negro “*excited great interest*” when he claimed to be 110 years old. The *St. Mary* arrived from Brownsville, rebels came in under a white flag and were held as prisoners in the fort, the *Clinton* returned to New Orleans and Matthew King returned to the Englishman’s for more milk.

On the 6th, Alvin Richmond, a drummer from Manchester, died of a bowel inflammation at 3:00 a.m. and that evening, was buried “*under a cedar tree where once stood a rebel residence but now is in ashes.*” With many of the officers and enlisted men in attendance, Chaplain Hill delivered a eulogy and a salute was fired over the grave. On the same day in New Orleans, Stephen Barton was furloughed from the hospital so he could go north for treatment in a general hospital in Davenport.

In April, Jesse Harrison, Captain of Company C, had been ordered to New Orleans where he was to remain until the regiment arrived. While there on June 7th he was paid \$391.04 by the government paymaster.¹²¹⁰ On the same day in Baltimore, the Republicans were holding their national convention. Adopting a platform calling for a military victory based on unconditional surrender by the South and a Constitutional amendment to “*forever prohibit the existence of slavery,*” it nominated Lincoln for another term but rejected Vice President Hamlin in favor of Andrew Johnson, a Hunker Democrat from Tennessee who was selected over Daniel Dickinson of New York.

The soldiers in Texas were well aware it was “the day of our national nomination for President,”¹²¹¹ but weather was windy and cloudy and tides were running high. The *Alabama* arrived from Brownsville and guards were sent across Pass Cavallo where rebels had been seen for several days near Decrow’s Point.

RETURNING TO NEW ORLEANS

June 21, 1864, letter from Sam Merrill to an unidentified Major also reflected frustration with the regiment’s recent assignment when, he said, they were nothing more than “*guardians of the sacred drifting sands of Texas.*”

¹²⁰⁹ *North Iowa Times* (June 1, 1864).

1210

The army paymaster, H. Bingham wrote “*I have this day paid Capt. J. M. Harrison Company X \$391.04, in full from March 1, 1864 to May 31 1864.*” The purpose of the payment was not indicated.

¹²¹¹ Diary of Matthew F. King, Company H.

(June 10, 1864)

Two Negro regiments (the 20th New York and 14th New Jersey) were gone, numerous Iowa regiments were gone and, on June 10th, the right wing of the 21st Iowa under Van Anda boarded the *Alabama*, weighed anchor and got hung up on a sand bar. The next morning, in tandem with the *Laura*, they were rocking their way across the Gulf ("*the loadings of the boat being mostly amid ships the boat rolled bad and made it rather disagreeable*," said Gilbert Cooley), thousands of Negroes were rocking in Congo Square to express their joy at Louisiana's approval a month earlier of an emancipation ordinance and Washington ordered the end of the 13th Corps. The regiment's left wing continued its fatigue duty on Matagorda, working with the 99th Illinois to load more boats, a few companies of New York cavalry came up from the lower part of the island and Dr. Orr led a prayer meeting. On the evening of the 13th they received orders to embark and Matthew King "*went up to the wharf with a plank for my bed and the broad canopy of heaven for my covering and the Gulf a-rolling at my feet.*"

The right wing reached New Orleans on the 14th and "*went into camp in Clay Square where we were finely fixed,*"¹²¹² while the left wing under William Croke completed their loading of the *Saint Mary's* and *Sophia*.¹²¹³ Artillery, mules, horses and ammunition went first. Men followed. The sick were quartered behind the cabin while men on shore "*made a terrible explosion scattering sand and timbers in every direction*" as they destroyed major fortifications to prevent their use by the enemy and two deserters came up from Matagorda and surrendered as the boats were about to weigh anchor. At sunset they were underway only a short time before they too ran onto a sandbar. Stuck for the night, the band played and men watched as the remnants of Fort Esperanza were blown up at 10:00 p.m. The next morning, June 15th, they were ready to sail soon after daylight but delayed their departure when the *Clinton* arrived and they paused to transfer mail. Finally, after watching the explosion of a large angle of the fort, they were underway about 8:00 a.m., over the bar and, an hour later, "*gliding swiftly out onto the mighty deep.*"¹²¹⁴ After months of hard work they left Fort Esperanza in ruins while most of the other fourteen forts and five miles of rifle pits and breastworks "*had blown away and the sand drifted back to level again. But, where the forts were sodded and finished, they retained their shape and looked very formidable indeed.*" What was left of the fort was reoccupied by the Confederates and, with little role to play, Calhoun County would remain in Southern hands until a Union army of occupation arrived a year later under General Granger.

On June 15, 1864, the *North Iowa Times* reported that Linus McKinnie was on his way back to the regimen.

"Line P. McKinnie left here last week to join his regiment (21st) at Matagorda; he designed stopping at Dubuque or Davenport to meet some friends. Good-bye old fellow! May you live till 1890 and be the grandfather of a company of boys as brave and patriotic as yourself!"

Also on the 15th, George Croke was mustered back into the regiment as 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant to fill the vacancy created by Horace Poole's promotion. Discharged more than eighteen months earlier, George had spent much of his time in Milwaukee during his absence from the regiment.¹²¹⁵

After three years of war, cemeteries in Alexandria and Washington were nearing capacity and Secretary of War Stanton ordered that "*the Arlington Mansion and the grounds immediately surrounding it are appropriated for a Military Cemetery.*" Two hundred acres were to be surveyed and enclosed although the first burial, William Christman of Pennsylvania, had already taken place.

1212

Journal of Gilbert Cooley . *Clay Square* was most likely today's Clay Park south of the Garden District and not far from the river. George Croke, Company B, says the right wing camped "*in Hamilton Square.*" George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 128. Alfred Jones, Captain of Company A, said they were "*camped in Hamilton Square near the river*" when Daniel Lane drowned (pension file of Daniel T. Lane).

1213

On February 26, 1864, General McClernand reported ten steamers employed in service along the coast from New Orleans to Texas: *Alabama*, *Alliance*, *Clinton*, *Corinthian*, *Crescent*, *Exact*, *Fairhaven*, *George Peabody*, *Saint Mary's* [sometimes referred to as *St. Mary* and *St. Mary's*] and *Sophia*. O.R. Series I, Volume 34/2 [S#62]. The *Laura* was not mentioned although a vessel by this name did serve as General Granger's headquarters boat at Mobile Bay in August 1864. O.R. Series I, Volume 39/1 [S#77].

1214

Journal of Matthew King.

1215

George would become the regiment's postwar biographer.

Daniel Lane, a forty-four year “*habitually sober*” Irishman from Mitchell, had joined the regiment in Texas. On June 16th he walked from their camp at Hamilton Square to the river so he could fill his canteen. While standing on a log, he slipped, fell into the river and drowned despite efforts to save him. Daniel and his wife, Ellen, had married in County Cork twenty-one years earlier. She was granted a widow’s pension that she would receive until her death forty-six years later.¹²¹⁶

The gulf was calm as the *Saint Mary’s* and *Sophia* continued east at eight knots while soldiers amused themselves shooting at porpoise. Reaching the Mississippi about noon on June 17th, the *Saint Mary’s* took on a pilot to guide them up-river, passed “*a good many*” ships including boats of the blockading squadron anchored at the mouth, reported to a large man-o-war, got permission to proceed and, about dark, “*a shot crossed our bow from Fort St. Philip.*” Stopping to report where they were from and what was on board, they were examined by quarantine officers before continuing through the night. “*A beautiful moonlight it was*” but, said Matthew King, they knew they were back in Louisiana when alerted by mosquitoes “*pitching into us for our blood to fill their craven appetites.*”

NEW ORLEANS
(June 18 to June 23, 1864)

They reached New Orleans at 6:00 a.m. on the 18th and by 10:00 a.m. were reunited with the right wing and with Lewis Eno, Tim Hayes, Perry Dewey, Alvin Merriam and others who had returned from furlough. John Rogman, Sam Veasy and several more entered the hospital, Isaac Mace died from typhoid fever¹²¹⁷ and a Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair ended in St. Louis. In one month it had raised \$554,000, most for medical supplies and aid for soldiers, families, refugees and freedmen. On Saturday, Jim wrote to Cal, his first letter in almost three weeks.

page 1st

New Orleans June the 18th 64

Dear wife

I take my pen in hand to write to you once more it is three weeks tomorrow since I wrote to you but you must not scold for I could not help it I might have written every week but there was no chance to send them away as we were getting ready and expecting every day to start for New Orleans and finally on last Tuesday evening we embarked on board the steamship St Mary and arrived here today (saturday) about 10-o-clock we had a verry pleasant trip the weather was fine all the time and I was not the least bit sea sick the boat just tossed enough to make the ride pleasant and although we were a little crowded I enjoyed the trip well On our arrival we were joined by our furloughed boys Eno. Hayes. and Merriam they were all well but Hayes he has bee quite sick

2

for two or three days with the colic I was verr glad to get the box you sent me it come all right it contained a testamet apeace and a cigar apeace for Jim and I and some paper and elvelopes a couple of News papers and some calamus and a letter and patterns of little Ellies hand and foot over which I had quite a laugh O Cal how familiar those strips of calico looked that were sewed around the box you used to wear a dress of the same when I was at home with you I did not throw them down but put them away in my knapsack where I will see them every time I open my knapsack they bring to mind fond recolection of the happy days passed with my wife in times of peace when I at home and free from military authority I also received a letter from you by mail to day and one the day we embarked at Matagorda Island I think there is a letter from you somewhere that I have

3

not got it is the one between the dates May 12th and 29th we have a verry pleasant camp ground here we are camped in what is called Clay Square only a few blocks back from the river landing the square contains about two acres is fenced in with iron pailings and is just as clean inside as the neatest ... dooryard you ever saw it is all green with timothy and clover with walks through it paved with shells it is full of beautiful shade trees which have been set out in order and they makes a beautiful shade to lounge under a luxury of which we have been entirely deprived for the last six months

¹²¹⁶ A stone in Oak Grove Cemetery, Mitchell, Iowa, has both of their names. Find-a-Grave Memorial #23015902.

¹²¹⁷ Isaac is buried in New Orleans’ Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #34179243

Cal I am thankful for the testament you sent me I have not had time to read any in it yet but when I have time I will read it and as you say you have marked some pasages I will hunt them up and read them and try to profit by them I am glad that you always

4

think of me in your prayers and I hope your prayers may not be in vain Cal you wanted to know if I had to do guard duty I was only acting comisary for the company awhile when we were at Indianola on account of so many of our noncommissioned officers being absent sick and on furlough and when they returned to the company I was returned to duty in the company and have been doing duty ever since Jim and I have a box of shells we are going to send to you and Lib Well it looks verry much like rain at present and as supper is ready I must bring my letter to a close give my respects to all and Kiss little Ellie for

Your loving husband
James Bethard

Sunday was "extremely hot," John Smith died,¹²¹⁸ some of the men went to church in New Orleans and there was preaching in camp at night. Matthew King went into the city on the 20th and "a-rambled to please fancy and visited the public places" before taking the cars back to camp and Scotsman David Drummond requested leave for twenty days with permission to apply for a fifteen day extension. "I am," he said:

"credibly informed that my wife is in very feeble health - in fact - that she can only live a short time. I have five children, the eldest of whom is only 14 years of age. They have no relatives in this country, if their mother dies will be entirely helpless. I desire to see my wife once more - I desire to provide for the future of my children."

With the 13th Corps discontinued, the regiment reported directly to department headquarters, David's request was denied and he was with the regiment on the 21st as it moved in the rain, four miles to Greenville, not far from its old camp at Carrollton and camped within sight of the river.¹²¹⁹ Matthew King went into the city on business, five others entered the general hospital and Horton Cruver died from typhoid less than four months after joining the regiment as one of its new recruits.¹²²⁰

In Iowa, Susan Wallace signed another pension declaration almost a year after Charles' death. She had received his unpaid bounty and back pay for service in the war with the "so-called Confederate states," but her own claim for a widow's pension was languishing and young Florence was already two years old.

SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA (June 23 to July 8, 1864)

Tim Hayes and Alvin Merriam were reinstated on the 23d, joined the regiment on the *Colonel Colburn* and were ferried across to Algiers after resolution of conflicting orders to move upriver. Both were reinstated without loss of pay, but Tim was charged \$3.00 for transportation and \$1.89 for half a shelter tent and Alvin had a \$10.06 stoppage for transportation. From Algiers, they took the now familiar New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad to the Terrebonne station where they arrived after dark and "lay on the steps of the station house until morning" when they "moved up the railroad a little ways" and camped "near a big sugar house" "on a very low piece of ground." Their orders were for Thibodeaux, three miles away, but the road was impassable and bridges had been washed away by recent rains so they stayed where they were and, with three companies of the veteran 8th Indiana, performed guard and provost duty as men and supplies continued to arrive. In hot, sultry weather the Hoosiers watched the road and

¹²¹⁸ John is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #32210706.
¹²¹⁹

On May 22, 1862, the steamship *Iberville* was captured while "lying at Greenville which is situated on the left bank of the river, four and a half miles above the city, but below Camp Parapet." Mail Company v. Flanders, 79 U.S. 130 (1870). "June 20th broke camp and marched up to Greenville . . . and went into camp June 23rd." Journal of Gilbert Cooley.

¹²²⁰ Horton Cruver is buried in New Orleans' National Cemetery.

the Hawkeyes guarded the rail line while many not on duty gathered blackberries in nearby woods.¹²²¹

Before the war, the area had been home to some of Louisiana's wealthiest planters and numerous sugar mills, most now destroyed, but it was subject to heavy rains and was a breeding ground for mosquitoes. It was a "disagreeable camping ground," said Gilbert Cooley, low and flat and swampy, weather very wet. Constantly bothered by mid-summer mosquitos every bit as bad as those encountered the previous September, "all joined in expressing their disapprobation of this place."

Still in New Orleans, German native Martin Bigler died on the 24th and Henry Dyer's furlough problems were resolved two days later when desertion charges were dropped and he was assigned to a special detail at a camp of distribution, a camp for soldiers awaiting assignment. Jacob Swivel was detailed as a "Government Detector" and visited his men at Terrebonne on a very hot June 26th. Morning services were led by Chaplain Skinner of the 8th Indiana who made a "good sermon" as men sat in a grove of magnolia trees and admired "a handsome lady," an officer's wife they guessed.

Terrebone, station, La -¹²²²

Sunday morning June 26th. 64

Dear wife another sabath still finds me in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health with the exception of a cold and I am getting better of that I have just finished my breakfast and sat down to write to you the mail is to be made up at eight-o'clock and goes out at half past nine the mail goes out and comes in every day but I want to get this off this morning I wrote you last sunday from New Orleans and on tuesday we moved up to Carrollton and last thursday we crossed over to Algiers and took the cars on the N. O. Oppelusa and great western railroad and came out to this place arriving here about ten o'clock on thursday night this place is about 45 miles from Algiers this is the same railroad that we came out on last fall when we went out to Brasheer and up the Tesh I am not prepared to say much in praise of this country although there are a great many rich cotton and sugar plantations and it is undoubtedly a rich country but I would not be obliged to live here for the best plantation between Algiers and Brasheer city and the whole county from Algiers to Brasheer except where it has been dicked is one vast swamp as flat as a pancake and lower than the Mississippi river all the way they can farm it is by throwing it up in beds and digging diches about three or four rods apart the uncultivated land is covered with heavy cypress timber and and undergrowth of briars elders and cainbreaks so thick that a boy could scarcely get through such a place cannot help but be sickly and the swamps are infested with all kinds of snakes alegators toads owls and musquitos so you can judge that we have no lack of music here nights We were ordered to a little town called Thibbedo opposite this station about three miles from the rail road but the mud is so deep it is impossible to get there at present we came out here to releive troops belonging to the 19th army corps who they say are ordered to Sherman there are troops stationed along the railroad all the way from Algiers to Brasheer to guard the railroad and plantations under cultivation in which government has an interest

Cal I expressed the box of shells last tuesday that I spoke of in my last they are directed to J. W. Rice McGregor Iowa¹²²³ Jim wrote to father the other day and sent him the receipt for the box Jim received a letter from Lib last week but I have received none from you since one week ago yesterday the day we landed at New Orleans I received a letter last friday from cousin Albert of Springfield Ohio he and his family were well and doing well I have not heard from Nancy since I sent her my likeness at the same time that I sent one to you the last letter I got from Libby she said there had been twenty two drafted in Dover township and they were all copperheads but three, aint that a good one on the copperheads I suppose you are aware that Henry Farnum is in the army he is with Sherman we have never got a letter from Bob since he enlisted we get papers here every day from New Orleans the news from Grant and Sherman is verry good I think they are doing the thing up about as fast as it

1221

"The food most commonly mentioned as beneficial for chronic diarrhea was wild blackberries; they were a favorite among the soldiers of both sides when found foraging, primarily for their taste, but many realized that they were also good medicine." Alfred Jay Bollet, *Scurvy and Chronic Diarrhea in Civil War Troops: Were They Both Nutritional Deficiency Syndromes?* Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Inc. (1992) page 61.

¹²²² Currently Schriever, Louisiana.

¹²²³ Jim Bethard sometimes referred to his father-in-law, Joel Wrench Rice, as "father" and as "uncle." Jim sent the box to Joel and Jim Rice sent the receipt.

possibly can be done I look for the downfall of Richmond and the destruction of Lee and Jonsons armies and the final close of the war between this and next winter I may be disappointed but if I do it wont be the first time but things certainly look more favorable now than they ever did before¹²²⁴

Well I must close my letter and get ready for inspection give my respects to all inquiring friends and believe me to be your ever faithful and loving husband

James Bethard

Duty at Terrebonne was light and soldiers had time to tour the mills and fields and talk to Negro laborers. Life had been hard said one, *"the sound of the whip was never silent"* and many had been killed, *"shot down here like cattle if a man was found preaching or praying, his flesh was cut from his back with the lash."*¹²²⁵ William Barber had been back for more than three months but was still suffering from the embedded musket ball. Abscesses formed and were lanced and drained by surgeons until June 27th when his captain certified that William was medically unfit. For military purposes his disability was "total" and papers were prepared for his discharge. Abe Treadwell and Myron Knight packed a box of heavy clothing to be expressed home, Matthew King gathered blackberries, mosquitos continued their onslaught and it rained hard while, in the North, Robert Poole's widow, Mary Ann, applied for a pension from her new home in Kansas.

Chandler Graves of Company C died on the 28th and was buried in New Orleans while rain continued at Terrebonne Station, the wind blew and everything was drenched. Major Croke sent a present of blackberries to men in the hospital and Flavius Patterson said he *"spent the day in picking berries & looking round there is lots of Aligaters in the ponds."*

On the 30th, President Lincoln accepted the resignation of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase with whom he had had repeated differences and the Terrebonne regiments listened to distant firing while Negroes growing corn and cotton worked on nearby government-run plantations *"where the Massa has run away to leave the poor slave."*¹²²⁶

On July 1, 1864, Company D's Ripley Hale and Sam Knickerbocker were transferred to the navy, but there was little for others to do. Weather continued hot and sultry with intermittent rain, a unit of New York cavalry passed through on the way to Brashear City, there was firing at Thibodeaux, birds warbled *"their sweet songs of praise"* and, said Matthew King, the sutler brought *"beer to sell to the boys."*

Terrebone Station La July the 4th 1864

Dear wife I am seated once more with pen in hand to to write a few lines to you this is the fourth of July and a beautiful morning but verry warm I should like to be with you this morning I expect you will have gay times in Mcgregor to day The guns at Thibadeaux (Thibado) fired a salute this morning and that is all the demonstration that I expect to hear or see in honor of the fourth of July unless some of the boys manage to get whiskey enough to get tight Cal this is not my regular letter day but yesterday was rather a busy day with me and I did not find time to write but I will try and get this in with the mornings mail and you will get it just as soon as though it had been written yesterday I attended three meetings yesterday Our Chaplain preached at ten and three and I attended a negro meeting in the evening there goes the drums beating the orderlies call and I am the first on the list for detail so I may as well lay aside my pen and paper and give up getting my letter off with this mornings mail Well the orderly has just come and I am to report at eight o clock for guard so I guess I can finish my letter before that time I have no news to write but I suppose I must make a few turkey tracks any how We are still at Terrebone station and it seems that we are stationed here for the remainder of the summer and how much longer I cannot tell we have not had a camp guard since we came here but the boys have got to stealing roasting ears and there is a guard detailed this morning to keep them in camp

1224

Despite Jim's optimism, the fall of their armies was still ten months away. The South was not broken but it was greatly weakened and weakened with it was the influence of Northern Peace Democrats. Generally more conciliatory toward the South than were the Republicans, they were viewed by many as traitors, but more charitably referred to by others as "Copperheads" since many wore copper pennies as identifying badges.
1225

George Croke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891) page 129, referencing a letter written by an unidentified soldier.

¹²²⁶ Diary of Matthew King.

this is allways the case there are a few in the regiment who will not behave themselves and the whole regiment is constantly kept under guard on their account

Cal I am getting verry anxious about you it has been two weeks last Saturday since I received a letter from you except an old one which I should have had befor we left Matagorda Island the mail comes to the regiment every day and Jim gets his regular letters from Lib he has had three from her since I had my last from you what can the matter be if you had ever neglected writing to me before I should not think so much about it but your letters have allways come regular every week when the mail came regular I hope there is nothing serious the matter at least I will hope for the best and look strong for a letter to day Rice and I are well and I hope this may find you the same I must close and get ready for guard so good bye for this time your husband James Bethard

On the 5th, David Greaves was ordered to report to the Judge Advocate for service on a general court martial while the rest of the regiment continued its guard duty. The 6th was pleasant with good breezes and rain in the evening. The sick rested in camp, most of the regiment guarded the rail line about six miles out, there was firing in the distance and Robert Strane wrote.

*Terrebonne Station W.S.M.R.R. La
June [July] 6th A.D. 1864*

Dear Sister

I once more take my seat to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 15th which I received several days ago. I have not much to write this time more than I am in good health and hope this may find you all enjoying the same blessing. You will notice by the heading that we are in the same place that we was when I wrote last. We get mail here every day and I have put off writing a day or two expecting to get another, but it has not come yet so I think I had better write at once. I was glad to hear that you were all well and also to know that Mother had got through safe.

Well we have our regular shower of rain here every day so far. We have got so used to it now that we scarecely mind it. The musquetoos are very bad but the blackberries are as plentyful - there is just bushels & bushels of them here within a mile and a half. I've picked them till my hands was pretty well pricked up.

We had rather a dull fourth here as there was nothing going on. James and I had roasting ears and flap jacks or rather pan cakes for dinner & supper. I tell you that was good. James boiled the corn and I made the cakes. I suppose Lieut. Wallace will be home before this gets there, as he started 3 or 4 days ago. He with the rest of us was very sorry at parting. The boys never was so sorry at any ones leaving before as they was at his. He made the Company a few very effectionate remarks the morning he left.¹²²⁷ I suppose you will blame me for not speaking sooner of his having resigned, but it was by request I didn't, so say nothing of it. James is well. You ask me if I ever saw the original of the picture you sent me - well, I think I did, but it aint a good photograph. The features are good enough, but the spots on it spoils it. I hope I shall be able to send you mine some time soon. There is one of our boys sick in Regimental Hospital with the tiphoyd fever, and the boys of the Company go in turns to fan and take care of him. I have promised to go next, so I will have to cut this short.

Thursday morning the 7th

You will see that I didn't get quite through with this last night, so I will finish it now. It rained very heavy last evening - the ground is very wet and muddy this morning.

Sister, I would like if you could send me a couple of check shirts if you can. I would like you would send them soon. You can send two shirts by mail for 40 cents. In making them you need not calculate on my having grown much, for I have not but very little. The sleeves need not be so long by an inch & a half as they were in them that was sent me last summer. Home made check shirts is all the fashion now. Those that was sent me last summer is about gone up. If you can I would to have a pocket on the left breast. The 24th Iowa leeves here this morning on the train. Our Division is assigned to the defence of New Orleans. The rest of the corps

1227

John C. Wallace had resigned from the military June 3, 1864.

is transferred, and it is very probable that we will stay in this department the rest of our time.

As I have nothing more to say, I will draw to a close, so goodbye

From your brother

Robert

On July 7th, the 24th and 28th Iowa and 47th Indiana headed back to Algiers but before leaving the 24th's surgeon gave the regiment a cow for the sick.¹²²⁸ The next day the regiment joined the 11th Wisconsin and took the cars to Algiers arriving about 9:00 p.m.

Upstream, near Vicksburg, Cal's cousins, Eli and Aaron Frankeberger, were on garrison duty with the 46th Illinois under Elias Dennis. Ordered to Jackson on a "*cotton expedition*," they had left Vicksburg on the 1st, reached Jackson, been quickly routed and headed back to Vicksburg with the enemy close behind. In intense heat, a battle was fought "*on the run*," many dropped from sunstroke and many never recovered. Aaron was among those affected. Severely weakened and unable to carry his own accouterments, he was "*helped into camp by the boys*" where his captain noted that, true to his nature, Aaron "*would not ask to be excused by the surgeon*."

ALGIERS

(July 9 to July 25, 1864)

Federal camps around New Orleans were alive with activity and transports were in and out daily carrying thousands of men, some going north, others south.

Algiers. La.

July the 9th 1864

Dear wife we are back to Algiers once more and all is bustle and confusion here this morning we came down here from Terrebonne station yesterday evening we are now laying here awaiting transportation somewhere but where that somewhere is I cannot tell there are about twentyone thousand troops here awaiting transportation some of them are going on board of Ocean steamers this morning and some have allready gone toward the Gulf but whether we are to go on the gulf again or not I cannot tell it is the opinion of some that we are going up the river to releive some of the 19th corps others think we are going to join Sherman and others that we are going to Grant but from the best information that I can get I am rather inclined to the opinion that we are going to Ship Island and that troops are to be concentrated for an expedition against Mobile Alabama¹²²⁹ Cal I received a letter from you last thursday and was verry glad to hear that you was well for not having received any letter last week I had begun to get quite uneasy for fear that all was not right you explained the matter satisfactory in your last but I hope you will allow no more such vacancys to occur when you can avoid it This is not my regular day to write to you but I am writing to day for fear that I shall not have an oportunity tomorrow

Cal you say you are looking for me home every day but I am sorry to say you are looking in vain be assured I would not disappoint you if it was in my power to avoid it but it is not I have done my best to get a furlough but it is no go there was an order about two weeks ago that a certain percent of our regiment should have furloughs and there were about 40 furloughs made out one for me among the rest and about a dozen out of the 40 came back last thursday approved for 60 days and they started home yesterday but mine was among the unlucky and came back yesterday disapproved so you see that little syllable dis knocked my caculations all in the head it was quite a disappointment to me for I had my mind set on going and was verry confident of getting a furlough for 60 days and had anticipated a great deal of pleasure with my wife and little one but I have got so used to disappointments since I have been

¹²²⁸ Journal of Mathew King.

¹²²⁹

A not-unreasonable expectation since the seven mile long Ship Island, a "*long wave of whitest, finest sand, that glistens in the sun, and drifts before the wind like New England snow*," was only fifty miles from Mobile Bay and had earlier been used by Farragut and Butler when preparing their attack on New Orleans.

in the army that I dont fret about anything I am sorry on your account for I know it will be a great disappointment to you but Cal be of good cheer and cease looking for me at present and if the lord spares our lives until a little over one year from now you may look for me and you shall not look in vain my furlough was made out and sent away before I wrote to you last Sunday but I anticipated taking you by surprise so I said nothing about it in my letter I am sorry that your looking for me prevents you from going with your father and mother to visit your friends in the south part of the state¹²³⁰ but such is the fortune of war and we cannot help it so let us make the best of it and hope for better times to come Wm Barber has got his discharge papers made out and sent off to be approved and is now looking for them back Bill is well but a little lame with his old wound and will never be of any account in the army the best place for him is at home I am glad he is going although if he was all right I should like to have him with us We have mustered and signed the pay rolls and expect to get paid off before we leave here we may leave within an hour and maybe not for a week Jim Rice and myself are well Good bye for this time (Your ever faithful husband JB

On the evening of the 9th, the regiment moved to a new site, still along the rail line but a mile from the river, where it was reorganized in a brigade with the 97th Illinois, 99th Illinois, 23d Wisconsin and a dismounted 3d Maryland Cavalry. The brigade was commanded by Colonel Guppy of the 23d Wisconsin in what they called an “*Independent Western Division*” under George McGinnis, a Brigadier General who had been commissioned and risen in rank with the 11th Indiana. Weather was hot and morning services were suspended on the 10th when the chaplain went into the city, but they resumed in the evening.

Caleb Kephart, a pre-war blacksmith, entered the hospital, men drew clothing and mosquito bars on the 14th and, thanks largely to Salue Van Anda, the regiment’s old Enfield rifles were exchanged for new Springfields. The arms factory at Springfield, Massachusetts, had been established after the Revolutionary War and, by 1860, was producing about 800 muskets per month. By the middle of 1861 monthly production had increased to 3,500 and, by 1864, the .58 caliber Model 1861 had been upgraded. The factory employed about 3,400 workers but even that was not enough and it was necessary to subcontract some of the manufacturing to others. The Springfield had become the North's finest standard issue weapon and, according to Sergeant Major John Dubois:

*"it is with some reluctance that some of the boys gave up the old Enfield, but the sight of the new Springfield and the thought that it was home manufactured, made the old guns more easily parted with."*¹²³¹

Flavius Patterson noted in his dairy, “we all got white gloves to wear on review & dress parade & are trying to put on some stile with our new guns.” The 17th was hot, Chaplain Hill led prayer services and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Algiers. Louisiana
July the 17th 1864**

Dear wife

yours of the 3rd has just come to hand containing yours and Ellas photographs which were received with joy O Cal I am so glad you was so considerate and mindful of your absent husband as to get them taken and send them to me O that little shaver how I should like to see the original I think she is verry pretty but I suppose my imagination would naturally incline that way whether she was or not My comrades all that have seen her say she is unmistakably a young Bethard but do not accuse me here of bragging on my own beauty however I am willing that you should be the judge of that matter and I am content to abide by your decision Cal I am surprised to see you looking so poor as the picture represents you the picture looks quite natural and be assured it looks good to me but your face looks poor and verry white and I should judge from the appearance of the picture that you had just undergone a severe spell of sickness Cal I have no money to get my photograph taken at present but we are expecting to get paid off before we leave here and if we do I will send you my photograph as you requested I received a letter today from sister Libby containing some bad news Jonts family have all been sick with the scarlet fever resulting in the death of two of the children little Jimmy the oldest and

¹²³⁰ Joel and Sarah Rice apparently liked what they saw and, with Cal joining them, would soon move south to Keokuk County.

¹²³¹ Corbin, *A Star For Patriotism* (Corbin, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 327.

their little girl. little Harvy barely escaped with his life; he and Sarah are getting well Libby says there is a great deal of sickness in Ohio this summer she has just recovered from an attack of the dyptheria and little mary has also had a verry severe spell of the same

James Biggs was quite sick at Washington he had sent for his wife but she and her child were sick and she could not go I had not heard before of his being in the army I suppose he must be in the 100 day service Joseph Tanner was killed in one of the late battle in Virginia

Cal I received a letter from Nancy a couple of weeks ago in which she stated that she would like to make you a visit and if she was sure of getting a school there she would come to Iowa and teach next winter I told her to write to you on the subject giving her terms and when she would be ready to commence a school etc. and you would try to get her a school Well Cal I must tell you about our new rigging we have lately been getting we have turned over our old enfield rifles and old equipment and drawn new guns and accouterments complete our news guns are the springfield rifles I have also drawn a new pair of pants and a musqueto bar my old havre sack and canteen were condemned yesterday and I have sent in a requisition for a new havre sack and canteen O yes and a new rubber blanket so you see I have got a new outfit allmost throughout the old 13th army corps is disbanded and a part of it gone into the 19th our regiment is assigned to the 2nd brigade of an independent division consisting of two brigades under command of Brigadier General Mcginnes There is a current report among us that our division is assigned to the defenses of New Orleans if this is the case and I have reason to believe it is we will not go far from New Orleans this summer and there may be a chance of my getting a furlough yet, and be assured if there is I shall not fail to avail myself of it I have had quite a severe spell of the earache but am getting about over it now Jim Rice has been also on the sick list for a couple of days with the diarrhea but he is coming out all right he is now sitting about a rod from me reading the news to a crowd of listeners Cal you spoke of the weather being verry warm there and asked me how warm it was here I suppose from all accounts that you have seen about as warm weather this summer as I have it is warm here every day but we have got climated so that the heat does not effect us so much as it would you there on a hot day I dont know how high the thermometer does get here
my love to you and little Ellie. your husband J.B.

As Jim suspected, their childhood friend, James Biggs, had entered the 100-day service with the 136th Ohio National Guard then doing garrison duty south of the Potomac River as part of the defenses of Washington.¹²³² He was sick with typhoid, a common ailment in the nation's capital, but would soon recover and serve out the balance of his term. Jonathan's son, Harvey, was two years old when his father left for war and recovered from his scarlet fever. Jimmy, named after his Uncle Jim Bethard, had been Jonathan's first child and his death and that of his sister would be a heavy burden for a father anxious to return home but still moving south against Joe Johnston who had *"failed to arrest the advance of the enemy to the vicinity of Atlanta."*

President Davis could *"express no confidence"* in Johnston, removed him as head of the Army of Tennessee on July 17th and replaced him with John Bell Hood, a change, said one Confederate, that *"was received in dead silence, and figuratively speaking 'our hearts went down into our boots.'" Hood had been a poor student and discipline problem at West Point but gained a reputation for aggressive (many said reckless) tactics. His left arm had been seriously injured at Gettysburg, his left leg was amputated after Chicakamauga and he had to be "strapped to his horse during a battle."* His men admired *"Old Pegleg"* but idolized *"Old Joe"* as being *"second only to Robert E. Lee."* To Sherman the change was welcome since he was convinced Hood would come out from his well-fortified defenses and attack where Sherman could fight more effectively. Hood met Sherman's expectations, attacked Thomas at Peachtree Creek and was repulsed with heavy losses while McPherson advanced along the rail line from Decatur.

On July 17th, at General George McGinnis' Division headquarters in Algiers, a Special Order was issued

1232

Ohio's state militia had fallen into neglect but was revived by Governor Tod in 1863 with organization of a militia to include all able-bodied males from eighteen to forty-five and an armed Volunteer Militia drawn from the former. Tod's foresight now enabled Governor Brough *"at scarcely two days' notice, to throw to the front at the critical hour of the Eastern campaign, the magnificent re-enforcement of forty thousand Ohio National Guards."*

providing that "Private L. P. McKinney Co. 'G' 21st Reg't. Iowa Vols., is hereby detailed as Clerk at these Head Quarters, and will report for duty immediately." The next day Linus wrote to the *North Iowa Times* and included a postscript to Colonel Richards: "P.S. - Col., since enclosing the above the thing looks as though we were going somewhere. Sealed orders have been received and the General informed us in the office, that we had better get our writing all done up so we could take it easy on the voyage; it may be that my next will be dated at Richmond. I have been to work all the afternoon trying to make the boys think we are going to Saratoga Springs for our health, but it will not go down. So until you hear from me again, good-bye. Yours Line McK."

While Linus contemplated his next move with General McGinnis the rest of the regiment remained in camp. On the 19th Nelson Reynolds was detached guard service with George Dunn at brigade headquarters.

Henry Paul, Caleb Kephart and Alfred Goldsmith were among many in the hospital. William Hall was discharged due to the gunshot wound received at Jackson. Frank Aldrich was furloughed on a surgeon's certificate and Roseann Carroll, mother of George who had been killed a year earlier, was granted an \$8.00 monthly pension. Her certificate was mailed to her attorney, R. E. Bishop, in Dubuque but Bishop refused to release it unless she paid a \$22.30 fee. The demand was improper and she wrote for, and ultimately received, a replacement directly from the government.

Weather permitting, the regiment drilled every evening and made "a good appearance" with white gloves and their new Springfields and, on July 21st, Lt. Col. Van Anda signed papers "to all whom it may concern" confirming that William Barber "is hereby discharged from the United States." At age twenty, William's military career was over and the next day he started home, more than a year after his injury at Vicksburg.

John Watson, a young Canadian, was one of many who had succumbed to the lure of the Crescent City (also known as "Hell on Earth") and, on the 22d, Van Anda ordered that John "having absented himself from his Company & Regiment and proceeded to New Orleans in defiance of a positive Order from his Commanding officer, and on a forged pass, is hereby reduced to the ranks. He will be reported on all details for fatigue duty from his Company and Regiment for the space of fifteen days when not on other duty and will not be allowed to go beyond the limits of the camp except on fatigue duty."

The 24th was cool and pleasant, the chaplain of the 99th Illinois preached a morning sermon in Algiers' Methodist Church and Jim wrote to Cal.

Co. B. 21st Iowa. vol. infn
Algiers Louisiana
Sunday July the 24th 64

Dear wife

you see by the date that we are still at Algiers and I know no more now about when or where we will go from here than when we first came here and being in good health I care but little Jim Rice is well there was some talk of our getting our pay to day and I postponed writing until this afternoon on that account but I see no signs of getting paid yet I suppose when we do get paid we will get \$16 a month the pay master having received orders to pay that amount from the 1st of May there is two months pay due us up to the 1st of this month I shall not be able to send much money home this time as I am owing some and I want to get me a new hat and get some photographs taken and while we are here I want some spending money I have been strapped entirely for the last two weeks and it goes rather rough to be strapped in such a place as this I could get along without spending any money if you were needing the money but as you are not I think that I shall appropriate a small portion to my own personal comfort though I have never been nor do not intend to be half so extravagant as some who have families at home in actual need of the money this is a great place to spend money the women are around through camp at all times of day with everything that is good to eat for sale we have been living pretty high for the last two or three weeks without money we go out into the country a little ways and get melons green corn tomatoes and cucumbers there is no end to the melons here but a good many of the secesh have destroyed their patches and cut up the melons to keep the soldiers from getting them good union people are willing to give us such things and we take them from secesh whether they are willing or not we trade sugar and coffee and candles to the pedlar women for cooked potatoes and cabbage etc.

I received yours of the 10th last friday I was glad to hear that you was all well in yours of the 3rd you said you was going to Clermont the 4th but you did not tell me in your last what kind of a time you had or whether you went at all or not I suppose you did not think of it

Wm Barber has got his discharge and started home last friday he was in good health when he started As it is I am glad to see him out of the service but if he was all right I should like to have him with us Bill is a good boy and I think I may safely say he has not an enemy in the 21st Iowa he intended to stop in Illinois and take his Grandmother home with him, I hope he will get through all right I went over to the 96th Ohio yesterday which is camped about a quarter from us to see my old friend James Tanner but did not find him I learned from some of his comrades that he was taken prisoner up on red river last spring his Brother Joseph was killed at some of the late battles in Virginia

Well Cal you may as well give up looking for me home before my time is out which will be in a little less than 13 months and then if I am alive and well you may look for me and you shall not be disappointed I think in all probbability we shall go to the eastern department as I understand that our regiment and the 99th Illinois are the next two regiments on the list to go and I dont care how quick the more we run around the faster the time appears to fly and if I am to put in another year without seeing home I want to go where we have never been I should like verry much to take the big ride on the gulf and Atlantic and see the eastern country I have a special curiosity to see Richmond and Washington I should like to be discharged at Washington but it is a verry uncertain where I shall be when my time is out however we will let time explain that while I remain

Your loving husband James Bethard

That afternoon the Green Lake prisoners returned. After their February capture, they had been taken to Lavaca and confined in "a stockade made by placing logs of wood side by side in such a position as to make an enclosure so common in the south as prison pens."¹²³³ From there they went to Houston and for six weeks had been:

*"confined in a room some 14 feet square said room was in the Basement of the Court House and had been used as a common jail for criminals The windows were grated with Iron Bars the same as other jails but to make the place more safe or more gloomy the rebels nailed oaken planks over the windows on the inside so that there was not ray of light in the room only which little came through the cracks of the planks In the course of a few days the place became mouldy and damp on the account of their being but little or no ventilation."*¹²³⁴

Hiram Libby "caught a severe cold which settled upon his lungs." Since "there was nothing to spit upon but the floor he used that, much to the annoyance of the remainder of the prisoners," and it was in this setting that George Parker had celebrated his seventeenth birthday while Charles Kellogg had a chance to go "to Galveston with a Confederate officer and that night made a sketch from memory of the fortifications there which I carried in my canteen until I gave them to one of our secret service men from the Navy whom I met a week later in Navasota."

From Houston the prisoners had gone north through Navasota and on to Tyler and Camp Ford, a former training facility about four miles northeast of town, a town of about 13,000, one-third slaves.¹²³⁵ Tyler was a hotbed of secessionism, transportation headquarters for the Confederacy's Trans-Mississippi Department and site of an ordnance factory that was producing rifles, ammunition, bayonets and other materials for shipment east. In a wooded area, some of the prisoners had constructed log cabins and shebangs inside an oak timber stockade eight to ten feet high and supplied with water from Ray's Creek and nearby springs but others had no shelter.¹²³⁶ Vegetables from nearby farms

1233

June 2, 1883 letter supporting Hiram Libby's pension application from Joseph Speer, formerly of the 20th Iowa Infantry who had been taken prisoner on March 25, 1864.

1234

Ibid. An 1851 courthouse was vacated in 1857 and construction of a new courthouse began in 1860 but was unfinished when it was "converted into a Confederate ammunition factory and military officers' quarters" during the war. Houston Chronicle (April 27, 1969). The Union prisoners may have been confined in its basement or in other facilities being used temporarily as a courthouse.

1235

The camp was named for Confederate Colonel John S. "Rip" Ford.

1236

The stockade was originally higher but was cut when the camp was enlarged in mid-April to accommodate 3,000 prisoners from Mansfield and Pleasant Hill.

were rare and meager rations usually included only beef and cornmeal. Some said conditions were better than elsewhere, and they may have been, but by the spring of 1864 when the Green Lake prisoners arrived it was described as a "sewer pit" and "hellhole" that was a "sty not fit for pigs." Even the cruelties of the infamous Andersonville, they said, "were no more terrible than those of the prison-pen at Tyler."

*"We were confined there without any shelter or blankets of any kind until the middle of July 1864 during the latter part of May & part of June there was a great deal of rainfall, cold rains at that, and we had to stand in the wet mud & sand a great many nights all night through and make the best of it."*¹²³⁷

The prison's population peaked at about 4,900 and, of its 232 recorded deaths, 183 occurred between May and October. On March 11th, Benjamin Butler, now responsible for federal exchange negotiations, had asked Confederate authorities to send for prisoners from west of the Mississippi but Banks' loss of 3,000 on the Red River and another 1,000 Federals captured elsewhere had strengthened Dick Taylor's bargaining position and he was ordered to make no more agreements pending further notice. Meanwhile, the camp's conditions deteriorated further, men were ragged, destitute and demoralized and their officers wrote to Banks begging for clothing and medicine. Instead, negotiations were accelerated and completed in early July and 856 prisoners were ordered released. Included on July 8th were Charles Kellogg, Hiram Libby, William McCarty, George Parker and Charles Voorhees who were taken to Shreveport and down the Red River to the Mississippi where they were exchanged on the 22d at Red River Landing and boarded transports for New Orleans.

On their return, George Parker was in better condition than the others, but wore only a "knit shirt & knit drawers without shoes or hat his close would not cover his person." All "were very dirty and nearly naked," the "hardest looking sight" Matthew King had ever seen. Hiram Libby's cough was worse. His feet and legs, from the knees down, were swollen and inflamed. He could not wear shoes and, at times, cried "like a child from pain," but refused a discharge. At 5'8¼", Kellogg had seen his weight drop from 163 pounds at capture to 82 pounds when he was weighed the next day on the Quartermaster's scale. McCarty, Parker and Voorhees had scurvy and, at 5'9", Voorhees' weight had dropped from 155 to 96 pounds. His feet were swollen to four times normal with "fissures on top and between the toes in which the maggots held high carnival." He was "a living skeleton," "nearly naked," "skin peeled off feet and legs like puff balls" and so emaciated that even a good friend recognized him only by voice. John Green "helped carry him from the boat to camp" where Charles was cared for by his father, Alexander Voorhees, Captain of Company K.¹²³⁸

That evening Matthew King walked a mile into Algiers to listen "to the discourse of the great Dr. Newman of New York" who had been sent by Bishop Ames of the Northern Methodist Conference to take charge of the local Methodist churches.¹²³⁹ Newman was, said King, "a great man for God has endowed him with superior talents to explain the word of God." Matthias Brandenburg died of small pox in Helena on the 25th¹²⁴⁰ and a friend of David Drummond wrote on David's behalf to Secretary of State Seward and explained:

*"his wife is sick and nigh unto death, she will not likely live but a few weeks under her wasting disease, he has a large family of children, besides which his small means are all in his wife's name. He has applied for a furlough to visit her but it has been denied him because of the scarcity of officers in his regt. He is on the point of resigning his place simply because of his great despair to see his wife before she dies."*¹²⁴¹

¹²³⁷ Letter from Joseph Speer (above).

¹²³⁸

The Camp Ford stockade was destroyed in 1865 by Union occupation troops from the 10th Illinois Cavalry but the site is still marked. It has been estimated that during the war 30,200 Union prisoners (15% of the total) and 25,800 Confederate prisoners (12% of the total) died in prisons, most from dysentery and pneumonia.

¹²³⁹

Thirty-seven year old John Philip Newman became a minister in 1849, traveled in Europe, Palestine and Egypt, preached in New York and "was sent in 1864 to New Orleans to labor on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal church in the south. He remained there five years" before being called to Washington, D.C. where, from 1869 to 1974 he was Chaplain of the U.S. Senate. www.FamousAmericans.Net.

¹²⁴⁰

The site of Matthias' burial is unknown.

¹²⁴¹

The letter was written by George M. Colgate, an active Baptist leader and one time leader of the Turkey River Association.

MORGANZA, LOUISIANA
(July 26 to September 2, 1864)

General Canby left the 1st and 2d Divisions of the 19th Corps much as they were but seventeen regiments from the 13th Corps, including the 22d and 23d Iowa, were united to add a 3d Division to the 19th. By early July many were on their way to Grant in Virginia while others would join Farragut at Mobile Bay. Waiting in the hot sun next to the Algiers rail line, the Hawkeyes had a good view of the passing transports, Matthew King escorted the sick to the marine hospital in New Orleans and rumors raged as to their next assignment. Most hoped for Virginia but it never occurred and, for many years, Dr. Orr would lament "*the voyage from New Orleans to Virginia, which we did not take.*"¹²⁴²

On July 26th David Maxson, transferred five months earlier to the Veteran Reserve Corps died of malaria¹²⁴³ while his comrades were ordered to break camp shortly after midnight, left about 8:00 a.m. on the *Laurel Hill* and, with three other large transports including the recently repaired headquarters boat *Jennie Rogers*, started upstream while the sick were left behind in the care of Dr. Hunt and Joseph Lundbeck. William Crooke stayed in Algiers to serve on the court martial of Private W. W. Kerr (who would be acquitted) and Tim Hayes stayed behind as Crooke's cook. Also left behind were John Carpenter still suffering from the gunshot wound received at Jackson, John Conant who was sick and Linus McKinnie who was at division headquarters working as a clerk for General McGinnis.

On their way upstream they saw the steamer *Henry Choteau* moving downstream with a load of cattle, passed the *Jennie Rogers* and were passed by the *Nebraska* when the *Laurel Hill* broke one of the arms on the paddle wheel. Despite losing the lead, they enjoyed the trip and the cheering of Negroes along the river banks, passed Plaquemine, saw the remains of the *Anglo-American* burned more than a year earlier after contesting rebel batteries at Port Hudson and continued on in darkness. They reached Port Hudson about 1:00 a.m. on the 27th, paused briefly to receive dispatches, resumed their trip and tied up at Morganza Bend about daylight. The rest of the morning was spent unloading boats, making camp and admiring, said Mathew King, "*a fine fort commanded with eight guns.*"

The *Council Bluffs Bugle* said volunteers "*who expect to retain their health unimpaired during the Campaigning, must see to it themselves; do not trust to the Army Surgeons; supply yourselves with Holloway's Pills and Ointment*" while McGregor's *Times* on July 27th reported that Adjutant General Baker asked "*very politely*" that it advise readers that men interested in volunteering and thereby avoiding a potential draft should apply to the District's Provost Marshal who would enroll them and send them to the rendezvous at Davenport. The suggested "*plan of action*" was:

- 1st. *Immediately call meetings in each ward and township.*
- 2d. *Appoint energetic committees to urge recruiting and to canvas in each ward and township to ascertain the numbers and names of citizens who will furnish representative recruits or substitutes before the draft.*
- 3d. *Ascertain what amount of money can be raised to pay local bounties to volunteers, and to establish rules for safe disbursement of same.*

On the 28th Caleb Kephart died of typhoid and dysentery at New Orleans while his regiment was camped in 98° heat at Morganza.¹²⁴⁴ Near the bank of the river they built "*brush bowers to protect them from the sun,*" watched the *Gladiator* and *Lancaster* heading downstream and enjoyed light duty although many became ill, a number died and a man in the 23d Iowa drowned. His body was found the next morning "*eaten and disfigured*" by "*alligator gars.*"

1242

William Orr, *The Surgeon's Narrative*, Ottumwa, Iowa (July 1891). The narrative was included in George Crooke's, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), pages 158-161.

1243

Living in Yankee Settlement (now Edgewood), Iowa, David Maxson's wife was named guardian of their six year old daughter and applied for a pension. David died while serving with the Veterans Reserve Corps in Point Lookout, Maryland. A stone bearing his name and referencing the 21st Iowa Infantry from which he had been transferred five months earlier is in Noble Cemetery, Edgewood, Iowa, with a G.A.R. marker next to it. Find-a-Grave Memorial #9731560.

1244

Caleb is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54876552.

William Robbins was struck with "night blindness" while serving as corporal of the guard and had to be relieved by William Carpenter. Robbins was "not a coward by any means," but his temporary blindness became the talk of the camp. Myron Knight recalled that William was "moon-eyed" and could not serve on picket after sunset but, never one to shirk duty, William traded with others so he could do their duty during the day while they did his at night. According to his friend Chris Scoville, William "was a mighty good soldier one of the best soldiers in the Co. and seldom ever would complain."

On the 29th Linus McKinnie, still with General McGinnis at Algiers, boarded the *St. Charles*. Instead of following his regiment upstream, they went south. Due to bad weather on the Gulf, the *St. Charles* stopped at the mouth of Mississippi about sundown but, "at first dawn" on the 30th, was underway again and General McGinnis opened the "sealed orders" that Linus had referred to in his earlier letter to Col. Richardson: "You will land your forces on the west side of Dolphin Island in the rear of Fort Gains, and proceed at once to lodge yourself and siege pieces to the rear of the fort. Fail not at your peril."

While Banks' Red River excursion had been a failure for the North, it also caused dissension in the South. Dick Taylor, who wanted to engage Banks during the withdrawal, lashed out at Kirby Smith who prevented him. Taylor was convinced he could have captured or destroyed Porter's fleet and retaken the Mississippi if Smith had not intervened. He accused Smith of being "stupid, pig-headed and obstinate," offered his resignation and was temporarily relieved of command. In late July and early August, Smith reorganized his army and Taylor, despite his insubordination, was promoted to Lieutenant General but moved east of the river. Magruder was transferred to Arkansas, Walker to Texas and Simon Buckner to the Department of West Louisiana where Jim heard rumors of his presence.

**Morganza bend
July the 31st 1864**

Dear wife

another sabbath finds me in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health and about 185 miles nearer home than when I wrote you last we were aroused up last Tuesday morning about one o'clock and ordered to be on board a transport at daylight to reinforce the garrison at Morganza bend which is about 185 miles above New Orleans 20 above port Hudson and 14 below the mouth of red river we arrived here on Wednesday morning and found every thing all right and we are now comfortably situated in camp on the bank of the river behind the levee Dick Taylor's army about 15 or 20 thousand now under command of Buckner are laying just across the Capbilire bayo about 15 or 20 miles from here they have been threatening this place but in my opinion that they will not dare attack us here and if they do I am quite sure they will get beautifully licked there are now about 15000 of our troops here we have several batties and one brigade of cavalry Brigadier General Lawler was in command of the post but I am told that General Canby has taken command since the reinforcements came this is an excellent place for defense the levee is an excellent breast work for infantry and is fixed all along for artillery they are building the largest fort here that I ever saw it will mount 32 guns when finished it is almost done and several guns are allready mounted five regiments came down here yesterday from Vicksburg and among them the 46th Illinois to which Bat and Aaron Frankerbarger belongs Jim and I went up and saw them yesterday and Bat and one of his comrades were down here this morning Bat looks fatter than I ever saw him before he has quite a heavy beard and looks considerably like a man Aaron is about as large as Bat was when he worked for Jo in Iowa he has his health verry well but does not look so hearty as Bat, Well Cal I dont know how long we will stay here but I expect not long for we were ordered to Grant before we left New Orleans and would probably have been plowing our way over the blue water before this time had it not been for this scare here. There has been some talk of our being sent out into the country here to fight the rebs but I hope that will not be done for it would do no manner of good; if we should whip them and drive them back which would be a difficult job in these swamps they would turn and follow us right back and we would only get a lot of men killed for nothing I think that those troops that came down yesterday came to relieve us and we will soon go back to New Orleans either to stay there or go to Virginia

Cal I did not get any letter from you last week but Jim got one from Lib why is it that her letters came quicker than yours while yours are mailed at McGregor & hers are mailed out in the country We have not got our pay yet and probably will not until there is four months due us which will be the

first of next month August september (there I guess I got it right at last)

**There have been several men killed here this summer by allegators while bathing in the river there was one last friday night out of our brigade I have been in the habit of bathing quite often in the river but I think I shall content myself hereafter by dipping some water up in a tub and washing in that I am verry fond of swimming but I can forego that pleasure rather than risk my self among those monstrous Alegators the weather is verry warm and I must close so good bye for this time
Your Husband James Bethard**

On the 31st, Mathew King noted that a federal picket had been killed and another captured the previous night - "*which is supposed to have been done by rebel Indians that the Confederates has employed to do their mean sneaking work.*" Dr. Hunt and Joseph Lundbeck arrived with hospital stores from Algiers while the company's strength reached sixty-nine including fifty-two Privates, an increase of four from the report four months earlier. Canby was commanding the Military Division of West Mississippi with instructions from Grant to "*take Mobile and hold it, and push your forces to the interior to Montgomery and Selma. Destroy railroads, rolling stock and everything useful for carrying on war.*" Admired by his men, Canby was on the defensive for a time as he feared Kirby Smith's Confederates threatening Arkansas and Mississippi and had to contend with guerrilla activity on the river's west bank. In late July he ordered 2,000 troops under Gordon Granger to Mobile Bay but, for the time being, was unable to send more.

On July 10th, Cal's aunt, Philena Mather, was widowed for a second time when her husband, William Bishop, passed away after only eight months of marriage. Philena had lost three of her twelve children in infancy, now lost her second husband and three of her sons had died in the war. Sterling, her fourth son, was still alive and serving as an Orderly Sergeant with Sherman on the outskirts of Atlanta.

At Morganza, men learned of the death of Caleb Kephart, they received "*a good lecture on being prompt in their duty while on guard*" and seven were committed to the "*Clods of the Valley*" as thousands of troops were reorganized. The 21st Iowa, 47th Indiana, 120th Ohio, 29th Wisconsin and 99th Illinois were designated the 2d Brigade of the 2d Division of the 19th Army Corps under General Slack,¹²⁴⁵ Arnold Allen was detached for a month to serve as a guard at headquarters of the Provost Marshal, Charles Reeves was detailed as a hospital cook and William Robbins was again "*moon-eyed.*" John Green received an unusual forty day furlough and, on August 1st, there was another round of promotions. Nelson Reynolds was promoted to 6th Corporal in Company G and Jonathan Foster to 2d Corporal in Company F. In Company B, Charlie Robbins moved up to 6th Corporal, Lewis Eno to 5th Corporal, Jim Rice to 3d Corporal, William Robbins to 2d Corporal, James Adams to 1st Corporal, John Farrand to 5th Sergeant and Henry Chiles to 4th Sergeant.

On the 2nd, convalescents arrived with mail from New Orleans, George Goodman returned to regular duty after two years with the pioneers and colored troops worked "*very cheerfully*" on a new fort. Two years earlier Jonathan Bethard said "*slavery is our great national sin*" but a correspondent signing as "*Manent*" made it clear that not all from the North felt the same.¹²⁴⁶

*Camp 21st Iowa Regiment
Morganza, La., Aug. 2, '64*

Edr. Times: - I send you a few lines for publication, provided you think them worthy a place in your columns. The boys are generally healthy. We have rather too much duty to do, but I guess it is a military necessity and so we go on without grumbings. Co. Guppy, of the 23d Wis., commands our Brigade; he is an excellent officer.

Our rations have been rather short lately, and the boys think the Government very generous in paying us 3 dollars a month extra and taking it out of our rations. There is a Sutler here that sells potatoes for 10 cents a pound and onions for 12½; the boys, however, seem pretty anxious to relief him of them, and themselves of their money. One of the Sutlers got knocked down the other evening, and the fellows that did it were

1245

Elsewhere, during the summer the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 19th Corp under General Slack consisted of the 99th Illinois, 47th Indiana, 21st Iowa and 29th Wisconsin. *History of Pike County, Illinois* (Chas. C. Chapman & Co., Chicago, 1880), page 380.

¹²⁴⁶ The letter appeared in the *North Iowa Times* of August 27, 1864.

unfortunate enough to be caught, so that the Provost Marshal had a chance to order them under Negro Guards, which he did not fail to do.

We have but little news from the North, so we don't know much about the politics. The boys seem to be in favor of "Old Abe." No honest, upright, thinking man can be in favor of Fremont, and it is very improbable that the Chicago Convention will prove themselves any more satisfactory. Soldiers are mostly in favor of war till the rebels submit. They hate those who ask for peace, but when the war is over they will go with the co-called "Copperhead party" in regard to the negro question. But few of the soldiers are in favor of negro suffrage or negro equality, and those who are, have always been Abolitionists. There is one or two men in our company they pretend to be intelligent, who argue that negroes are entitled to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen, placing them ahead of the white citizens who have the American birth right, so that if that party was strong we would soon be in danger of having a negro for President of the United States.

The government is arming the negroes, and leaving them to garrison forts on the most important points, with Abolition officers in command, while Abolitionists up North are busily at work sending teachers and preachers to inform and instruct them of their pretended equality to the descendants of the brave men who fought the battles of the Revolution and framed the Constitution for the benefit of their sons and such of the foreigners who would emigrate to this country. If the negro don't get what he is taught to be his rights, he will soon (with the aid of the Abolitionists) have means, to do as the rebels did.

The rumor just now is that the rebs have driven in the cavalry pickets, so that we don't know how soon we will be attacked. Dick Taylor has a strong force, but the boys seem to want him to try us on here. We are well prepared for him.

Manent.

On Thursday, August 4th, German native Carl Shiltz left on a sick furlough, Chaplain Hill addressed the regiment and Andrew Lawrence had an attack of "swamp fever" (malaria) due, he claimed, to exposure during outpost duty. He was treated by Dr. Orr but the true nature of many diseases was still a mystery and diagnosis was frequently by characteristic symptoms. Mosquito bites were recognized as nothing more than an irritant and malaria was thought to be caused by bad air or "poisonous odors" near swamps. Treatment was with quinine, a bitter but vital drug often in short supply, especially in the Confederacy.

In Alabama, the South had held Forts Gaines and Morgan at the entrance to Mobile Bay for more than three years. David Farragut wanted to retake the forts after his capture of New Orleans and Banks had wanted to move on Mobile rather than Texas but both were prevented by Washington. Finally, on August 5th at 6:30 a.m., Farragut moved four ironclads and fourteen wooden ships (elsewhere four monitors and fourteen steamers) from the Gulf of Mexico, past the two forts and into the bay where Confederate Franklin Buchanan, who earlier captained the *Virginia (Merrimac)* in its battle with the *Monitor*, was just rising. The monitor *Tecumseh* moved toward Buchanan's *Tennessee*, hit a torpedo and was destroyed with the loss of its commander and most of its crew but, by the time the battle ended, Farragut had damned the torpedoes, gone full steam ahead and secured the Bay for the Union.¹²⁴⁷ After the battle, "by permission of Admiral Farragut, he accompanied the wounded of the *Tennessee* and *Selma*" to the U.S. Naval Hospital at Pensacola.¹²⁴⁸ Witnessing the engagement was the 21st's Linus McKinnie who, eleven days later, was back in Louisiana when he described it in a letter to Col. Richardson of the *Times*.

*Headquarters McGinnis Layout
Lakeport, La., Aug. 16, 1864,*

Dear Col.: - Since writing to you at Algiers, La., we have made another dart at the enemy and not without

1247

Major General Dabney H. Maury, in command of the Confederate defenses at Mobile, would later write that the *Tecumseh* "carried a torpedo affixed to a spar which projected some twenty feet from her bows; she proposed to use this torpedo against the *Tennessee*, our only formidable ship; but while passing Fort Morgan a shot from that fort cut away the stays by which the *Tecumseh*'s torpedo was secured; it then doubled under her, and exploding fairly under the bottom of the ill-fated ship, she careened and sunk instantly in ten fathoms of water. Only six or eight of her crew of one hundred and fifth officers and men were saved." Dabney H. Maury, *Defence of Mobile*. Southern Historical Papers, Volume III, No. 1 (Richmond, Virginia, January 1877, Kraus Reprint Co).

1248

Official Report of Admiral Buchanan. Southern Historical Papers, Volume VI (Rev. J. William Jones, 1878; Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, New York, 1977), page 222.

fatally making him aware of these efforts of northern shot and shell.

On the 29th of July we left Algiers on board the steamer *St. Charles* and stood away down the river, arriving at the mouth that evening at sundown. The weather was rough and stormy and the pilot said we would have to wait until morning; but the first dawn of day on the following morning found us on our watery way and once more my feet were off the land of my home, and the beauty of it was, that no one as yet knew where we were going; we had sailed with sealed orders; but soon the General broke the anchor seal, and lo! what was written? "You will land your forces on the west side of Dolphin Island in the rear of Fort Gains, and proceed at once to lodge yourself and siege pieces to the rear of the fort. Fail not at your peril." This made things look rather on the fighty. But the General was not surprised at this, he had expected as much from what Gen. Granger had told him, and he commenced cutting his notches accordingly, so that the morning of the 3d of August found us laying off the Island of Bette Boyes. The following steamers constituted our fleet of transports: *St. Charles*, *Battles*, *Tamolepas*, *Lora*, *Kate Dale*, and the *Tall Maran*, with an escort of five gunboats and ships of war.

At 2 o'clock the signal was given for us to advance, so the five aforementioned gunboats that were playing the agreeable for us took the advance and we followed after. At 25 minutes before 5 o'clock we arrived at our place of destination. This was done by running the steamers as close to shore as possible and jumping overboard and wading ashore; but in a few moments the light boats of the fleet were alongside and took most of the men in them. The next thing was to get the heavy siege pieces on shore, which was accomplished before daylight, under the supervision of Capt. Linsey, A.A. General. At midnight the advance of the infantry was made up the Island, and by 8 o'clock we astonished the rebs by letting them know that we were within 400 yards of their works, and the next evening under the cover of the night we had run up six, light, 10 pounder rifled pieces and two 32 pounder Parrots, which made the thing still more close for them.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 5th of August, (a day ever to be remembered,) could be seen steaming up the bay Farragut and his fleet. I will not attempt a description of this spectacle, the grandeur of which will fill many pages of our future history, and in less than twenty minutes from the time of their opening fire the deafening roar of cannon, with the bursting of shell, outbattled anything of the present war, and I doubt if history can produce the equal. The fight with the rebel ram *Tennessee* was a thing of no mean proportions, and I think it might be said with all truth that it, too, was a big thing. After the taking of the rebel ram, the fleet came to anchor all except the Monitors, they still kept up the shot at Fort Powel, which was soon made to run up the white rag, and on the morning of the 6th our forces occupied Fort Powel. On the morning of the 7th the rebs at Fort Gains offered terms of surrender. After caviling all day of the 7th, on the morning of the 8th the surrender was made unconditionally to the army and navy, and at 9 o'clock the old *Starry Banner* was flying from the ramparts as in days gone by. On the night of the 8th our forces succeeded in making a landing in the rear of Fort Morgan, and in a short time it must share the fate of Gains and Powel.

On the 10th Brig. Gen. McGinnis was relieved from his command and ordered to report to headquarters New Orleans to take command of his old Division, now at Morganzas Bend, and I hope in a few days to be once more with the 21st Iowa. I have been away from them, it seems, almost a year. We are having a nice resting spell, nothing to do but go in bathing every day and then take a ride down to the city on the cars, by way of a change. Hoping to hear from you soon,

I remain,
Line McKinnie

P.S. - Among the prisoners that was taken at Fort Gains was two companies from Mobile, among them was thirty or more that was well acquainted with the late lamented Hiram Lampson, one of them had worked for him for a long time previous to the war. They every one spoke well of Hi, and could hardly believe him to be dead.¹²⁴⁹

Meanwhile, at Morganza Bend, the 5th was hot, 104° in the shade, and Iowa mail arrived from New Orleans ("it has to go below first to be distributed"). Sunday morning overcast cleared by noon, the *Grey Eagle* came down "from above," and Jim wrote his usual Sunday letter to Cal.

Morganza bend La

¹²⁴⁹ "Bette Boyes" was Petit Bois. "Fort Gains" was Fort Gaines. "Fort Powel" was Fort Powell.

Sunday August the 7th 64

Dear wife

I seat myself to answer yours of the 15th July which came to hand one day last week I am glad to hear that you and Ellie are well I hope Morts sickness is nothing serious and he will soon recover I am sorry that you got cheated out of a visit to your friends in the south part of the state on account of looking for me home but am more sorry that you were disappointed in my coming but that was no more of a disappointment to you than it was to me I hope Father and Mother are having a good visit you see by the date of this that we have not left Morganza bend nor do I see any signs of our leaving anyways soon Jim Rice and I are both in excellent health; my health was never better you wanted to know which end of the box contained your shell. all that was in the end containing the the little sack and Lobsters claw is yours there was also several sea beans a salt water crabs claw and the bone of a star fish which resembles a little flat stone with a star on it but I expect that is broken for they are verry easy broken Cal what do you think of those little sea beans I think they are prettier than the shells a great many wear them on their watch guards I suppose they are pitching in to the harvest up there now if they are not through I should like to be there to help run a reaper but I dont suppose I could make half a hand binding not being used to labor my hands are as tender as yours but not quite so white although they are a great deal whiter than they was when I first came from Texas we have swet off a great deal of the Texas tan since we came to La. Cal you have never said anything in your letters about the crops as to how they looked or how they were expected to turn out The rebs have made no demonstrations here since my last I dont think they intend to make any attact here Tell Uncle Levi¹²⁵⁰ I would willingly give him one pull at my whiskers for the sake of seeing him and the rest of the friends including my wife and little one but he would have rather a short holt now for I have none excep my mustache and if I let him pull that I must have the privelage of visiting his melon patch we dont get many melons since we left New Orleans there are plenty of them out in the country but we dare not go out to get them for fear of getting gobbled up I have not seen Bat since last sunday his regiment is still here

Cal I will send you in this a couple of Alegator Gar scales they are a fish that resembles the Alegator verry much excep that they have fins instead of legs there are a great many of them here I have saw them eight feet long We have been having some verry warm weather but it is not so warm to day it is cloudy and looks verry much like rain the river is verry low and falling rapidly there is no signs of getting paid off yet I suppose our pay is increased to 16 dollars a month instead of 13 and the rations are cut down we get three fourths of a pound of hard bread per day now instead of one pound the old ration I eat every morsel that I can get in the shape of comisaries and am hungry all the time O how I should like to get at Aunt Sarahs cupboard this morning it goes verry tough to be allowedanced but thank the Lord we only have a little over one year to serve and then we can eat as much as we please and what we please Well dinner is pretty near ready and I must not be behind hand so

good by for this time

Your husband James Bethard

On August 8th Abram Treadwell was relieved of temporary command of Company B due to the return of Captain Lyons after almost four months with a pioneer corps, the *Kenton*, *Polar Star* and *St. Cloud* came down from Arkansas' White River "loaded with troops," the *Times* reported that an estimated 660,000 men were in the Federal army and, in Georgia, Hood ordered Confederate pickets increased on the Sandtown Road. Sergeant Ryrearsen was detailed as a Union picket, but did not feel well, designated Jim's friend, Alva Tanner, to serve in his place and the next day wrote to twenty-one year old Mary Ann.

*Camp 15th Iowa in the field, Ga.
Aug 9, 1864*

*Mrs. Tanner
Madam*

It is with a heavy heart and much reluctance on my part that I attempt to write to you to day.

¹²⁵⁰ Abigail (Rice) Haines and Levi Haines were Cal's aunt and uncle.

Our Co went out last night on picket and your Husband, in Command of the Co as I was not well this AM, while performing his duty was shot near the right shoulder & it is supposed that the ball popped downwards through his lungs killing him instantly He only said two or three words as I am told he spoke to James Hawkins and said "Jim I am shot".

I am going to have him buried this PM I have some men preparing his grave now I shall have him buried decently I am going to have him buried under a leaving oak tree and then I am going to have a pen put around his grave and also a head board to mark the place it is on a nice little hill in the timber about 2½ miles west of Atlanta. He had a few trinkets in his pockets which James Hawkins has in his possession James says that he will write to you in a few days then he will let you know what he is going to do with them.

I will just say that your husband was one of the very best soldiers in the army he was beloved by all who knew him he was my best friend and I shall miss him more than any other person in the army as he has been acting Orderly Sergeant of the Co. most of the time during this Campaign.

If there is anything else that you want to know please write to me & I will give you all the information that I can.

*Yours in respect
S. Ryrearsen 1st St.
Comdg. Co. 'C' 15th Iowa*

PS Please direct to the Comdg. Officer of Co 'C' if you want to know anything more than Hawkins can tell you as life is uncertain and I may be killed, and if you direct it to me it may not be opened, but if you direct it to the Comdg. Officer of the Co. it will be opened by him that be who it will.¹²⁵¹

The *North Iowa Times*, on August 10th, noted that letters to any member of the 21st Infantry should be sent to "Lt. Col. S. G. Van Anda, Fernebone, La, Army of Tenn." They should, it said, be marked "to be forwarded" which was good advice since the regiment had left Terrebonne Station more than a month earlier.

**Morganza bend La
Wednesday August the 10th 1864**

Dear wife

this is not my regular day to write to you and it is not because I have any particular news to write that I am writing to you to day but because I have nothing else to do and I can find no other employment so pleasant to pass away the time as writing to you so I will write you a few lines to day and write against next sunday if we do not leave here before that time, Jim has just mailed a letter to Lib

We received the official report here yesterday evening of the capture of Mobile which was indeed glorious news Mobile was a verry important place both to the rebels and to us and it seems that it fell an easy prey into our hands General Hood having called the troops away to his assistance in Georgia there only about twelve hundred left there 800 of which were captured it was a sharp trick and shows that General Canby the present commander of this department is not asleep but is working for the interest of the government and not speculating in cotton nor selling men and supplies to the enemy as General Banks did when he had command of this department¹²⁵² I think General Canby is wide awake and a good and true man he has issued one order which alone will do more good than Banks has ever done since he has been a general The order that I alude to is the order which prohibits any supplies from going out of the lines and prohibits all trading boats from coming below Vicksburg this is just the order that I have been wishing would be issued ever since I have been in this department this will be a great saving to Uncle Sam and a great stopage on the rebs rations on the west side of the Miss river

1251

Alva is buried in Marietta National Cemetery, Marietta, Georgia. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3957440.

1252

On March 13, 1863, Secretary of War Stanton had issued an order forbidding officers, and all members of the army, from having anything to do with the cotton trade.

you may think this is strange talk but it is nevertheless true; there has been thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of commissaries sent out of our lines in this department under pretense of feeding the destitute families of loyal people and I know of men who had a chance to know who will testify that they have seen thousands of dollars worth of provisions sold by our officers for the gold to men who to their certain knowledge were rebels speculation is the chief object of a great many of our officers instead of putting down the rebellion and this is one grand reason why the rebellion has lasted as long as it has the other is jealousy between men high in command but I believe our two chief Generals now are true men and it is to their interest that the government should succeed and even if Grant has enemies they cannot do him much harm for he has the confidence of the President and the people and being next in command to the President those selfish jealous hearted office seekers have but little chance to do him any harm. It seems that the rebels at Petersburg are verry obstinate and determined but it is my belief that sooner or later they must yield to the invincible army of Grant Atlanta is also doomed and with those two places and Mobile in our hands Jeff Davis may as well consider himself Whiped Whiped Whiped Hurrah for Old Abe and General Grant and Sherman but maybe I am a little to fast, the canons were firing here last night over what was said to be an official report of the unconditional surrender of Mobile but yesterdays New Orleans papers received here today do not confirm the news but Farragut had demanded the surrender and had captured one gun boat and the commander of the rebel fleet Cal tell father to write and tell us what he and the rest of the people there think of the war and what they think of electing Old Abe for another term (Your husband. James Bethard

Banks was obviously not one of Jim's favorites. During the Red River campaign Banks was accused of speculating and permitting others to speculate in cotton, appropriating bales in large quantities and shipping them to New Orleans for private sale and his initials had already been translated as "*Napoleon P.*" or "*Nothing Positive Banks.*" During his 1862 campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, Stonewall Jackson's Confederates had called him "*Commissary Banks*" in reference to the huge stores of supplies that Jackson's army captured from him and his negative reputation was enhanced during his abortive campaign at Port Hudson in March of 1863. After his withdrawal, Gardner's men had gathered so much abandoned livestock and equipment that a Southern corporal remarked, "*you recollect Old Stonewall used to make a commissary of Banks, and now General Gardner has commenced making one of him.*" If not speaking literally, perhaps Jim was speaking figuratively when he said Banks was "*selling*" men and supplies to the enemy.

The 10th was hot and sultry, the 99th Illinois brought in twenty-two prisoners and more boats passed on their way downstream. On the 11th, Ralph Weeks, a twenty-one year old Hawkeye, died in New Orleans.¹²⁵³ The 23d Iowa arrived from the White River on the 12th and, by the 13th, John Crop had been dead for a year when the government's auditor finally mailed \$103.60 to his widow as the balance of John's final pay and enlistment bounty.

After a morning fog, the 14th was warm, the *Grey Eagle* passed by on its way downstream from Vicksburg and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Morganza bend La
Sunday August the 14th 64**

Dear wife

once more I am happy to inform you that we are well Bat Frankerburger was down here yesterday; he and Aaron are well there was a mail for the regiment this morning but Jim and I were both disappointed at not receiving any letters neither of us received any mail from home last week I believe Jim got a letter from Mr. Stevenson there has nothing of interest transpired here since I wrote you on the 10th our company were on picket night before last but we saw no rebs we were not molested at all except some of the boys were a little frigtened at a panther an Alegator scared me out of my nest where I was sleeping once but did not disturb me long a coon stole some hard tack out of one of the boys havre sacks a squirrel stole some from another we had quite a rain and all got a good soaking and were well peppered by musquetoos and with the exception of these few little items we had a

1253

Ralph, the older brother of the regiment's Bradford T. Weeks, had enlisted as a recruit and reached the regiment on April 11, 1864. He is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55036970.

verry pleasant time indeed

The news from Mobile is not so good as when I wrote you on the 10th we have not got Mobile but we have Fort Gaines and Powell (which are some twelve miles this side) and 818 prisoners some 40 pieces of artillery and sunke one of their gunboats and captured another with admiral Buchanan the commander of the rebel fleet There has been some five or six thousand troops landed here from up the river in the last week there cannot be less than 20000 troops here now but what is going to be done I cannot tell but I am certain that so many are not needed for the defense of this place

Well Cal I suppose you are aware that two years of our term of service has rolled away and the third has commenced to wear away I presume that this fact has occured to your mind as it has to mine more than once; my anxiety to see you and little Ella makes the time seem a long way off yet; but it is a happy thought to think that time is a steady travailer and will creep on whether the war goes on or not that I have wethered the storm for two years and at the end of one more which is steadily creeping on I may expect freedom from the army and the society of the loved ones at home O how often have I while walking my lonely beat or secreted in some dark spot listening and watching through the darkness for the enemy pondered over in my mind the pleasures of many happy days which are passed and gone days when we were realizing together our previous dreams of happiness and although we cannot live those days over again, it is possible that there may be as happy and even happier days for us in the future the future of course is mixed with uncertaintys but let us hope for the best and never look upon the dark side until we are obliged to for it is far better to hope than to borrow trouble on account of fears and hopes disappointed

is no worse than fears realized. I feel a great deal more like standing the storm now than I did one year ago, then I was disappointed about getting a furlough and was sick and discouraged but now I have good health and I have only half as long to serve as I had then so notwithstanding the uncertainties of the future and the fortunes of war I think there is good reason for hoping to get home all right and with my love to you and little Ella and my best respects to all our friends I will close

Your husband

James Bethard

In Iowa on the 16th, L. F. Carrier wrote to Adjutant General Baker.

Strawberry Point Clayton County Aug. 16 / 64

To N. B. Baker

Adjutant Genl. of Iowa

Dear Sir

I find quite a number of Privates in the 21st and other Regiments credited to Fayette County & Dubuque counties that lived in this town (Cass) is there any way to correct these errors? If so will you give any directions that will be of assistance to us in this matter.

Respectfully Yours

L F Carrier¹²⁵⁴

The 17th was rainy but not uncomfortable, arms were inspected, mail was delivered and from their camp inside the levee men watched as gunboats and transports passed up and down the Mississippi. Overcast continued on the 18th with intermittent storms and some men went north on sick furloughs. The 19th was warm with another prayer meeting and heavy nighttime rain.

On the 20th, the 23d Wisconsin left on the *Silver Wave*, on the 21st there was morning preaching by James Hill and evening preaching by Chaplain Baker of the 97th Illinois and on the 22d, "*because he always had a perfectly clean gun,*" John Whalen was put in charge of surplus ordnance at brigade headquarters.¹²⁵⁵ Most of the division left

1254

This was possibly Lester Fenner Carrier who would serve thirty years as cashier, assistant cashier, director and vice president of the bank in Strawberry Point. He may have been related to Henry G. Carrier (above) who also was from Strawberry Point.

¹²⁵⁵ Journal of Gilbert Cooley.

on an expedition downriver on the 23d but the 99th Illinois and 21st Iowa were held in reserve with picket duty increased to take up the slack left by the departure of the others and Richard Page surrendered Mobile's Fort Morgan to Farragut. With Morgan, Gaines and Powell in Union hands, the entrance to Mobile Bay was secure and in another six months the 21st Iowa would be present for the capture of the city itself.

Sunday, August 28th, saw "*services as usual*" and baptisms of William Crooke and several others by James Hill. Henry Carrier was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps after fifteen months in hospitals due to the wound suffered at the Big Black when he was shot in the chest and David Drummond was finally allowed to go north. He had written another letter arguing that the company was down to only sixty-six men and had two other officers who could serve in his absence, he had the support of Adjutant George Crooke, leave was granted and he left the same day to try to reach his dying wife. Suffering from rapid consumption, Margaret was confined to her bedroom and couch. Except for her children, all of her relatives were in Scotland and her doctor did not feel she could survive the fall's cold weather.

Some of the troops that had gone down-river returned to camp, it rained hard and wind blew in the evening and Robert Mansfield of Company I, recruited only six months previously, died from a bowel inflammation.¹²⁵⁶ His personal effects were mailed to his already-widowed mother and, on Monday, "*muffled drums beat on the ear as they commit the soldier boy to the Clods of the Valley.*" Jim attended Robert's funeral but "*did not learn his name.*"

**Morganza bend. La.
Monday morning August 29th 64**

Dear wife

once more I take my pen in hand to address a few lines to you to let you know that I am still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health Jim Rice is also well I went on picket saturday evening and just got back to camp yesterday evening about sundown which accounts for me not writing yesterday as usual we had a tremendous rain storm last night and a good many of the boys got as wet as drowned rats the rain drove through our tent from end to end but by the aid of my rubber blanket I managed to keep dry with the exception of my feet we have bunks made of old cracker boxes and barrels which are an excellent thing in wet weather I hear the muffled drums beating I must go and attend the funeral

just returned from the funeral the corps was a new recruit of Co. I. I did not learn his name he died in the hospital yesterday

We have been having the warmest weather for the last three or four days that I ever saw either north or south but the rain last night cooled the air and it is not near so hot today Picket duty has been verry heavy on us for the last week in consequence of the 1st brigade and part of the 2nd having gone on a little expedition out east of port Hudson but they returned last night so we will be releived. they had a fight out there and took four hundred prisoners and four peices of artillery I have not learned the particulars yet Bat and Arons regt was along but I have not been up to see them this morning Lieutenant Drummond of our company started home on leave of absence yesterday he has been trying all summer to get lieve of absence and applied the 3rd time his papers came and he started home yesterday while I was out on picket his family has been sick all summer and his wife is verry low We have heard nothing from Wm Barber since he started home I hope he got through all right we got no mail last week at all there was a big mail came down the river last saturday evening but it went on down to New Orleans we will probably get it this evening or tomorrow when I expect about four letters I should have at least two from you one from Jont and one from Nancy I have heard from neither of them for about two months Next wednesday is musterday we will muster for four months pay and we expect to get it soon our regimental comisary men have been hauled over the coals lately and we are now getting plenty of eat we draw half rations of flour and half of crackers we have built small brick ovens and do our own baking (Your husband James Bethard.

As Jim was writing on the 29th northern Democrats were meeting in Chicago. Their convention had been delayed from its planned start on the 4th of July hoping for more public discontent and extreme Peace Democrat Clement

¹²⁵⁶ The site of Robert's burial is unknown.

Vallandigham appeared as a delegate to argue his cause.¹²⁵⁷ Despite news of the capture of Fort Morgan, his resolution - condemning the war and asking "*that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States*" - was passed but less extreme delegates selected the candidates. General McClellan was nominated for President and George Pendleton of Ohio for Vice President while John C. Fremont withdrew from the race to support Lincoln. While orators including Sam Merrill and former Governor Kirkwood stumped the state for the Republican ticket, Clayton County's Democrats and McGregor's *Times* backed McClellan and called for a convention of "*all those opposed to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and the continuance of the war for the sole purpose of freeing the negroes at the expense of the lives of hundreds of thousands of white men, and imposing upon us a national debt too onerous to be borne*."¹²⁵⁸

In Louisiana, it was business as usual for Hugh McCafferty. Arrested a year earlier for leading a band of armed Negroes in Mississippi, he was left in a Carrollton convalescent camp when the regiment started its campaign west of the river in September. On recovering his health, he and many others were discharged from the camp and ordered back to the regiment. Instead, in January, Hugh was one of sixteen who elected to enroll as "veterans" in the 1st Indiana Heavy Artillery. After several months of service, all were ordered back to their own regiment. Hugh returned under arrest, desertion charges were preferred and he was convicted by a court martial presided over by David Greaves. Hugh had violated articles of war and been absent without leave. He was ordered restored to duty with five months loss of pay but, in the meantime, the full circumstances were investigated, it was felt the entire affair had been a misunderstanding, the Indiana regiment shared the blame and the others had not been punished. Elisha Boardman, captain of Hugh's Company D and also from Elkader, felt Hugh had been "*no more guilty of improper conduct than the rest*" and requested that his sentence be remitted. On August 30th, General Dennis agreed and "*Wayward Hugh*" and the others were again in the good graces of the regiment.¹²⁵⁹

On the 31st, the Hawkeyes in Morganza were mustered for pay and ordered to be ready to leave at a moment's notice while discharged comrades in the north continued their local efforts. Sam Merrill, Willard Benton, Tim Hopkins and Tyler Featherly were all in Iowa where the *Times* reported.¹²⁶⁰

"Capt. W. A. Benton and Col. S. Merrill have each a full company of State Militia which will be organized on Friday of this week."

"Since our last issue Capt. W. A. Benton has enlisted 7 recruits to the credit of this township which amount being added to 13 substitutes and the proportion of 249 credited to the District which was effected by Gov. Stone, as will be seen in another column, must very nearly carry Mendon out of the wet."

1257

A Dayton publisher and former member of Congress, Vallandigham had been arrested by Burnside after his "*disloyal*" statements a year earlier, convicted by a military commission and banished by the President to the South. Making his way to Canada, he had become a Democratic nominee-in-exile for Governor of Ohio but lost the election to John Brough. Frank L. Klement, *The Limits of Dissent* (Fordham University Press, 1998).

¹²⁵⁸ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

1259

The 13 transferred back to the 21st Iowa were William O. Breeden and Henry C. Sawdey (Company A), William S. Hall (Company B), William Axford and Henry Miner (Company C), Hugh McCafferty, Augustus Paarch and Eric Paulson (Company D), Gilbert Gulbranson (Company G), DeWitt Myers (Company H), Aaron Fulmer (Company I) and Francis Gildersleeve and John Nolan (Company K). *Report of the Adjutant General, State of Indiana, Volume IV, 1861-1865* (Samuel M. Douglas, State Printer, 1866).

A 14th, Francis Stevenson (Company I) drowned on January 6, 1864, when going up-river at the start of his "*reenlistment*" furlough.

A 15th, John F. Smith (Company A) died on January 20, 1864, of typhoid in an Indianapolis hospital. A War Department notation of March 19, 1874 said he had been in the Carrollton Convalescent Camp and "*the enlistment in 1 Ind. A.A. will be canceled*." John is buried in Crown Hill National Cemetery, Indianapolis.

In addition to Augustus Paarch and Erick Paulson (above), Gilbert Cooley said two other members of Company D, were also put under arrest when they returned. If correct, that would make the total 17.

The Indiana regiment also named Lewis Patten as being transferred which would make 18, but he's not shown on the Iowa roster.

On July 7, 1864, an Adjutant General in Washington said "*the sixteen*" were to be returned to their regiment. On October 5, 1864, Nathaniel Baker was able to advise Washington that "*all*" the men had "*returned to their original regiment*."

¹²⁶⁰ *North Iowa Times* (August 31, 1864.).

“Handbills have been posted on the streets designating Col. Samuel Merrill, Capt. W. A. Benton Capt. D. Leffingwell and Geo. Keene as persons authorized to form militia companies in this township, and there are, we are informed, about four companies in process of organization here.”

Willard Benton’s resignation as Captain of Company G had been accepted in May. Now, on September 2d, at McGregor’s Evans Hall, he was elected Captain of the McGregor Guards.¹²⁶¹ The next day, also at Evans Hall, Tim Hopkins was elected Captain of the local National Guards and Tyler Featherly was elected 3rd Sergeant. Tim and Tyler had both been discharged in January 1863 for health issues.¹²⁶²

WHITE RIVER, ARKANSAS (September 3 November 13, 1864)

Orders to embark at Morganza came at 1:00 a.m. on September 3rd but departure was delayed when Frank Washburn died after a long illness and *“we buried him hurriedly as the troops were called to go on board.”*¹²⁶³ Left behind, suffering from intermittent fever and too sick to travel, was Orlen Gates who would be sent north to recuperate in Davenport where, the following January, he would be transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps.

The 21st Iowa and 99th Illinois were loaded, the 26th New York battery went on board and the entire division headed up-river under the command of General Dennis with Colonel Slack leading the brigade. Crowded onto the *Illinois*, they passed the mouth of the Red River about 8:00 a.m. on September 4th, passed Monitor Station beneath a high point of rocks called Adams Bluff (*“the first rock we had seen for many months in the natural state”*¹²⁶⁴) and attended religious services conducted in the cabin by Chaplain Hill. The headquarters boat *Laurel Hill* led the parade upstream followed by the *Nebraska* and *Baltic* and *“then the old Illinois,”* the *Ohio Belle*, the *Pringle*, a gunboat and the *Kentucky*. They passed Point of Rocks, a favorite spot for Confederate snipers, without incident and reached Natchez about sunset. Pausing briefly while the post commander visited the *Laurel Hill*, they resumed their journey a few hours later and the next morning went ashore at Vicksburg while the *Illinois* was cleaned.

In Washington, D. C., on the 4th, William S. Brown, Company D, passed away in the Government Hospital for the Insane (now Saint Elizabeths Hospital). His death was attributed to *“softening of the brain”* resulting from sunstroke suffered during the Vicksburg Campaign. He was survived by his wife of fifteen years, Sarah McCracken Brown, and their three minor children.¹²⁶⁵

On the 7th of September, in Dubuque, John Harrington enlisted as a *“representative recruit”* for *“J. Duncan”* of the 4th Ward of Iowa’s 3rd Congressional District.¹²⁶⁶

1261 *North Iowa Times* (September 14, 1864).

1262 *North Iowa Times* (September 7, 1864).

1263 Journal of Matthew King. The site of Frank’s burial is unknown.

1264 Journal of Matthew King

1265 William is buried in Saint Elizabeths Hospital West Cemetery, Anacostia, D.C. Find-a-Grave Memorial #24980641.

1266

[Circular No. 25]

War Department, Provost Marshal General’s Office

Meanwhile, the parade up the Mississippi was nearing an end and, on the 8th, the men disembarked at the mouth of the White River in a state whose pre-war Governor Archibald Yell said "*every man left his honesty, and every woman her chastity, on the other side of the Mississippi, on moving to Arkansas.*"¹²⁶⁷ Here the regiment made camp in a cotton field that Gilbert Cooley said was "*just fit for picking. Our boys harvested the crop in a few minutes*" and, after a night's rest, Jim again wrote to Cal.

**Camp at the mouth
of white river Arkansas
September 9th 1864**

Dear wife

I seat myself to write you a few hurried lines to let you know how and where I am I did not write you last sunday because we were on our way up the river we embarked on the transport Illinoise last saturday morning and arrived at this place yesterday morning I went on picket soon after we came on shore and came off this morning which accounts for me not writing yesterday when Jim did Jim and I are both well this place is about 660 miles above New Orleans 220 above Vicksburg 140 below Memphis and 50 below Helena We are now under orders to be ready to embark at a moments warning our whole division came up with us numbering about 7000 and I understand that all the white troops at Morganza are to follow us as fast as they can get transportation there was ten boatloads of troops went up White river last sunday and I have no doubt but that is the way that we are to go the boats that brought us here are too large to run up white river we have a report that Kirby Smith is at Duvals bluff with 20000 I think the object of running us up here is to cooperate with Steele against old Kirby and if we take him on one side and Steele on the other at the same time we will be verry apt to warm the wax in his ears We received the news yesterday evening that Atlanta was in our possession but did not learn full particulars Cal I received yours of the 22nd ult last week I was sorry to hear of your sickness but I hope you are well before this time

We are about 660 miles further north than we were in July but I dont see but what it is just as hot here as it was at New Orleans but I presume if we were to go 660 miles further up yet we would experience some change in the climate I should like to try it at least we layed over one night at Vicksburg on our way up the place looks as familiar as the place of my birth I should like to have went back to our old stompng ground in the rear but there was not time and there was a guard stationed around to keep the men from leaving the river bank I would like to have had time to have run over to the hospital burying ground and looked once more upon the last resting places of some of our brave comrades among whom was John Mather Well Cal as it is verry warm and I have my gun to clean and a shirt to wash (not knowing what minute we will be called up to go) I must close so good bye for this time Your husband J.B.

The North also was warming - to politics - and the *Missouri Republican* reprinted an article from a German

Washington, D.C., June 26, 1864

Persons not required by law to perform military duty have expressed a desire to be personally represented in the army. In addition to the contributions they have made in the way of bounties, they propose to procure recruits at their own expense, and present them for enlistment in the service. Their patriotism is worthy of commendation and encouragement.

Provost marshals, and all other officers acting under this bureau, are ordered to furnish all the facilities in their power to enlist and muster promptly the acceptable *representative recruits*, presented in accordance with the design herein set forth.

The name of the person whom each recruit thus represents will be noted on the enlistment and descriptive roll of the recruit, and will be carried forward from those papers to the other official records which form his military history.

Certificates of this *personal representation* in the service will be forwarded from this office, and issued by provost marshals.

JAMES B. FRY
Provost Marshal General

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The Governors of Arkansas, 2d Edition (The University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 1981). The quote is attributed to Governor Archibald Yell.

newspaper contending there was “*general dissatisfaction with all of the candidates for the Presidency - Lincoln, McClellan, Fremont.*” It was hoped “*honest Union men*” who wanted none of the three would find someone else. A Cincinnati convention was scheduled for October for the organization of a Peace Party based on “*States Rights, Jeffersonian, Democratic Principles,*” and there was much speculation as to whom it would nominate.¹²⁶⁸

On Saturday, September 10th, soldiers boarded the *St. Patrick* and other small boats and started up the White River to St. Charles, a small village of only a few houses but strategically located near the “*cut off*” between the Arkansas and White rivers. No longer with the regiment was Andrew Hughes who was sent to Memphis’ Overton General Hospital. In five days he would die of remittent fever.¹²⁶⁹

The regiment reached St. Charles on September 11th and occupied old fortifications on a plateau high above the river where a “*fine camping ground*”¹²⁷⁰ was made better when fresh vegetables were obtained from local citizens. Anticipating an encounter with Price’s rebels, a strong guard was posted but Price failed to appear and the regiment was relegated to garrison duty. One of many detailed for the assignment was twenty year old Allen Scott. Only moments after returning from twenty-four hours on guard duty he was ordered by his Captain, James Noble, to fall in for fatigue duty. Allen felt he was “*the victim of injustice*” and “*utterly refused to do so.*” Insubordination was unacceptable, Noble reported Scott to his superiors and, on the 12th, Major Crooke was ordered to hold a Field Officers’ court martial as soon as practical. Scott admitted his guilt and, duty bound, the Court ordered thirty days of hard labor but their recommendation of leniency was approved and the sentence remitted.¹²⁷¹

On Wednesday the 14th, the regiment’s left wing went out ten miles on a foraging expedition and returned with apples, sweet potatoes, mutton, beef and pork. Jim’s next letter was also written on the 14th but there’s no accounting for the erroneous date.

**St Charles Arkansas
Wednesday Sept 3rd 64**

Dear wife

being almost alone today I will pass away a part of my time by writing a few lines to you Since my last from the mouth of white river we have moved about 90 miles up White river to a little town called St. Charles we embarked last saturday on the transport St. Patrick and arrived at this place on sunday evening about 5 o clock without accident we have got the best camping place here that we have had since we left Missouri the worst trouble is the water is a little unhandy our camp is on a high hill about 400 yards from the river and we have to carry water from the river for cooking purposes in camp kettles and you may think I am joking but I tell you I am in earnest when I say it makes me swet and cuts my wind and cuts my wind like fun to carry one end of a pole on which is suspended two five gallon kettles full of water up that hill the water in White river is almost as clear as it is in Turkey river although the general opinion is that it is not as healthy to drink as the Mississippi mud and all but for my part I will take white river at a venture in preference to the Mississippi the ground is rough and hilly right here but they say the country is level all around and within a few miles there is a prairie When I commenced writing a few minutes ago the sun was shining hot and now it is raining quite hard I thought I should have to stop writing but it has slacked up now Cal you will be surprised to hear that I have quit soldiering and gone to cooking but is nevertheless true what little I know about cooking I learned by being obliged to cook my own grub at different times in cases of necessity while scouting foraging picketing and often on forced marches

my being a cook accounts for my being as I said in the beginning almost alone to day the left wing of the regiment including our company has gone out to day on a kind of scout and foraging expedition and the cooks were left in camp to have supper ready for them when they get back this evening we are going to have baked beans and meat and coffee for supper I suppose I would invite you to come down

¹²⁶⁸ Howard K. Beale, *The Diary of Edward Bates 1859-1866*, page 405.

¹²⁶⁹ Andrew is buried in the Memphis National Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3159234.

¹²⁷⁰ *Journal of Gilbert Cooley.*

¹²⁷¹

Noble and Scott were no doubt well acquainted. The four Scott boys who served in the regiment (and, according to family lore, had not worn shoes until enlisting) had an older sister named Charlotte and, after the war, Noble would return home and marry Charlotte’s daughter. In effect, the nephew-in-law-to-be (James Noble) had reported his uncle-in-law-to-be (Allen Scott).

and take supper with us but I am afraid you would turn up your nose at such a supper served up in the style in which it will be served but I am quite sure the boys will relish it for they will get back in a humor to relish the substantial of life served up in almost any shape so you neednt come down but in about Eleven months or less time I will come up there and see what kind of a supper you will serve up for me I commenced cooking last saturday I have not been at it hardly long enough to tell how I like it I commenced it voluntarily and if I get tiered of it I will shoulder the musket and go into the ranks again there is three cooks in the company and we cook for the whole company all together St Charles is about 90 miles below Duvals bluff there has been about 20 housed in the town but they have all been burned down but two or three our brigade is stationed here for the present to garrison the place I can tell nothing about how long we will stay here The story of Duvals bluff being in the hands of the rebs is a hoax the boys have caught lots of fish since we came here but for my part I have had rather poor luck I fished all this forenoon and lost one hook and got nary nibble wasnt that doing well Jim Rice has also tried his luck but failed to lead out any fish he has gone out with the company to day It is thundering in the southwest and has the appearance of a big rain I have got no letter from you for two weeks Direct as usual Your husband (James Bethard

While Jim enjoyed the change of pace afforded by cooking, the climb to the top of the plateau removed much of the allure. For two men struggling up a steep hill in the heat and humidity of an Arkansas summer with heavy iron kettles and almost eighty-five pounds of water suspended from a wooden pole it's no wonder they were winded. An attack was rumored but didn't materialize and, said Colonel Slack, all "*remains quiet at Saint Charles.*" He positioned the regiments with:

*"the Forty-seventh Indiana on the right, the Ninety-ninth Illinois on the left, the Twenty-first Iowa in the center, inside the outer line of fortifications, and the Twenty-ninth Wisconsin and One hundred and twentieth Ohio as a reserve on the inside of the inner works. Our position is strong and we can defend it against any assault the enemy can make against us, care not what his reasonable numbers may be. . . . Two gunboats are lying in the river."*¹²⁷²

In McGregor on the 14th, the *Times* reported:

We are pleased on Sunday to cross palms with our old time friend and (almost) first McGregor acquaintance, Lieut. David Drummond, of Co. B, Twenty-first Iowa Infantry. The Lieut. looks as sound as a roach, is at home on leave of absence attending the sick bed of an afflicted wife. He is in shape to resign, and if his home duties require it, he will remain with those who have the first demand upon him. David has had a long siege in the army, and is entitled to a life furlough if he wishes it.

On September 15th, Robert Strane wrote another letter, this one to his sister:

*Camp 21st Iowa
St. Charles, White River, Ark.
September 15th, '64*

*Eliza Jane
Dear Sister*

I am at a puzzle to know to whom I should adress this note, as I am just after receiving two letters from home, and there is several different hands represented. You need not expect much of a letter from me this time, for I have not got time, as the mail leaves at 8 o'clock. Your letters gave me great satisfaction. I notice with delight that Hugh is improving in writing. I am sorry that I have not got more time to write, for I feel as though I would like to write this morning. I stated in my last that we expected to come to this place - we were not disappointed. We have been here several days - we have a very beautiful camp, as much as any we have ever occupied. It is at about two hundred yards from the river. James Wallace is on picket. The boys from that neighborhood are all well. I wrote Hugh a letter a week ago. My love to him, you, and all the rest.

¹²⁷² O.R. Series I, Volume 41/3 [S#85], #7. Also see Jerry Frey, *Grandpa's Gone* (Burd Street Press 1998), page 113.

Nothing more at present - your brother
Excuse the haste - Robert
I received the stamps

Jonathan Foster received treatment for his injured hand, Hermann Stier died due to an inflammation of the liver and bowels¹²⁷³ and William Lyons' wife, Jeannette, passed away and was buried in Hardin Cemetery. Surviving were their five-year-old daughter and a son only a year and a half old.

St Charles Arkansas
September the 18th 1864

Dear wife

yours of the 9th inst came to hand yesterday and was gladly received it being the first I had received for two weeks I had begun to be a little uneasy for fear that all was not right I am glad to hear once more that you are all well your letter found me in the enjoyment of good health Jim Rice has been grunting a little with the bellyache for a few days back but he is still able for his regular duty I spoke in my last of the boys being out on a kind of scout and foraging expedition they came in that evening all right and loaded down with hogs sheep chickens potatoes green and dried apples and corn we have lived quite high ever since but the stuff is about played out now and we will have to go out again or else fall back on the regular army rations I am still cooking but I dont like it overly well the water is so unhandy that it makes verry hard work and keeps us at it nearly all the time I am quite tiered every night but it does not take near so much to tire me as it used to when I was used to work I thank you for the political documents enclosed in your last those resolutions adopted by the so called democratic party are more barefaced secesh than I had any idea they had the face to adadopt but I do not think that General Mclelland will indorse any such resolutions but whether he does or not I think there is but little danger of his being elected as for that little back of slang from the North Iowa Times all I have to say is that it is characteristic of the party which it supports and amounts to about as much as a little dog barking at a train of cars under full motion failing to find any thing like sound arguments in defence of their own party they fill up their papers with slang and abuse on the opposite party but the republican party is marching steadily on to success paying as little regard to such slang as would an army to a little boy armed with a squirt gun filled with dirty water Cal you wanted to know what time we were mustered into the United States service It was just 25 months ago today (the 19th of August) just Eleven months to serve yet If we live and the war continues but I have some hopes of the war ending between now and next spring in the event of Lincolns election which I think is a pretty sure thing Cal you say you like long letters if that is the case why dont you do as you would wish to be done by you may say you always send me a whole sheet covered on every side and so you do but if you take notice you will find that I write nearly as much one sheet as you do on two of the same size your letters are all good as far as they go and nothing pleases me better than to get a letter from my wife and when I have anything which I think would be interesting to you I take great pleasure in writing it but if I have nothing which I think would interest you I write a short letter because I think a long dry letter is worse than a short one for when you open it you expect something good and are disappointed to find it is nothing after all Camp life is one thing over and over every day and there is not much scape upon which to build long letters. there are a great many citizens mostly women coming in for protection and bringing in chickens butter potatoes and all kinds of produce to sell for which they find a ready market money is verry scarce in camp but they are glad to trade for salt sugar coffee and anything in the shape of comisaries or wearing apparrel As my sheet is about played I must close (Your husband JB

On September 19th John Rogman received a sixty day furlough after treatment in New Orleans and on a hospital boat at Morganza for diarrhea and fever, on the 20th Major Croke was detailed for a court martial convened for the trial of Emi Musser and on the 22nd Willard Buel who had been wounded during the regiment's assault at Vicksburg died of small pox in New Orleans.¹²⁷⁴ On the 23rd Nelson Lewis who had joined the regiment only four months

¹²⁷³ The site of Hermann's burial has not been found.

¹²⁷⁴ The site of William's burial was not found.

earlier died of chronic diarrhea while being treated on the *Diana*¹²⁷⁵ and McGregor resident Alonzo Cole rejoined the regiment after being hospitalized in Memphis and Keokuk.

On September 24th, members of the 9th Iowa who had chosen not to reenlist were mustered out at East Point, Georgia. Cal's brother, George Rice, returned home but her cousin, Sterling Mather, had elected to reenlist.

**St Charles Arkansas
Sept the 25th 1864**

Dear wife

I have no news to write you to day of any particular interest but am happy to be able to repeat the same thing that I have written to you so often. that is. I am well, Jim Rice is also well you see by the date of my letter that we have not moved since my last I received two letters from you last friday one was written August the 28th and mailed at McGregor Sept the 12th the other was written Sept the 11th and mailed the 13th I was glad to hear that you had got well of the dyphtheria as you say it is a verry hard disease to get rid of and knowing this I hope you will be verry careful not to expose yourself until you are entirely free from it I hope Ellie will not get it and I know you will do your best to prevent it

I am still cooking and I like it rather better than when I first commenced I have learned the ropes so that I can get along easier with it than when I first commenced and then the time seems to pass away faster and I do not get so lonesome as I used to before I commenced cooking you may wonder how a person could get lonesome while in the midst of so much company I will tell you how it was with me when I had nothing to do but lay around and eat and go on duty once twice or perhaps three times a week I used to get so tiered of laying around in camp that I knew not what to do with myself and the time draged away slow and dull it seemed an age almost from breakfast until dinner time but now I am up every morning before revele and at work getting breakfast and by the time breakfast is over and every thing cleaned and straitened up and set down and have a little chat with some of the boys or write a letter or perhaps get hold of a paper and read the news it is time to commence getting dinner thus the time flys away and I have not time to get lonesome I live better than I used to because I have a better chance to fix up extra dishes for myself. we are getting plenty to eat now we draw our regular rations of salt beef and pork and fresh beef three times a week besides. we draw half rations of hard bread and half of flour and I and the other two cooks have got along without eating but one or two meals of hard bread in the last six days we have the hard bread laid up for an immurgency we had some meal last week which was not counted in our rations. One of our cooks is old peaches on making corn bread and the other is old poison on salt rising and biscuit so we have good bread when we draw flour and meal some of the boys make their flour up into doenuts and slapjacks we have two brick ovens in our company which were already built when we came here they are a mighty good thing for baking I think they are better than a stove They say we are going to draw salt fish to day that is something new for us We have got a peck of beans and a five gallon kettle full of pork on boiling, we are going to have bean soup for dinner, and baked beans and bacon for supper but you dont care anything about that so I will change the subject.

I received a letter from Libby last week the folks there were all well She is in Fairview going to school perhaps you dont know where Fairview is it is about one mile right north of Ostrander¹²⁷⁶ she says that Jonathan has lost his health and wants father to write to the president to get him discharged, the indications are at present that we will remain here for some time perhaps all winter. I hope we will at least there are no rebs near here except small squads of guerrillas. they fiered a few shots at our picets last thursday night but done no harm (I am out of stamps) Jim

¹²⁷⁵ The site of Nelson's burial was not found.

¹²⁷⁶

East of Marysville and north of Ostrander, the area Jim called *Fairview* was the site of the original Little Millcreek Presbyterian Church founded in 1834. Although the school has long since disappeared and the area is little more than a highway intersection, a cemetery now stands on the old church grounds and the name *Fairview* can still be seen on a nearby barn.

In Dubuque, Horace Poole, who had resigned six months earlier so he could serve as Aide-de-Camp to Fitz Henry Warren, married Frances Langworthy.¹²⁷⁷

On September 29th, Margaret Drummond died in McGregor where David “*had the mournful satisfaction of attending her bedside in the last hours of her illness*”¹²⁷⁸ and George Purdy wrote to Andrew Hughes’ mother to console her in the death of her son.¹²⁷⁹

St. Charles, Arkansas
September 29th, 1864

Mrs. Margret Hughes

Dear Madam:

Please excuse me for taking the liberty to address you. I feel it to be a duty in behalf of your late son, Andrew. As I hold the position of Orderly of the company of which he was a member. You will doubtless see I had more to do with him than any other man in the Regiment. He, your son, from his first connection with my Co. - exhibited a high morale character, very ambitious, always ready to do his duty cheerfully, in doing fatigue duty such as unloading boats, etc. I took a peculiar interest in his welfare from the fact I saw something noble in his character. As I was tenting alone I took him in with me. Showed him all the favors I could. Whatever he may have been at home he was been a steady boy in the army. I talked with him frequently on the subject of Religion he said he had Christian Parents. And always expected a desire to become a Christian. I not unfrequently caught him reading his Bible and studying its great truths alone in his tent. He remarked to me on several occassions the Bible appears to me different to what it ever did before. He was taken sick on the boat coming from Morganza, La. to the mouth of White River. He had as good care as could be had in the army. We have two good surgeons, they were attentive. We received orders to march had to send the sick of our Regt. to Memphis Hospital. I saw him a few moments before he started, gave him all the encouragement I could. I pointed him to the plan of Salvation, exhorted him to look to Jesus for a friend as he was going among strangers. He appeared very much affected, infact I have great hopes he transfered his treasure from earth to heaven even before he left the Reg. to go to Memphis. Allow me to say you have my full sympathy in your bereavement of a noble son, who has sacrafised his life on the altar of his country. His captain has made out the final statements his case and forwarded them to Washington. All you have to do will be to write to Washington to the proper authoritys. You will do well to get some man of business to see to it for you he will be entitled to two hundred dollars bounty besides his other pay. After scribbling over so much space I don’t know as I have been able to impart any consolation so I close by praying to God to give you grace to (be) sustain you in bearing your aflicion with Christian fortitud pardon what I have said amiss. I am, madam, you obedient Lieut.

Geo. A. Purdy

Born to James and Margret Hughes

Andrew K. Hughes

1845 Died September 15, 1864

On September 30th, Elijah Bowditch, a member of Company I, died of “*bilious remittent fever*” in New Orleans reducing the number on the regiment’s muster rolls to 634.¹²⁸⁰ Company B reported a “*total strength*” of sixty-eight, but recruitment efforts in Iowa would soon increase the ranks. On the 1st, the regiment’s Quartermaster, Linus

¹²⁷⁷

Frances was the daughter of Solon Langworthy, one of Dubuque’s early settlers. He had served as Quartermaster of the 27th Iowa until resigning on December 28, 1863.

¹²⁷⁸ Obituary in the *North Iowa Times*. Margaret is buried is Pleasant Grove Cemetery, McGregor, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #144677247.

¹²⁷⁹

This is from a typewritten transcription. Andrew is buried in Memphis National Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3159234,

¹²⁸⁰

Elijah is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #32430804.

Office R.Q.M., 21st Iowa Inf,
St. Charles, Ark., Oct. 1st

Col:- After a protracted silence of nearly six weeks, during which time your servant has made several high and low summersaults, but finally lighting in a good easy position, with enough of the "a la militaire" around to keep one's mind refreshed with the idea that he is still a soldier. But the principle struggle in which we are engaged is the keeping track of the loose mules, old wagons, together with clothing, camp and garrison equipage of the regiment. In the meantime we have plenty of leisure for reflection on our past, present and future prospects, which oft times affords us many hours of sad Merriment, with here and there dark spots, so that when the balance sheet of this past life is struck, it is in much the same fix the Hoosier pork merchant's books were after forcing a balance, "all paid in, all paid out." I will never tell you how or why we came here, save that it was by steam, and what we are to accomplish by this campaign is yet hidden in time, to guess at which would only submit ones self to the probability of being sadly nursed in, but as the thing develops itself I will from time to time keep you posted as best I can with a true history of our part in the crushing out of this rebellion.

A description of this country would, I have no doubt, get the best writer in the army into trouble; his first appeal would be for you not only to lend him your ears but your imagination and after borrowing them he would start off through an almost unbroken wilderness of nearly eighty miles without one ray of civilization to light the dreary wilds, and this, too, along the banks of the famed White River, a stream that from its many windings one would be led to think that when its bed was made they had but little regard for straight lines, and on your arriving at this place you would be introduced to what is here termed a series of bluffs, but in fact they are nothing more than gentle slopes of about 20 feet above high water mark, on the summit of which is erected what in military circles is termed a Fort, or earthwork, the shape of which is best given by breaking the right hand corner off from a loaf of hard bread leaving it with six points of defence; but in case of an attack it will serve a very good purpose, much better than the open field.

By this time you no doubt would be somewhat wearied and would require food and rest. With all the hospitality of the true soldier his haversack is opened and you are invited to partake of his frugal meal furnished by the hand of some stay-at-home favorite of the Government who has stood behind his Shoddy contract and hallooed "Strike, till the last armed foe expires," but at the same time evinces no disposition to be shot all to pieces in order to save the Union. After supper he prepares his humble couch which is soon made by unbuckling the bunch that he has been carrying on his back which gave him so much the appearance of a beast of burden, and taking therefrom what has once been a U.S. blanket, together with a shelter tent which in its first days was intended for a canopy but which has long since been shredded by the winds; finding a smooth place on the ground, the aforementioned bedding is spread out and you are invited in the plaintive words of the old Scotch Ballad,

*"Come lie down beside me,
Come under my pladdie,
And kiss the bright moon as it dances in the east."*

Great care should be taken that you dont take cold, as it is to be presumed it would have been in the army if your health would have permitted. In the morning you are aroused from your slumbers by your friend the soldier, at the same time giving you a sound poke in the ribs, telling you that breakfast is ready, besides he wants to take care of his bedding and prepare for the events of the day. You will find no home comforts in making your toilet, nothing but the plain unabridged banalities of life. After breakfast you take a stroll through the several camps and on every hand your imagination drinks in all that is beautiful, until after puzzling his and your own brain with seven or eight sheets of foolscap paper with a description of some

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North Iowa Times (October 19, 1864). It was also on October 1st that the War Department issued General Orders No. 265, "Regulations in respect to the distribution of election tickets and proxies in the Army." The regulations were intended to "secure a fair distribution of tickets among soldiers in the field, who, by the laws of their respective States, are entitled to vote at the approaching elections."

beautiful bend in this mighty river, and while you are all attention admiring his studied thought and description, he is probably laughing to himself at the idea of how he has entranced you with his lip salve, and having got you away down here amid the wild's of Arkansas, he will leave you to get home as best you can at your own expense. So therefore I have thought it best not to deal in descriptions of the causes through which we have been called to pass latterly, but would simply say that this country is not in keeping with the description furnished us in Holy Writ as the one intended for God's people.

We are here now, and for aught I know will remain for some time. It is a dreary lonesome place, but for all that the regiment is getting along finely under the guidance and care of Lieut. Col. S. G. Van Anda, which seems to be most at home when his men is best cared for, and woe betide the officer that evinces a wanton neglect of duty in the way of providing for his men. The Colonel has been made to dry his clothing around the log fires of adversity, and now that he has got his corner squared shall come up at right angles from their base, leaving only those that are gone to be rounded, so that our history, as a regiment, when it is handed down to future generations, may show justice for its men and truth for its plummet.

The health of the regiment is good as could be expected for this climate, but we all hope we may go down on the coast this winter; we will suffer here from cold.

*With respects to all,
Line McKinnie*

**St Charles, Arkansas
Sunday October the 2nd 1864**

Dear wife

yours of the 18th ult came to hand yesterday I was glad to hear once more that you were all well or nearly so I hope little Ella will soon get over her diarrhea and I may get letters from you saying all is well although I dont want you to say so unless it is so. it seems that Ella is subject to the diarrhea and I am afraid if you are not verry careful it will end seriously I want you to tell me the true state of her case and keep nothing back. We are still at St Charles and there is no visable prospects of our leaving I am still cooking but I intend to quit it and go into the ranks again as soon as I can get some one to take my place. it is a little too hard work for one thing and for another there are too many different tastes to suit and for another there is too much bother and vexation we have seven mess pans and five kettles and we may wash them all up and lay them away after breakfast in the morning and by the time we want to commence getting dinner they are scattered all over the company and we must run around to the different tents to hunt them and then find them all daubed up and unfit for use until they are washed again Jim Rice traded some sugar for two chickens yesterday and gave them to me to cook on shares I cooked them to day for dinner and made some soup and dumplings and we had a splendid dinner I believe if you had been here and right hungry you would not have refused a dish of it yourself, if I did get it up the dumplings were light and nice and Jim said it tasted old fashioned and I immagined so myself. Jim has just come in with a lot of biscuits he has been baking to take on picket with him tomorrow

Cal in regard to that money I have not changed my mind since I wrote to you on the subject from Morganza I think the surest and best way is to collect it as soon as you can after it is due and then keep it in your fist unless you can lend it to some responsible man who has something else to depend upon besides a rental farm. as I told you before I do not doubt Hiram's honesty, but he has nothing to depend upon but his crop and if that should fail next year he could not pay it. I want the money where I can get hold of it as soon as I get home and I think there is some prospect of my getting home next spring I suppose he owes you \$145 as you have never wrote anything about his having paid you the note for the cattle I suppose the Palmer and Calvin note is good and if they want the money for another six months you can let them have it but not for a longer time than six months that is long enough time for any note to run and when that time is up if they want it longer and we should see fit to let them have it they can renew their note

I expect politics are running verry high up there but there is not much excitement here there are a good many Dubuque copperheads (I cant call them anything else) in our regiment but not withstanding I think the regiment will go fully two thirds for Old Abe There was a vote taken in the 47th Indiana (a

veteran regiment) yesterday and they went 580 for Lincoln and 45 for Mclellan¹²⁸² Well it is time to go to getting supper so I must close I hope this will find you as it leaves me well

Your husband

Jim

Iamoutofstamps

if you cant read this guess at it and send the stamps anyhow

On October 4th, Company E's James McGrady, suffering from chronic diarrhea, bronchitis and emaciation, was a patient in a Davenport general hospital when he was discharged from the military. In Washington, peace commissioners sought a negotiated peace but soldiers who had witnessed the sufferings and deaths of friends and family preferred a peace dictated by the military ("*old abes commissioners*").

St. Charles Arkansas

October the 9th 1864

Dear wife

I find myself seated once more at the pleasant task of writing to my wife though I cannot promise you a verry interesting letter this time as I was on picket last night and as a natural consequence I feel a little drowsy and dull to day I quit cooking yesterday morning and went on picket but I am not sure but what I shall go to cooking again it is harder work and more confining to cook than to do my duty in the ranks but I think the cooking would be the best for my health this winter on account of having my regular rest in quarters every night and not being exposed by going on picket in cold and wet weather they want me to cook and it is at my option to do so or not I have not fairly made up my mind which I will do yet and shall not till I rest a day or two we only come on picket about once a week and fatigue about as often that is much easier than lugging water and working every day but the nights are getting cool and we are going to have some pretty cold weather for picketing this winter We have a report here from pretty reliable authority that Grant has taken Richmond with thirty thousand prisoners that is big news but I cannot allow myself to feel to good over it til I hear it confirmed but whether it is so or not it will be sooner or later and we only wait the 8th of next month to prolong old Abes time another four years and I think taking these and many other things in consideration that this winter will witness the glorious triumph of our cause and the shameful failure of the southern confederacy and copperheadism A vote was taken in our regiment yesterday for president to see how the regiment would go the result was four hundred and eighty for Lincoln and seventeen for little Mac and I know of several who voted for Mac that are Lincoln men and will vote for Lincoln when they come to voting in earnest our company went 42 against one for Old Abe (Hurrah for Old Abe and his peace commisioners) how can the copperheads complain now they wanted commisioners sent to Richmond and Atlanta and all the confederate states and the president has sent commisioners and they are making their propositions from the canons mouth that they may be plainly understood Grant Sherman Sheridan and Butler are old abes commisioners and the rebs will soon be glad to recognize them as such whether the terms are agreeable or not

A boat has just arrived which brings the news that Petersburg is captured with a loss to the rebels of 35000 and Grant is within three miles of Richmond (Hurrah for old Abe and his peace commisioners) They are making peace in such a way that the rebels will know how to appreciate a peace and will not dare violate it again. That is the kind of peace we want a peace based upon the principles of true patriotism instead of the peace that the copperheads are clamoring for based upon the principles of selfishness and shameful cowardice Well Cal in regard to your question as to how you are to get money to pay your necessary expenses all that I can do is to tell you to manage as you think best you know your circumstances better than I do and you must use your own judgment and do the best you can I will send you . . . we expect paid off but I know no more about when that will be than you do. it may be in a week and may be not for two months Hoping this may find you as it leaves me

1282

Major General George B. McClellan lost the election and submitted a resignation dated November 8, 1864. On November 14th, by General Orders No. 282, it was accepted as of the 8th. The same order appointed Philip H. Sheridan as Major General with frank from the 8th.

well I bid you good bye for this time.

Your husband JB¹²⁸³

On October 11th, James Adams was treated for a boil, the most serious injury he would suffer in the entire war and, on the 12th, John Green returned late from furlough. He was restored to duty with loss of pay and allowances for the fifteen days he had been absent "*without any reasonable excuse*" while Iowa prepared for the draft, the first in its history. Through diligent efforts and generous contributions it had been avoided so far but names were now drawn and, on October 13th, the names were published, twice as many as necessary to allow for exemptions.

William Barber, wounded during the assault at Vicksburg a year and a half earlier, had been discharged in July and was at home when the embedded musket ball finally worked its way to the surface. On the 15th it was removed by a local doctor who gave it to William as a souvenir that, according to William, was "*flattened considerably by reason of the same striking hip bone.*"¹²⁸⁴

In Arkansas, Company B's Gleason Stringham was sent to the guard house for six days ("*for absence from Roll call, for being drunk, and for conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline*") while Jim wrote another letter to Cal.

**St Charles Arkansas
Oct the 16th 1864**

Dear wife

another sabbath finds me in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health which I consider the richest blessing of earth especialy for a soldier Jim is also in good health he is out at present attending church, a duty to which he attend verry strictly there is preaching in camp twice every sunday and prayer meetings every wednesday night

Cal I told you in my last that I had been on picket the night before and I can tell you the same now. but do not think by this that I am on every night we are only on once a week and my turn happens to come on saturday night we are having verry nice weather it is getting quite cool the nights are a little to cool for comfort on picket without an overcoat we have subscribed for overcoats and expect to get them soon

Yours of the 2nd came to hand last week containing four postage stamps, they came in verry good play I had been out for some time with the exception of two which I had been saving for a case of an immergency I was glad to hear that you was well but sorry to hear of Ellas sickness I hope she is well by this time I hope mother is having a good visit in Ohio I wonder if she will go and see my folks I wish she would but they being entire strangers to her I dont know as I would have any right to think hard of her if she did not

Cal you say I scolded about your not writing long letters now I did not mean what I said for a scold but as you commenced the subject I thought I would just give you a slight hint that if you were doing as you would wish to be done by you have no grounds for complaint against me of short letters We received an interesting letter last night from George and Sterling which we intend to answer soon the letter was dated East point Ga Sept 13th they were well and in high spirits rejoicing over the final triumph of their long and wearisome campaign I suppose George is at home before this time or will be before this reaches you as he told us in his letter to address him hereafter at McGregor Iowa Tell him we would like to have a line from him as soon as he gets home and we will write to him as soon as we know he is there I saw some boys that belong to the 9th Iowa cavalry last friday they were on board a hospital boat on their way to Memphis I inquierd about Robert but none of them knew him; the regt is at Brownsville Ark

I received a letter from Nancy this morning She has taken another six months school in Illinois the same school that she taught last winter She gets 30 dollars per month her school was to commence the 10th of October She says they are getting rather discouraging news at home from Jont he has lost

1283

Jim's news was faulty. Petersburg, 23 miles from Richmond, was still under siege. Grant had made some gains but Lee's main lines were still intact.

¹²⁸⁴ December 6, 1907, affidavit by William Barber.

his health and is dissatisfied I feel sorry for him; he has certainly had trouble enough to discourage any one, he has had sickness in his family and lost two of his children and now lost his own health is not that enough to discourage a stout heart I am sorry he reinlisted but as it cant be helped I hope he will get well and come out all right

There is some talk of our leaving here soon but we know nothing certain as to when or where we will go We are verry comfortably situated here for winter we have built us little houses out of logs and slabs and covered them with our tents and the most of them have fier places Jim and I are going to make a fier place in ours tomorrow (Your husband JB)

The regiment changed location frequently moving from place to place along the bank where daytime temperatures neared 100 degrees. Mud huts were constructed, often with fireplaces to help during unusually cold nights, but many contracted diarrhea and other dysenteric ailments for which Dr. Orr usually prescribed morphine.

On October 19, 1864, the *North Iowa Times* reported:

AN ORDINANCE APPROPRIATING MONEY TO PAY VOLUNTEERS

Be it ordained by the Town Council of McGregor, That Two Thousand, six hundred dollars and eighteen cents be and the same is hereby appropriated to pay the expense in supplying quota of Mendon Township, under the last call of President Lincoln for five hundred thousand men.

Be it further ordained, that the Recorder of said city be authorized and required to issue Script for said amount to the persons who have advanced money for said purpose according to the report of the Committee now on file in his office.

*D. Leffingwell,
Mayor of the City of McGregor*

Attest - D. Baugh, Recorder.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Council of McGregor to raise funds for paying Volunteers to fill quota of Mendon Township.

A list of subscribers included Thomas Updegraff and Samuel Merrill who had each subscribed \$100.00 with \$44.80 script to be issued and \$55.20 to be refunded (apparently since the subscriptions had exceeded the amount required). As a supporter of McClellan in the pending election, the *Times* not too subtly expressed its anti-Lincoln sentiments in a supplement:

Military Necessity

Abraham Lincoln issued his unconstitutional proclamation of freedom to the negro as a military necessity.

The south banded together as one man to resist it - as a military necessity.

We have consequently had three years of bloody war and cruel suffering - as a military necessity.

Real estate is mortgaged for nearly half its value to secure the public debt - as a military necessity.

Tea, coffee, sugar, matches, liquors, incomes, profits and salaries are taxed enormously - as a military necessity.

White soldiers are allowed to rot in southern dungeons - as a military necessity.

Free press and free speech are stifled - as a military necessity.

Miscegenation and amalgamation are openly advocated - as a military necessity.

And if we elect Lincoln we are to have a military despotism as a - military necessity.

The regiment boarded the steamer *Shenango* about 3:00 p.m. on October 20th or 21st (accounts differ).¹²⁸⁵ With the *Pringle* and *Marmora*, it had come upstream with portions of the 19th Corps on their way to DeValls Bluff and with them was David Drummond. David had overstayed his leave to care for the children. His return to the regiment was voluntary but he was penalized with a fourteen day loss of pay as the regiment left about midnight and headed

1285

Myron Knight says they boarded on October 20th and reached Devall's Bluff October 21st. Gilbert Cooley says they boarded October 21st and reached Devall's Bluff October 22nd. Both say they were on the *Shenango*.

upstream.

Augustus Parch, Alonzo Fuller, Nelson Reynolds with chronic diarrhea and James Chiles diagnosed with small pox were among many left behind under orders to be taken to hospitals for better treatment. With them was Benjamin Odell whose fever, swollen legs and chronic diarrhea made him think he had dropsy, but his actual illness was scurvy. Initial symptoms were similar. Nelson and Benjamin were sent to Memphis and, on the 22nd, James was sent to Helena although he would soon be transferred to Memphis.¹²⁸⁶

Located on the White River, DeValls Bluff was the head of the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad and, on October 21st, Brigadier General C. C. Andrews reported from the town about 5:00 p.m. that "*the Twenty-first Infantry, of General Dennis' division, Lieut. Col. Van Anda commanding, has just come up from Saint Charles, more troops behind.*"¹²⁸⁷ Arriving about the same time was a traveling circus.

On the 23d, a campground was laid out at DeVall's Bluff about a half mile from the river and, said Myron Knight, men "*commenced to erect log houses to live in.*" The war was far from over but the town was already "*quite a business place.*" A large depot was under construction and there were "*some very nice looking women.*" Local mechanics were being paid \$4.00 for a day's work so it was no small wonder they would be attending the circus while the unpaid soldiers could not.

On October 25th, the regiment's old adversary, John Marmaduke, was captured in Kansas by James Dunlavy, a Private with the 3d Iowa Cavalry, a wounded man on a wounded horse temporarily separated from his regiment. Nearing blue-coated men in the field, Dunlavy had barely realized they were the enemy in federal uniforms when an officer in Confederate clothing galloped out to chastise him for "*firing at your own men.*" Taking the unknown officer in custody, the twenty-year old Hawkeye rode to the rear and learned he had captured Marmaduke. "*My boy, you will hear of this day's work in years to come,*" said a federal officer and Dunlavy did. For his single-handed apprehension he received the Medal of Honor while Marmaduke visited with Union officers and "*had long talks around our camp-fires*" before being taken east to spend the rest of the war in Fort Warren Prison in Boston's harbor.¹²⁸⁸

The regiment's stay at De Valls Bluff lasted only a few days and, on the 25th, "*revellé was beat at about 3 in the morning.*" Loaded on board the *Rose Hambleton*, they headed downstream about 10:00 a.m. and tied up for the night at Clarendon. The next morning they reached St. Charles about 11:00 a.m., laid over until 4:00 p.m. and then continued downstream another fifteen miles before stopping for the night - "*the river was so crooked - dangerous to run in the night.*" On the 27th they neared the mouth of White River about 1:00 p.m. and camped about three miles to the south.

On the 28th, said Myron Knight, they moved "*down the Mississippi River a couple of miles where we went into regular camp with the rest of Regiment.*" Dr. Orr had treated their sick and wounded for almost two years but now he too had been admitted to the hospital where he was cared for by hospital steward Rufus Grosvenor and treated with morphine and quinine. Weak and emaciated from dysentery, he was approved for a medical release but elected, instead, to "*tender my immediate and unconditional resignation.*" On the 29th it was accepted and he was honorably discharged.

The regiment had seen little activity for months and moved many times and it appeared to Jim that military leaders weren't quite sure what to do with them.

**Camp three miles below the
mouth of white river Ark
Oct the 30th 1864**

Dear wife

yours of the 16th came to hand last friday evening and found me well Rice and I are both as hearty as bucks and in high spirits over the prospects of the election of Old Abe and the speedy termination of the war I am glad to hear that George has got home all right I suppose he feels like a man just released from bondage he will probbably be a little lonesome for a while but as times are good there he will certainly be able to find employment there so as to content himself and not be lonesome long. You see by the date that we have been on the move again it seems that they are determined to keep the old 21st on the go we were at work as busy as nailers building winter quarters

¹²⁸⁶ Chiles was most likely confined in the Smallpox Hospital "*located in the enlarged state-owned Memphis Hospital.*"

¹²⁸⁷ O.R. Series I, Volume 41/4 [S#86], #7.

¹²⁸⁸ Theophilus Francis Rodenbough, Uncle Sam's Medal of Honor (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1886)

and had them almost done when we were ordered away. we knew nothing of it until tuesday morning when we were waked up earlier than usual by the drums beating the revele which was followed by and Orderlys call an the Orderlies soon came around with the order to be ready to embark at daylight we got started from there about noon that day and arrived here on last thursday evening without any accident or anything worthy of note transpiring we camped that night about half a mile below the mouth of white river and on friday morning moved two miles and a half down the Miss and camped in a cotton field I and Jim were on picket friday night and were releived yesterday morning it rained all day yesterday but cleared off last night and to day it is clear and warm Bat Frankerburger was here this morning he and Aaron are detailed for guard duty at Gen Dennis headquarters their regt is at Duvals bluff They are both hearty and as fat as hogs Aaron looks almost twice as large as he did when I saw him at Morganza

I received a letter yesterday evening from Libby. she is still going to school in Fairview the folks were all well when she wrote they have had no news from Jont for some time I am a little . . . that all is not right or he would certainly write to some of us I have not had a letter from him for over three months Libby said that your mother had been to Fathers but he was not at home at the time and did not get to see her

She says they are going to get all their photographs taken and send them to you there was 23 drafted in Dover township Cal I promised to send you my photograph some time ago as soon as I had an oportunity to get it taken and I expect you are getting out of all patience waiting but I cannot help it; I have not had an oportunity to get it taken since I made you that promise I intend to get half a dozen the first oportunity after we get paid off but there is no telling when that will be; I guess government has forgot that part of the business

It seems that they dont know what to do with us any more they keep running us around and transfering us from one command to another. If I understand the thing right we are now in the 3rd division of the 16th army corps the 16th corps is commanded by general Dennis and assigned to the defences of the Miss river The boys have got tiered of building winter quarters and going away before winter comes the prospects are the same for staying here as they were at St Charles and Duvals Bluff well Cal we have just got a supply of clothing and all got new overcoats our company got felt coats the rest of the reg got cloth like the one that I sent home I suppose Mother is at home by this time. Tell her to write to me and tell me what she thinks of old Duns run and Old Sandy and old Sally

Your husband JB

As October came to an end, Nevada was admitted as the Union's newest state, George Perhamus died of an enlarged liver in Dyersville while home on furlough,¹²⁸⁹ President Lincoln proclaimed the last Thursday of November as a "day of thanksgiving and prayer" and the *Times* reported:

*We are authorized by Col. S. Merrill, to state that the Telegraph line to McGregor from Prairie du Chien, will be completed in a few weeks. The Col. has interested himself in obtaining subscriptions to this work to nearly the amount demanded by the Wisconsin Co., and being sure of filling the requirement, telegraphed the President, Sholes at Milwaukee, to "forward march." A response from Sholes assures us that the spars or poles on which the wire will cross the river are already at Prairie du Chien and that the work of construction will commence this week. The crossing will be at Point Lookout, just below McGregor; the office probably over the Express office or in the 2d story of the Bank Block. Thank fortune and the business men of McGregor, we are at last to have a Telegraph office on this side the river. We can soon talk by wire without using up a day to send and receive business dispatches.*¹²⁹⁰

When officers died others were promoted to fill the vacancies but, when the enlisted ranks were depleted, regiments often found themselves with an imbalance - too many officers for the number of privates. To offset the imbalance, some officers elected to resign while others remained but were reduced in rank. Among the latter was Jonathan Foster who was reduced from 2nd Corporal to 3d Corporal in Company G. At the same time, recruitment

¹²⁸⁹ He is buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Dyersville. Find-a-Grave Memorial #86385754.

¹²⁹⁰ *North Iowa Times* (October 26, 1864).

efforts were continuing in the north and twenty-nine were enrolled as privates in October. Eight of these were for Company G and Jonathan was again promoted to 2nd Corporal. One of twelve assigned to Company K was Isaiah Dalrymple who had *“sold his business in Sand Spring, Iowa, and enlisted to help fill the quota for South Fork Township.”*¹²⁹¹ The month ended with 652 on the muster rolls but, as usual, many were in ill health, some were on furloughs and others were detached for other duty.

On November 3, 1864, David Drummond and Perry Dewey were among many who were detailed for a pioneer corps and John Grutchek, having earlier worked as a tailor with the division quartermaster, was named regimental tailor.

On November 4th, Seth Hickock reached the regiment as a new recruit. Only 5' 4½" tall, Seth was fourteen years old and had no Descriptive Roll with him. He had been enrolled in Iowa on August 31st by Provost Marshal Shubael Adams and expressed a preference for the 21st Infantry but, possibly unknown to Seth, he was assigned to the state's 7th Infantry then in Georgia. Since he never arrived, that regiment reported him as a deserter but later said it was *“through the neglect of the officer in charge”* that young Seth *“was permitted to go where he pleased.”*¹²⁹² Arriving the next day was another recruit, Alonzo Stiles who had been working as a teamster before signing a one-year enlistment.

Fifteen days after being sent to a hospital for treatment of small pox, James Chiles rejoined the regiment on the 6th and was detailed as a cook while Jim wrote to Cal about Abram Treadwell (a 1st Lieutenant with *“sober and steady habits”*) and other officers.

**Camp Co. B. 21st Iowa vol -
Mouth of white river Ark
Nov the 6th 1864**

Dear wife

yours of Oct the 23rd came to hand last week and Jim Rice received one at the same time from Lib they found us both in the enjoyment of excellent health I hope this may find you all enjoying this richest of blessings I am glad that mother went to see my folks in Ohio but I am sorry that Libby was not at home that she might have seen her I hope Father is not seriously injured by the accident with his horses I received a letter from Libby that was written after mother was there and she said nothing about Fathers having been hurt but the accident might have occurred after the letter was written I answered Libby's letter yesterday and talked turkey to them about those photographs I hope they will be forthcoming soon we are still in the same camp where we was when I wrote you last we have built verry comfortable winter quarters but how long we will be permitted to enjoy them is verry uncertain it is possible that we may remain here all winter and we may not remain 24 hours it seems that we are assigned to the defenses of the Miss river and whenever there is a scare got up on or near the river anywhere between New Orleans and Cairo we have to pull up and go. Our shebang which is occupied by four is twelve feet long by 6 ft wide with a bunk for two in each end it is built of small cotton wood poles split in two and set up end ways the wall are about four feet high and covered with shelter tents the door is on the east side half way between the ends and a fierplace and chimney made of sticks and mud on the opposite side

Well Cal I have just finished shaving and while I was at that there was a mail distributed in the company but there was none for me or Jim Rice Jim wrote a letter to Sterling Mather yesterday and I promised to write to George today, which I intend to do if I am not detailed for duty before I get this done We have not seen Bat nor Aaron Frank since last sunday morning I dont know whether they have gone to their regiment yet or not Cal you spoke some time ago in one of your letters of having seen Lieutenant Drummond and wanted to know how we liked him and the rest of our officers As for Lieut Drummond he is verry well liked by all as a man and a great many of our company would like to have him in command all the time; because he is so easy and lets them do as they please he was place under arrest once in Texas for not being strict enoug while in Charge of a picket post but he was finally acquitted without a court martial he is a fine man but no military man he congratulated me verry

¹²⁹¹ William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism*, (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 328.

¹²⁹²

Seth Barzillai Hickock was born February 5, 1850. He died on July 18, 1890, and is buried in Evergreen Memorial Park, Tucson, Arizona.

highly when he returned from home on having such a fine looking woman for a wife he said he did not wonder at my wanting a furlough; Our 1st Lieutenant is a man of good sound sense and sober and steady habits he never drinks to excess is allways the same, is well liked by all and makes a good officer; he came out as a private.

As for Captain Lyons he is a well meaning man and wants to please every body but dont know how to do it there has been some complaint in the company of his being to fraid of displeasing some of the higher officers to do his duty to his men he puts on a great deal of style and blows off a great deal of surplus gas which dont amount to a row of pins

Major Crook is the best officer in the regiment and I will venture to say as good as any officer of his rank in the U S service Col Vananda has quit drinking and does a great deal better than he used to he is a man of good sense and when he is sober is a good officer he has raised a great deal in the estimation of the 21st regiment since he quit drink

Well Cal my sheet is about played so I will close for the present take good care of yourself and little Ella (Your husband James Beathard

Election Day was November 8th and Jim had been right when he predicted McClellan would not endorse Vallandigham's resolutions. He had, in fact, repudiated his party's anti-war platform but still lost with about nine percent of the electoral votes, 21 to Lincoln's 221. In the twelve states where soldiers' votes were separately counted, he received about eight percent.

On November 11th, with the regiment about to move upriver, Judson Hamilton and others too ill for active duty were transferred to the general hospital in Mound City.

DEVALLS BLUFF (November 13 to November 22, 1864)

On the 12th, the regiment boarded the *Ella*, a name sure to have been special to Jim, moved up to post headquarters at the mouth of White River and stopped for the night. They started up the river early the next morning and reached St. Charles about dark. At the landing, Negro troops already stationed there were anxious to learn the election results and on learning of Lincoln's reelection "*they gave vent to their feelings in long & loud cheers.*"¹²⁹³ On the 14th, it was *deja vu* as the regiment reached DeVall's Bluff, camped and resumed work on cabins for the winter.

Hiram Hunt had been serving as Dr. Orr's assistant for a year and a half and was the logical person to replace him but company officers petitioned Lt. Col. Van Anda to have Dwight Chase, a doctor still practicing in Yankee Settlement, appointed instead. Hunt, they said, was "*unfit for surgeon,*" they didn't want "*to have a stranger*" and forty-five year old Chase already knew a "*great portion*" of the regiment. He had served in the state legislature and on the county's Board of Supervisors and was "*well known throughout the County.*" Van Anda forwarded the petition to Governor Stone who agreed and, effective on the 16th, Chase was appointed.¹²⁹⁴

On the 17th, Jesse Harrison, Captain of Company C, recommended German native George Fisher for promotion to lieutenant. George had been seriously wounded at the Big Black and was offered a discharge but, said Harrison, "*believing his adopted country required the services of every patriot, he refused.*" He spent eleven months undergoing treatment in hospitals in three states and had "*won his way to promotion,*" a promotion that was soon forthcoming.

On November 20th, Lt. Col. Van Anda was staying at the spectacular Burtis House in Davenport when he wrote to the Governor recommending a promotion for George Moser, while Jim was writing to Cal.

**Duvals bluff Ark
Nov the 20th 1864**

Dear wife

yours of the 6th came to last friday and it is needless to say was gladly received you made apoligy for my not having received last weeks letter and now I shall have to do the same for your not having received yours last weeks letter

¹²⁹³ Journal of Flavius Patterson.

¹²⁹⁴ On November 20th Van Anda was in Davenport and it's possible he had hand-carried the petition to the Governor.

we embarked at the mouth of white river one week ago yesterday on board the U S transport Ella and were on our way up White river on sunday my usual writing day we landed at this place last monday evening and it commenced raining about the same time and kept it up almost all the time until yesterday evening so you see we have had rather a disagreeable time we commenced building our shanties on Tuesday morning and on wednesday morning I went on picket and on Thursday morning Jim Rice went on and on Friday morning Frank Farrand went on and this morning Miren Knight our fourth tent mate went on but notwithstanding all the picketing and rain we have got us a comfortable log shantie built a fier place to it and are ready for another move which I expect we will have to do before long two regiments of our brigade have gone to Little Rock but I understand that they are ordered back and the whole brigade is to go back down the river how true this is I cannot say but I do not believe we will be ordered away from here soon unless there are other troops sent here to take our place for there is only barely troops enough here now to keep a verry weak picket line I got a glimps of the sun this morning for the first time since we came here it has not cleared off yet but I hope the rain is over for this time I had a good sociable visit with the 96th Ohio regt just before we came up here I did not see any of my old acquaintances but I saw several that came from the old neighborhood who moved there after I came away and were acquainted with my folks and the whole neighborhood James Tanner has been exchanged and got a furlough and gone home I get no news from Jont yet I dont know why he dont write I am afraid there is some thing wrong¹²⁹⁵ The 9th cavalry is at Brownsville 25 miles from here Jim Rice has the promise of a pass and intends going out there tomorrow Cal Lib said something in her letter about having seen old man Fay and his wife. tell us in your next if he is married and who and tell also what Jo and James are doing and all about everybody else in the neighborhood who has gone to war and to what regts did they go you mentioned the names of a few that were drafted some time ago but you have never told whether they went or not By the way Cal I think you are getting rather careless about writing to me I hope considering the source you will take no offence at what I have said or am about to say I remember when you was a school girl you could write a good hand and a good letter and I dont beleive but what you could now if you would try but I must say you are careless or something is the matter for your writing and spelling grows worse with every letter it seems to be your aim when you sit down to write to scribble your sheet all over and get done as quick as possible as though you had not plenty of time to write and compose a letter your last letter only contains about four words to the line and a great many lines only contain three where there is plenty of room for eight or nine if I did not know you could do better I should have said nothing about it but knowing you can do better and as your letters are often read by my friends who are strangers to you I should like to have you take a little paines and get them up in a little better style. Hoping you are not offended I subscribe myself Your loving and ever faithful husband

James Beathard

James Slack, a brigade commander during the Vicksburg Campaign, was now in the Department of the Gulf with the 21st Iowa part of his command. On November 21st, Richard A. Kent, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, by order of Brigadier General E. S. Dennis, wrote to Colonel Slack ordering him to:

*"please cause the Twenty-first Iowa Infantry Volunteers of your command, with its entire force, camp and garrison equipage, & c., to embark on steamer Rose Hambleton to-morrow morning, the 22d instant, at 10 a.m., or as soon as possible after that time."*¹²⁹⁶

On the 22nd, they were delayed due to problems with the *Rose Hambleton* but, about 10:00 p.m., some boarded the *Sallie Robinson* and others the *John H. Dickey* and General Dennis signed an order relieving David Greaves from command of the Provost Guard so he could return "*without delay that he may accompany his command in the morning.*" The next morning David was with the regiment as it loaded wood but a broken wheel prevented a departure.

¹²⁹⁵ Unknown to the family, Jonathan, a veteran volunteer with the 10th Illinois, had been taken prisoner on November 10th.

¹²⁹⁶ O.R. Series I, Volume 41/4 [S#86], #26.

On Thursday the 24th they left at daybreak, reached St. Charles about 1:00 p.m., stopped briefly to report and arrived at the mouth of the river about 10:00 p.m. That same evening, in New York, three well-known brothers, Edwin, Junius and John Wilkes Booth, thrilled a theater audience as they performed *Julius Caesar* in a fundraiser for a Central Park statue of William Shakespeare.¹²⁹⁷

On Friday the 25th, the regiment transferred to the *City of Memphis*, "a giantess" also used as a hospital boat. On the 26th, they suffered another broken wheel and stopped for repairs. Before long they were again underway, both wheels broke and they received a tow at Island No. 63. Towards evening the *Ida Handy* came along and they were tied alongside.

MEMPHIS
(November 28, 1864 to December 21, 1864)

They reached Memphis about daylight on November 28, 1864, and camped on Pigeon Roost Road, a mile and a half out of town near Elmwood Cemetery.¹²⁹⁸

Memphis Tenn.
Nov the 29th 1864

Dear wife

you are probably a little surprised at seeing a letter from me dated at Memphis at this time as I wrote you last week Sunday from Duvals and had no idea then of moving so soon we received orders one week ago this morning about 9-o'clock to be ready to embark at ten Jim Rice had gone out to Brownsville the day before to see Bob and would not be back until Tuesday evening so I turned over his gun and accouterments and packed his knapsack and my own and got ready to embark but owing to the boat that we were to go on having broke her wheel we did not embark until about ten-o'clock at night and while we were waiting on shore Jim came and Robert with him he had a pass for three days and we would have had a pleasant visit in our log shantie if we had not been ordered away quite so soon but as it was I was only with him a few minutes til we had to go on board we tried to get him to go on board with us as the boat was as we supposed going a little way down the river to wood and would probably lay up until morning but he was afraid of being carried off and would not go on board so we left him there on the shore about two miles below town standing by a fier and the boat moved up to town and lay there until Thursday morning Bob came up on Wednesday morning and staid with us until the train left for Brownsville about eight o'clock in the morning he looks well and says he is contented but he wants to get out of Steels department he is tiered of Arkansas and I dont blame him for although we have done a great deal of running around in different places I am tiered of the Miss river I would be willing to go either to Sherman or Grant for the sake of travailing a new rout, but I guess we are elected for Memphis until next spring and if we do have to sit down until spring I would rather be here than any other place that we have been below here we will probably have pretty heavy duty to do here but we will get our mail regular and get newspapers every day we cannot get any timbers here for shanties but they are going to give us new wedge tents I did think I would have you send me a pair of gloves but they say we are going to get our pay within a week and if we do I can buy them here so you need not send any I received a letter to day from Nancy which to save writing I will enclose and send to you. you have complained that they (my folks) used you mean about writing I hope this letter explains the matter for you as far as she is concerned and as for the rest I presume they are delaying for the same reason as Libby said in a letter a short time ago that they were going to send all their pictures to you and by the way I suppose you will be looking for mine now that we have got to Memphis and just as soon as we get paid off so that I can get it taken you shall have it I wrote to George a short time ago and directed to Eastville as I supposed he was working there at the time so I

1297

The statue is near the south end of what's known as Literary Park, near East 66th Street. It was Edwin Booth who laid the cornerstone and gave advice as to the appropriate costume for the statue.

1298

George Crooke, [The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry](#) (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 132. William E. Corbin, [A Star for Patriotism](#) (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 328.

think his complaints on that score are premature Jim Rice complains verry bitterly of you for not speaking of Lib in your letters. our letters do not always come together but I always hear from you when Jim gets a letter from Lib while you seldom ever mention her in your letters as I am writing under rather difficult circumstances sitting flat on the ground I will close for the present

Your husband J.B.

yours of the 20th came to hand yesterday and the journal to day

Tim Hayes worked briefly as a hostler taking care of horses and mules, Merritt Smith died¹²⁹⁹ and David Drummond was hurt. While engaging in a "*friendly scuffle & wrestle*" with Frank Aldrich, David was thrown to the ground, landed on a cartridge box and bayonet and injured his left shoulder.

Memphis Tenn
Sunday Dec - the 4 1864

Dear wife

one more pleasant sabath December morning finds me in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health and in the act of performing the pleasant task of writing to my wife yours of the 20th which came to hand last Monday is the last that I have received from you Jim Rice received one from Lib last friday dated the 25th in which she speaks in rather scaly terms of Hiram Humphrey if she tells the truth and I have no reason to doubt but what she does Hiram is a different man from what I took him to be Jim wrote him a letter yesterday in which I suppose he came down on him quite heavy I did not see the letter but if he wrote as he talks I knew he must have come down verry rough we saw Hiram's name yesterday in the paper among the list of the drafted I do not wish him any harm but I should not feel verry bad if he had to go I guess you will begin think now that my head was not far from level when I told you to collect what he owed you this fall if you could I hope you have got it by this time we also saw David Jacobies name among the list of the drafted I wonder if he will get exemp this time, it seems to be a verry fortunate thing in these trying times for a man to have the influence ways or rheumatism or to be minus a tooth or a finger or toe or even an eye and it does almost seem that some would be willing to part with both eyes rather than go into the army Well Cal I have got to cooking again I commenced the day after we came here it was not my own choice but the captains request. it matters but little to me what I am doing so I have my health I was weighed yesterday and I weighed 169 lbs the heaviest that I ever weighed in my life. I came across Cousin Wallace Bowen a few days ago the first time that I had saw him for eight years he came riding up to me as I was busy washing I knew him at the first glimpse but he said he would never have known me until he saw me laugh he staid with me all day last Tuesday and I was over to his regiment with him four hours yesterday O Cal you never can appreciate until you have been a soldier the pleasure of meeting with an old friend and especialy one with whom you was raised in the old Buckeye State and had not seen for six or eight years he belongs to the 3rd Iowa cavalry he was not with it when we was with it in Missouri the first winter of our service but I had another cousin with them then who has served his time out and gone home Wallace served three years in the 2nd Mo Cav and has now served 11 months in the 3rd Iowa I do not hear anything from Jont yet and I am getting quite uneasy for if he was all right he certainly would write Cal I wrote a letter to Almira Satterlee the 21st of last month I did not know then that she was married I was just one jump too late was'nt I well I suppose if I live to get out of the army I shall have to return to my old wife in Iowa I see no other chance now since Al is married but without joking I admire her choice she has got a good man just what she deserved Leanerd Richy is an industrious sober young man I have no doubt but what he will do well in the world I saw him at Vicksburg he belonged to the 32nd OVI he has served his three years and got home all right 8 months more and the same will be the case with your husband J. B.¹³⁰⁰

1299

Merritt is reportedly buried in Memphis National Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3170548. His name also appears on a stone (possibly a cenotaph) in Upper Bay Cemetery, Delhi, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #83078571.

1300

Jim's boyhood friend, Leonard Richey, had resumed civilian life and, on October 18, 1864, married Jim's twenty-four-year-old cousin, Almira

Well Cal we have been expecting some beef for supper but it has not come and we cannot get it in time for supper now so I have a little more time to write Libby told me that you had sent yours and Ellas and my photographs to her I suppose you must have got mine taken from one of the old pictures, if you have got a photograph from the old picture that I sent you from Ohio and have got one left I would be glad if you would enclose it in your next and send it to me that I may see how I looked when I was a boy and I will send it write back I cannot tell you when we will get payed off but I do not expect it before new years

They have been making another change in the organization of the troops in this department our regiment as I understand now belongs to the 1st brigade of the 1st division of what is called the trans Mississippi reserve corps so if we are not transferred again we are elected for the defense of the Miss for the balance of our time this being the case we will not be likely to have much marching to do but we are liable to be sent at any time to any post of danger between St Louis and the mouth of the Miss river our moving will be on transports I hope we will not have much running up and down the river to do this winter and when it comes warm weather again I dont care I am quiate tiered of soldiering in any shape or manner this cold weather often makes me wish it wasnt me but the near approach of the end of our term is sufficient to keep up my spirits I have about give up all hopes of the war ending before our time is out but the time is rapidly flitting away and now only eight months remain out of thirtysix

Cal you have often spoke of your good times in Mcgregor attending sabath and singing schools I should like to be there to enjoy them with you but I think more these cold days and nights of enjoying a comfortable house and fier side and plenty to eat with you and little Ellie and I dont know as it would be out of the way to say that I often think of you in your comfortable bed as I lay shivering on my miserable couch these cold blustery nights I do not wish you was here to share my privations with me but I do wish myself there sharing your comforts with you Dick Wright is still with us as full of fun as ever and also John Farrand the white headed chap that you took such a fancy to at Dubuque he has got to be quite a man he was a sergeant but it was found that we had too many noncommissioned officers for the number of privates and he was reduced to a corporal Frank Farrand was a corporal but he was reduced to the ranks on account of there being to many noncommish You sent your compliments to Lieut Drummond but I have not had a chance to present them yet he has not been with the company since we left Duvals bluff he is on Detached service in the pioneer Corps. Well I must close and go and help get supper so with my love to you and little Ella and my best respects to all enquiring friends I bid you good bye for this time

Your husband. Jim Beathard

President Lincoln greeted the new Congress on December 5th while the 21st Iowa was assigned to Mike Lawler's 1st Brigade in a reserve corps of the Military Division of West Mississippi commanded by General Canby.¹³⁰¹

The health of the regiment improved at Memphis, but Richard Wright had dysentery, many others were sick and Arnold Allen worried about his mother. She needed more help than Arnold's military pay could provide and efforts were underway by her friends to have Arnold discharged. The Adjutant General's Office in Washington wrote to the Dubuque Provost Marshal on the 12th to verify the "*circumstances of the family*" and a friend confirmed she was a "*poor widow*" who "*without any kind of doubt needs the assistance of her son to obtain a livelihood.*" Unfortunately for Mrs. Allen, the government often worked too slowly.

When Tim Hopkins enlisted, his occupation had been listed as "*musician.*" Subsequently discharged for disability, he was at home in McGregor when, on December 7, 1864, the *North Iowa Times* advertised his services.

*For the Dance!
Parties in the City or County can have the*

Satterlee. Two years younger and a cousin of Jim, Almira was one of his favorites. They had grown up near each other in Ohio where Almira lived part of the time with Julia and James Biggs.

¹³⁰¹ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 135.

*services of
Hopkin's Cotillion Band,
On Application by letter or otherwise giving
a few days notice.
☞ The popularity of the Band in North
Iowa, its choice list of Cotillion, Waltzing
and Polka Music, together with good
"Calling," guarantees a full attendance and
a well-satisfied company.
Address T. Hopkins
421 McGregor, Iowa.*

On December 13th, David Drummond was relieved after six weeks with the pioneer corps and Jim wrote to Cal:

**Memphis Tenn.
Nov [sic] the 13th 1864**

Dear wife

yours of the 4th Dec came to hand last sunday in answer to my lecture as you were pleased to call it from Duvals bluff it seems from the tone of your letter that I aroused your spunk. but I hope you are not seriously offended I am sure I meant no offense and judging from the appearance of your last I am considerable encouraged with the idea that my lecture as you call it is bringing about the desired effect you say your letters are intended for no one but me and I have no business to show them to anyone as for that you need not be uneasy about any one seeing any letter that is not proper for any body else but me to see so if you have any secrets to write you need not be any ways backward about writing them if you consider me a competent judge as to what is proper to keep to myself

well Cal I commenced this letter this forenoon and had to stop and get dinner so now I will commence anew and on a new subject. you see by the date that we are still at Memphis James Rice and myself are both in the enjoyment of the best of health; we have been having some verry cold weather for the last week which is the cause of my not writing to you last sunday as usual it did not thaw a bit last sunday and the wind blew a perfect gale all day you might imagine but as you never lived in an old rotten ragged tent it is impossible for you to properly appreciate the solid comfort pleasure and satisfaction of writing a letter in such a place without any fier on a cold windy day. a great many of the boys have got old camp kettles for stoves and tin spouting off of houses for pipes but cooks do not have much time to run around to hunt up such things so we have to go without

Bat and Aaron Frank were both at our camp this week they are well they are still with the division quartermaster guarding forage and supplies I received a letter from Libby last sunday they were all well when she wrote in answer to my inquiry about Father getting hurt she said his horses had run away with him once and hurt his knee and that had just got well when they ran away again and broke three of his ribs but he has now recovered from his last hurt

She said that Father was going to get all their photographs taken soon and send them either to you or me I should like to see them so I will write to have them sent to me and then I will send them to you and if we get paid off in time I will send you mine with them Libby said they had got a letter from Jont he was well and was just starting for Savannah with Shermans expedition this was good news to me for I was verry uneasy about him I cannot imagine why I dont get any letters from him I do not believe but what he writes and his letters are misscarried you told me in your last about Mr marriage which was all news to me except a hint that Lib gave about it in a letter to Jim some time ago you say that you have written about it before but you are just as much mistaken as though you had burned your apron you say Hiram Humphrey is drafted and gone Bully for him what does Phila think of married men going to the war now I feel sorry for him but he had no business to have been a man I suppose the old house is left desolate now as Phila has probably gone to live with her mother Cal you did not say whether you had got all the money Hiram owed you or not I saw David Jacobies name among the list of the drafted the last draft tell me in your next whether he went or not and whether Charles Sheldon has got back or not so good evening

Your husband James Bethard

Jim was obviously concerned about his brother but buoyed by news from his sister. Jonathan had written to Libby shortly before his capture but it had taken more than a month for his letter to reach her, for her to write to Jim and for Jim to receive her letter. In fact, Jonathan was still a prisoner and his whereabouts were unknown.

On December 14th, Abram Treadwell was treated in Memphis' Overton General Hospital. On the 15th Jerry Maloney was admitted to the same hospital for treatment of chronic diarrhea and on the 17th Pat Burns, still suffering from the effects of the severe cold contracted almost two years earlier at Hartville, joined them.¹³⁰²

Meanwhile, the regiment still didn't know what to do with young Seth Hickock and, on the 19th, Company B's Captain Lyons, still thinking Seth was with the regiment to which he had been assigned and was merely in need of a Descriptive Roll, wrote to the Provost Marshal:

Seth B. Hickock a boy of some 14 or 15 years enlisted by you for my Company at Dubuque sometime about the 2d September, joined the Regiment at mouth of White River. I have not furnished him with a musket because he is entirely unable to perform the duties of a soldier am awaiting with some impatience the arrival of his Descriptive Roll from you that I may procure his discharge and send him home where he can perhaps live a few years unless some flesh brokers should sell him into U.S. Service.

While medical care in regimental and general hospitals was the best available, most preferred that their treatment be closer to home. Two weeks earlier, Judson Hamilton, then sick in a Mound City hospital, had written to Adjutant General Baker, "By request of several Iowa soldiers that are now laying sick here in this Hospital, I write you for the purpose of ascertaining if you will not have us transferred to some hospital in our own state." Baker wrote to Washington and on December 19th the U.S. Surgeon General's office said the Davenport general hospital was full and there were "no vacant beds available," but Baker replied on the 29th that "the Adjutant General of Iowa assures the Surgeon General's office that men for northern or central Iowa should be sent to Davenport and there are accommodations for them. Men from southern Iowa should go to Keokuk Hospitals."

PURSUIT OF HOOD (December 21 to December 31, 1864)

Two weeks earlier, eighteen brigades under John Bell Hood had attacked Union lines at Franklin, Tennessee, with both sides suffering heavy losses. Hood then moved to the outskirts of Nashville where Schofield had joined George Thomas, "one of the grand characters of our civil war." A. J. Smith arrived with 16,000 reinforcements on the 1st. Confederate Governor Harris called on his followers to support Hood who "is here for the purpose of driving the invader from our soil." Grant urged Thomas to attack. Thomas delayed as he reorganized his army. Orders were drafted relieving him of command but finally, on December 15th, said Sherman, Thomas "sallied from his intrenchments, attacked Hood in his chosen and intrenched position and the next day "annihilated his army."

From a total force of 38,000, Hood's casualties were estimated at 23,500, two-thirds of his entire Army of Tennessee. His defeat had come in front of thousands of spectators lining the hills around the battlefield and was followed by a pursuit of his retreating army, a pursuit in which the 21st Iowa would briefly participate.

**Memphis Tenn
Dec the 18th 1864**

Dear wife

the time for me to write to my wife has again come around I have received no letter from you since last sunday your last sundays letter should have been here before this time but I suppose some of the rail roads being snowed under is the cause of its non appearance, we have been expecting to be assigned to the city of Memphis to do provost duty and our officers have been quite confident of getting

¹³⁰²

Named for John Overton who had helped lay out the city, the Overton House was about to be opened as a hotel when the war began and it became one of the major medical facilities for Northern soldiers. After the war, it would serve as a courthouse at Main and Poplar.

the position, but the orders received last night do not appear much like we were to do provost duty in the city we received orders last night to hold ourselves in readiness to move at an hours notice our brigade has drawn several thousand picks and shovels and it is surmised by officers and men that we are to go out some 25 or 30 miles on the railroad to repair the track and put it in condition for the cars to run out and bring in timbers for fier wood and for building winter quarters etc

our officers say that our regiment has been assigned by the post commander to do provost duty in Memphis and it only remains for the order to be approved by General Canby It is not much use for me to try to find out or tell you where we are going or what we are going to do for we can hear a different story every ten minutes and then all the way we can find out is to guess at it at last we have not been paid off yet and do not expect to be now until after newyears then there will be eight months pay due us and I will be able to send one hundred dollars home You said you was going to lend your money to a man in Mcgregor I presume that is all right but you must be verry careful to whom you are lending the money I presume you have consulted father on the subject and of course would not lend the money to any one without his advice and approval you did not tell me who the man was or what his circumstances were I wish you would tell me in your next so that I may inquire about him of Lieut David Drummond who is quite well acquainted in Mcgregor by the way David has returned to the company having been releived from the pioneer corps he is well pleased to be back to the company and the boys are equally as well pleased to receive him he is is a social and jovial good hearted fellow and well liked by all the regiment as well as co B Well Cal we have been having some verry wet nasty weather for the last week it has rained every day or night for the last five days the ground here is of a clay-y nature and gets verry muddy in a wet time

Well Cal it is just twenty eight months to day since our company was mustered into the U.S. service at Dubuque for three years or during the war, but little did I think at that time that we would serve the full term of three years but the prospects are now that we will I thought then that the war was going to end soon and that we would probably be in the service about six or eight months and then return home to enjoy peace civil life and the society of loved ones at home, but I was disappointed and for a long time the prospects looked dark and discouraging but the light is breaking again and the dark clouds of disappointment begin to scatter as the last end of the term draws near for we may now rejoice in the assurance that at the end of eight months more if our lives are spared we shall be free whether the war is closed or not and I am quite confident in the hope that before that time the war will be done

Your husband James Beathard

To hasten the war's end, President Lincoln called for 300,000 more volunteers on the 19th. Many thought it would be an embarrassment if Iowa required a draft to meet its quota and newspapers urged enlistments or subscriptions so a draft would not be required.

On the 20th, George Hess received a new assignment in Memphis. It had been seven months since he was wounded at the Big Black and subsequent months had been spent doing paperwork as a clerk. Now he was named as a detective with the U.S. Police Department then being operated in Memphis by the same Jacob Swivel, Captain of Company E, who had enrolled him more than two years previously. Meanwhile, from Nashville the remnants of Hood's army had fled south. His destination was unknown to the federals but on, December 21st, the regiment left tents in Memphis and joined cavalry under General Grierson in an effort to intercept Hood's retreat. Rather than moving northeast to Nashville, they headed directly east anticipating a rendezvous somewhere near the Mississippi or Alabama border.

Andrew Lawrence had become ill with dysentery and liver problems in August but slowly regained his health and was with the regiment when it left Memphis. According to Hospital Steward Rufus Grosvernor, Andrew was “ *one of the best and most capable men of the Regt to carry a medicine pack on his back and a case of Instruments in his hand.* ”¹³⁰³ This was the earliest and coldest winter Tennessee had experienced for years and Hood's men were poorly clothed. For the pursuing Northerners, the excursion was brief but also difficult as men struggled through mud and rain, suffered through cold nights and slept in the open. It rained and snowed intermittently throughout the day as they covered fifteen miles and retired for the night at Germantown with rubber blankets under them and woolen blankets on top. The weather turned colder, the ground froze and they got little rest.

¹³⁰³ Affidavit by Rufus Grosvernor, October 28, 1880, supporting a pension application of Andrew Lawrence.

Stephen Barton died on December 22nd. He had become ill in May and, after treatment in New Orleans, been sent to a general hospital in Davenport. From there, he was furloughed to Dubuque where he died from the effects of chronic diarrhoea.¹³⁰⁴

In the South, on the second day of its march, his regiment continued another sixteen miles over rough frozen ground covered with snow. They covered seven miles on the third day and camped at Moscow near Wolf River while Grierson's cavalry continued its search. Then the rains came, the river flooded, pickets waded to their posts, bridges were endangered and lowlands were inundated. It had been thought the infantry would be needed to build bridges so the cavalry could cross Wolf River but another crossing was found and the regiment was free to return to Memphis. On December 26th, it was raining at 5:00 a.m. as they started their return through water, mud and slush. The march was hard but they covered twenty-two miles the first day before arriving "pretty tired" at Germantown. Although wounded in the leg during the assault a year and a half earlier at the Big Black, George Fisher was able to keep up "as he has ever done without complaining or murmur,"¹³⁰⁵ but others were not as fortunate. One of many who suffered was Andrew Lawrence who was diagnosed with catarrh "caused by marching in the mud and rain and camping with insufficient shelter."¹³⁰⁶ Andrew was detailed as a nurse working directly with the surgeon and was treated in the hospital without being named on the official sick list.

On the 27th, they moved seven more miles to White's Station, only eight miles from Memphis, and the regiment's young drum major, William Matson, joined the sick. "I was," he said, "taken with a severe pain in the small of the back which so prostrated me that I could not lie down without holding to a tent pole."¹³⁰⁷ That evening, John Green was wounded in both thighs when fired on by his own troops. Although military records omitted the embarrassing details, Jim was more than willing to provide them in his next letter.

On the 29th, James Withrow, a 5th Sergeant in Company G, was reduced to the ranks "for using unbecoming language to his commanding officer."

They had seen no enemy on their ten day trip and, on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1864, marched the final miles into Memphis. Delhi's Elisha Root, still just seventeen years old, caught cold and developed "inflammatory rheumatism" from which he would suffer the rest of his life. He stayed with the regiment but Enos Russell and several others were admitted to the Overton hospital. Enos had joined the regiment as a twenty-three year old Private, served as a wagoner and assistant teamster, been wounded at Beaver Creek and suffered for months with chronic diarrhea. He would survive the current illness but his days were numbered.

Behind them, Grierson continued his search but the distance was too great and the time too short and Hood made it into Alabama and crossed the Tennessee River to safety. Sensing the end of his military career, Hood would resign in mid-January and return to Richmond to join his fair-weather fiancée who would no longer have anything to do with him. Jonathan Foster was promoted to 2d Corporal (for the second time), Sterling Mather was promoted to 1st Lieutenant and, on his third New Year's Day in the field, Jim wrote to Cal.

Memphis Tenn January the 1st 1865

Dear wife

I am seated this 1st day of the week 1st day of the month and 1st day of the year to pen a few lines to my wife I am still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health Jim rice is also well there was one letter your due in the year 1864 that you never got and never will for it was never written but the fault was not in me I believe I mentioned in my last that we were expecting to take a little tramp out in the country, so I hope you have not suffered much uneasiness on account of not having received your last weeks letter, we started on the morning of the 21st of December for Wolf river to

¹³⁰⁴ Stephen is buried in Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #12828756.

¹³⁰⁵

Letter from former Captain Jesse Harrison to Adjutant General Nathaniel Baker, January 10, 1865, in National Archive records of George Fisher.

¹³⁰⁶

Affidavit signed December 11, 1880, by Maple Moody in pension file of Alexander Lawrence on file with the National Archives and Records Administration.

¹³⁰⁷

March 3, 1896, affidavit of Francis M. Thompson and J. K.P. Thompson and Memoranda by William Matson in pension file of William Matson.

build bridges for a cavalry expedition that was going out to destroy the Mobile and Ohio rail road and intercept Old Hoods retreat from Nashville

we struck the wolf river on the 23rd 38 miles from Memphis on the Memphis and Corinth railroad where we camped two days and during the two days cut some timbers for a bridge, but the cavalry having found a crossing place 6 miles above the work was abandoned and on the morning of the 26th at 5' o clock we took the back track for Memphis we made 24 miles that day and camped just at dusk at Germantown 14 miles from Memphis, on the morning of the 27th came on to Whites station distance 5 miles and camped until yesterday our regiment came in on foot to guard a battery and the rest of the troops came in on the cars I being a cook came in on the cars with the company stough Jim was also detailed to help take care of the company stough and came in on the cars from White's station

We found our old camp all right and it seemed some like getting home to get back the camp and equipage that we did not need with us was left in care of about a dozen convalescents of each co. The only accident of any note which occurred with us on our trip took place one night while we were at Whites station there having been a party of guerrillas seen hovering around near a house a couple of miles from camp one day there was a party of one hundred men sent out from our reg at night to surround the house and if the bushwhackers were there take them in. when the party came near the house they divided into two squads and went in different directions to surround the house and meet on the other side they had agreed upon a counter sign or pass word by which they were to know when they came together whether they were meeting friends or enemies but when they met one party misstook the other for rebs and in their excitement instead of chalenging with the counter signs they chalenged with the word halt - and fiered into them the other party then of course took them for rebels and returned the fier and about 30 shots were exchanged between the parties at not more than ten paces distant before the mistake was discovered but fortunately owing to the darkness and the excitement of the men the shots were wild and nobody was killed and only two wounded

John Green of co K was shot through both thighs but no bones were broken another man had a finger shot off¹³⁰⁸ they found nobody in the house except a few harmless citizens who had protection papers, there was a couple there who were going to get married the next day, they took the young man whose name was sam but let him go the next morning and he took his darling . . . and went into Memphis and got married

Well as there is nothing to cook for dinner to day but coffee I will spend a little more time in talking to you I should like to be with you to day and participate in your Newyears dinner but as it is I shall have to put up with a little coffe and hard tack while you are reveling in the luxury of a splendid Newyears dinner and the pleasant society of friends and home but do not think that I begrudge you that pleasure because I am not enjoying it with you, no indeed it is one of the greatest consolations that I have to know that while I am enduring the privations of a soldiers life for my country's sake my wife is with her friends in the north where she is welcome enjoying all the comforts and blessings of civil life Cal if you had seen the sigts that I have seen here in the south the sufferings of helpless women and children you would have good reason to congratulate yourself upon your good fortune in having a good home in the north out of the way of the devastating influences of this cruel war There are it is true some families in the north suffering in consequence of the war in the absence of husbands and fathers who are in the army but a great many women in the north who lay their sufferings to the war and the delinquency of the government in paying the soldiers and supporting their wives are widely mistaken in the true origin of their sufferings there are exceptions it is true but there are a great many who if they could trace up the cause of their suffering might lay it on the drunkenness and carelessness of their husbands There are men I am sorry to say in our regiment who are allways cursing the the war and the government and everything pertaining to it and making bitter complaints about their suffering families at home who are actualy making more money than they ever did at home

but when they get their pay instead of sending it home to help their suffering families they spend it in drunkenness and with dishonorable women, and you may think verry strange but it is nevertheless true that some men will lavish their money on black ignorant and dirty nigger wenches for the sak of humoring their brutal desires while their families are suffering in poverty at home such men are

¹³⁰⁸ The roster of the regiment shows only John Green being wounded on December 27, 1864.

allways loudest in their curses against the negroes and the whole african race But enough on this subject Yours of the 27th has just come to hand which was quite an amusing letter I am glad you took the paines to tell me of your doings on Christmas and of all the little Christmas gifts bestowed from one to another you are quite excusable for not writing on Christmas your usual day for writing as your time was spent in a good cause it seems that you all had a merry time on Christmas and I am glad to hear it You wanted to know if I hung up my stockings on Christmas night I did not for I needed them on my feet we were laying in the woods on wolf river without tents at that time I suppose I might have hung my socks upon a bush but I would have been more likely to have found in the morning that socks were stolen than to find anything in them. This is a verry pleasant Newyears day it is clear and warm and appears like a may day in Iowa

We are expecting to embark in the morning for New Orleans our next ten days rations are piled upon the levee at the landing ready for loading onto transports it is the general opinion that we are going to Pass Cayolia which is somewhere between lake Ponchetrain and Mobile we have been expecting to be assigned to the city of Memphis to do provost duty but guess that has played out and so has this sheet

Your husband James Beathard

Despite the implications in Jim's letter, Negro women had no corner on the prostitution trade. Many woman traveled with the regiments as friends, "wives" or "washerwomen" and bordellos were common in all major cities. Outbreaks of syphilis and similar ailments were not uncommon as lonely men sought "horizontal refreshment" or "rode the Dutch girl."

KENNERVILLE¹³⁰⁹

(January 1 to February 5, 1865)

About 3:00 p.m. on the 1st they broke camp, went downtown and boarded the *Baltic* with the 47th Indiana, 15th Massachusetts Battery and two companies of the 28th Illinois. By noon on the 2d, they were underway, "we think headed for New Orleans." They reached Vicksburg about 5:00 p.m. on the 3d, loaded coal and were on their way by 11:00 p.m. By 7:00 a.m. the next morning they were at Natchez and about 3:40 p.m. passed Morganza.¹³¹⁰ They passed Baton Rouge in the evening, continued throughout the night and before sunrise on the 5th reached New Orleans, headquarters of the Military Division of West Mississippi. Seven hours later they moved back upstream to debark at Kennerville where Federal camps had been maintained since the middle of the previous year. A camp of instruction had opened in December and a telegraph office had opened the previous day.

The regiment was assigned to a low site on ploughed ground at Oakland, the Kenner family's old sugar plantation, but it was after dark by the time equipment was unloaded. A "very hard shower" prevented fires and most slept without shelter in mud that was "soft and deep, and the discomfort not to be surpassed or described."¹³¹¹ Myron Knight called it "pretty muddy and bad," Hiram Libby remembered "the wether was fearful wet and cold and lots of mud we could hardly get a place to sleep on," and it was, said Gilbert Cooley, "an exceedingly uncomfortable night."

Frederick Steele was in command and George Parker, one of the Camp Ford prisoners, was assigned by Colonel Van Anda as Steele's orderly "for the purpose of keeping me out of the Hospital."¹³¹² It was good assignment, George said, since he did "no duty while I was orderly" and was personally treated by the headquarters' surgeon while nearby civilians did their best to maintain a semblance of normalcy despite enemy occupation and disruptions of war. On January 8th, *The Daily Picayune* carried an ad for the Adams Express Company, reported on a new and great invention in hoop skirts known as "the duplex elliptic (or double steel spring)" and published official notices from

1309

Kennerville was founded in 1852 by brothers William and Minor Kenner while Duncan Kenner, whose home was at Ashland Plantation in Ascension Parish, was "one of the elite founders of thoroughbred racing in the United States." Christopher G. Peña, *Touched by War. Battles Fought in the Lafourche District* (C. G. P. Press, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1998), page 51. Today known as Kenner, a suburb of New Orleans, it's the site of the Louis Armstrong New Orleans International Airport.

¹³¹⁰ Elsewhere, 2:00 p.m.

¹³¹¹ George Crooke, *The Twenty-First Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 135.

¹³¹² July 12, 1882, affidavit by George Parker.

Major General Canby. A European circus would be opening the next day and a remedy for baldness had been found in the "*prepared oil of palm and mace.*"

In the 9th Iowa, Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather, assumed company command in Savannah and had his pay increased by \$20.00 to cover added responsibilities for ordnance, stores and equipment for the next three months and, only a week into the new year, Jim wrote to Cal.

Kennersville. La
January the 8th 1864 [sic]

Dear wife

my regular writing day has come around once more which finds me well but a great many miles further from home than when I wrote you last. we embarked last sunday (Newyears) evening on the United States Marine transport Baltic and shoved off on Monday about noon for New Orleans. the weather was fine and the river high and we made good time, rounding to at New Orleans about 4 o'clock on Thursday morning. the old Crescent city looks as natural as a fier place and barter women thicker than pigeons in seeding time

we lay at the wharf at New Orleans until about noon on Thursday and then came up to Kennersville which is about 15 miles above Orleans and on the same side of the river

We landed about two miles below our camping place here and before we got our tents up it commenced raining and rained hard all night, the country here is low and flat and our camp ground being in an old cotton field, you may imagine what pleasure we must have enjoyed that night the furrows were all full of water and the mud half knee deep between them we made some coffee which the boys got around to drink about an hour after dark and then we scattered around to hunt some place to sleep some of the boys put up their tents and stood up in them all night and some spread their blankets on the ridges between the furrows and slept on them and some got into houses for my part I was quite lucky I went with half a dozen others of our company and found an old sugar house a darkey belonging on the pantation opened the door and let us in to a room filled with hay and we had a verry comfortable nights sleep it cleared off on Friday and the weather has been fine ever since the mud is drying up fast the boys have thrown up little mounds to set their tents on and dicked the camp and it begins to look a little like living again The Baltic and another boat is just now passing on their way up the river loaded with troops on their way home having served their time out we have got no pay yet but are expecting to get four months pay soon

What they want us here for I cannot form the remotest idea we are on the New Orleans and Jackson railroad but they certainly dont expect any danger here for they dont even keep out pickets

General Steel is here in command General Lawler is in command of our brigade the whole trans Mississippi corps is here we can perceive quite a difference between the climates here and at Memphis

it seems here like the spring of the year the weather is warm and pleasant and the grass springing up green and the orange and lemon orchards look as green and fresh as you ever saw apple and peach orchards in July in Ohio the orange and lemon trees are allways green and there are a great many forest trees here that are allways green The water in the Miss is verry cold it feels like it had just flowed from under the ice and I suppose it has it makes our teeth ache to drink it I have heard nothing from Jonathan or any of my folks in Ohio for some time

Jim got a letter from his fatherinlaw just before we left Memphis Jim is well O Cal how I should like to see little Ella writing letters to her pappa why dont you send me some of her letters

I should like to see some of her scribbling please send me one of her letters with your next Your affectionate husband James Beathard

After a night of rain on the 8th, Kennerville was clear and cool by the 10th. George Brownell and Salmon Bush built a bunk and table and the war continued to go badly for the South. The Union blockade impeded its shipping. Food and ordnance were in short supply, thousands were deserting and the secessionist *Charleston Mercury* editorialized that there "*reigned a pandemonium of imbecility, laxness, laxity, weakness, and failure.*"

In Kennerville, good weather continued on the 11th, mud was "*drying up fast,*" George Brownell "*went to prayer meeting in the old sugar house*" and *The Daily Picayune* noted that General Grant had recently walked along the wharf at City Point, apparently absorbed in thought and with "*the inevitable cigar*" in his mouth when he was

approached by a Negro guard who touched his arm and said, "No smoking on the dock, sir." "Are those your orders?" asked the General. "Yes, sir," replied the Negro, courteously but decidedly. "Very good orders," said Grant as he threw the cigar into the water.

Kennerly weather stayed warm and pleasant and duty was light. George Brownell took a long walk along the levee on the 12th and the next day was joined by Asa Haskins, also from Strawberry Point, on a walk to the depot and back across several plantations. John Rogman returned from furlough although still being treated for his Vicksburg injuries and there was a dress parade in the afternoon and an evening "social meeting" in the sugar house. Weather turned cloudy on the 14th, there was "knapsack drill" the next morning and Jim wrote to Cal before an afternoon rain.

Camp at Kennersville La
January the 15th 1865

Dear wife

once more I commence the pleasant task of writing to you it is sunday and Jim Rice and two or three more of the boys of our tent have gone to church and you will probably say that is where I ought to be which I cannot consentously deny but as there are so many in the tent it is the best opportunity that I can get to write while they are gone to church Nothing of note has transpired with us this week so I have no news to write except that we had a storm which commenced last sunday evening and our cook tent being right on the bank of the river we were obliged to pull up and move (our tent) right in the midst of the storm the river bank commenced caving off and we were about to be undermined we moved our tent and cooking apparatus over the levee just at dark on monday evening and went to an old sugar house near by and slept that night it cleared off the next day and the weather has been fine until now it begins to look like rain again I had a slight brush of the Ague last Friday night and still feel a little the worse of wear but hope I shall come out all right without taking any quinine this time Jim Rice is well I got another man to take my place in the cook shantee last week and I have taken a gun and gone into the ranks again

I have not received a letter since I left Memphis from any body Jim received one from Lib the 11th we are expecting some mail to day as there was two boats came down yesterday evening for New Orleans I am looking for a letter from you and one from Nancy and one or two from Ohio I suppose you are looking strong for my photograph but we have not got paid off yet and I cannot tell when we will the last that I have heard in regard to it was that we were to wait three weeks longer and then receive eight months pay They say we are to be paid in seven thirty bonds¹³¹³ I hope that is so I would be glad if my money at home was all in that shape but if it is lent out in good hands, I suppose it is as well

Cal I have studied a great deal about what I should do when my time is out in the army but I have not been able yet to decide and probably shall not until I get home and see how things are going there but whenever I get to thinking of the future my mind runs to the far west; where uncle Sam will give us all a farm; Cal what do you think of this, I know you opposed it before I left home but you have had plenty of time to change your mind since then I know it is verry desirable to be with father and mother but we cannot expect allways to be with them they have sold their farm and there is no telling how soon they will leave Mcgregor If we should settle down on a little pach of land in Clayton county for the sake of being near them there is no telling how soon they might pull up and leave us We could go west and get 160 acres of land without going in debt (under the homestead law) and use what money we will have for such things as we would need to improve a farm¹³¹⁴ tell in your next what you think of

1313

The North financed much of its war efforts through the issuance of bonds and notes. The "seven-thirties" were three year treasury notes bearing interest at 7.3% and were first authorized by an Act of July 17, 1861. They were payable to order but issued in blank. Secretary of the Treasury Chase assigned this rate of interest in hopes that the ease of interest calculation (a \$50 note would accrue interest at one cent per day) would give the notes an opportunity to circulate as money, but this did not prove to be the case. Later issues of the "seven-thirties" were made in 1864 and 1865. The issue of 1861 paid interest in gold but the government reserved the right to pay the interest of the 1864 and 1865 issues in either United States notes or gold. [Wikipedia](#).

1314

The Homestead Act approved May 20, 1862, provided that any adult citizen, or intended citizen, who had never borne arms against the U.S. government could claim 160 acres of surveyed government land. Claimants were required to improve the plot by building a dwelling and

**what I have said So good evening
Your husband JB**

The 16th was pleasant and the 17th gave George Brownell an opportunity for another excursion. This time it was John Robinson (a fellow farmer from Strawberry Point) who accompanied him on a two-mile walk across the Kenner family's old plantation and through woods full of canals. While there, they gathered boards, built a raft, rode it back to Kennerville, got a team of horses to haul it into camp and gave the boards to their officers to build a floor.

Two weeks earlier Grant had told Major-General Halleck "*I would like to have Canby operate against Mobile this winter with such force as he can collect from his command.*" Now, on the 18th, he gave Canby the order "*to move against Mobile*" while peace commissioners parried in the north. Lincoln was willing to "*receive any agent*" sent by Davis to secure peace to "*our common country*" while Davis charged his representatives with securing peace to the "*two countries.*"

On the 19th the regiment was "*paid four out of nine months pay due*"¹³¹⁵ and William Boynton reenlisted. He had been discharged for disability eighteen months earlier but now, declaring falsely that he had "*never been discharged from the United States service on account of disability,*" he reenlisted as a new recruit at Dubuque.

Nelson Reynolds entered a Memphis hospital on the 20th while Kennerville saw a day of rain. It was clear and warm the next day but "*the mud is awful,*" said George Brownell. Jim's next letter was undated but written sometime after his Memphis letter of January 1st and before his next letter written on the 22d.

Cal I received two or three letters from you while we were on our tour to Wolf river and in one of them you wanted to know what Hiram Humphrey had done that I wrote as I did about him I don't know as he has done anything criminal at all nor do I doubt his honesty in paying his debt it was not because I doubted his honesty that I wrote to you as I did in regard to what he was owing you my Idea was that he was drafted and from what I can learn he is considerable in debt and you might consider yourself in luck if you got what he owed you this winter as there is no telling what his circumstances may be next year and beside I think from what Lib writes he has not much sympathy for soldiers wives and if that is the case I have not much sympathy for him if you want to know what Lib has wrote to lead me to think as I do ask her she can tell you better than I can write it

I cannot find out by your letters whether Hiram has gone to the army or not you wrote some time ago that he had been examined and had to go but one of our company saw a man who I suppose was him at Dubuque and he had found a man who had run away from the 1st draft to take his place You say Wash has not got back yet. where did he go I should like to have sent you my Photograph as a New years gift but as we have not got our pay yet I cannot do it There is now eight months pay due us they say there is four months pay waiting for us at New Orleans how true it is I do not know Jim Rice received a letter from Robert a few days ago he is well he is still at Brownsville Arkansas

Your husband James Beathard

In Georgia, Jonathan had managed to escape from his captors and reach the Union lines at Dalton where he was granted leave to go home for a brief visit before rejoining his regiment.

**Kennersville La
January the 22nd 1865**

Dear wife

I seat myself once more to pen a few lines to my distant wife I am happy to inform you this morning that I am well I told in by last that I had had a brush of the Ague. I did not have but the one chill and came out all right without taking any medecine or even being reported on the sick list Jim rice is well, It has been raining for the last three or four days and our camp is verry wet and muddy

cultivating the land. After 5 years on the land, the original filer was entitled to the property, free and clear except for a small registration fee. Title could also be acquired after only a 6-month residency and trivial improvements, provided the claimant paid the government \$1.25 per acre. After the Civil War, Union soldiers could deduct the time they had served from the residency requirements. Internet (www.OurDocuments.Gov).

1315

Letter by Marion S. Edgington, Company K. William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 329.

but we have but little duty to do so it does not effect us much although it is not the most pleasant thing in the world our tents are set up on little mounds thrown up and well dicked all around so that they are quite dry inside with the exception of what mud we carry in on our feet Yours of the 8th of this month came to hand yesterday and also one dated Nov the 14th which explains the mystery about where G.W. Hains had gone to you have mentioned in several of your letters lately that Wash had not got back yet but where he had gone I did not know: the whole mystery is now explained and I think it is quite a joke on G.W. and it will be a worse one on Hiram if Graham gets clear at last and Hiram has to go all the harm that I wish G.W. and Hiram is that since they have played the fool so they may both be brought out by the next draft and sent a flushing to the front if Wash had not taken handcuffs it would not have looked so bad but as it was I think it was rediculas and I am glad he got fooled I suppose he though that having been constable once in his lifetime he was too old to be fooled well maybe it will learn him to take a joke and I think by the time he serves a term in the army he will learn to take things as they come and that there is other men in the world of as much importance as himself I received a letter from Jont last week being the first I have received from him since last July or August his letter was dated much to my surprise at Ostrander Ohio and to save writing I will just inclose the letter with this and you can read for yourself I think he was verry lucky in making his escape as judging from all accounts death is almost preferable to being a prisoner in the hands of the rebels at this stage of the game¹³¹⁶

Well Cal what do you think of fathers going to Kansas and how would you like to go there all that I have ever heard about his going there is what Jont says in his letter and if he can sell out for 40 dollars an acre I hope he will if the western country suits him and I believe it will I should prefer a more southern climate than Iowa myself and if father goes to Kansas then what: you can give a pretty good guess I am glad you have got the long looked for pictures but am a little disappointed at not getting to see them myself. I had hoped they would come to me first but as you have got them you need not send them to me lest they should get lost you say you have not got mine nor Nancies yet as for mine you know I cannot get it taken until we get paid off and when that will be I cannot tell our Col received a letter from the paymaster last friday stating there was no funds to pay the 21st Iowa I dont know why this is it seems that we should have been paid at Memphis I guess nobody knows where the 21st does belong) Your affectionate husband. J. Beathard

William Crooke, the "best officer" in the regiment according to Jim, had served well as Captain, Major and member of the Court on numerous courts martial but, on the 23d, he tendered his resignation - *"In view of the teachings and character of Jesus Christ, my convictions of Christian duty will not permit me longer to use the sword for the redress of wrong."* His commanding officer, Salue Van Anda, said William *"for several months has been laboring under a state of mind which has entirely unfited him for service. His convictions as within stated are formed after months of deep study and meditation."* He "most earnestly" recommended acceptance of the resignation, Canby agreed and William was discharged.

In December the President had called for another 300,000 men and each state was assigned a quota. After a month of uncertainty, the *North Iowa Times* was finally able to convey good news to its readers. On January 23rd, Adjutant General Baker had reported from Davenport that *"Iowa has filled her quota under the pending call."* A draft would not be necessary. *"Our city was in fine spirits on Monday,"* it said on January 24th. *"If Peace had been announced there could have been no more pleasure evinced by the liable or the reliable citizens of this precinct."*

On Friday the 27th, the paymaster *"arrived in camp in the evening and commenced to pay off our Regiment"* with Company B finally getting four months pay about midnight. Myron Knight received \$184.00, kept \$84.00 and loaned the balance to his friend Abe Treadwell. Some sent money home but the lure of New Orleans on a Friday night was too much for others. Hospital chaplain Chandler Gregg complained there were 1,165 places in New Orleans where rum could be purchased, there were *"houses of ill-fame where unblushing licentiousness [went] on day and night,"* cock-fighting was still popular and gambling houses were licensed by the army. In later years, Henry Miller would describe it as a city where *"sensual pleasures assume the importance which they deserve"* and the lure of such a city in

1316

By this stage of the war, the parole system had disintegrated, mass imprisonment reigned and, by war's end, an estimated 30,000 would die in Southern prisons and another 26,000 in the North.

wartime was strong for soldiers who were away from home and knew they would soon be returning to the routine of small towns and northern farms. So serious had the problem become that special orders were issued to prevent improper conduct and an October order had reestablished guards at theaters and instituted day patrols, a procedure to be "*systematized, so that it will be, to say the least, very unpleasant for any person in the military service to remain in this city in violation of orders.*"¹³¹⁷ In the 47th Illinois, Cal's cousin, Eli Frankeberger, was anxious to visit the city where "*the good times rolled.*" During an earlier excursion, he had spent \$85.00. Now under orders not to leave camp without permission, he left without authorization, went into the city and enjoyed another spending spree with borrowed funds before returning to Kennerville that evening. Taking a more extended visit was Wayward Hugh McCafferty who had already been gone for six days and would not return for another four, ten days he would come to regret.

On the 28th, Brad Talcott left on a sixty day furlough "*permanently disabled by dropsy & chronic diarrhea*" and on the 29th three Confederate commissioners reached Grant's headquarters near City Point seeking safe conduct to Washington to confer with Lincoln. The three included Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter who had served in the pre-war Congress and opposed secession but later served as Davis' Secretary of State and in the Senate where he became increasingly critical of Davis' administration. Also included was Associate Supreme Court Justice John Archibald Campbell of Alabama who had freed his slaves and employed only free men as servants. As a member of the court he had concurred in the Dred Scott decision but resigned in 1861, opposed secession but felt it was legal and served as Davis' Assistant Secretary of War. The final member was Alexander Stephens of Georgia who had served twenty years in the pre-war House of Representatives. Although a Vice President of the Confederacy, he had grown highly critical of President Davis. Grant wired Lincoln for instructions and Lincoln sent Thomas Eckert, an old friend of Stephens, to meet with the commissioners and verify their intentions.

In Louisiana it had been raining for a week but the 29th was better, a New Orleans preacher delivered a sermon, some of the men went to a circus in Kennerville and Jim wrote to Cal.

**Kennersville La
January the 29th 65**

Dear wife

I am seated pen in hand once more to answer your kind letter which I did not receive last week I do not lay the fault to you but the irregularity of the of the mail we are still in the old cotton field at Kennersville with no visible signs of getting away soon although I heard some talk yesterday evening to the effect that there was a prospect of our being moved down below New Orleans and camped on Jacksons old battle ground but what the foundation of the rumor is I am not able to say one or two brigades of the corps have gone to Pascagola which is somewhere between New Orleans and Mobile on the coast

We were called up last Friday night in the rain about midnight and paid off up to the 1st of Sept 1864 I received 64 dollars I shall not send home any now as I believe you are not in need. not having been paid off for nearly nine months I had a great many little debts to pay which amounted sutler bill washing bill and all to \$25.55cts I have loaned 25 dollars to Lieut Drummond and shall keep the rest for casual expenses I intend to go down to the city one day this week and get some photographs taken, so you may look for a picture in my next unless they shut down on giving passes before I get to go I received a letter from Nancy last week which I will inclose in this What do you think of going to Kansas

The more I think of it the more I am in favor of going Jim Rice also has some notion of going there he has written to Lib asking her mind on the subject he says if she is willing to it he will write to father to sell his place the first oportunity Bat and Aron Frank were here at our quarters day before yesterday they are well Bat has spent not less than 200 dollars since they came here he went down to the city and spent \$85 the first night after they were paid off and he told me last Friday that he had borrowed one hundred and twenty five since and that was all gone. he is a wild boy and Aron is not much behind Ours is the only regt in the 1st brig that has been paid off and they were not intending to pay us until our Col wrote the paymaster a verry urging letter, setting forth in the strongest terms the destitute condition of the men and their families at home the letter was presented to the paymaster

¹³¹⁷ O.R. Series I, Volume XLI/4 [S#86].

General and he immediately ordered one of the paymasters to collect all the surplus in the hands of all the paymasters in the city and go and pay the 21st Iowa it was then too late for the train and he came up on horseback arriving here after dark. he had to be back to the city by daylight the next morning so we were called up and paid in the night The talk is that we will receive four months more pay in two or three weeks but I believe I shall not draw any more until my time is out I think it is just as safe in the hands of uncle Sam as anywhere else) Your husband

James Beathard

Jim thought Eli ("Bat") was "wild" and Aaron "not much behind." In this he was apparently correct but even their own regimental surgeon admitted that "*both the Frankebergers, being of a very lively disposition, the liveliest boys in the Regt,*" never shirked their duty. While camped at Kennerville Eli's gums began to itch, then they became sore and soon he lost a tooth in his upper jaw and then one of his front teeth. Eli had contracted scurvy.

On Monday, January 30th, George Brownell took the morning train from Kennerville to New Orleans, toured the city and went to the St. Charles Theater in the evening while Eckert left Washington, Davis' Commissioners telegraphed a desire to meet "*in pursuance of the course indicated*" by Lincoln and Lincoln added Secretary of State Seward to the meeting. The 13th Amendment, previously passed by the Senate and defeated in the House, was reconsidered on the 31st and passed 119-56. "*The Speaker became powerless to preserve order. The members upon the Republican side sprang upon their seats cheering, shouting, and waving hands, hats, and canes*" before adjourning "*in honor of this immortal and sublime event.*" Strangely, a Northern Congress fighting for a single country known as the United States had enacted an amendment regarding "*their*" jurisdiction.¹³¹⁸

New recruits reached the regiment on the 1st and among them was Myron Knight's eighteen year old brother Albert who was assigned to Myron's Company B. George Brownell finished his tour of New Orleans, bought some cigars and tobacco and took the evening train back to Kennerville "*right side up with care*" while Seward left for City Point. Grant asked to join the conference but Lincoln said he should "*let nothing which is transpiring hinder or delay the military movements or plans*" and Eckert refused the request. Grant obeyed, but would be angry with Eckert for years to come. Eckert met the Commissioners and gave them Lincoln's terms for a "*common country.*" The Southerners gave him a copy of Davis' letter seeking peace for "*two countries.*" Eckert ended the meeting and sent reports to Washington. Lincoln received the reports on the 2d but, before he could recall his emissaries, he was told the commissioners would meet on his terms. They were taken to Fort Monroe and, on February 3d, met with Lincoln and Seward for four hours on the *River Queen*. Neither side altered its position as Lincoln insisted the war could end only if the Confederacy laid down its arms and the Union were preserved. The so-called Hampton Roads Conference ended in deadlock.

In New Orleans, C. T. Christensen, Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General, Military Division of West Mississippi, sent a communique to Frederick Steele commanding the Northern forces at Kennerville:

"The complete reorganization of the forces under your command will be announced in a few days.... the following will be the organization of the First and Second Brigades of the First Division, viz: First Brigade, Brig. Gen. M. K. Lawler commanding - Forty-seventh Indiana, Twenty-first Iowa, Twenty-ninth Wisconsin, and Ninety-ninth Illinois These troops will immediately be prepared for embarkation to Mobile Point, Ala., one brigade to go by sea, the other via Lakeport and Lake Pontchartrain."

Christensen followed up his first communique to Steele with another the same day indicating:

"the ocean steamer which is to take one of your brigades to Fort Morgan has capacity for some 700 more troops, and the commanding general directs that the Twenty-third Iowa and the Seventy-sixth Illinois, which are to be assigned to brigades now at Mobile, be forwarded by the same opportunity. As a rule, every foot of transportation must be made available."

Still at Kennerville, the regiment learned its new orders and Jim alerted Cal:

**Kennerville La
Friday February the 3rd 65**

Dear wife

this not my usual writing day but as we have orders to move I will pen you a few lines and enclose my photograph James Rice and myself are packing up a box of clothing together with cap Lyons which we will express to J. W. Rice we have pinned our names on each article so that you may know which is which and lest the names should get torn off I will name the articles belonging to Jim Rice and myself Jim sends one overcoat one wool blanket and one pair of pants I am only sending an overcoat the rest of the clothing belongs to cap Lyons and some more of the hardin boys which is to be delivered to Mr. Beeda¹³¹⁹ of Hardin who will call for it There is one overcoat in the box belonging to Lewis Eno to be delivered to his wife

I and Jim Rice were down to the city this week and got a dozen photographs each I will inclose one of mine and one of Jims in this Jim has sent one of his and one of mine to Lib I have changed with several of the boys in the company and several more wants to change so I have sent for a dozen more to be taken from the same negative when I get them I will send you a few more to distribute among our friends as you choose and one especialy for mother

I dont know exactly where we are to go but it is the general opinion that we are going to Mobile or somewhere in that vicinity we expect to embark sometime between this and tomorrow morning Jim Rice and I both received letters from our wives last wednesday evening and mine contained 4 postage stamps Pleas excuse this hastily scribbled letter I have several to write before we go so no more at present but remain as ever your loving husband

James Beathard

David Drummond was detached to serve on a court martial while a Friday night in New Orleans again beckoned to Cal's Illinois cousin, Eli Frankeberger. It rained all day but, realizing he was about to leave and might never return, Eli left his Kennerville camp on the 3d, again without permission, and this time did not return until the following morning.

For 2nd Lieutenant Ernst Renner the imminent move to Alabama was a propitious time to again seek a discharge. His resignation tendered ten months earlier had not been accepted but this time, at forty-four years of age, he said the "*constant and active campaigning*" had worn him down and he was "*often unable to do my proper share of duty.*" Company E had two other able officers for its sixty-two remaining members but Ernst had a problem. He acknowledged he had been "*erroneously*" overpaid several months earlier and was indebted to the government for the excess. Van Anda felt the overpayments were more than a mere error. Ernst, he said, "*has through his own conduct rendered himself unfit for service,*" "*he lost the confidence of his men as well as of the officers*" and he "*can be of no further service to us. I have released him from arrest without preparing charges for the purpose of allowing him to resign. He has drawn pay twice for the same period which could not of been by mistake.*" Ernst had done good service and Van Anda did not "*desire that he be dishonorably discharged*" but "*the Regt. and the service would be benefited by the acceptance of his resignation.*" Four days later it was ordered that Ernst be discharged "*for the good of the service.*"¹³²⁰

**FORT GAINES, ALABAMA
(February 4 to March 15, 1865)**

After early exploratory expeditions, the first European settlement near Mobile, a colony named Philipina de Santa

1319

Julius C. Beedy, Esq., was an early settler and merchant in Hardin. He was the father-in-law of Captain William W. Lyons whose wife, Jennette (Beedy) Lyons had died on September 21, 1864.

1320

The overpayments had been known since the previous fall. Mr. Renner's military records do not indicate an arrest but do include a February 3, 1865, Special Order releasing him from arrest. He tendered his resignation the same day.

Maria, had been founded by the Spanish in 1559 but abandoned two years later. Next came the French, the British and then the Spanish again until 1803 when the area was sold to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase. At the north end of a thirty-four mile long bay Mobile, a city of 30,000, had prospered with “*many pleasant residences, embowered in shade-trees, and surrounded by generous grounds.*”¹³²¹ Its city hall was built in 1856, Bienville Square had hosted social gatherings since 1834, residents enjoyed an opulent lifestyle augmented by their own Mardi Gras, and it was, said Joe Johnston, the best fortified city in the entire Confederacy.

The bay's narrow entrance from the Gulf of Mexico was guarded on the east by Fort Morgan on Mobile Point and on the west by Fort Gaines on Dauphin (Dauphine) Island, formerly Massacre Island but renamed after the son of Louis XIV, possibly in tribute to Louis who had sent a shipload of brides to the men of his French garrison. The island's first small fort had been erected by 1717 and, in 1846, the government allotted \$20,000 for a new fort named in honor of Edmond Pendleton Gaines who had led detachments that arrested Aaron Burr for treason and later fought Chief Black Hawk. Another \$160,000 was appropriated in 1858 to finish Gaines and repair Morgan. Most of the work was done by 1861 and final touches were completed by the Confederacy. With strong brick walls, Gaines was pentagon-shaped and surrounded by a dry moat while Morgan, also built of brick, covered almost two acres and had sand piled high as a buffer for walls. Both were formidable structures but that was before the arrival of Farragut's gunboats. Now, heavily damaged, they would serve as a base for Union assaults on Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely.

Mobile had been General Canby's paramount goal since relieving Banks but, after reorganizing at Morganza, part of the army had been ordered to Virginia and part to Alabama. Canby was then delayed by a yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans but now was free to proceed with the option to approach Mobile from Pensacola on the east or Pascagoula on the west or head straight up the bay.

On February 4, 1865, Andrew Lawrence rejoined the regiment after detached duty as a nurse on the White River while New Orleans and the Gulf were covered by heavy fog. The next morning, February 5th, the 21st Iowa and 47th Indiana were ordered to board the transport steamers *George Peabody* and *Belevedere* at 3:00 a.m., but an officer of the 47th Indiana reported:

*“the captain of the Peabody says that he must have daylight in which to work, and will hardly be ready for the troops to embark before 8 a.m. He also reports that his hold is full of commissary stores, and that it will be impossible to take any wagons, and if we put our stock aboard he cannot carry all the men assigned him. Whether these troubles are imaginary and will vanish before an energetic effort, I cannot say. I deem it my duty to communicate them, assuring you at the same time that no effort will be spared on my part to complete the embarkation and get away at the earliest possible moment.”*¹³²²

Fog turned to rain by the afternoon of the 5th and, about 4:00 p.m., the *Peabody* left Kennerville. A short distance later it anchored midstream at New Orleans with “*the boys hollowing all sorts because they cant get on shore the boat is badly crowded we cant find a place to sit down we are all wet and cold and here we have to stay.*”¹³²³ They reached the mouth of the river about noon on the 6th and, still in the rain, “*struck out in the Gulf toward Alabama*”¹³²⁴ about 3:00 p.m. Shortly before dark “*one of the salors fell over board but was picked up by his mates before he drowned.*”¹³²⁵

Anticipating their new assignment, Van Anda relieved Elisha Boardman of command of Company D so he could serve as acting major of the regiment, a move made necessary by William Crooke's resignation a few days earlier. Canby was using both Mobile Point and Dauphin Island to organize his army and the 21st Iowa was on its way to join him but the voyage across the gulf was their roughest yet. The boat was old and overloaded with nearly 1,500 men, there was no room to lie down, it rained all night, temperatures dropped and guards with bayonets struggled to keep gangways open so the crew could perform its work. The top-heavy craft rolled from side to side on the windy gulf and men, especially those on the exposed upper decks, suffered from seasickness. After being temporarily blown off course, they reached Alabama on the morning of February 7th and entered the bay past a buoy marking the site where

1321 Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge; 1991), page 3.

1322 O.R. Series 1, Volume XLVIII/1 [S#101].

1323 *Journal of George Brownell.*

1324 *Journal of Myron Knight.*

1325 *Journal of George Brownell.*

the *Tecumseh* had sunk six months earlier.

Anchoring near Morgan, they reported their arrival about 1:00 p.m. and crossed to Dauphin Island where they debarked, "*got our stuff all off about 10pm tired wet and sleepy,*"¹³²⁶ and bivouacked for the night. Van Anda ordered Boardman to meet as soon as practical for the court martial trial of John B. Johnson "*and such other Prisoners as may be brought before it.*" A campsite was organized near a pond of fresh water "*among the sand hills*" while the *Peabody* left for Kennerville to pick up livestock and supplies.¹³²⁷

The 8th was cool but pleasant and "*spent in putting up our tents and drying our blankets and cloths.*"¹³²⁸ Pine trees had been cut but the beach was white sand and "*very beautiful,*" said the eloquent George Crooke.

*"The broken, aerial lines of shore; the purity of the well-washed sand; the sparse but fairy verdure; and the distant, tapering pines, when seen, as was frequently the case, in the semblance of a mirage, suspended, as it were, between the heavens and the sea; the clear, blue sky above, the tinted, pellucid waters below: fascinated the eye and entailed the fancy, like the impalpable and illusive images of beauty seen only in dreams."*¹³²⁹

While officers planned their campaign, enlisted men toured the fort, expressed seashells home, grew "*fat and saucy*" on oysters, cleaned their guns, mended clothes and wrote letters and occasional poetry.

On the 9th, Hugh McCafferty appeared for trial. He heard the charges, had no objection to being tried by the designated field officers and was arraigned on a charge of having been absent without leave in that he "*did on or about the 21st day of January 1865 absent himself from said Company and Regiment until the 31st day of January 1865.*" Found guilty, he was ordered to be confined at Fort Morgan "*for the period of twenty days with a ball and chain attached to left leg.*"

Also being tried was John B. Johnson, Company H. Like Hugh and several others, he had become enamored of New Orleans. On January 31st he had received a pass permitting him to spend the night in the city but, instead of returning on the 1st, he did not rejoin the regiment until February 3d. Then, while on board the *George Peabody* at anchor in the Mississippi, he had lowered a boat over the side on the night of February 5th, rowed to the city and did not rejoin the regiment until the 8th on Dauphin Island. He admitted his guilt and, like Hugh, was sentenced to confinement "*for the period of twenty days with a ball and chain attached to left leg.*"

Dauphin Island. Al February the 12th 1865

Dear wife

here goes for my first letter dated in Alabama we started from Kennerville last sunday on board the steamship George Peabody and landed in safety on this Island on tuesday evening, it was reported in the New Orleans papers that the George Peabody was lost at sea and the 21st Iowa and 47th Indiana had gone down with her but I am happy to be able to testify that such is not the case at least if it is the changing of worlds was done up in such a sly manner that I was not aware of it, it is true I find myself in a country that I never saw before but I see all my comrades around me eating and drinking as of old and both righteous and wicked seem to be happy alike I see the implements of war all around me and we are commanded by the same officers so I cannot think it possible that we are spirits in the spirit land and that our earthly bodies are lying beneath the blue waves of the mighty deep this fabulous story originated from the fact that the wind blew our ship about 60 miles out of her course

¹³²⁶ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³²⁷

On its return to Alabama it would again be heavily loaded, meet rough seas and be forced to throw more than 100 horses and mules overboard before reaching Alabama. Charles Kellogg said he was on the *Peabody* when she "*founded off Ship Island and was rescued with others by the steamer Planter.*" He was possibly referring to this second trip.

¹³²⁸ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³²⁹

and threw her about 12 hours behind time and consequently another vessel on her way from this place to New Orleans did not see us and when she got to New Orleans reported the George Peabody lost I am well pleased with our last transfer we have left a nasty muddy disagreeable and sickly mud hole and landed on a clean healthy Island it seems like getting back to old Matagorda again but this is a far better place than Matagorda for here we have plenty of timber, and oysters til we cant rest we almost live on oysters and they dont cost us a red. all we have to do is to go when the tide is out and pick them up I have swallowed some as large as your foot at one gullup they go down as slick as lasses and dont come up again nuthur, thats whats the matter Fort Gaines which is situated on the south east end of the Island is the most formidable and warlike structure that I ever saw I was in it the other day and went all through it it looks to me as thoug a regiment ought to be able to defend it gainst any force that could be brought against it but when uncle sams gun boats came down on her she had to knock under I saw guns there that I could take my blankets and go into and sleep quite comfortably (provided they were not loaded but if they were I should be afraid of waking up in the morning on the other side of Jorden without any discriptive roll or transportation papers to get me back) Fort Morgan is just on the oposite side of Mobile bay in plain site of Gains they say she is a much stronger fort than Gains but badly damaged by the fight with uncle sams gunboats There has been several thousand troops landed here this week from around NO what is going to be done I cannot say unless they are going to give Mobile a call I will inclose some verses gotten up by one of our soldiers before we were paid off, and also a photograph for mother so good bye for this time) Your husband James Beathard

Enclosed with Jim's letter were the two poems "*gotten up by one of our soldiers.*"

*Now and forever the promise we trust
Though ashes to ashes and dust unto dust
Soon and forever our Union shall be
Made perfect our glorious old union and free*

*When the grief and the sorrow of war shall be o'er
Its pangs and its partings realized no more
When missiles do not hail and when drafts do not sever
Then soldiers their wives shall enjoy forever*

*Soon and forever the breaking of day
Shall drive all the night clouds of sorrow away
Soon and forever we'l see as we'r seen
And learn the deep meaning of things that have been*

*When fighting around us and fears from within
Shall weary no more in the warfare we are in
Then tears and then fears and then drafts shall not sever
But soldiers their wives shall enjoy forever*

*Soon and forever the work will be done
The warfare accomplished the victory won
Soon and forever the soldier lays down
His weapons of war and returns to his home*

*Then droop not in sorrow despond not in fear
A glorious tomorrow is brightening and near
Then blessed reward of each faithful endeavor
Union and liberty for ever and ever*

*With what a glory wakes this sabbath morn
What sudden splendors gild the eastern skies
How swiftly from the southern valleys born
The mists dispel and vanish from our eyes*

*Oh when sweet sabbath shall thy morning break
Down the far summits of Iowas hills of gold
When shall we of the pleasures of peace partake
And Iowas fair prairies behold*

On February 13, 1865, Marion Edgington, a recruit in Company K, wrote to the Editor of the Delaware County Union.¹³³⁰

*Camp 21st Iowa Near Fort
February 13th, 1865*

Mr. Editor:

As soon as we returned to Memphis from the expedition to Wolf river, we were ordered to New Orleans. This was about the 1st of January. Traveling by boat is generally unpleasant during the winter for soldiers, for many are quartered on the upper deck and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, sometimes for days. But to one who enjoys it, there are always new scenes to interest him. The trip was made in about two and one-half days, and we went into camp on an old sugar plantation above the city.

This country has been a dismal swamp, and is now farmed with difficulty. A high levee is necessary to prevent the river from overflowing the land. The land is cut up with drains, which terminate in one. When it rains, the water is pumped from this ditch into the swamp by a steam pump. Sugar making is the best business, hence these plantations can never be divided up, for the expensive machinery necessary to carry on this business can only be afforded by a large plantation.

On the 19th of January we were paid four out of nine months pay due, and on the 5th of February we embarked for Mobile Bay. This was the hardest voyage the 21st ever took. It was in the midst of a cold rain storm, and the vessel was loaded to its utmost capacity, making the danger of the Gulf with such a load very great. The suffering of the crew was considerable. The sea-sickness on that crowded boat amidst the storm we can justly compare to the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta. This was more particularly the fault of the Quartermaster General, who furnished the transportation. Thus, many a hardships incident to a soldier's life are altogether unnecessary, and are caused only by the imbecility or cruelty of some of the officers.

On the 7th inst. we passed Fort Morgan. A solitary buoy marks the spot where the ill-fated monitor Tuscumbia was struck by a torpedo, taking with it one hundred and thirteen men. Fort Morgan is built of brick with sand piled around it, has two tiers of heavy guns, and covers about two acres. It looks quite formidable, but did not withstand the shower of hot shot poured upon it. Fort Morgan is on the east side of the entrance to the bay, which is four or five miles wide. Mobile is about thirty miles up the bay.

We are now camped on Dauphin Island near Fort Gaines, opposite Fort Morgan. I had the pleasure of visiting the interior of Fort Gaines; it resembles Fort Morgan, but is not so strong. The beach of this island is covered with white sand for rods back, which has all the appearance of snow. The island has been covered with pine timber, but much of it has been cut down. The waters here contain plenty of good oysters, and to these the troops help themselves.

There are a good many troops here, and I think we will soon try to take Mobile; but as long as the rebels choose to hold it it will be a difficult task.

*Yours truly,
M.S.E.*

An all night rain stopped about 9:00 a.m. on the 14th but the weather continued cold and disagreeable. A

1330

William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 329-330. The letter appears to have been edited for grammar punctuation and sentence structure.

"Generals salute" was fired with the arrival of the 394-ton *Zephyr* and by nightfall the rain was back with a vengeance - "thunder is roaring and the lighting is flashing."¹³³¹ John Green was furloughed from the Memphis hospital to recuperate at home from his accidental wounding at White's Station and on the 15th Lieutenant Van Anda ordered that Tim Hayes be "detailed for special duty at these Hd. Qrs. and will report for duty without delay." It sounded urgent and may have been. On arrival, Tim, whose fame had apparently preceded him, became Van Anda's cook.

Warm weather returned on the 17th and men planned a dinner of oysters but the tide was in and they "got nothing but wet backs and hungry guts" so they spent the rest of the day "writing jumping running and rastling an cutting around."

Dauphin island Al

February the 19th 1865

Dear wife

yours of the 30th Jan came to hand last week and found me in good health and glad to hear from my wife once more I am glad to hear in all your letters lately that Ella is well I hope she will be more healthy in the future than she has been for the last two years I was much pleased with her little letter althoug it did not convey any intelligence it was pleasing to know that the scribbling was done by the innocent hand of my own little Ella O the little jade how I should like to see her Cal give her one good kiss right in the mouth for me; and tell her, her papa loves her and is thinking about her and her mother all the time I suppose when I get home I will be as a perfect stranger to her and she will probably be afraid of me but I hope I shall soon be able to rake up an acquaintance with her and when she comes to understand the relation she bears to me she will learn to love me Cal what kind of a disposition has she got, is she forward and friendly to all or is she backward and afraid of strangers has she got a mild and pleasant temper, or is she peevish and fretful (when she is well) is she mischievious and full of fun, or is she sulky and cross and last, but not least of all, how is her mind, is it bright and showing signs of intellect or is it dull of apprehension Cal you may think me foolish for asking such questions but when you come to consider the matter you will conclude that it is not at all unnatural that such questions should present themselves to my mind Just imagine you had been away from home for two years and a half and had not seen our little Ella since she was three months old; would you not be verry anxious to know what kind of child she was, and why should not her fathers interest and affection be as strong for her as her mothers;

Cal do not think that I am censuring you at all, for any neglect in not satisfying me on this subject heretofore for it is not expected that you can know all the questions that arise in my mind or be able to answer them until I make them known to you

We are still on Dauphin island enjoying ourselves as well as could be expected of soldiers in the field we have all the oysters we can eat and the regiment is in excellent health we were flattering ourselves a few days ago on the prospects of peace but it seems that all hopes of conciliation have played out and all the hope we have left is to fight it out which will be done with a will this coming spring and summer Jeff Davis says he would die a thousand deaths rather than submit to Mr Lincolns terms; but I think by the time he dies 999 times he will be willing to submit We expect to make a move from here into the interior of Alabama in cooperation with Generals Thomas and Wilson from Eastport there will be a force of something like forty thousand start out from here and fort Morgan and Pensacola this expedition will probably be commanded by Gen Granger Gen Canby is here but he is not able to ride not having sufficiently recovered from his wound received on white river last fall¹³³² Cal I will send you a photograph in this for safe keeping it is James Adams of Hardin brother to Asher Adams who you used to exort I have one more than my album will hold I expect some more soon and will send them to you and reserve only enough to fill my album which [sic] one dozen I am going to have our captain and both Lieuts) yours Jim

"Thomas" was George Henry Thomas, a Virginian already alienated from his family for staying with the Union. A veteran of Corinth, Shiloh, Perryville and Stone's River, he was known as the Rock of Chickamauga. Wilson was

¹³³¹ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³³² On November 6, 1864, Canby was on board the *USS Cricket* when wounded in the thigh by a Confederate guerilla.

probably James Harrison Wilson, a brevet Major General transferred to Tennessee to command one of Sheridan's cavalry divisions. He had routed Hood the previous December but Jim's prediction proved wrong and the 21st was assigned to neither Wilson nor Thomas. Instead, Canby, with Osterhaus as his Chief of Staff, organized an army with Whiskey Smith in command of the 16th Corps and Gordon Granger in charge of the resurrected 13th Corps. Assigned to Granger, the 21st Iowa, 99th Illinois, 47th Indiana and 29th Wisconsin comprised General Slack's 1st Brigade of James Veatch's 1st Division.¹³³³

On February 9th, John Johnson had been sentenced to confinement for twenty days and four days later it was ordered that the confinement be across the bay's entrance at Fort Morgan but John never made it. On February 20th, still on Dauphin Island, he died from small pox.¹³³⁴

Also on the 20th, George Purdy was sent back to Morganza to be examined for a possible commission in the Corps D'Afrique and, on the 22nd, Confederate officer James Williams was in Mobile when he wrote to his wife, Lizzy, that:

*"All is quiet here yet, but as you see by the papers the enemy have movements on foot that appear to have Mobile for their object. I suppose and hope too that you will before long hear of exciting times in this Department - I want to hear the music of battle again."*¹³³⁵

Like Jim Bethard, James Williams had been born in Ohio in 1837 and moved to Iowa. When his preacher father suffered during the financial panic of 1857, James was sent south to live with a churchman in Georgia while his younger brother John stayed home. Now James was fighting for the South and John was with Iowa's 1st Cavalry although their paths would not cross.¹³³⁶

Arrivals at Fort Gaines on the 23d included three recruits for Company B, an Iowa minister and William Lorimier. The recruits were Luther Pugh, James McLane and George Massey, all from Delaware County. The minister was Pearl Ingalls, a forty-two year old pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church, who spoke to the regiment on behalf of Iowa's war orphans. Ingalls had served as Chaplain of the 3d Iowa Cavalry for a year and a half before resigning due to illness, returning to Mt. Pleasant, resuming his ministry and becoming secretary of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home.¹³³⁷ They were all hospitably greeted, but Lorimier's welcome was less gracious and he was placed under arrest.

Several days earlier he had received permission to cross the bay's entrance to visit Fort Morgan, but he had not returned on the 20th as ordered. A charge of being absent without leave was preferred and a court martial convened on February 27th. Witnesses against him were Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda (who had earlier opposed William's promotion) and George Crooke. The facts were admitted by Lorimier but, with supporting testimony from Captain John Gray of the 19th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, he explained the circumstances. For several days after he arrived at Fort Morgan the wind, a "Norther" according to Lorimier, had howled and boats could not cross from Navy Cove back to Fort Gaines. The Captain of the *Iberville* told him the water was too rough for boats to tie up at the island and it was not until the 23rd that he was able to cross on the steamer *Laura*. In the meantime, on the 22nd, Samuel Glasgow, Colonel of the 23rd Iowa, had sent a telegram from Fort Morgan to Van Anda at Fort Gaines advising him that "*Lieut Lorimier is detained here for want of a boat will come first chance.*" Technically, Lorimier was guilty of overstaying his leave, but the words "*without excuse*" were stricken from the specification, "*no criminality*" was to attach to the charge and he was released from custody.¹³³⁸

¹³³³ History of Pike County, Illinois (Chas. C. Chapman & Co., Chicago, 1880), page 380.

¹³³⁴

Initially interred locally, he was reburied after the war in the Mobile National Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama. Find-a-Grave Memorial #2944779.
¹³³⁵

From That Terrible Field. Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-first Alabama Infantry Volunteers (edited by John Kent Folmer; The University of Alabama Press 1981), page 154.
¹³³⁶

James told Lizzy, "*I hope that John's adventurous spirit has not led him to join in the crusade against us,*" but John had enlisted early and would serve almost four years before being mustered out in June. Id at page 102.
¹³³⁷

See History of Polk County, Iowa (Union Historical Company, 1880), page 821; George Gallarno, *How Iowa Cared for Orphans of Her Soldiers of the Civil War, Annals of Iowa* (Historical Department of Iowa, 1925-1927), page 163
¹³³⁸

On February 24th, 1865, Captain Boardman sent a report to the *North Iowa Times* that it published a month later:¹³³⁹

Capt. H. C. Boardman, of Co. D, 21st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, sends us the following with a request to publish:

At a meeting of the officers and men of the 21st Regiment, Iowa Infantry Volunteers held at Dauphin Island, Alabama, February 24th, 1865. The following resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Through the unceasing and kind effort of the Rev. P. P. Ingalls of Iowa, we have been informed of the designs of an institution known as the Iowa State Orphan Asylum, constituted for the grand and noble purpose of establishing a home for sustaining and educating the sons and daughters of our brave comrades who have fallen in this great struggle for the suppression of the rebellion in the Southern States and placing their children above the condition of paupers, and above the condition of becoming servants for the rich.

Therefore, Resolved: That we tender to him, and through him to the great and noble heart of Iowa, whose every patriotic pulse vibrates through the veins of her brave sons upon every field of strife, our heart felt thanks, and our eternal devotion to this battle for the supremacy of the Nations integrity - for the interest, and great liberality with which they have organized, and are sustaining an institution for the elevation and happiness of those beings, around whom the tenderest heart strings of the soldier are fastened, with silver cords not to be broken even by death.

Resolved, That we hereby appropriate the sums of Seven Thousand two Hundred and Thirty-four Dollars and forty two cents, to be invested for the benefit of said Institute in such manner as the proper authorities do designate.

Committee on Resolutions - Lieut. Col. S. G. Van Anda, Surgeon D. W. Chase, Chaplain James Hill, and others.

The following is the amount subscribed by the Clayton Co. companies:

Company B fifty-nine men, \$1,125,00; Co. D, thirty eight men, \$737,50; Co. G, forty-six, \$160.

On the 25th, John Delancey died in New Orleans of malarial fever¹³⁴⁰ and on a "cloudy and rainy" Sunday Jim wrote to Cal.

Dauphin island, Al

February the 26th 1865

Dear wife

another sabath still finds us on Dauphin island troops are continuously ariving and they say there are yet 25 thousand at New Orleans awaiting transportation I understand they are reorganizing the old 13th corps and Gen Granger is to have command of it how soon the expedition will start from here I am unable to say but we are expecting to start before long and we expect when we do go to have some marching and probbably some fighting to do and if they give us good commanders I am quite confident the old 13th corps will be able to show to the world that there is fight in it yet and that they are still ready and willing to fight for their country I cannot say that I wish to see another battle and if I knew it would be as well for our country I should be quite contented to know that our regiment would never see another fight; but as the fate of our nation depends upon its soldiers and is to be decided by war I can cheerfully bear all the privations and hardships of a soldiers life, and if need be lock bayonets with the traitors and face their roaring cannon amidst showers of lead and iron for the sake of the dear old stars and stripes if I knew I should fall in battle tomorrow I would not exchange positions with any northern copperhead in the north who has never lent a hand nor payed a cent except what he was

In August, 1863, when Lorimier's promotion to 1st Lieutenant was proposed by Captain David Greaves and approved by Colonel Merrill, Van Anda had ignored the chain of command and complained to the Governor that Lorimier was "*altogether incompetent*" and would be "*entirely worthless as an officer.*" With support from Dubuque attorney, F. E. Bissell, and Major General F. J. Herron who said Lorimier was a "*gallant little fellow,*" Lorimier had received the promotion but Van Anda was perhaps still bitter when he elected to pursue the current charges despite being aware that due to weather conditions it had been impossible for Lorimier to return o time.

¹³³⁹ The report was published on March 22, 1865, with the weekly *The Weekly North Iowa Times*' introductory paragraph.

¹³⁴⁰ The site of John's burial has not been found.

obliged to, for our countrys cause It seems that the peace propositions have fell through with and all the hope left is to fight it out which I am quite confident we shall be able to do this coming spring and summer Jim Rice and myself neither of us received any mail last week we are verry anxious to get letters from our wives I wrote to father last week concerning a box to be expressed to him containing clothing for 25 or 30 different ones in our company the box was shiped last Friday for New Orleans to be expressed it is the same box that I wrote to you of that we were going to send from Kennerville but did not Cap Lyons wished me to say that if his friends do not call for his package soon that he would be obliged if you would open and air it I sent an overcoat and dress coat and James Rice the same I have bought another dress coat since almost as good as the one I sent home for three dollars a great many will sell their clothing for almost nothing rather than carry it on a march or run the risk of losing by expressing it home

Well Cal I must tell you what we have been doing for the orphans home in Iowa the Rev Mr Ingals a Methodist preacher and I believe an elder is here he delivered a lecture to the 21st Iowa last thursday evening concerning the Iowa orphans assylum we all made up our minds that Mr Ingals was a fine man and that the orphans home was a splendid thing or would be if carried out according to the plans presented to us; we appointed a committe to draught resolutions expressive of our opinions of the home which Mr Ingals said he would have printed in the Iowa papers we met the next evening and the resolutions were adopted and Mr Ingals gave us another lecture our regiment subscribed six thousand two hundred and thirty six dollars and fifty cents to the cause the 19th Iowa went something over \$7400 our company alone gave 1115¹³⁴¹ I gave \$25.00 which secures a life membership James Rice done the same no more at present but remain as ever your husband Jim

I enclose photographs of Cap Lyons and our 1st Lieut Abram Treadwell

Grant thought Canby would have captured Mobile by now and moved north to Selma to draw the enemy's attention away from Sherman. Canby "*was an officer of great merit*" thought Grant but he was "*deliberate*" and behind schedule, Grant was angry and Sherman was on his own.¹³⁴²

In good weather on February 27th, the regiment moved closer to the fort and William Lyons, who had done well when temporarily commanding Company B, was recommended as "*the most suitable man*" in the brigade to command a division of the Pioneer Corps that would be sorely needed during the upcoming expedition. Lyons was authorized to personally select all non-commissioned officers and Privates for a corps that would include three Sergeants, three Corporals and thirty Privates, and brigade commanders were to give him "*all necessary assistance in selecting the men.*"

With the regiment about to embark on an active and potentially dangerous campaign, Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda wrote to Iowa's Superintendent of the recruiting service. A Descriptive Roll had finally been received for Seth Hickock but Van Anda said it was unacceptable (possibly because it referred to the 7th Infantry and he thought it should reference the 21st Infantry). He requested a proper roll so Seth could be paid for the nearly four months he had been with the regiment.

On the 28th, George L. Fisher was discharged as 1st Sergeant so he could be commissioned as 1st Lieutenant in Company C to fill the vacancy created by the promotion of Charles Brugh to Captain. Men were paid and George received \$141.60 (for 5 months, 27 days, at his 1st Sergeant's rate of \$24.00 monthly), \$75.00 as the balance due on his enlistment bounty and \$6.45 for transportation expenses that had inadvertently been deducted twice, less \$.15 for clothing, a net of \$222.90. In Company B, Abram Treadwell was ordered to take Lyons' place in command of the company and after a heavy all night rain men woke to better weather on March 1st, some enjoyed "*a pleasant game of ball*" and visited with friends from Illinois, and John Towne, an early enlistee in Company A from Worth County, wrote from Dauphin Island.¹³⁴³

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According to George Brownell, his Company D pledged \$692.25, the Regiment pledged \$6,254.00 and the 19th Indiana \$7,550. Jim said he gave \$25.00 and Flavius Patterson wrote that "*Brother Osbra & myself gave 50 dollars. 25 a piece.*"

¹³⁴² Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 174.

1343

Original letter purchased on eBay. A Roll of Honor, Volume XVII, of the "Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defence of the American Union" on www.IAGenWeb.Org/CivilWar/Burial_Cemeteries/RollOfHonor.Htm says John G. Towne died on June 10, 1866, and was buried in Worth County.

Camp of 21st Iowa Inft
Dolphine Island Ala
March 1st 1865

Dear Sister Clarie

Your Big Brother seats himself this PM to address you a few lines in answer to your Kind wellcom letter under date of Feb 3rd which came safe to hand by return male it found me in good health & as this leaves me . . . you all the same

we are still in cam on Dolphine Island & ma be for some time yet for all . . . they are . . . in troops pretty fast now I look for the 32nd & 27th Iowa every day the 10th Minn is here I see one Bear Lake man & James . . . he lives down on the shell rock near shell rock city I had a good visit with them & we talked over old times & our adventures since he said I must have a party for him when he comes home I told him I would if he would fetch Miss Herbit over

I got three letters at once from All. & one from Wm H H C W A J A L Wood The first letter All. wrote they are at East Port Miss the next at Vicksburg the next at N O La & we look for them here every day the 5th Minn just came now & there is too more regts on another boat I don't know what Regts they are they may be the 32nd & 27th I will know as soon as they land I will be glad to see the Boys it has been almost three years now since I have seen them I should liked to of been to the Ball at Shell rock City but never mind my turn will come after a while I hope you had as good a time as you aloted on if nothing happens I will be there the first of July to go to some Ball or other amusement I have given up getting out this month but I think June will take us out shure there is one Regt just starting home now & their time aint out untill the 22 of this month if they start us home as early as that we will go in May in about two months that will soon roll by

did Father get the money I sent from Kennerville I sent 70 dollars you say you will be glad when I get home do you think I will be glad to I think I will three years is quite a long stay away from home for the first . . . still I don't mind it as much as I thought I would I am sorry for Ellen it was to bad for her but it better been that that she lost than her Christie you must have quite a school this semester & a grand one from what you say I am glad of that tell Miss Shurstin I have a watch now that beats the one I sent home them two Regts are not the 32nd & 27th they have landed now

I look for Maggies letter the next male are get for guy said she was going to write I wrote to her a short time ago but it will be time fer me to write again when I get hers Give my compliments to hattie & tell her she musnt ferget her friends now her Brothers has got home also remember me to all the Boys & tell them to go it while they are young Sam & Billy Matsen are both well Wm Berkel is in the Hospital yet at N O he is usually well I think it time Becket was a getting married if he ever intends to

Well Sister you must excuse me this time & oblige me by writing soon I send my compliments to all friends my love to Clarissa wishing you all well I will Bid you Good By

J. G. Towne . . . Towne

Hartland Iowa

In its March 1st edition, the *North Iowa Times* carried a Dubuque report that a mini-draft was made "for one man to fill the deficiency in Military township, Winneshiek county." On the 2d, General Veatch ordered that Lewis Eno and the others selected by Lyons report for duty, George Brownell played ball and read a book called Wounded and James Williams told Lizzy "we are still in peaceful possession of our lives - I am confident that we will have to fight for them however in a few days."¹³⁴⁴ The 12th Iowa was still in New Orleans but marched out Shell Road to Lakeport and left through Lake Pontchartrain for Dauphin Island and, farther north, Lee wrote to Grant suggesting a military convention as a means of ending the war, a political issue Grant was forbidden to discuss.

In Washington on March 3rd, at President Lincoln's urging, Congress passed a Freedman's Bureau Bill to help former slaves with food, housing education, health care and employment while weather continued pleasant on Dauphin Island. George Brownell spent the day reading the Bible and a New Orleans newspaper while Linus

1344

John Kent Folmer, editor, *From That Terrible Field. Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-first Alabama Infantry Volunteers* (The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL; 1981), page 155.

McKinnie wrote a long letter to Colonel Richardson of *The Weekly North Iowa Times*.

Mobile Bay, Alabama, }
March 3d, 1865. }

Col.: - When last I wrote you we were camped at the mouth of White River, Ark., since which time we have made several grand moves; but we will pass them all by, as they are not worthy of note. At present we are stripping ourselves for a big thing, but in what direction I am unable to say. If you hear of this war playing out, you can blame it on the army that is here, for you must know by this time that the old 13th A.C. is on its legs again, and has flung its banner to the breezes [sic] of heaven, while under its ample folds are gathered heroes of Port Gibson, Champion Hills, Black River Bridge and Vicksburg. Its old leader has since been buried in the rubbish of his own ambition, but it illy be comes us to upbraid the brave man now. - Thousands of his admirers in the field wept to see him gather his political cloak around him and lie down to dreams that known no waking. History may record that he erred in opinion, but history will never have upon its pages that John A. McClernand would not fight.

We have a Gideon, by the name of Granger, Major Gen. U. S. Vol, to lead us on to victory or gaping graves. The latter we may find dug around Mobile or Montgomery. The health of the troops never was better; the weather is fine and warm, with plenty of oysters and other good things. We live in what used to be called when I was in the States, on top shelf style. If you will take the trouble to look on the map at the entrance of Mobile Bay, you will find Dauphin's Island and Fort Gains. The 1st Brigade is camped about 100 yards in the rear of the Fort; the Brigade is commanded by Brig. Gen. James R. Slack, of Huntington, Indiana, and Indiana may well be proud of him as an officer. By the by, he says he is somewhat acquainted with one Pat, of the Times, and his playmate, Maj. Herriman. The 21st Iowa is the 2d Regiment on the right of the army corps, and is still under the command of Lt. Col. Van Anda, who, as the weather gets warmer gets fatter, and seems to enjoy life with an ease and grace that is highly complementary of his good judgment, and as he sits in front of his tent of a warm evening, with a kind word for all, we can but hope that his days may be long on the 160 acres of land that he will get when his time is out in the army. He has renounced the Band of Gideon and gone in with the Swiss Bell Ringers. Doc Chase is here with us as our Surgeon of the Regiment; he is a worker and not afraid to talk. Him and our old Surg. Doc. Hunt, seem to get along finely; we are fortunate in the way of Surgeons.

In the expedition we are about to undertake, I will keep a journal of events and forward to you if you desire it. It will be a big thing. I can already begin to smell another Texas campaign. This is the last one we will make, as our time expires in August, and then good day to your long marches, muddy roads and pleasant dreams under gum blankets. Here it is, "Hold yourself in readiness to go on board the transports at an hour's notice." How are you, transports? Col., you never saw one of those things loaded, did you? Well, for fear you may think they are a small steamboat, I will give you the manifest of the I. I. Row, as I was going north last Spring in her hold: She had 1,700 bhd. of sugar, and 2,500 bbls. of molasses on her deck; she had 100 Govt. wagons all set up, ready to run, 600 head of mules, 100 head of horses and 1,800 men, and the Captain said it was a d__d light trip; but when we left Memphis on last New Year's day for N.O., we had on board the Baltic 1st Brigade, and it was not until they washed the decks that all the men were found. Talk about your pleasure trips to Yellow River, but give me a Government transport, and I want it crowded.

Rumor has just reached us that Charleston has fallen, together with Wilmington and Columbia. All honor to Sherman and his brave men. May he continue in his good work until the last Rebel Lion is made to crouch at his feet and claim that mercy that none know better than he how to administer. How beautifully he makes the olive branch and the sabre balance in the scale of justice.

Hoping soon to hear of victory being perched on our banners everywhere, I am yours, till the 22d of August, 1865.

Line

On March 4th, Company G's John Ano was detailed for duty at brigade headquarters and a reorganized Tennessee under its military governor, Andrew Johnson, elected William G. "Parson" Brownlow as its new governor¹³⁴⁵ while President Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term, this time riding in a carriage escorted by

¹³⁴⁵ From East Tennessee, Parson Brownlow had earlier been evicted from the Confederate South and barely made it out of the state with

bands, cavalry and a large crowd of spectators. The oath was administered by Chief Justice Salmon Chase and the President delivered his characteristically brief remarks. Standing at a small iron table, only a few feet from John Wilkes Booth who had gained admittance through his fiancé Lucy Hale, Lincoln reminded his audience that "impending civil war" had faced the nation four years previously. "All dreaded it - all sought to avert it and the war came." Of the two sides, "both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other" but "fondly do we hope - fervently do we pray - that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away" so the country may unite itself "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Committed to ending the war as soon as possible, the soldiers were cheered by the success of their own "Peace Commissioners" - Grant and Sherman - as Jim told Cal.

Dauphin Island the 5th [of March] 1865

Dear wife

we are still on the island with no more signs of leaving than there was a week ago Troops are still arriving from New Orleans every day one brigade of smiths corps landed here last week we captured three rebels last week on cedar point¹³⁴⁶ they say there is about twenty thousand rebs in Mobile but there is not much confidence to be placed in prisoners reports The news reached us last week of the fall of Charlston and Columbia and it seems from all accounts that Lee is about to evacuate Richmond Hurrah! for our peace commisioners (Grant and Sherman) they are the chaps to make peace We are expecting as I have told you before to go on an expedition into the interior of this state but as to when we will start I know no more than you. yours of the 5th and 12th came to hand last monday, you do not seem to favor the idea of going to Kansas you say it is sickly there and lots of rebs I suppose there are parts of Kansas that are verry sickly while there are parts healthy as northern Iowa and as for rebels I candidly believe that there are as many in Iowa as there are in Kansas and by the time that I get home it is my opinion that there wont be such a thing known in the united states as a rebel I have no late news from Ohio I got the receipt of the Adams Express company yesterday for that lot of clothing that we expressed to father I will just inclose it in this letter although it does not amount to a pinch of snuff Cal why have you never wrote to me of Joseph Feays marriage I saw the notice of it some time ago in the McGregor paper and also the marriage of Miss Rosaltha Rounds to Mr Richard McNally perhaps you have not heard of it yet if not I am telling you news¹³⁴⁷ I mailed a photograph Album last Wednesday directed to Mrs J Beathard do you know the lady? if you do, please take care of the Album it contains one dozen photographs of old comrades in company B. 21st Iowa you can find out the names of everyone by refering to the index and noticing the numbers please leave them in the album as they are you still keep reminding me of my promise of sending you my photograph I hope it has reached you before this time what do you think of it does it meet your imagination of the soldier boy of whom you have been thinking so much in the past 18 months Old Abe took his seat yesterday for another four years in the white house I hope his coming administration will be a more peaceable one than the past I hope soon to read his inaugural address I expect he will come down heavy on the rebs he has offered them peace on reasonable terms and they would not except so now they must suffer the consequence. There seems to be some prospect of a war with France on account of the dificulties in Mexico I hope this rebellion will be played out before that takes place and then if the French dont back down Id say give them a turn I would rather fight the Parlaboo's than the rebs and whenever uncle sam needs my services for that purpose I am ready although I should like to be free a little while first. We have had no mail since last Monday. the regular mail days are Tuesdays and Fridays but we have not been getting mail verry regular for the last two weeks Cal I dreamed last night of seeing you and little Ella which was no uncommon thing nor anything to be wondered at as thoughts of you are the last in my head at night and the first in the morning) James Beathard

his life.

¹³⁴⁶

¹³⁴⁷

Opposite the north side of Dauphin Island and now connected to the island by bridge.

Richard McNally was born in Ireland and was a twenty-four year old resident of McGregor when he enlisted as a Private in the Engineer Regiment of the West, a Missouri regiment, on October 12, 1861.

I am out of stamps and no money to buy any couldnt buy them here if I had money

The Adams Express Company to which Jim referred promoted itself as the *Army and Soldiers Package Express* as it carried freight to and from the war zones. Soldiers expressed money, excess clothing, gifts and other items to their families and the company delivered the shipments to local agents where packages could be retrieved on presentation of the proper receipt or identification. With minimal competition, they dominated the movement of personal items to and from the front and aided the military in the transportation of ordnance and supplies.¹³⁴⁸

Jim's father returned to Ohio favorably impressed by his trip west. On March 7th, he and Sarah sold their 152 acre Dover Township farm to Jim Richey and prepared to leave for Kansas while, in the South, Acting Rear Admiral Henry Thatcher, commanding the Navy's West Gulf Squadron, offered his monitors, tinclads and ironclads to Canby. To test Canby's theory that the Confederates might be ready to evacuate Mobile, Thatcher moved up the bay, approached the city, drew fire and decided the enemy preferred to remain. From their camp on Dauphin Island the 21st heard the "*heavy cannonading all the morning at a distance*"¹³⁴⁹ and received its marching orders while the 12th Iowa and two Minnesota regiments arrived to join them.

Mobile's primary defenses were on the west but Canby, like Grant at Vicksburg, decided to approach from the east where defenses included Spanish Fort (on the east side of Blakely River about seven miles from Mobile and two miles north of D'Olive Creek) and Fort Blakely (about three miles north of Spanish Fort, past the Blakely's junction with the Apalachee and opposite the mouth of the Tensas, aka Tensaw). Granger's corps would march from Fort Morgan up the east side of the bay to Fish River, a "*dark, narrow and crooked stream*" but "*quite deep.*" There it would rendezvous with Smith's corps brought up by transport. From Gaines the Hawkeyes could see men leaving Morgan and knew they would soon follow.

On March 8th, the *North Iowa Times* reported the President's inaugural address and results of McGregor's recent election in which Mayor Leffingwell was re-elected over G. S. Scott. "*And this is a Dem. City, good for the 100 majority,*" it said. "*The whole ticket of the Republican party was triumphantly elected.*" Mr. Scott was a prominent member of the Methodist Church and rumors spread that if he were elected the saloons would be closed. It was, they said, "*a spirited election.*"

"The election was carried in every ward and in the city in general, on the question 'Church versus Whisky.' Several prominent Republicans (including Col. Sam Merrill of the Bank) voted against Leffingwell, but more democrats voted against Scott because of the report that he was opposed to Saloons."

On Dauphin Island, more regiments arrived on March 8th while Salmon Bush and George Brownell mended their pants and shelter tents were turned in. The Confederate Congress adopted another flag, this time changing the field to white with a red bar on the end opposite the union which remained as on the Stainless Banner approved two years earlier. Despite this third national flag, the square-shaped battle flag approved in September 1861 with the familiar red field, crossing blue bars and thirteen stars would remain the symbol of the South.

The 27th Iowa arrived after a relatively easy trip, but "*few had Ever seen a ship or salt water before*" and the "*ship Danced a litle & the farther we got out the More their was sick*" and before long "*the Boys began to call up their accounts.*" On arrival, said the 27th's Ed Rolfe, "*we marched about 2 Miles along the shore and camped on the sand we found the 21st Iowa here and we saw lots of the Boys that live in Forestville Henry Guigmires Brother came and stayd till 11 O clock and one of the Widdow Shoults son*"¹³⁵⁰ "*his Brother & Father was Froze to Death on the Prarie and this is the first time we have seen them since we have been out I saw Warren Braman ... and he is fat as Ever.*"¹³⁵¹ William Boynton, Noble Richards, Calvin Wilson and other recruits also arrived but Albert Knight

¹³⁴⁸

One of its shareholders was Scotsman Andrew Carnegie, recipient of \$600.00 of Adams' stock and subsequent dividends that convinced him being a shareholder and corporate owner was a good way to make money, a philosophy that would make him the world's richest man.

¹³⁴⁹ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³⁵⁰ These were probably Lewis Quitmyre and George Shultz, both in Company H and both from Forestville in Delaware County.

¹³⁵¹

Letter from Edward Rolfe, Company F, 27th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Dauphin Island, to his wife. Laurence F. Lillibridge, editor, Hard Marches, Hard Crackers and Hard Beds (Lillibridge Publishing Co, Prescott Valley, Arizona, 1993), page 160.

had become ill and was held back in a New Orleans hospital.

March 9th was cold and wet, John Rogman entered the hospital with chronic diarrhea and some of the *"Generals took a pleshur ride up the bay and got so near Mobile that they shelled till they were glad to retreat."* Low temperatures continued through the night and the 10th was so cold and windy that George Brownell found it impossible to do any sewing. Transports with men and supplies continued to arrive and anchor near the dock as weather improved on the 11th. Camps on Dauphin Island were quiet but men continued to leave Morgan and, preparing to greet them, James Williams led his Southerners from Mobile to Spanish Fort.

In Iowa, Joel and Sarah Rice had moved to Sigourney where they owned and operated a small hotel. Cal accompanied them and wrote to let Jim know where they were.

**Dauphin island Ala
Saturday March the 11th 1865**

Dear wife

this is not my day to write to you, but I write today for fear I shall not have a chance tomorrow. They seem to be moving troops from Fort Morgan to day on transports and landing or trying to land them some where between here and Mobile The blockading fleet moved up the bay last night or this morning and the heavy rumbling of cannon in the direction of Mobile to day sounds like distant thunder. We are striped for the fight and awaiting orders to move and expecting them every hour, and have turned over all our tents and camp equipage except two camp kettles to a company even the field officers tents have been taken down and they are living in dog-tents the same as the privates only one wedge tent being allowed to the regiment, and when we go we are to carry a spade and pick to every six men. Cal I received yours of the 19th Feb - last Tuesday and was glad to hear once more that you were all well I was also glad to hear that you had received the pictures and was so well pleased with them, you think they look careworn. I was not aware that there was any noticeable change in either of our features since we left home; but you would notice any change ever so slight that we would fail to notice in ourselves or one another having been together all the time. You say little Ella knew my photograph, I hope she will know the original as quick but how will that be; even if she does recognize the person that she calls papa Jim, will she understand the relation she bears to me, and love me from the first? or will she regard me as she would any other stranger and only become attached by a long acquaintance. It is my opinion that the latter will be the case, but let that be as it may, it is nothing that should trouble my mind but natural curiosity leads me to such inquiry's I shall consider myself quite lucky and highly favored if I am spared to return which being the case, I know that I shall be recognized and welcomed by a faithful and loving wife, which is enough to cause the heart of any true soldier to swell with hope. I received a letter from Libby the first of this week; they are all well. father had returned from Kansas and was well pleased with the country and would move there in the spring if he could sell out I thought from when Jont wrote some time ago that he had a chance to sell; but it seems that if he did he has let it slip. It seems that Jim Grays Kansas fever has subsided Your answer to the Kansas subject was just such a one as I expected to get You wanted to know what I thought of father going to Sigourney, from what I have learned I believe Sigourney is a pleasant town; but if I was going to leave northern Iowa for the sake of a milder climate I certainly should not think of stopping at Sigourney for I doubt there being any noticeable difference between the climate at Sigourney and McGregor as Sigourney is at least 150 miles north of the south line of Iowa. My Ideas of going south is to go far enough to get into a southern climate. I believe that half way between is no climate at all and is more disagreeable and unhealthy than either a northern or southern climate. But it is useless to argue that question now, I am in favor of the old folks going where they please; and as circumstances alter cases; our minds may all be changed before Jim and I get home, and I hope we shall be spared the pains of quarreling on that subject (Your husband. Jim

On the 12th Charles Nims, a farmer from Dubuque who had joined the regiment , died from typhoid fever while in the Fort Gaines hospital,¹³⁵² George Brownell *"went to meeting held on the sand bank"* in the morning and wrote to his sister in the afternoon, and Ed Rolfe:

¹³⁵² The site of Charles burial has not been found.

*"went down to the 21st Iowa and I [saw] Mr Grannis the store Keeper at Strawberry Point and took supper with him I drank Coffee out of a china Cup for the first time since I was on Furlough and Eat off an Earthen plate beans & beef bred & butter sweet cakes and Bread pudding Concentrated Milk in our Coffee for supper pretty good for a soldier But Grannis is a 1st Lieut and he can afford to have such things the afternoon passd off quick and then I went to see some of the Boys Henry Quagmyers Brother and one of the Widow Shoults Boys and two of the Gilberts of forestville."*¹³⁵³

Fishing was good *"and the Boys go in Bathing all the time"* but the 13th brought a *"damp chilly wind blowing from the east"* and many were sick. It rained all night and throughout the 14th causing most to stay in their bunks while William Lambert died from disease.¹³⁵⁴

SPANISH FORT AND FORT BLAKELY (March 15 to April 12, 1865)

March 15th *"was a stormy day it thundered & Lightend very heavy,"*¹³⁵⁵ men drew rations, a Missouri soldier was killed by lightning, two more were injured, one drowned while fishing and Horace Farrington was transferred to the Invalid Corps. The island was *"pretty well covered with Soldiers"* but John Green was still at home where he had recovered sufficiently to rejoin the regiment. On the 17th he reported at Camp McClellan and he and other convalescents began the long journey south on the same day their regiment packed up at 11:00 a.m., marched down to the dock and boarded the *N. G. Brown* at 1:00 p.m. A half hour later they *"landed at Navy Cove; marched one mile and a half up the peninsula and encamped."*¹³⁵⁶

Ahead of them, James Williams wrote optimistically to Lizzie, *"when we left Mobile a fight appeared imminent, but now it seems more of an uncertainty every day - The Maj Gen Commanding who has by some been irreverently dubbed the Lord of Panic issued his battle order . . . yet we still possess our lives in quiet - The Yankee force at Pensacola is said to be much less than at first reported, and the waters are so high that it cant advance."*¹³⁵⁷

Canby had decided on a pincers movement with 13,000 troops under Steele marching north and west from Fort Barrancas and uniting with the men from Morgan and Gaines.¹³⁵⁸ Smith's 19,000 would move by water from Gaines while Granger's 13,000 would march up the peninsula.¹³⁵⁹ The regiment laid over on the 18th waiting for wagons to cross, Salmon Bush and George Brownell *"went to a pond and had a good wash,"* and their old Hartville adversary, General Marmaduke, was still in captivity when promoted in absentia to Major General, the last Confederate officer appointed to that rank.

1353

March 16, 1865 letter from Edward Rolfe, Company F, 27th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Dauphin Island, to his wife. Laurence F. Lillibridge, editor, Hard Marches, Hard Crackers and Hard Beds (Lillibridge Publishing Co, Prescott Valley, Arizona, 1993), page 160. The roster for the 21sts lists eight men as residents of Forestville including Lewis Quitmyre and George Shultz, both born in Germany.

¹³⁵⁴ William Henry "Hank" Lambert is buried in the Mobile National Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54873906.

1355

March 16, 1865 letter from Edward Rolfe, Company F, 27th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Dauphin Island, to his wife. Laurence F. Lillibridge, editor, Hard Marches, Hard Crackers and Hard Beds (Lillibridge Publishing Co, Prescott Valley, Arizona, 1993), page 160.

¹³⁵⁶

O.R. Series I, Volume XLIX/1 [S#103]. Rough weather at the bay's entrance often prevented boats from landing at Fort Morgan and Braxton Bragg had constructed a wharf inside the Bay at the sheltered Navy Cove. A four mile rail line connected it to the Fort.

¹³⁵⁷ John Kent Folmer, editor, From That Terrible Field. Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-first Alabama Infantry

Volunteers (The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL; 1981), pages 156-157.

¹³⁵⁸

Others indicate Steele's movement north from Pensacola to Pollard was originally intended to prevent Maury's forces from evacuating Mobile by withdrawing in that direction, but *"such a route of escape had never been contemplated by us,"* said Dabney Maury.. Dabney H. Maury, *Defence of Mobile*, Southern Historical Papers, Volume III, No .1 (Richmond, Virginia, January 1877, Kraus Reprint Co).

1359

Elsewhere it's said that Granger and Smith had a total of 25,000 men, and elsewhere 26,000. Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 173.

**Mobile point Ala
March the 18th 1865**

Dear wife

**we just now received notice that mail would be sent back in half an hour so I will just scribble a line to let you know where and how we are we left Dauphin Island yesterday afternoon and came across the bay and landed on a peninsula called Mobile point and marched about five miles and camped in the pine woods, in an old camp which a division of our corps left yesterday. they have gone on some distance ahead and we are waiting here for our artillery and supplies to come up; what this move means I cannot tell exactly but presume it is to get into the rear of Mobile. we supposed when we embarked that we would land on cedar point and march up as near as we could get in front. even the colonel thought so, and ordered us to load our guns before going aboard, but from present appearances we will have to march some before we see Mobile we are now in sight of the Florida line I will inclose in this the photograph of our orderly sergeant George A Purdy; We are well and hoping this hurried note may find you the same I bid you good bye for this time my excuse for a short letter is that the mail is going out right off
your husband**

James Beathard

By now the optimism Williams had shown only a few days earlier was beginning to wane and he thought that once the weather cleared it was "*not improbable that we and the Yanks will celebrate the occasion by a small fight.*"¹³⁶⁰ In the meantime, he supervised the execution of a deserter and noted that two more would follow in a few days.

On March 19th "*reveille was sounded at 4AM,*" Union soldiers drew rations and the regiment moved out about 6:30 a.m. Roads were dry, but the sand made marching difficult. They waded across an arm of the bay in thigh-high water about noon and four hours later camped for the night.¹³⁶¹ George Brownell recalled "*we marched 16 miles pulled off our pants and waded a bay*" and George Crooke thought "*it was very amusing, as each man reduced his attire to that condition which best enabled him to keep it dry, consistently with his conception of modesty and propriety.*"¹³⁶² Behind them, their friends in the 12th Iowa broke camp at 11:00 a.m., stacked arms near the wharf, boarded *Gunboat No. 48* (a stern-wheel steamer also known as the *USS Roldoph*) after sundown, crossed to Navy Cove and anchored for the night.

On the 20th, reveille was at 4:30 a.m. The regiment started about daylight,¹³⁶³ marched five miles, got in "*plenty of trouble*" when they discovered they were on the wrong road, retraced their steps three or four miles and advanced another three. By now, according to Van Anda, the ground was "*exceedingly wet and marshy.*"¹³⁶⁴ Under a surface that appeared firm, the subsoil was swampy, almost quicksand. Wagons sank. "*Every team seeking an untried path soon got mired, and wagons were seen in all directions sunk down to the hubs long ropes were made fast to the teams, and the soldiers with cheerfulness and alacrity, hauled both animals and wagons out of the mire.*" Ahead of them, Liddell warned Maury that the Federals had landed near Fish River, Maury sent reinforcements and Liddell prepared his defenses.¹³⁶⁵

Local plantations had once produced thousands of barrels of turpentine from forests of pitch pine but now the trees were disappearing, purposely set on fire by withdrawing Southerners or ignited accidentally by campfires. After

1360

From That Terrible Field. Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-first Alabama Infantry Volunteers page 157 (edited by John Kent Folmer; The University of Alabama Press 1981).

1361

Probably the eastern end of Bon Secour Bay at the southeastern end of Mobile Bay.

1362

George Crooke, Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 143.

1363

Sunrise was generally a few minutes before 6:00 a.m. with twilight starting about twenty-four minutes earlier.

1364

Report of Lieut. Col. Salue G. Van Anda, April 11, 1865. O.R. Series I, Volume XLIX/1 [S#103].

1365

Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 175.

a quick flash and blaze, flames subsided but "*stifling volumes of smoke*" filled the air. Lyons' pioneers cut their share of pines as they worked day and night to build a corduroy road two miles long while Smith led his flotilla of gunboats and transports across the bay. Turning up Fish River, he advanced slowly between low banks covered with timber to Danby's Mills while thin clouds turned dark, rain fell and Granger's infantry struggled along the shore. That night and throughout the next morning, the rain turned torrential and William Grannis later recalled that the campaign was:

"through swamps much of the way and that the men were detailed to make corduroy causeways, that the swamps were of such a nature that horses and mules could not be used so that the men had to cut and drag in place the timbers for causeways, that heavy rains fell, especially on the night of the 20th of March that the work was arduous and hard on the men; work all day in the mud and wet and then lie down at night in their wet clothes"

As a result, said Grannis, most of the men caught colds and suffered from related illnesses for the rest of the campaign and for many the rest of their lives. Roads floated away. Teams and wagons floundered and animals were half buried. The 27th Iowa and others in Smith's command went ashore at Danby's landing on the west bank of Fish River and "*threw up a line of earth-works*" while Steele sent a cavalry brigade out from Milton and infantry toward Pollard to destroy lines of the Mobile & Great Northern Railroad and the Mobile & Florida Railroad before turning south to cooperate with Canby. Ahead of them, Lumsden's Alabama battery left Mobile by steamer to man four of the six-pound field guns inside Spanish Fort.

In the North, Alexander Bethard left Ohio. With him were his wife, daughters (twenty-seven-year-old Libby from his first marriage and six-year-old Mary from his second) and the family of his son Jonathan. From Marysville they traveled to Cincinnati where the banks of the Ohio were bustling with activity, ironclads were under construction, soldiers boarded steamboats for the South and the Bethards embarked for their new home in Kansas, "*down the Ohio River to its confluence with the Mississippi and on up the Missouri River to Wyandotte, now Kansas City, Kansas.*"¹³⁶⁶

In Alabama, "*during the night and morning of the 21st there was heavy rain and we remained in camp.*" "*Water stood all over the ground six inches deep,*" but Smith's transports continued to debark while the waiting Hawkeyes were "*pleasantly camped*" amid tall pines on sandy, rolling ground and fatigue details worked on the roads. Across from Danby's and preparing to cross Fish River on pontoons was the vanguard of Granger's infantry including the regiment's old friends in the 23d Iowa while Thatcher's gunboats shelled the woods ahead of them from *Pointe Clear* north to the Blakely River bar. More streams had to be crossed and more bridges built and the pioneers, with infantry support, were hard at work while Jim and the rest of the regiment worked on corduroy roads close to camp. The "*low flat Swamp country*" was the worst so far, said Silas Shearer, "*so miserable that birds will hardly live here.*"

On the 22d, reveille was at 4:00 a.m., they marched "*slowly from 7 a.m. until noon,*" Companies D and F helped with the wagons, others built roads and the regiment advanced four to six miles - there "*was a big detail to bridge the road - the road was so muddy.*" In McGregor on the 22nd, the *Times* published a list of promotions in some of the state's regiments including, "*Twenty first Infantry. - Charles F Brugh, 1st Lt., C, to Capt. vice Harrison. George L. Fisher, 1st Sergt, C, to 1st Lt.*"

For other regiments, those whose shovels and axes had not yet arrived, it was a day of comparative leisure and a report of approaching rebels proved false. Led by Dabney Maury,¹³⁶⁷ an 1846 graduate of West Point and a Major General in charge of the Department of the Gulf and the defense of Mobile, the 9,200 Confederates included James Williams and they were well aware of the approaching federals. As Williams said:

"The enemy are reported in force in the neighborhood of Pointe Clear, about twelve miles from us; They have

1366

George A. South had been mustered out of the 20th Ohio infantry the previous September and was also heading for Kansas. "*On the boat father saw mother as a young woman holding a baby belonging to some other person. 'It was just the way she held and fondled that baby that caught my eye,' father always said when he related the story of their adventure in matrimony. There is no question as to which was the aggressor.*" The "*young woman*" was Jim Bethard's sister, Libby. The quote is from an autobiography written by their son, Glenn W. South, and received from their great-granddaughter, Ruth South McCreery.

1367

In 1869 Dabney Maury would form the Southern Historical Society with the motto, "*Truth is the proper antagonist of error.*" In publishing the "*papers*" of the Society, they hoped to give a Southern perspective on the war. Maury died at age seventy-seven on January 11, 1900. He is buried in the Confederate Cemetery, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

a good road all the way up, and may be in our front in a few hours if they are so disposed The very latest report received this moment, is that the enemy's force is very small - There are plenty of rumors all the time, a new one is born every minute, but no-body is excited - half my men are working in the trenches and nearly all the other half are playing marbles before the quarters like so many school boys. If the Yankees don't come this time I will be vexed - for I want to see them in front of my boys once more."¹³⁶⁸

For Maury, "the general orders given me by General Beauregard and General Taylor were to save my garrison, after having defended my position as long as was consistent with the ultimate safety of my troops."¹³⁶⁹ While he sought reinforcements, his men strengthened breastworks and buried mines "consisting of large shells buried with caps that would explode at the touch of a foot on a trigger." To prevent reinforcements from reaching Maury from central Alabama, James Wilson left Florence on the 22d with a force of 15,000 cavalry and artillery, drove rapidly to the southeast and captured Selma eleven days later. On the 23d, Maury ordered Randall Gibson, a Yale graduate from Louisiana, to move a brigade including Williams to Fort Blakely where he was ordered by St. John Liddell to move to Deer Park near Fish River. Morning fog had barely disappeared, about 9:00 a.m., when pickets began light skirmishing, but most spent the day working on defenses. Pine trees were felled in forty to fifty foot lengths and laid as a foundation. Braces eight feet long were notched and laid against the foundation. A wall four feet high was built and reenforced with dirt on the outside. By 5:00 p.m. they were about two-thirds complete as the federals neared although the 21st Iowa had gone "to work on the road building job also a corderoy bridge" and advanced only a mile "to the farther verge of the swamp."

Albert Knight arrived on a "pleasant" 24th of March after being released from the New Orleans hospital while his regiment broke camp about 5:30 a.m. and advanced "in the rear of the train" about twelve miles. They "moved easily across the low land to the more elevated country bordering Fish River" and that afternoon united with Smith. Unknown to the federals, Lieutenant A. O. Sibley and eight Confederate cavalymen had left Greenwood early in the morning, passed around Polecat Creek, located the Union column two miles above Magnolia and watched for stragglers. Before long they saw five men resting by themselves and galloped ahead with a rebel yell. The surprised Federals, one a young drummer in the 29th Wisconsin and another Andrew Hannah of the 21st Iowa who had suffered a rupture two years earlier on the march to Salem, made no resistance and were easily captured.¹³⁷⁰ Leaving three men to guard them, Sibley advanced on the train and captured ten mules and a few teamsters before the 99th Illinois came up and prevented "further mischief."¹³⁷¹

After an hour's delay, the regiment resumed its march, "crossed Fish River on pontoons about dark" and camped a mile and a half later about 9:00 p.m. On Saturday, the 25th, reveille, was at sunrise. Smith started about 8:00 a.m. and the 21st Iowa about three hours later with each man carrying four days' rations of pork and hardtack. After only eight days in transit, John Green caught up and joined his comrades at the rear of the column. Ahead of them, Francis Cockrell's Missouri rebels had arrived by transport from Mobile the previous afternoon and started south on the Pensacola Road to reinforce Blakely. As the Federals advanced on the Durant Road toward Sibley's Mill, about two miles east beyond Spanish Fort towards Blakely, they met "considerable resistance" from Cockrell for much of the day, forced him to withdraw across Bayou Minette and covered seven or eight miles before stopping.

Liddell had been told the Yankees had only 12,000 men and moved 4,500 infantry and ten cannon two miles out from Spanish Fort to establish a line on the north side of D'Olive Creek. When the Federal advance reached the road

1368

John Kent Folmer, editor, From That Terrible Field. Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-first Alabama Infantry Volunteers (The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL; 1981), pages 136; 158. Except for meritorious conduct at Shiloh, Williams' military career had been spent mostly in camps around Mobile. The previous fall he had been in command and forced to surrender Fort Powell to Farragut and was criticized by Maury who thought he "should have fought his guns." Also see Willis Brewer, Alabama: History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men From 1540 to 1872 (Barrett & Brown, Montgomery, AL, 1872) pages 623-624.

¹³⁶⁹ Dabney H. Maury, *Defence of Mobile*, Southern Historical Papers, Volume III, No .1 (Richmond, Virginia, January 1877, Kraus Reprint Co).

¹³⁷⁰ Andrew would be paroled at Vicksburg on April 18, 1865.

¹³⁷¹

That night, Sibley reported to General Liddell that he "charged the enemy's wagon train this afternoon at 3 o'clock. Captured 21 prisoners and 10 mules and harness; also killed 8 mules, as the only means of destroying their transportation. This occurred between the East and North prong of the Fish River, and two miles south of Magnolia." O.R. Series I, Volume XLIX/2 [S #104].

to his left, he realized he was facing a larger force than anticipated and might be outflanked so he fell back to Blakely and ordered Gibson to Spanish Fort. The Federals "*drove the enemy eleven miles this day, loading at one tree and running to the next to fire and load again,*" burned the Sibley plantation, forced the family to leave, moved up D'Olive Creek despite minor resistance by Gibson and camped about six miles from Spanish Fort.

The 21st was not involved in the skirmishing and covered six miles before camping "*near the point of divergence of the various roads leading to the Tensas River.*" The camp was isolated, pickets were positioned, trees were felled and breastworks built. That evening they gathered for religious services and thousands of men sang hymns in dense woods illuminated by burning pine knots.

**Camp 21st Iowa in the pine
woods of south Alabama
March the 25th 1865.**

Dear wife

they say there is a chance to send out some mail this morning so here goes for a few lines to you when I wrote you one week ago to day we were on our way to Mobile. we marched about 15 miles last sunday, and since that we have been marching from one to five miles a day until yesterday. we made about ten miles and crossed Fish river and are now in camp about one mile and a half on the west side of Fish river. we had a jolly old time coming through the swamp. we had to make corduroy about two thirds of the way I beleive we are through the swamp now. we had no trouble with the rebs until yesterday. our train got badly strung out and a party of horsemen made a dash and killed four or five mules and took a dozen or fifteen away with them and took nine teamsters prisoners, the whole thirteenth corps except one brigade came by the way of the swamp. Smiths corps (the 16) left the Island the next day after we did and ran up the bay to the mouth of Fish river and came up that river and landed here they were here four days ahead of us, General Steel started out from Pensacola with the 7th corps and is ahead of us; they say there is a force of rebels between him and us, if this is the case the rebs will be apt to get pinched. I dont know whether we will move to day or not I understood last night that Smiths corps was to move this morning at six o clock they say the rebels have some works just in front of us, but I guess they dont amount to much Frank Farrand was left at the Island with sore eyes and has just came up this morning he says tell them he is all right Jim Rice is also all right and so am I

I saw some of the 96th Ohio boys last night who have been home on furlough and just returned they say Jim Gray has sold out at 45 dollars an acre and is going to Kansas Father has not sold yet but his place is advertized for sale,¹³⁷² we got mail the middle of this week and I got two letters from you Feb 28th and March the 9th was glad to hear you was all well the 12th Iowa is just now going past it belongs to Smiths corps The 27th also belongs to Smiths corps we saw them on the Island we saw John Rider Curries son Kale Bishop and several others that we knew¹³⁷³ Cal dont be uneasy about us if I fall in the coming contest I shall fall at my post in a good cause fighting for the glorious old stars and stripes and my last thoughts will be of my beloved wife and child so hoping this may find you as it leaves me well I bid you good bye for this time

**your affectionate husband
James Beathard**

With most of his defenders at Blakely and the enemy advancing rapidly, Gibson was to do everything possible to defend the forts but avoid capture of men who might be needed to defend the city. Spanish Fort was old, constructed during the Revolutionary War when France and Spain were allied with the American colonies. George Washington had called on Bernardo de Gálvez, Spanish-born Governor of Louisiana, for help in western Florida. Gálvez

1372

Still unknown to Jim, the farm had been sold almost three weeks earlier.

1373

"John Rider Curries son Kale Bishop" were 8th Corporal Romaine Rider, Private Elisha Curry and 7th Corporal Caleb Bishop, all three of whom lived in Allamakee County and enlisted in Company A of the 27th Iowa within days of each other. Their regiment had already seen significant service including the Red River Campaign during which Bishop had been wounded.

cooperated and in 1780 captured a British garrison in Mobile and a year later helped defeat the British at Pensacola. To hold the territory he had won, Gálvez ordered an outpost known as Old Spanish Fort constructed on the east side of Mobile Bay on top of a high red bluff. Generations later, Confederate forces rebuilt and greatly enlarged the fort and armed it with “a battery of six guns on a bluff.” Behind the guns were three redoubts connected by rifle pits and, according to one source, “this fort - or rather system of defenses - was seven miles east of Mobile and was flanked on one side by D'Olieve's (D'Olive's) Creek and Bay and on the other by Minette Bay ... The line of works was two miles in length, and was weakest on its extreme left, opposite Gen. E. A. Carr's division.”¹³⁷⁴ According to General Christopher Andrews in his history of the campaign, the fort was intended to protect Batteries Huger and Tracy, about three thousand yards away on the marsh by Mobile Bay, and was:

*"a bastioned work, nearly enclosed ... armed with 7-inch columbiads and thirty-pounder Parrotts - the latter made at Selma - and was designated as No. 1. [the main water battery] Extending around that in a semi-circle, was a continuous line of breastworks and redoubts with a strong enclosed fort, called McDermott (No. 2), and armed with ten heavy guns ... To the north and left the descent was gradual, along which extended a line of rifle-pits, crossing a ravine and stream of water, and then up the slope to another bluff, on which was a strong battery, designated as No. 3 trees were felled for a few hundred yards. Every ravine ... an almost impassable obstruction. The ditch in front of the breastworks was five feet deep and eight feet wide ... In front of the batteries were, also, detached rifle pits for sharpshooters; and along the entire front was a line of abatis fifteen feet wide."*¹³⁷⁵

Across Bayou Minette and also on the east bank of Blakely River was Fort Blakely. If the Federals captured it first they could still be shelled by Confederate gunboats so it was decided to move on both forts but capture Spanish Fort first so the fleet could move up and protect a later assault on Blakely. Slowly they advanced, constructing more bridges and roads and receiving support from light-draft gunboats in the bay and rivers, while Gibson inspected his defenses. On his right the trees had been cut and site lines cleared but a dense forest faced his left. With battle imminent “an immense work with the spade, pick and axe was before us . . . [and] the main body was disposed along the rifle-pits and set hard at work, though there was quite a deficiency of tools.”¹³⁷⁶

On Sunday, the 26th, Steele entered Pollard, destroyed part of the railroad and turned south to join Canby who captured a telegraph station with its latest dispatches, while Slack's brigade had reveille at 4:00 a.m., left camp an hour and a half later with the 21st Iowa at the front “on the center road,” marched five miles and, about 10:00 a.m., found signs of the enemy. Rain fell, horses and mules were taken to the rear and by order of General Veatch:

*"four companies, Lieut. Col. Van Anda himself commanding them, were deployed as skirmishers. The advance, having outstripped the main column, was halted to enable the latter to close up and, meanwhile, four other companies under Captain Boardman (acting Major), relieved those on the skirmish line, when it again moved forward, supported by the rest of the regiment in line of battle and soon after, nearing Spanish Fort, the skirmishers fell in with the enemy's pickets and drove them back."*¹³⁷⁷

They had advanced rapidly, about three miles over rough ground, and been fired on about noon two miles from the fort when Van Anda observed “indications of the enemy in force.” Skirmishers were drawn in. New skirmishers were deployed, the regiment was formed in line of battle and “sharpshooters on both sides, during the rest of the day,

1374

Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War (). Jean-Marie McDonnell, Battles Spice Spanish Fort's History. *The Bulletin* (Daphne, Alabama, November 6-7, 1991). Daphne was known as Bell Rose during the war.

1375

George Crooke, Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 139, referencing Andrews, History of the Campaign of Mobile, pages 48-49. Battery Tracy (formerly Apalachee Battery) and Battery Huger (formerly Gindrat Battery) had received their new names in June 1863 in honor of Brigadier General Edward D. Tracy who had died at Port Gibson and Lieutenant Commander Thomas B. Huger who had been killed in April 1862 on board the CSS *McRae*. Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, 1991), page 70.

1376

Arthur W. Bergeron, Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 175.

1377

George Crooke, Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 145.

kept up a sharp interchange of civilities without much effect" although two in the 21st were slightly wounded.¹³⁷⁸ About 8:00 p.m. they advanced with Companies B, G and H as skirmishers and the rest in support.¹³⁷⁹ To slow their advance, Gibson sent pickets as far as possible beyond the abatis to build fires, fires that helped conceal his men, made them appear more numerous and were mentioned by Jim several days later.

The skirmishers had moved about half a mile and were within twenty paces of Gibson's pickets when the rebels fired about 9:00 p.m. and the skirmishers replied. Hearing the shots ahead of them "by some misunderstanding, a considerable number of men in the line immediately opened fire, and put the skirmishers in great danger" by trapping them between Gibson and the balance of their own regiment. One man was killed and would be mentioned in Jim's next letter. They had been at the front the entire day, eighteen hours, but were relieved by the 47th Indiana¹³⁸⁰ about midnight and "bivouacked that night on the field."¹³⁸¹

Under a cloudy sky they were up again at 4:00 a.m. on March 27th "and got under arms - lay in line of battle till we were ordered to the front"¹³⁸² where Confederate cavalry and infantry, 550 strong under Robert Lindsay, had attacked the left flank of the 47th Indiana and broken its skirmish line.¹³⁸³ About 11:00 a.m. the regiment formed on the left of the brigade with Smith's corps on the brigade's right, Lindsay fell back and the Federals were soon within 800 yards of the fort. Companies B and G skirmished on the left under Alexander Voorhees and "advanced up to within 80 yards of the Rebs where we stopped behind stumps and trees to sharpshoot."¹³⁸⁴ Rain fell throughout the day and previously silent enemy batteries opened fire in the afternoon. Personalized by their handlers, *Lady Gibson*, *Lady Maury* and *Lady Slocomb* (a ten-foot long columbiad with an eight inch bore) they tore into the Federals who were temporarily stunned, so stunned said a news correspondent, that "no Sabbath-school was ever more quiet."

The firing continued "terrifically, cutting the pine trees all around us," but soon the rebels were driven in and "there were constantly heard the heavy detonations of the terra shells, or 'devil's paving stones,' as the soldiers called them, which the rebels had placed on the lines of anticipated approach, and which were exploded by percussion communicated by the artillery and trains as they passed over them."¹³⁸⁵ Fortunately for the Federals, "two deserters that came to our lines knew where the shells were planted, and they assisted our men to get all out that they could find." Throughout the long afternoon all movements were "sharply contested by the rebels at every point" with Company B at the front until 5:00 p.m. when they were relieved by Company A and "fell back to the rest of the Regiment - in a big hollow and put up our tents"¹³⁸⁶ and "that evening commenced to throw up rifle pits."

On the Confederate center and right, away from the pine woods on the left, the federals had been driven back but Thatcher's navy was able to sever communications between Spanish Fort and the city and it was thought by many that Canby "would follow this movement up immediately by an assault, but his leanings in the direction of engineer work were so strong that he decided upon a siege." Previously it had been "charge! charge! charge!" wrote an artillerist but here "a little more good sense is shown, and a regard had for human life." That night the regiment "threw up earthworks until two o'clock."¹³⁸⁷

1378

Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 146 (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891). The two men have not been identified.

¹³⁷⁹ Van Anda's official report indicates only two companies were sent out as skirmishers.

1380

Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 147. The History of Delaware County, page 47, says, erroneously, that they were relieved by "an Illinois regiment."

¹³⁸¹

The events of the 26th are verified by Jim's letter of March 29th, by George Crooke's postwar account, Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry, a Narrative (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), and by various other sources. An account in The History of Delaware County, Iowa (Western Historical Company, 1878) differs.

¹³⁸² Journal of Myron Knight.

1383

Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, 1991), page 175. Sean Michael O'Brien, Mobile 1865 (Praeger, 2001). Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 147.

¹³⁸⁴ Journal of Myron Knight.

¹³⁸⁵ Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 146.(King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891).

¹³⁸⁶ Journal of Myron Knight.

¹³⁸⁷ The History of Delaware County, Iowa, (Western Historical Company, 1878), page 47, says they were relieved by "an Illinois

On the 28th, the Patent Office issued another patent to Andrew McDonald (this one for an “*improved wrench*”), Robert Risher, a young Private from Delhi, died of chronic diarrhea in New Orleans¹³⁸⁸ and a requisition was issued in Iowa for “*one soldier with unexpired furlough returning to his Regt. viz Bradford N. Talcott Sergt. Co. B 21st Ia. Inf. Vol.*” Brad had a long way to go to reach his regiment in Alabama where the day was “*pleasant*” and the *Winnebago*, *Milwaukee* and *Chickasaw* moved closer to the fort, shelled a ram ferrying supplies and forced it to move off. The bay had been swept for torpedoes (“*infernal machines*” according to Acting Rear-Admiral Thatcher¹³⁸⁹), but not all had been found and, on its return, the *Milwaukee* was only 200 yards from safety when it struck a torpedo and sank without casualties near the entrance to Blakely River. There was “*heavy cannonading all day*,” Liddell, under orders from Maury, sent the 21st Alabama back to Spanish Fort, and Canby, “*a very ordinary looking man*” who “*does not put on any style*,” moved among his men who were “*making gabions and fascines, filling sand bags and digging parallels and approaches.*” That night Confederates surprised a work party under James Noble, Captain of Company H, but “*with great presence of mind and courage*” Noble rallied his men, they grabbed their muskets from their stacks and, supported by skirmishers, “*drove the rebels back in great disorder.*”¹³⁹⁰

On March 29th, the *Osage* was about to drop anchor when it too hit a torpedo and sank in twelve feet of water with three killed and eight missing and, despite still having the *Winnebago* and numerous other vessels, Admiral Thatcher reported “*cannot attack forts yet.*” There was “*heavy firing all day*,” infantry kept a strong skirmish line while digging trenches and building breastworks, “*Co. G put up a shed for protection and it fell and wounded one Lieut. and one Corporal,*”¹³⁹¹ and “*the rebs charged on our pickets*”¹³⁹² about 7:00 p.m. but federal “*skirmishers were to much for the rebs*”¹³⁹³ who withdrew leaving “*18 men on the ground that we could see.*”¹³⁹⁴

**Rear of Mobile Ala
Wednesday March the 29th 1865**

Dear wife

we are facing the music again we are having old Vicksburg over again we got out of the swamps last saturday and on sunday came on to the Jonnies at the old Spanish battery about ten miles in the rear of Mobile by land our regiment was in the rear of our brigade on sunday morning when we started out and our brigade in front of the whole thing we came on to the rebel skirmishers a little before noon and the 21st was immediately sent in the advance and companies B and G which had been thrown out on the right and left as flankers were called back to the regiment. our skirmishers engaged them advancing slowly with the regiment supporting close behind until we came within about a mile of their works where we came into their main skirmish line and came to a halt we lay there until about three or four o clock and then co's H. G. and B deployed and took the advance relieving the old skirmish line we took up our position behind trees (being in the pine woods) and commenced blazing away and soon an order came along the line to cease firing we did not exactly understand why such an order should be given and were rather loth to obey because when we slacked up the rebs would become bold and pour in the shots doubly thick the firing was finely stoped on our side, and the reason for the order soon became apparent; a party of Smiths cavalry came dashing down from the right between us and the rebs and run them back between a quarter and half a mile it was then beginning to get dark

*regiment.*¹³⁸⁸

Robert is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, New Orleans. He is also one of several listed on a monument in Upper Bay Cemetery, Delhi, Iowa.¹³⁸⁹

Infernal, perhaps, but General G. J. Rains, Chief of the Confederate Torpedo Service, viewed them as one more step in the evolution of military weaponry. “*There is*” he said, “*no fixed rule to determine the ethics of war - that legalized murder of our fellow-men - for even mining is admitted with its wholesale destruction. Each new weapon, in its turn, when first introduced, was denounced as illegal and barbarous, yet each took its place according to its efficacy in human slaughter by the unanimous consent of nations.*”” Southern Historical Papers, Volume 3 (Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, N.Y., 1977), page 255.

¹³⁹⁰ The History of Delaware County, Iowa (Western Historical Company, 1878), Volume I, Page 111.

¹³⁹¹ Journal of George Brownell. The injuries are not reflected on the regimental roster.

¹³⁹² Journal of George Brownell.

¹³⁹³ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³⁹⁴ Journal of George Brownell.

and the skirmish line was reformed and ordered forward and Major Boardman who was commanding the skirmishers told us that he had orders from General Granger to go into the fort that night if we had to charge it. we did not relish the Idea of charging the fort a bit but commenced advancing, we had advanced about half a mile and were coming right up on a line of fier which the rebs had set out and was burning in the dead grass and pine bows making a light by which they could see us as plain as day when all at once they let fly a volley into us not more than five rods distant; we blazed away at the flash of their guns and then dodged behind trees for shelter the rebs over shot us and killed one man and wounded two or three in the supporting part of the regiment a little ways behind and they thinking the balls were coming rather thick commenced firing and we being right in front were obliged to get on the side of the trees next to the Johnnies in order to protect ourselves from the fier of our own men but Gen Granger (who is always on hand when there is business going on) was between us and the support and soon put a stop to their firing and congratulated us on having driven the enemy into their works and said we done it nobly; the Idea of our being ordered to charge the fort proved to be a mistake and we lay right there until midnight when we were releived by other regiments; not a man has been hurt in our company yet; the rebel cavalry made a dash on our skirmishers on monday morning and drove them back a short distance and were driven back again in return with slight loss on both sides a part of our regiment including our company was deployed again about noon on monday and drove the rebs clear back into their works and advance within musket range of their forts we lay there in the rain sharpshooting until evening and were releived by co A. the place is now fairly invested with the left of Grangers (13th) corps resting on the bay and Smith on our right our gunboats are making their way slowly up the bay fishing out torpedoes as they go when they get up they will wake the Johnnies up; we can see Mobile quite plain from the bank on the left of our lines We are both well so no more at present but remain as ever your husband James Beathard

Cal if I had time would write more but the mail is to be sent away at three o clock so I must close; our gunboats are within four miles of the fort one of them was sunk yesterday evening by a torpedo but they say she is not seriously injured

The torpedoed gunboat was the *Milwaukee* whose turret could still be seen in the shallow river and Jim was right when he said the regiment had been fortunate in suffering only one death in the crossfire. It could have been worse but, sadly, the "one man" lost was Arnold Allen, the young man who had enlisted at eighteen years of age and offered his "best wishes" to all the good looking girls in the North, the dutiful son who had tried so hard to care for his mother, a son who had not been paid for almost a year, a son whose discharge had been delayed by bureaucracy. In Dubuque, his fifty-one year old mother had now lost her husband and two of her boys. She was destitute, with no income or property except three cows, two mules, an old wagon and a few personal possessions, all worth less than \$200.00. It would take another eight months for the government to approve a "*Mother's Pension*" of \$8.00 per month.¹³⁹⁵

Meanwhile, Steele, still on the way from Pollard with a commissary train of seventy-five wagons, was stuck in the mud. Help was needed and Veatch's division, at the front and under fire for several days, was elected. Men "*received orders to pack up our duds and get ready to move*"¹³⁹⁶ about noon on March 29th, were relieved at 4:00 p.m., marched four miles in Steele's direction and camped inside a strong picket.

The next morning, March 30, 1865, rebels shelled Union lines at Spanish Fort "*scattering enough iron to start a small factory*" while the 21st Iowa started at 7:00 a.m., marched another eight miles and camped about noon at Holyoke Mills, an "*old mill*" with "*skirmishers all around us.*"¹³⁹⁷ While they "*lay in camp all day waiting for orders,*"¹³⁹⁸ William Boynton was treated for diarrhea and dysuria, Jonathan Foster fell and injured his back, John

1395

The site of Arnold's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #270324 indicates Arnold is buried in Mobile National Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama. That cannot be verified. Unlike most military stones this stone merely says "A. Allen." It does not have a first name, state, regiment or company. The cemetery has said it cannot verify the identity of the deceased or place of death, but cemetery records indicate this person died on April 9, 1865, while Arnold Allen died on March 26, 1865.

¹³⁹⁶ Journal of Myron Knight.

¹³⁹⁷ Journal of George Brownell.

¹³⁹⁸ Journal of George Brownell.

High was sent to a hospital, Jim went on picket, Companies C and D were detailed to guard the wagons, some built breastworks and Marion Griffin, a Sergeant in Company F, wrote to his brother:

*13th A.C.
Camp Pioneer Company 1st Div.
In the Field Mch 30th 1865*

Ray

Since I last wrote you the entire Army moved forwarded, the 16" A.C. moved on a road to the right and the 13" Corps straight forward, skirmishing began 3 miles from Fish River Landing and continued until the evening of the 26" when our Army camped about 1½ mile from their works, and on the 27" our whole line advanced and gradually drove their skirmishers into their entrenchments they (the Rebels) not feeling disposed to come out and give us battle outside their works on the eve of the 27" Battery after Battery was brought into position to bear upon their works, and on the 28" Inst we commenced throwing up temporary works to cover our sharp Shooters our advanced line is within about 350 yds of the Rebel Forts. the principal Fort is generally known as Spanish Fort erected to command the channel, they also have two other Forts on the left connected by Rifle Pits, they are undoubtedly waiting for the Feds to charge the works, but they will wait in vain our Fleet is within about 1½ miles from the Fort and is gradually advancing, they being obliged to feel their way as obstructions has been placed along the channel to prevent our Boats from engaging the Fort, Rebel deserters report from 5 to 10000 in the vicinity their transportation by water is unlimited as their transports come down daily from Mobile (which via we have a good view of the City,) it is quite annoying to hear their old wooden Crafts blow their whistle of defiance and steam around as though they were the heaviest Ironsides, there will be a change of the program as soon as the Fleet can remove the torpedoes, they have sunk torpedoe after torpedoe along the principal roads leading to the Fort occasionally one is sprunng doing little damage, a landing has been secured about 2 miles below here on the Bay which will form our base of supplies heavy ordnance are being unloaded and planted to bear upon the Forts we will make a young Hell for them then at 3 or 4 days hence Last night they came out about 200 strong crept up to our lines where we had a large fatigue squad planting a Battery but they were foiled at their attempt as they approached within about 100 yds our pickets smelled mice and fell back to the Reserve and when they approached our Boys poured in a volley that sent them back skiddatling, it caused an alarm that called our Div into line could hear Col Van's Commands plain and distinct we [] are camped about ½ mile in the rear of the line of Battle

As soon as their communication by water is cut off they are gone up as Genl Smiths Right Wing rests upon the Bay between the Fort and Blakely Genl Grangers right connect with Genl Smith's left and his (Genl Grangers) left restes upon the Bay the storming of their works at this place will never come off as it would be like leading men to the slaughter pen, Maj Genl E R S Canby is sharing the hardships with his command he taking a dog tent for his quarters, uses the Mother Earth for a Sofa and eats Hard tack like any one.

With love and kind regards to all I will close write when convenient telling news etc.

*Your Affectionate Brother
M. E. G..¹³⁹⁹*

About five miles away, closer to the fort, Union artillery sank an enemy transport, infantry cut a "wharfboat" loose to drift into the bay and, with communications severed and prospects bleak, the rebels "sent 40 women and children" into Union lines which were then under "some of the best artillery fireing" the Federals had ever seen. Gibson ordered a bombardment "to protect his men"¹⁴⁰⁰ while Maury visited Spanish Fort, found that Gibson had suffered approximately 320 casualties and ordered that he be reinforced by men from Blakely.¹⁴⁰¹

On Saturday, April 1, 1865, Company B had a "present strength" of seventy-six including three of its commissioned officers, four of five Sergeants, seven of eight Corporals, a Musician and sixty-one Privates. Jim came in from picket about 2:00 p.m., heard firing from the direction of Blakely two hours later and was with the regiment when it started in the direction of the firing about dusk, marched two miles and paused for an hour. General Veatch

¹³⁹⁹ Letter from Marion E. Griffin to Ray B. Griffin, [Spanish Fort, Alabama], March 30, 1865.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 177.

¹⁴⁰¹ Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 177.

had:

*“ordered Gen. Slack to detach two regiments from the First Brigade to investigate. Slack detailed the 47th Indiana and 21st Iowa and a section of artillery for the mission. Slack noted in his report: ‘After moving two miles on the Blakely road firing ceased, quiet was restored; could learn nothing from the advance, and the command returned to camp. Sunday, April 2, formed junction with General Steele’s command, and his train came to camp after supplies.”*¹⁴⁰²

Cavalry from Lucas’ division met enemy pickets near Wilkins’ plantation north of Blakely and skirmished with Mississippi and Missouri infantry on the Stockton Road but, instead of joining the action, the men from Iowa were counter-marched and returned to camp. Fire from Spanish Fort had eased, Gibson told Maury he could no longer defend it with only 1,400 men facing nine batteries of Union artillery, artillery that included Parrots, howitzers and eight new mortars. In the bay, Commander Dyer’s light-draft *Rodolph* hoped to raise the *Milwaukee* but it too hit a torpedo and sank with four killed and eleven wounded.¹⁴⁰³

On Sunday, April 2, 1865, President Davis was attending St. Paul’s Church in Richmond when he received a message from Lee that plans should be made to evacuate the city that evening. Davis and most of his cabinet boarded a train for Danville while Lee went west and citizens of Richmond watched as their city was put to the torch by his withdrawing army. Lee was headed toward Appomattox Court House and it was Davis’ hope to rendezvous with the military near the North Carolina border.

In the tall pine forests of south Alabama it had been a beautiful day, bands played and prisoners were sent in by Steele whose *“train came out and met us and took a lot of rations.”*¹⁴⁰⁴ Cockrell was driven into Blakely and some of Veatch’s men returned to the supply depot near Spanish Fort to load wagons for Blakely and returned to camp in the evening. Myron Knight was part of a forage detail that went out in the morning while others went to church, heard their chaplain preach a sermon and enjoyed a mid-day dinner.

**Pine woods Alabama
Sunday April the 2nd 1865**

Dear wife

as there is some prospect of a leisure hour or two I will improve the oportunity of writing a few lines to you not knowing however when I will get a chance to send it away I feel thankful to the great ruler of human events that we are safe and sound and out of range of rebel guns once more although how long this state of things will last I am unable to say; we were releived at the front before the Spanish forts last Thursday evening verry much to our surprise we were ordered to pack up which we did in a hurry expecting to move around and take up a new position in some part of the line in front of the works; but much to our surprise and pleasure we were marched to the rear and went into camp for the night not only our regiment but the whole of the 1st division and you may imagine that we breathed more freely that night than we had done since the saturday night before; having layen since that time, exposed to the shell of the enemy and a good share of the time under the imediate range of their sharpshooters and skirmishers I was much surprised to find the woods for three or four miles to the rear alive with blue jackets who had not yet been to the front nor smelled rebel gunpowder they belonged to Smiths corps and the 27th Iowa was among them a part of them were moved to the front and took our old position I do not know whether the 27th went to the front or not. We packed up again on Friday morning and started with a supply train for General Steel who was reported stuck in the mud on his way from Pensacola we marched until about noon and went into camp on a beautiful hilly piece of ground covered with tall pines, I was immediately detailed and sent out on picket and

1402

Jerry Frey, *Grandpa’s Gone* (Burd Street Press 1998), p. 125. Elsewhere it’s indicated Steele arrive at Blakely on April 1st. Rogers, *Last Stand at Blakely*. *America’s Civil War* magazine (November 1998).

1403

Major General Dabney H. Maury, C.S.A., would later say *“the total number of vessels sunk by torpedoes in Mobile bay was twelve, instead of three, viz: three ironclads, two tinclads and seven transports.”* *Southern Historical Papers*, Volume 3 (Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, N.Y., 1977), page 260.

1404

Journal of George Brownell.

those remaining in camp commenced building breastworks of pine logs and dirt. The old picket was relieved yesterday about two o'clock and I had been in camp about two hours when some brisk firing was heard in the direction of Blakely which is about four miles distant in a northwest direction from here. We were ordered to fall in and went about two miles in the direction of the firing and halted there about an hour and then about faced and returned to camp. I learned after we came back that the firing was Steele's forces driving in the rebel pickets at Blakely and that our little march was to support some cavalry that went through to open communication to Gen Steele. We have heard but little firing in the direction of Blakely to day but a constant canonading is kept up at Spanish forts¹⁴⁰⁵. This is a beautiful sabbath day. Our chaplain preached to us this forenoon in the shade of the beautiful tall pines we had just finished dinner after meeting when we were ordered to pack up. We marched about half a mile and about faced and came back to camp and pitched our tents under our breastworks again. All is quiet at present but how long it will remain so is impossible to say. It may be a week and maybe not five minutes.

Cal I am writing all these little particulars to show you the uncertain and unsettled condition of the soldiers in the field but I do not, I cannot complain. It is no more than I expected when I enlisted. We have even had easier times than I anticipated since the fall of Vicksburg and Jackson. We have done no marching or fighting worth mention until now although we have traivailed all over creation and part of Texas by water and railroad transportation; we have been verry lucky so far in the present campaign there has been but one killed and two wounded in the regiment none in our company thanks to a higher power than Jeff Davis or Abraham Lincoln. There has to be a force kept in the rear of the armies now all the time to guard supplies etc and as we opened the ball and are now in the rear there is a prospect that we will be assigned to that duty for some time if not during the campaign against Mobile. (your husband James Beathard)

Myron Knight returned with the forage detail about 2:00 p.m. and Jim went to church in the evening but a siege had started at Blakely and the chaplain was in the middle of prayer about 7:00 p.m. when they were ordered to move out and abandoned the chaplain mid-sermon. They had no rebels to contend with but Maury's mines, also called torpedoes and "*sub-terra shells*," did their work. They were hardly fair said the 27th's Rolfe, "*the meanest warfare I ever heard tell of. A man dont Mind meeting the Enemy face to face but when the Ground Vomits Deadly Misles in our Ranks it is Rather unpleasent.*"¹⁴⁰⁶ They:

*"found Torpedoes in the Road & our Second Lieut that is on the Genls staff had his Horse killed and the 32nd Iowa Quarter Masters Horse the whole Column of Men had just passed over them Some of Genl Steels Cavelry came in with 400 Rebs prisoners and while passing over the same Road they had 3 Horses killed and one man wounded by Torpedoes. A Rebble Capt Came into Genl Steels Camp and gave himself up and he told them were to find More and they took up 30 of them along the Road they are a 15 lb shell with a percussion fixing on the top and they put them in the wheel Ruts the Ground being Sandy they Just cover them and if a wheel or a Horse strikes them they Explode"*¹⁴⁰⁷

After a march of five miles, the regiment camped near Bayou Minette but the next morning, April 3rd, was on the move by 3:30 a.m., an hour earlier than expected. Leaving knapsacks behind, they anticipated a charge but only a mile later were told to lie down in line of battle. At sun-up they moved forward and took a position with the rest of the

1405

A New York battery with four Parrott guns had started the fray and the Fort replied. Indiana heavy artillery added eight mortars and *Lady Slocumb* answered. Charles E. Slocum, History of the Slocums, Slocumbs & Slocombs of America (self-published 1908), Volume II, pages 508-509.

1406

April 5, 1865 letter from Edward Rolfe, Company F, 27th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Dauphin Island, to his wife. Laurence F. Lillibridge, editor, Hard Marches, Hard Crackers and Hard Beds (Lillibridge Publishing Co, Prescott Valley, Arizona, 1993), page 164.

1407

March 16, 1865 letter from Edward Rolfe, Company F, 27th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Dauphin Island, to his wife. Laurence F. Lillibridge, editor, Hard Marches, Hard Crackers and Hard Beds (Lillibridge Publishing Co, Prescott Valley, Arizona, 1993), page 164.

division in the rear of Blakely. On their left was Garrard's division of the 16th Corps with veterans of the 11th Wisconsin, friends with whom they had brigaded two years earlier. On their right was Christopher Andrews' division and the colored division of John Hawkins. At 8:00 a.m. some of the men were detailed to move wagons to the right of Steele, unload them and return to what remained of Sibley's on Bayou Minette.

The defensive works at Blakely faced east and had their north end resting on bluffs on the east bank of the Blakely River near its junction with the Tensas and the other end stopping at an impassable swamp. Trees were felled and telegraph wire woven among the limbs. Trip wires were connected to land mines "*which when touched with the foot exploded a dozen or more of these infernal sand-bombs.*"

Out-manned, the Confederates called on every boy over fourteen to man the trenches and set pickets usually composed of six boys supervised by an older veteran. Behind them, rebel gunboats on the Blakely River hurled large shells, so large "*our men called them camp kettles,*" until driven away by Union artillery but the fort's salient works and stockades allowed defensive fire to cover the two approaches along the Stockton and Pensacola Roads leading up from the landing. According to Andrews:

"The fortifications were constructed in a sort of semi-circle around Blakely The line was nearly three miles in length, and included nine well-built redoubts -or lunettes. The fortifications were thoroughly built, and were armed with about forty pieces of artillery. But the ditches were not more than four or five feet deep¹⁴⁰⁸. ... trees had been felled.... Fifty yards out from the works was a line of abatis, and opposite some of the redoubts was an interior line. Then three hundred yards out to the front, parallel with the works, was another line of abatis, and behind the latter were detached rifle pits."

On April 4th, some of the men escorted empty wagons back to Starke's Landing at Alabama City (on Mobile Bay below Spanish Fort) where they were reloaded and returned to camp by dark while Jim penned another letter to Cal:

**Camp Co B. 21st Iowa
near Blakely Baldwin co Ala
Tuesday April the 4th 1865**

Dear wife

as there is a chance to send some mail away this evening I will add a few lines to my letter of last sunday I told you then that all was quiet with us in the rear, we went to church that evening and while the chaplain was praying we looked and saw the regiment striking tents and packing up and we immediately arose and done likewise; leaving the chaplain in the midst of his prayer we were soon on the march toward Blakely and I guess the chaplain did not stop to preach or even finish his prayer as I saw him along with us before we had got a mile from camp we marched about five miles that night and camped in the rear of Steels army which was investing Blakely (it was seven miles from our camp to Blakely instead of four as I told you last Sunday)

On Monday morning we were ordered to march at half past four without knapsacks and they hurried us off an hour sooner and thus fooled us out of our breakfasts. we all anticipated a charge but after marching about a mile toward the front we halted and lay in line until sunup and then moved by the by the left flank down on a side hill and stacked arms and are here still awaiting further orders we were to go to the front yesterday evening at half past six and drive in the rebel skirmishers in a new place but a division of the 16th corps came in from the rear of the Spanish fort just in time to releive us and so we got one more good nights rest how long we will remain here is impossible to say we are holding ourselves in readiness to move at a moments notice The rebel works are reported to be not verry strong at this place but it is within range of their gunboats so that we could not hold it if we had it until the Spanish forts are reduced and our gunboats can come up I think when the works here and the Spanish forts are reduced Mobile will be an easy prey The fight is still going on all right at the Spanish forts; it is invested on all sides except next to the bay and they cannot run in and out there except in the night I understood yesterday that they were to commence bombarding there this morning at the rate

1408

Twelve feet wide and six feet deep according to Charles Hill of the 10th Kansas.

of one hundred shots a minute But I have heard nothing more than the usual firing there to day I saw Bat Frank yesterday he and Aaron are all right I received a letter from you yesterday dated March the 12th was glad to hear that you were all well Your answers to my questions in regard to Ella were satisfactory and highly pleasing and I think a little flattering. I think you done well in the book business as to your cloak making I have nothing to say only do as you think best

James Rice is well. My respects to all.

James Beathard

It was after Jim finished his letter, about 5:00 p.m., that the anticipated artillery barrage began at Spanish Fort. *"The Union gunners had orders to fire each cannon every three minutes, producing an almost continuous tattoo of explosions. People in Mobile seven miles away felt the earth vibrate."*¹⁴⁰⁹ Among the victims were *Lady Slocomb*, its right trunnion severed, and thirteen men killed or wounded in New Orleans' Washington Artillery that manned the gun.¹⁴¹⁰ The Union line was still 800 yards away but skirmishers were within fifty yards and well-protected by breastworks and ditches four feet deep, an estimated *"twelve miles of parallels and approaches, many of the latter with bomb-proof coverings."*¹⁴¹¹ Land-based artillery continued its bombardment while the navy directed heavy fire from the rear, mortars lobbed shells over Union pickets and *"the Boys opened their throats with Yells all along our lines."*¹⁴¹²

At Blakely *"the Genl sent a Flag of truce for the fort to Surrender and if they did not he should open on them they did not think proper to do so"* and on the evening of the 4th *"the Ball Opened all along our lines."*

On the 5th, Companies C and D, guarding the wagons at Blakely, were relieved and *"reported to our regiment,"*¹⁴¹³ Jonathan Foster received treatment for his back and William Boynton was treated for diarrhea and kidney problems. Fifty-three siege guns and heavy mortars and thirty-seven field pieces poured their fire into Spanish Fort for hours on end. The occupants could not *"keep a flag up fifteen minutes"* without having it destroyed and their artillery did not reply since they had little to reply with as *"Gibson tired to get his men to conserve their ammunition."*¹⁴¹⁴ Anticipating the worst, many were writing to their families but one letter from *"in the entrenchments"* never made it to its destination. When found by Union soldiers it had been conveyed, possibly by its writer, as far as Mobile and Jim could no doubt relate to the writer - an enemy soldier facing possible death and thinking of his wife and child:

*In the entrenchments
at Spanish fort April 5th 65*

My dear beloved wife and sweet child

your kind and acceptable letter came to my hand this morning about daylight you may not be surprised to know that when I received it I was on picket in the rifle pits 30 yards before the entrenchments and in speaking distance of the enemy. they frequently ask us questions between times of fighting a yank asked one of our boys if we had any bacon our men answered yes plenty well says the yank

¹⁴⁰⁹

Cortright, *Last-Ditch Defenders at Mobile*. America's Civil War magazine (January 1997), page 62. Arthur W. Bergeron, Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 178.

¹⁴¹⁰

Still in the redoubt twenty-six years later, it was salvaged by the 5th Company, Slocomb's Battery Battalion, Washington Artillery, and on September 19, 1899, placed by them in front of the Confederate Museum, 929 Camp Street, New Orleans, a monument to their comrades and their *"dashing and beloved Cuthbert Harrison Slocomb."* Blue & Gray magazine (August 2001).

¹⁴¹¹

War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, 1861-1865, Volume 1, for the Commandery of the State of Missouri Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S. (Becktold & Co., St. Louis, Missouri, 1892), page 183

¹⁴¹²

Torpedoes, shallow water and rows of piles near Fort Huger made it impossible for the gunboats to pass Spanish Fort and isolate it from Blakely.

¹⁴¹³

George Brownell, Company D.

¹⁴¹⁴

Arthur W. Bergeron, Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 178.

you had better not eat it but keep it to greece yourselves to slide back into the union with Col Williams has issued orders for our men not to talk with them, they are in there rifle pits and we in ours shooting at each others heads. All of our men that are shot get it through their heads except what are killed and wounded inside the entrenchments It has not been half an hour since there was three men killed and four wounded by one shell not more than 50 yards from our company our entrenchments are around the fort and we have about 2000 men to fight; about ten to one our rifle pits are on our picket line not more than 30 yards from our entrenchments. the fier of small arms is constant day and night the pits we are in when on picket only protect us when we are not fiering many a poor fellow has been shot through the head by the yankee sharpshooters since we have been fighting which is now 10 days all day and night it is a constant roar of cannon and small arms We dont get any rest and but little to eat and if this siege lasts much longer I dont see how we are going to stand it The enemy are constantly firing on us from their heavy cannon they have 25 mortars which they send shell from straight over into our lines and are killing and wounding our men awfully. the yankees have thrown up as good works in one nights time in front of ours not more than two hundred yards off as we have been building. Since the enemys fleet passed our forts I think our condition is a bad one I see no chance to hold out much longer the fleet is collecting near the mouth of Spanish river and they are at work cleaning out the channel to pass in and from all appearances the day is not far distant when their gunboats will be shelling Mobile thanks to the Lord that I am alive and not crippled yet though I have passed showers of bullets My dear wife I solicit your prayers that I may again return to you and my dear little child God bless you both tell all the family connections that I send my respects to them now that I close I send my best love and esteem to you my loving wife from your loving husband

S. O. Whiting

This letter was copied word for word from the original which was taken from a deserted house in Mobile by one of our boys on the occupation of that place by our forces. the letter was written with a pencil, and had not been opened when found by our boys

**James Beathard
Co. B. 21st Iowa inf**

As Whiting was writing to his wife and the Federal advance continued, Gibson sent a plea to Maury:

"Enemy sweeps my flanks with heavy batteries, and presses on at all points My line is extended now to the water and in it. My men are worked all the time, and I don't believe I can possibly do the work necessary in the dense flats on the flanks. Can't you take a look at the situation to-morrow? . . . My men are wider apart than they ever were under Generals Johnston and Hood. The works not so well-managed nor so strong, and the enemy in larger force, more active, and closer. Can't you send me the detachment belonging to Ector and Holtzclaw? Can't you send a force of negroes, with axes. I can make good soldiers of the negroes."¹⁴¹⁵

Alabama reserves rushed from Spanish Fort across the Bayou Minette pontoon bridge to reinforce Blakely and, as requested by Gibson, were replaced from Blakely by Holtzclaw's Alabamans and Texas and North Carolina veterans under Matthew Ector who had lost most of his left leg in the defense of Atlanta. The effect was to reduce the garrison at Spanish Fort to about 2,500 facing a Federal army of 26,000.

On the night of April 5th, rebels at Blakely *"tried to drive our boys out of the rifle pits"* and the 21st Iowa was *"called out to support them but were not needed so we went back to our tents and lay on our arms till morning."*¹⁴¹⁶

The 6th was *"warm and pleasant,"* cloudy but no rain, and digging continued on land that was *"rolling and sandy. the top is black & white sand mixed. about two foot below it is red and is very hard. cannot dig it with a spade until loosened up with a pick."*¹⁴¹⁷ The work was hard but morale soared with word of a Union victory at Selma four days earlier. The largest mounted force ever assembled in North America had led an assault that captured the city, 2700

1415

Christopher Columbus Andrews, History of the Campaign of Mobile (D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, New York, 1889), page 144, fn. 2.

¹⁴¹⁶ Journal of George Brownell.

1417

Civil War Letter of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry. Iowa Journal of History, Volume 53 (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955), page 339.

prisoners, 102 cannon and large quantities of supplies. "At 12 P.M. a salute of 25 guns to each division was fired in honor of the news I tell you it makes us feel good to get such news."¹⁴¹⁸

Several months earlier, Rev. Z. D. Scobey had written a letter to the editor of the *Delaware County Union* regarding the erection of monuments to deceased volunteers. Aware of the letter, Salue Van Anda wrote to Rev. Scobey:

Headquarters, 21st Iowa
Volunteers
In Front of Blakely, Alabama
Near Mobile, April 7, 1865

Rev. Z. D. Scobey

My Dear Friend:

I have learned that you, with other patriotic citizens of Delaware County, are agitating the grand and noble project of erecting a monument upon which to inscribe the names of our brave and noble dead. I do not know what effects have been determined on. I know of no more patriotic object among the many which have been started during the war. I would gladly see the name of every soldier who has fallen in the war for God and human freedom, engraved in marble and placed in some public place in our County. And when the music of their names cease to inspire my heart with patriotism, then may it be turned to ashes.

We would gladly be advised in relation to your progress, and those of us who may survive this terrible conflict desire to assist you in the object with our mite.

I am, my dear sir, your most obedient servant.

S. G. Van Anda
Lt. Col. 21st Iowa¹⁴¹⁹

It was a dreary rainy day when Van Anda wrote from in front of Fort Blakely while work was progressing as usual at Spanish Fort, there was heavy artillery fire and Abner Dunham learned that "a day or two ago a rebel deserter came into our lines who has always lived near here and was conscripted into the rebel service. he helped put in most of the torpedoes in the Bay and has taken the job to take them out for \$20,000."¹⁴²⁰ That night, the 21st was ordered into the Blakely pits and went to work with "spade and rifle" while Company D was sent forward as sharpshooters for the next thirty hours. They "met with no casualties," said Van Anda, "although our skirmishers and working parties were very much exposed during the night when the enemy advanced upon our lines, and my whole regiment was under a severe fire from his artillery, which for two hours threw shells incessantly along our rifle-pits."¹⁴²¹ The main line was about 800 yards from Blakely, 300 from rebel sharpshooters and in some places even closer.

"This led to quiet little truces, when the muskets would be left in the trenches and the blue and grey meet each other socially, half way, to swap lies for ten minutes, and at other times trade coffee for a Mobile paper and a plug of tobacco. When the truce was ended and both sides started back to their works, the Rebs would call out: 'Say, Yanks, if you all git in first, don't shoot till we uns git in.' Nor did they; but woe to the head that showed itself a half minute after."¹⁴²²

1418

Civil War Letters of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry. Iowa Journal of History (The State Historical Society of Iowa, 10/1955), page 339.
1419

William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa 1972), pages-44-45. In the History of Delaware County, a Z. D. Scobey is listed as being the County Treasurer from 1862 to 1865 and previously as Recorder from 1862 to 1863. Z. D. Scobey is also listed as a Methodist Episcopal minister. There are also references to a Zephaniah D. Scobey who married Eleanor Anderson in Fishkill, New York, in 1848. Find-a-Grave has Zephia (Drake) Scobey who died April 2, 1907 and was buried in Morris, Minnesota. The Fayette County Reader of April 22, 1897, reported the recent death of Rev. Z. D. Scobey.
1420

Civil War Letters of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry. Iowa Journal of History (The State Historical Society of Iowa, 10/1955), page 339. Conscripts were usually reluctant soldiers, not necessarily sympathetic to the Rebel cause, and many deserted. After September 1864, the matter of arresting them was in the hands of Confederate reserves but their success was limited. Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1998), page 54.
1421

Report of Lieut. Col. Salue G. Van Anda, April 11, 1865. O.R. Series I, Volume XLIX/1 [S#103].
1422

Although exposed to heavy fire, the rifle pits were advanced another 100 yards while Southerners threw shells into Union lines "very severly several times." The shelling caused few casualties but Jim suffered an irritating injury while digging in the pits, an injury he didn't mention to Cal. When a shell burst nearby it threw debris into his left eye and he would need medical attention for a month. His vision was not seriously impaired but the eye remained weak and was often sore and the effects would be felt for the rest of his life.

Weather cleared on the 8th and, at Spanish Fort, after an "unusually quiet" day during which "nothing of importance transpired," heavy firing started late in the day. Gunboats joined in and "scarcely less than two hundred guns" dueled for about two hours as "if a dozen earthquakes were turned loose." "Early in the bombardment" a brigade from Carr's Third Division attacked the Confederate left held by 659 men under Ector. Led by the 8th Iowa and its recently breveted Colonel William Bell, they moved through an "almost impassable swamp," engaged in heavy hand-to-hand fighting and captured 500 yards of defensive works "killing, wounding, or capturing the entire force of the enemy."¹⁴²³ Artillery fire ceased but heavy skirmishing continued well after dark while, at Blakely, the 21st Iowa was recalled about 9:00 p.m. after firing another 2,500 rounds into the fort. Two unidentified men were reportedly wounded but none killed and they "had just got a bite" when they started for Spanish Fort at 10:00 p.m. to support what, to them, was still a rumored assault. Three miles later, about midnight, they reached the Bayou Minette crossing, heard "a wild cheer from the assaulting columns" announcing Bell's success and, since their services were no longer needed, were ordered back to Blakely.

With its left broken, Gibson's artillery was nearly silent, his troops were exhausted, the enemy had increased in numbers, Union lines were getting closer, pressure from the forest on the left was severe and he had noticed "unusual activity and movements" in the Union lines, possibly preparations for an assault. Gibson ordered his infantry to maintain a "brisk fire" so officers could observe the response and saw what he expected - Union lines were filled with soldiers. He was convinced an assault would come during that night (the 8th) or at daylight on the 9th, decided not to wait, ordered guns spiked and issued the remaining food stores while other supplies were sent by boat to Mobile. Starting at 10:00 p.m. on the 8th, he withdrew his entire garrison in a long silent column out of the fort, along a ridge and into a ravine - "Down we followed, pell mell, right down the almost perpendicular sides of the gorge, clinging to vines, saplings, the sides of rocks; any way to keep our hold, until we reached the bottom, fifty feet or so below."¹⁴²⁴

There they found a wooden footbridge about 1,200 yards long, eighteen to twenty-four inches wide, across a broad marsh and the Blakely River that had been constructed earlier by order of Maury.¹⁴²⁵ Although close to Union batteries, it was concealed by high grass and moss and almost 2,000 men, including James Williams, removed their shoes and noiselessly slipped through the darkness single file across the submerged treadway. They were then "conveyed in light boats to Battery Huger, and thence to Blakely in steamers, except a few under Bush Jones, who was directed to go up the marsh to Blakely." By daylight on the 9th most were gone and, "from an early hour, dirty, wet and completely worn out," they entered Mobile.¹⁴²⁶

The federals had suspected something as early as 9:00 p.m. the previous evening but advanced cautiously, made probing attacks and, about 6:00 a.m., "as soon as our boys got in they set up a cheer and we fell in line." Some claimed they captured 350 prisoners, others 540, mostly pickets, while Confederates estimated a loss of ninety-three killed, 395 wounded and 250 missing from a force that had defended against an army ten times its size. Gibson's personal participation in the war was over and a month later near Meridian, Mississippi, he would offer each of his men "a grateful and affectionate farewell."¹⁴²⁷

Brevet Colonel Charles S. Hills, *The Last Battle of the War - Recollections of the Mobile Campaign. War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, 1861-1865* (Becktold & Co., St. Louis, 1892), papers read before the Commandery of the state of Missouri, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Volume 1, page 183.

¹⁴²³ *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, Volume 1, page 1067.

¹⁴²⁴ Philip D. Stephenson, CSA.

¹⁴²⁵

Dabney Maury said, "I had caused a plank road or bridge about one mile long to be made on trestles from the left flank of the lines of Spanish Fort, over the Minette and the marshes, to a point opposite battery Huger." Dabney Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865." *Southern Historical Papers*, Volume 3 (Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, N.Y., 1977).

¹⁴²⁶ Arthur W. Bergeron, *Confederate Mobile* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 182.

¹⁴²⁷

Farewell address of Brigadier-General R. L. Gibson to the Louisiana Brigade after the Terms of Surrender had been Agreed upon between Lieut.-Gen. Richard Taylor, C.S.A., and Major-Gen. E. R. S. Canby, U.S.A. *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Volume 4 (Richmond, Virginia,

With Spanish Fort in hand, Canby concentrated on Blakely where the 21st Iowa had arrived about 3:00 a.m. on the 9th, after its all-night return march "*where, wearied beyond expression, it snatched a few hours of repose.*" "*The whole command,*" said Gilbert Cooley, "*was completely exhausted but there was scarcely a man that was not in his place.*" Skirmishing was "*unusually quiet*" but a 9:00 a.m. shower was followed by sunshine and "*by ten o'clock orders for an assault were given.*" Having been on duty almost forty-eight hours and undergone two hard marches, the 21st Iowa was excused and "*not under arms at all*" but was ready if needed. "*Several of the heavy field batteries*" came up from Spanish Fort and Union artillery, fifty-three siege guns and thirty-seven field pieces, opened fire at 5:00 p.m. and the enemy replied. Garrard was on the left "*and it was on the extreme left of its line that the assault was to commence. At 5:30 the last skirmisher on the left was to leap over his works and run over the enemy's rifle-pits and on to the ravine that lay midway between our line and the enemy's works. He was to be instantly followed by the man on his right and so on through the entire line, giving it a direct front movement with the right retired.*"¹⁴²⁸

With 16,000 to 20,000 men, the assault started at 5:30 p.m. and "*the fire from the forts was most severe*" as men sprinted forward past skirmish pits, over a "*little boy with the top of his head shot off,*" through the felled trees and wire, and through the ditch or over bridges that had not been withdrawn. When the fort's cannon were pulled back for reloading, infantry poured through the embrasures, entered the fort and, with fixed bayonets, captured the enemy by the hundreds. In less than an hour, the greatly out-numbered Confederates surrendered and more than forty guns and an estimated 3,423 prisoners were taken including Generals Liddell, Cockrell and Thomas in what many viewed as the final battle of the war.

Only 150 to 200 managed to escape through marshes, swimming the river or paddling away on pieces of lumber, some being picked up and taken to safety by the steamer *Nashville*. Federal casualties were estimated at 793 (including 118 killed) and George Brownell made another entry in his journal - "*Blakely Sunday 6pm our boys have just charged the works and carried them.*"

On that same Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, Grant told Lee he had "*no authority to treat on the subject of peace.*" If they were to meet it would only be to formulate surrender terms for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, terms similar to those given to Pemberton at Vicksburg. Lincoln returned to Washington and that evening learned Lee had surrendered at Appomattox. An army that once had more than 80,000 men had shrunk to 26,000. Ironically, the formal documents were signed in the living room of a two-story brick home owned by Wilmer McLean, the same Wilmer McLean who had moved from Manassas so his family would be away from the center of war.¹⁴²⁹ The table on which the terms of surrender were signed was purchased by General Ord for \$50.00.¹⁴³⁰ Before leaving, Grant ordered that rations be distributed to Confederate camps and appointed commissioners to carry out the surrender. Virginia's weather turned cool overnight and the next morning men woke to a drizzling rain as federal soldiers distributed food and Lee issued an order noting the "*unsurpassed courage and fortitude*" of his army "*compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources*" and closing:

*"you will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a Merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous considerations for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."*¹⁴³¹

Meanwhile, the Mobile campaign had gone well and been "*very nearly perfect*" in both equipment and organization as the Medical Department and Quartermaster Corps had finally learned to work together now that the

January 1877, Kraus Reprint Co).
¹⁴²⁸

Brevet Colonel Charles S. Hills, *The Last Battle of the War - Recollections of the Mobile Campaign. War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, 1861-1865* (Becktold & Co., St. Louis, 1892), papers read before the Commandery of the state of Missouri, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Volume 1, page 185.
¹⁴²⁹

Documents were signed on two tables. General Grant's table was purchased by General Sheridan as a present for General Custer and is now in the Smithsonian Institution. General Lee's table was purchased for \$50.00 by General Ord who took it with him when he moved to San Diego. Ord's widow later sold it and it is now on display at the Chicago Historical Society. For a detailed account of the surrender and of those paroled see William G. Nine & Ronald G. Wilson, *The Appomattox Paroles, April 9-15, 1865* (H. E. Howard, Inc., Lynchburg, VA; 1989).
¹⁴³⁰

¹⁴³⁰ *North Iowa Times* (May 3, 1865).

¹⁴³¹ General Order No. 9, Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia 13.

war was ended. The Blakely wounded were treated, the dead were buried and Union regiments returned from the front to rest in nearby camps. On Monday, the 21st Iowa moved about four miles to the rear where a tired Jim Bethard wrote to Cal.

Camp near Blakely Ala

April the 10th 1865

Dear wife

I am going to write you a few lines but cannot promise you a verry long letter for I am verry tiered, having just returned from the rebel fortifications at Blakely; which were charged and taken by our forces yesterday evening. Jim Rice and myself are still alive and well. our regiment has lost no men since I wrote you before we have been digging riffle pits under the enemies fier and sharpshooting but were fortunate enough to not be in the charge and have not lost a man since we came from Spanish fort; Cal I would like to give you a discription of the operations here and at Spanish forts but I have not time now Spanish forts surrendered last Friday evening after a heavy bombardment with 2500 prisoners and between 25 and 30 pieces of artillery We got 2500 at this place yesterday evening and 25 pieces of artillery and the report is now that two thousand more including a Major Gen have been found in the swamps in the rear of their works to day

I got a letter from Jont yesterday he was just starting to his regt his family had started the day before with father for Kansas

Your husband Jim

Tuesday the 11th continued warm and pleasant, a day of rest for most while others stood guard and many, including Albert and Myron Knight and Will Boynton examined the fort. *Huger* and *Tracy* were shelled until abandoned that night¹⁴³² and the fleet closed on Mobile where an evacuation ordered by Maury had been under way since the previous day.¹⁴³³ Cannon were spiked, surplus food was distributed to citizens and 4,500 rebels sought safety farther north.

The Mobile campaign was successful but largely anticlimactic and its importance, if any, was minimal. With the victories in Alabama and Lee's surrender in Virginia most of the fighting was done but there were still surrenders to be taken and minor fighting to finish the west.

MOBILE (April 12, 1865)

The 21st broke camp about dark on April 11th and started an all night sixteen-mile march to Starke's Landing. They arrived about 2:00 a.m. on the 12th while German native Anton Bringwalt died of bronchial pneumonia at Spanish Fort¹⁴³⁴ and Mobile schoolgirl Mary D. Waring wrote in her diary:

*"Wednesday. April 12th. I awoke this morning with a most deserted and desolate. All our troops got off some time during the night and the city is entirely free of 'gray coats' except some few scouts who will decamp upon the entrance of the enemy. Our feelings can be better imagined than described as we were momentarily expecting the intelligence that the enemy were nearly in the city. . . . About 12 o'clock the mayor accompanied by many gentlemen went down the bay to surrender the city."*¹⁴³⁵

1432

The Rebellion Register (R.A. Campbell, Publisher, 1866), page 177; Journal of the United States Artillery (Coast Artillery School Press, 1914), page 335; The Civil War Day By Day (Da Capo Press, 1971), page 672. Other sources indicate they abandoned on April 10th (eg. see The War of the Rebelion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Additions & Corrections to Series I - Volume XLIX (Govt. Printing Office, 1902), page 98.

¹⁴³³ Arthur W. Bergeron, Confederate Mobile (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1991), page 189.

¹⁴³⁴ The site of Anton's burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54662822.

¹⁴³⁵

Miss Waring's Journal: 1863 - 1865. Original manuscript maintained by the State of Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; above excerpt available online (www.Digital.Archives.Alabama.Gov).

Loading of men and equipment took many hours on the 12th but most in the regiment were on board the steamer *Warrior* by daylight and underway by 10:00 a.m. They debarked at Catfish Landing by the Magnolia race track about five miles below Mobile and began to make camp while Granger demanded the city's unconditional surrender. At noon, Mayor R. H. Slough rode down Shell Road and near the race track signaled with a large white sheet "to inform the enemy that he might take quiet possession of Mobile, since there was no Confederate force to oppose him." The Federals entered the city where General Maury's "old, tattered, bullet-pierced and torn" flag that had "waved over the last great battle-field of the Southern Confederacy" was surrendered to Union officer L. W. Colby. "We just got our tents up when they came for us to move," said Brownell, and "we marched up through the city distance 4 miles and were on guard all night."

Viewing its three lines of heavy earthworks, Cooley felt "it must have been humiliating to have expended so much time and material and not have the satisfaction of firing a gun from any part of its immense fortifications." As part of the first brigade entering the city, they spent the night of the 12th patrolling the streets and learned for the first time of the capture of Richmond. During a formal ceremony at Appomattox, Lee's army marched proudly between ranks of federal soldiers, stacked arms, laid colors and equipment on top and moved away. There were tears on both sides and an atmosphere of mutual respect. Lee ate a breakfast of hardtack, fried pork and coffee and left for Richmond. Grant also left, traveling to City Point and on to Washington to confer with the President. As for Mobile he said, "I had tried for more than two years to have an expedition sent against Mobile when its possession by us would have been of great advantage. It finally cost lives to take it when its possession was of no importance, and when, if left alone, it would within a few days have fallen into our hands without any bloodshed whatever."¹⁴³⁶ Linus McKinnie wrote to the *Times*:¹⁴³⁷

Mobile, Ala., April 12, 1865

Col.: - I hasten to inform you that 'Babylon has fallen.' The city surrendered this morning at 8 o'clock; the advance of the troops reached the town at 12 o'clock. Everything is as quiet as could be expected under the exciting time. The troops are behaving with a credit to the name of soldiers, and will redound to their future good record. There seems to be a general rejoicing among the citizens, and the fighting quality of the Yankee is much admired.

I will write as soon as we can settle down.

Yours,
Line McKinnie

SPRING HILL (April 13 to May 26, 1865)

On the 13th, the regiment stopped near the Mobile gas works about 10:00 a.m. and that afternoon, Brownell noted "it is now 4pm and we have just got our tents up in good shape." An hour later, about 5:00 p.m., they broke camp and started an eight mile march to the west, "passed over Spring hill and into the Wilderness" where they arrived about 10:00 p.m., bivouacked and put out a "heavy picket and alarm guard." They were "well situated" with "splendid water and a fine camping ground" but no food and most of the men spent the 14th building breastworks while foragers scoured the countryside.¹⁴³⁸ By nightfall the wagons had arrived, the foragers were back with flour and bacon, the regiment had "plenty of rations" and the Stars and Stripes were flying at Sumter where the officer in charge of the day's ceremony was Robert Anderson who had surrendered the fort to the new Confederacy four years to the day earlier and the principal speaker was Henry Ward Beecher who, ominously, offered "to the President of these United States our solemn congratulations that God has sustained his life and health under the unparalleled burdens and sufferings of four bloody years."

1436

Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters (Literary Classics 1990), page 758.

¹⁴³⁷ *North Iowa Times* (May 3, 1865).

1438

Spring Hill was "situated between two streams running east to the Bay on either side of Mobile, on the summit of a hill six miles west of the city." Kenny, Catholic Culture in Alabama (The America Press 1931).

In Washington, General and Mrs. Grant attended a party hosted by Secretary of War Stanton while John Wilkes Booth spent the day unsuccessfully searching for the President. Grant spent several days working with Stanton planning demobilization of the Union army, deciding which armies and government contracts could be stopped, which regiments could be sent home and where to station units to garrison the conquered South. By the 14th, he had almost finished and Mrs. Lincoln invited the Grants to accompany her and the President to a play at Ford's Theater. Anxious to see their four children in New Jersey, the Grants declined but Henry and Clara Rathbone accompanied the Lincolns. At 8:25 p.m. the President entered the theater. The play had started much earlier, actress Laura Keane was on stage, the orchestra played *Hail to the Chief* and the audience cheered when the President and his party entered their state box where the President sat in a rocking chair, a single door behind him leading to a hall. About 10:13 p.m. Booth fired a single shot from his derringer.¹⁴³⁹ Secretary of State Seward, still recuperating from an April 5th accident, was assaulted in his home by Lewis Thornton Powell, aka Paine. Seward survived, thanks, in part, to the presence of two of his sons who helped ward off their father's attacker but the President died the next morning. Secretary of War Stanton dictated a telegram to Thomas Eckert, the chief telegraph officer and a runner rushed it to War Department telegraphers:

U. S. Military Telegraph
Abraham Lincoln died this morning at 22 minutes after seven.
E. M. Stanton

At the Kirkwood Hotel three hours after the president's death, Andrew Johnson was sworn in as the country's 17th President. In Iowa, residents were curious as to why a ferry arriving from Prairie du Chien was flying a flag at half-mast when it neared McGregor. "*When within hailing distance the captain shouted that President Lincoln had been shot the night before and was dead. A groan of horror went up from the crowd and then too stunned to talk we slowly separated to realize the awfulness of the calamity.*¹⁴⁴⁰ A rider galloped around town, calling out the terrible news.¹⁴⁴¹ Davis denounced the assassination, Lee refused to listen to details, Johnston "*did not attempt to conceal his distress*" when he learned of the act from Sherman, Burnside resigned from the military, Edward Bates was "*deeply moved*" and Walt Whitman remembered the President in verse:

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exalting
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

The end of the war had come but the President who captained the ship would not hear the accolades he deserved. Soldiers in Spring Hill were unaware of the tragedy. They had a good campground, weather was warm, Confederate deserters were arriving daily, picket duty was nearly abolished and restrictions were eased but they "*behaved as men of honor always do and not as soldiers are generally supposed to who are under very lax discipline.*" With few responsibilities, Jim had time to write a long letter home:

Springhill Alabama
April the 15th 1865
Dear wife

1439

Leaping from the President's box, Booth shouted "*sic semper tyrannis*" ("*thus always to tyrants*"), the state motto of Virginia. Bill O'Reilly & Martin Dugard, *Killing Lincoln* (Henry Hold and Company, New York, 2011).

¹⁴⁴⁰ *North Iowa Times, Centennial Edition.*

1441

Mary Riley Moody, a descendant of Maple Moody. *McGregor Woman, 100, Fed "Polite" Jesse James Gang.* (The Register's Iowa News Service, 1949).

once more I am permitted to write to you informing you that I am still in the land of the living and in the enjoyment of good health Jim Rice is also well I wrote you a few days ago from fort Blakely stating that that place and Spanish fort was in our possession the next evening after that was written between sundown and dark we received orders to march we started without teams or anything else for Alabama city which is about four miles below Spanish fort which place we reached about two o clock that night after a march of about 14 miles, we then commenced embarking on transports and about ten o clock on wednesday the fleet was under weigh with the 13th corps on board. as we neared cat fish landing we saw white flags flying from the buildings and along the shore and the Mayor of Mobile came down with a white flag and surrendered the city to Gen Granger the rebels about 3000 having evacuated the evening before.¹⁴⁴² It is of no use for me to tell you here that there was some shouting and cheering done about that time but you may guess there was. we landed and marched up to the city with colors flying and bands playing we encamped just inside of the fortifications until evening when hearing that rebel cavalry were stealing horses and tearing up back generally on the other side of the city ours and the 2nd brigade pulled up and marched through the city and layed on our arms until morning and then went into camp in the edge of the city Jim Rice and I then took a stroll around the city and got back to camp just as the regiment was starting away. we strapped on our knapsacks and equipage and soon overtook them we arrived at this place which is 8 miles from the city about ten that night lay on our arms in line of battle until morning and then went in to camp and commenced throwing up breast works and by night yesterday evening we had quite a formidable work around one side of our camp the other side being surrounded by swamps which are impassible I dont know how long we will stay here, they say this is intended for a cavalry outpost and as soon as there can be some cavalry got here we will be sent back to the city General Veatch our divisional commander is in command of the post at Mobile and I think it quite likely he will keep us there there is only three regiments out here The most of the citizens of Mobile appear to be as glad to see us as we were to get the city They say they have been badly abused by the rebels and are sick and tiered of the war knowing as they do that their cause is utterly hopeless. Cal I might write a week about our campaign but as you will get a more accurate account of it in the newspapers than I can give, I will drop the subject for the present and if I am so lucky as to get home all right I will take pleasure in telling you all about it. I received yours of March the 26th to day containing four postage stamps. they came in good play for I have been out for some time I am glad to hear that the box of clothing got through all right but we had no Idea it was going to cost so much to send it. You think I run a great risk in paying the express but if you do as I told you I can see no risk about it that is let no package go until its proportion of the express charges have been paid. if you leave town before the packages have all been distributed you can leave it with some one else with the same instructions and be sure and write to me who you have left it with so that I can tell the rest of the boys where to find their clothing Well I see I have not room on this sheet to say what I wish to so as I am too late for to days mail any how I get another sheet

Your husband Jim

Well here goes for the extra edition we were informed this morning that the mail would go out a twelve o clock, and I immediately commenced a letter to you and had just got fairly under way when I was detailed to go foraging and did not get back til nearly noon which made me to late for the mail to day. but there will probbably be a mail sent out now every day while we stay here I hope and believe our spring campaign is over and in view of the circumstances of the armies all over according to the late news I beleive the confederacy is about played out The news is concerning Grant Sherman Sherridan and Lee's armies and as you have probbably got it ahead of us I will not take the panes to repeat it here

Cal I am surprised at your answer in regard to my subscribing \$25 for the benefit of the orphans

1442

In response to General Granger's demand for the city's surrender, Mayor R. H. Slough wrote, "The city has been evacuated by the military authorities, and its municipal authority is now within my control. Your demand has been granted, and I trust, for the sake of humanity, all the safeguards which we can throw around our people will be secured to them." J. Thomas Scharf, History of the Confederate States Navy From Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel. (Joseph McDonough, 1894), page 595.

home in Iowa I expected you would approve of the act and applaud me for my liberality in so noble a cause. it is true we are poor and have not got \$25 to throw away, but when I have an opportunity to contribute to such an institution as the soldiers orphans assylum, it gives me more satisfaction to do so than It would to spend my money for fine clothes and go home dressed like a dandy and have it thrown in my face that I could dress well but had not the heart to contribute for the benefit of the orphans of the noble dead who have fallen in the same noble cause for which I have been fighting I have never regretted subscribing what I did, and when the time for payment comes (which will be the first pay day) I shall pay it with as free a heart as I ever paid out money for value received, and if the four hundred dollars of which you spoke in your letter falls short I will endeavor to make it up after I get home

Cal I never supposed until I received your letter to day that your mind was much occupied with thoughts of how I should be dressed when I come home. I supposed that your anxiety for my wellfare so fully occupied your mind that you would never take a thought as to how I should be dressed and that when I got home you would be so overjoyed to see me alive that you would scarcely notice whether I was clad in an officers suit and fine boots; or in regular government blue and government platform shoes. But instead of that you have commenced edicting the kind of suit in which I must appear to you. I am not able to say at present what kind of a suit I shal appear in; for it is a subject which has never troubled my mind but verry little, although I sincerely hope you may be spared the shame of being disgraced by an indecent appearance of your husband when I get home if I am so lucky as to live to see that time

Cal you may think this letter a little rough but you must take a share of the blame upon yourself for I think yours of the 28th was decidedly rough, and I think it becomes me as a soldier to defend my principles and reply according as I am assailed. I am open for argument and shall wait with impatience your reply to this

I beleive I told you in my last that father and Jonathans family had gone to Kansas I received a letter from Cousin Albert a few days ago, he and his family were well I sent him my photograph some time ago and told him to write to you and you would send him yours and Ella's he said he would send me his and his family's as soon as he could get them and was going to write to you for yours

Well I must quit and go and hear the news the orderly has got a late New Orleans paper and is reading to the boys
so good bye for this time
your husband Jim

PS - the valentine you spoke of was received I did not think to mention it before when I was writing to you. it was verry nice

On the 16th, Randall Gibson was in Meridian when he wrote his report of the fall of Spanish Fort. Many of his men captured at Blakely and Spanish Fort had been taken to Dauphin Island and Ship Island but, when word of the assassination reached Alabama, the emotions of the previously friendly Federals were so strong that the prisoners were confined to quarters for their own safety.

On the 18th, Andrew Hannah and others captured at Fish Creek were paroled in Vicksburg, Abram Treadwell who had been under medical care for ten days was well enough to stop his treatment, Washington officials walked in a procession to the White House to view the President's silk-draped catafalque and Linus McKinnie wrote the promised letter to the *Times*:¹⁴⁴³

Spring Hill, Ala., April 18, 1865

Col.: - "Grim visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front." and we are now capering nimbly in the

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The Weekly North Iowa Times (May 10, 1865). The paper discussed the map referred to in the letter: "Line McKinnie sends us a most valuable map of Mobile Bay. we know it to be "Line's" own draught from circumstances which we will explain to him in a few weeks when he returns. The map is on a double sheet of foolscap. It gives the localities and progress of the Federal troops all around the bay; the inlets, the battles, the losses, the captures, the villages, the rivers, where "ile was struck" and many other interesting things connected with the capture of this last of the important rebel cities. We are under very great obligations to our soldier friend for so valuable a document."

deserted hall of some proud southerner, to the music of Brass Bands, Martial Bands and a salute of 200 guns that is being fired in honor of Gen. Lee's surrender to Lt. Gen. Grant. There is no mock modesty here; every man down to the colored cooks feels and knows that there is just cause for heartfelt rejoicing.

This strange phenomenon came so unexpected, with the surrender of this place, that it is hard to tell what we may look for next. Jacob, in his vision, saw the ladder in the eastern horizon, with its rounds, Faith, Hope and Charity, reaching from earth to heaven. We can now behold in the western horizon the stepping stones to Freedom, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan; and encircling this as a sacred halo, are these words of promise: "Victory will give us peace."

This is one of the happiest camps this army ever made. We are 7 miles from the city or rather the wharf, but one could almost call himself in town, as it is all built up with fine residences of the once bon tons of this country. But alas! how changes of war have reduced this once happy people from affluence and wealth to penury and want, many of them having to depend on our commissary for all the necessaries of life. It is indeed a humiliating sight, and if it were possible I would almost feel like praying God to let this cup pass from them; but as I am in the habit of hearing all that is done, it would not look well to undertake a task that would require the personification of true christianity to be heard at all.

It has not yet been ascertained the number of prisoners or guns taken at this point, but up to the fall of Blakely, our army had captured 6,400 prisoners and 120 pieces of cannon. With the fall of the city, the rebel soldiers that were taken have, to a man, taken the amnesty oath and returned to their peaceful avocations and homes. Daily they are coming in from the interior in squads of 5 to 50, taking the oath and returning to their first love, ere the candle, stick and all, be removed from sight forever.

Madam Rumor is in camp with her honied words of peace propositions made and accepted on both sides, but nevertheless commanding officers of regiments and companies may be seen setting under shades with their field desks open and papers spread out, or which is printed Ordinance Stores Received; Clothing; Camp and Garrison Equipage Received and issued. - One's attention is soon attracted by the humming sound that proceeds from whence they are seated; 'tis the good old hym [sic]

"And now they servant, Lord,
Prepare a strict account to give."

This close attention to business just at this time is caused by a circular from the War Department requiring them to make full settlement with the government before they can receive their final pay.

Enclosed I send you a rough map of the bay and surroundings, giving you our line of march, which I trust will prove of some interest to you. Much has been said and written of the beauties of Mobile. More could be added, and then the beauties would not be told. Its shady walks and crystal springs equal in beauty the far-famed Minnie-ha ha!

I am off for a sail on the bay, so good day. Boys all well - not one in hospital. Give my respects to all.
I am, Line

On the 19th, David Greaves was detailed for duty as Acting Commissary of Subsistence for the 1st Brigade and Alfred Kephart wrote to his mother:

Camped at Spring Hill Alabama
April 19th 1865

Dear Mother

I take my pen in hand to rite you a few lines in answer to your kind and welcome letter which I received I was very glad to hear from you it is six miles to Mobile from here I would rather lie here than in the City we have cplended water we are doing picket duty we are in the first Brigade and the first Division of the 13th army Corps we have good commands Gen Slack commands our brigade. Gen Veach commands the Division and Gen Granger commands the Corps the Citazens appears to be very glad that we have come they treated well we Captured 4100 men at Blakely and Spanish fort and 1300 here at Mobile including four Generals and 250 peaces of artilery and lots of small arms and Coten I think the war will soon be over well I believe I have riten all I can think of now rite soon when these few lines comes to hand I hope they may find you all well as they leave me att present I send my best respects to you all.

from your most affectionate Son,

On the same day in the north, the *North Iowa Times* reported on the death of Lincoln and inauguration of Johnson Funeral services were held in the east room of the White House. Offices closed, bells tolled and the President's body "escorted by an imposing military and civic procession was transferred to the rotunda of the Capitol." Two days later members of the Veteran Reserve Corps placed the President's remains and the exhumed coffin of his son Willy on the Baltimore & Ohio funeral train and, at 8:00 a.m., it started a 1,666 mile journey to Springfield. On the way it would stop at Baltimore, Philadelphia where the coffin would lie briefly in Independence Hall, New York where it was displayed on a catafalque in city hall, Albany, Buffalo, Harrisburg, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis and Chicago where large crowds paid their respects.

As the train left Washington, Kirby Smith was appealing to his men in Shreveport. "*The crisis of our revolution is at hand,*" he said. Foreseeing, but not mentioning, defeat, he hoped to "*secure to our country terms that a proud people can with honor accept, and may, under the Providence of God, be the means of checking the triumph of our enemy and of securing the final success of our cause.*" "*Stand by your colors - maintain your discipline*" he urged but his men were dejected. They had had enough. Wholesale desertions, apathy and indifference followed and his plea had little effect.

By then, word of the assassination had reached the soldiers in Alabama and, on April 21st, Marion Griffin wrote another letter to his brother:

*This evening brings sad intelligence to us (Soldiers) that is the murdering of President Lincoln and Wm Seward it fairly makes a soldiers blood run cold to think of such an atrocious deed, Southern Chivalry personified but . . . we have the Confederacy gaited, that is one Consolation I sincerely hope that it may prove to be a ruse and not a fact . . .*¹⁴⁴⁴

Meanwhile, on April 22d, after a trip of three and a half weeks from Ohio, Alexander Bethard arrived in Kansas and paid \$1,200.00 for 160 acres in Coffey County while General Canby was issuing a circular on the recent Mobile campaign:

*"It is his province to report the results; that of a higher authority to bestow appropriate commendations and rewards; but it is not improper to express his personal thanks to the officers and men of this army for their zeal, energy and gallantry, and to the officers and men of the navy for their hearty and zealous co-operation in the work that has been accomplished. He begs that the Sabbath next ensuing the receipt of this order, may be made the occasion of thanksgiving for the past, and prayer for the future; and that all will unite with him in the earnest petition that God in His mercy will deal tenderly with the relatives and friends of our dead and wounded comrades."*¹⁴⁴⁵

On the 23d, Jonathan Bethard was reported as being paroled, something inconsistent with prior reports of his escape, while Alabama weather was "*rather cold,*" the chaplain preached two sermons and Jim wrote to Cal.

Springhill Alabama.

Sunday April the 23rd 65

Dear wife

yours of the 3rd of this month came to hand yesterday you said nothing about the health of Ella and the rest of the folks but I take it for granted that they are well or you would have said so. you will notice by the date of this that we have not moved since my last to you; there has been some talk of our going back to the city soon and this place being occupied by cavalry, but I hope such will not be the case, for this is the most pleasant place that we have ever camped in; it is high rolling ground with plenty of springs all around of as good water as ever run out of the ground it is

¹⁴⁴⁴ Letter from Marion E. Griffin to Ray B. Griffin, Mobile, Alabama, April 21, 1865.

¹⁴⁴⁵

George Crooke, *Twenty-First Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry, a Narrative* (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891), page 154, referencing General Order No. 32, Headquarters, Army and Division of West Mississippi, Mobile, Alabama, April 22, 1865.

considered the healthiest spot in the State of Alabama I have heard some talk of an expedition being in contemplation for the west side of the Mississippi river; but I hope and believe that before another expedition can be organized, the confederacy will be among the things that were the south have played their last card and added the crowning shame to their foul record by assassinating two of the noblest men in the world Mr Lincoln and Mr Seward. Mr Lincoln is dead; but I hope Seward will live to administer justice to traitors and especially the perpetrators of that last foul deed It is reported here that Jeff Davis has crossed the Miss river. if this is so he is in all probability endeavoring to make his way out of the United States which is no doubt the the safest course that he can adopt now I hope he may be overtaken and brought back to justice, but if he succeeds in getting away we will at least have the consolation of being rid of one of the basest villains and foulest traitors that ever disgraced the soil of America. Since the death of Mr Lincoln the citizens of Mobile are in a peck of trouble; they are afraid that Johnson will be harder on them than Lincoln would have been if he had not been killed and I think myself that they have good reason to fear. I think that by putting old Abe out of the way they jumped out of the frying pan in to the fire. to say the least the act has not advanced their cause a particle nor injured ours in the least except in the loss of one of the ablest and most useful men we had well I may as well drop the subject for I might write on it all day and then not do it justice I believe the war is over but it is useless for me to predict when we shall get home I understand that there is a general order from the war department to the effect that all troops that came out under the 600,000 calls of 1862 shall be mustered out on or before the 10th of August 1865, and I have not much hope of getting out before that time our country is in such a mixed up condition that even if the fighting is done, it will be some time before law and order can be restored throughout and the way made clear for the peaceful administration of civil government and I don't think it very probable that our armies will be disbanded until this has been accomplished I have heard nothing from any of my folks since the few lines I received from Jonathan at Blakely the substance of which I gave you some time ago I have never heard what part of Kansas they went to I hope to get a letter from father soon and then I shall know all about it I hope you will have your mind reconciled by the time I get home to go with me to Kansas for I expect that father will ask me to go there, and I think it will be to our interest to comply Cal I hope you will be contented with your new home at Sigourney, and if moving has the same effect upon you that it does upon me it will be for the benefit of your health, and make the summer seem much shorter than though you had staid at McGregor Give my respects to all inquiring friends and take good care of your self and little Ella accep the love and well wishes of Your loving husband

James Beathard

James Rice is well

On April 24th Brad Talcott, four weeks after the requisition for his return, reached Camp McClellan seeking transportation to Spring Hill where his regiment had dress parade at 5:00 p.m. and Andrew Lawrence was treated for diarrhea and a bowel inflammation while Christian Maxson and William Robbins guarded a private residence. William was relaxed, leaning against a porch pillar and discussing the President's assassination when he gasped, put his hands on his chest, slid down the pillar and sat on the porch. His heart was beating rapidly, he could scarcely breathe but, as in the past, he soon recovered. On the 25th, Dwight Noble's widow, Catherine, remarried three years after her husband's death, dropped her pension claim and hired legal counsel to pursue a claim on behalf of her children. Her new husband was appointed guardian and signed their application with an "X."

On an eventful April 26th, Jefferson Davis met with his cabinet for the last time, John Wilkes Booth was killed and Joe Johnston ended his military career. Davis' meeting was at the Bennett House in Charlotte and Johnston was near Durham Station when he surrendered the Army of Tennessee to a magnanimous Sherman. Seven days later, after Grant wired his approval, Johnston's army laid down its arms. Booth's death came in Virginia. He had left Washington with twenty-five men from the 16th New York Cavalry in pursuit and was trapped in the tobacco barn of Richard Garrett. There, while holding his pursuers off with a Spencer carbine as the building burned around him, Booth was fatally shot.¹⁴⁴⁶ He was buried in an unmarked grave on the grounds of the Washington arsenal. Lewis

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Boston Corbett, "a religious fanatic and an unstable man, is generally credited with shooting Booth." E. B. Long, The Civil War Day to Day

Powell, nineteen year old David Herold, George Atzerodt and boarding house owner Mary Surratt would be hung at the arsenal in July and Dr. Samuel Mudd would be imprisoned at the remote Fort Jefferson on the Dry Tortugas seventy miles west of Key West. Mary's son, John, was also charged but fled to Canada and Europe and served briefly with the Papal Guard before being captured in Egypt, extradited and tried in 1867 before a jury that voted 8-4 for acquittal.

In the early hours of April 27th, an over-loaded *SS Sultana* was heading north with paroled soldiers when boilers exploded, the boat sank near Memphis and most on board were killed.¹⁴⁴⁷ Upstream on the same day, Brad Talcott checked in at Soldiers' Rest in Cairo, while Enos Russell was ill but well enough to be released from the Memphis hospital. The next morning he was ordered back to the regiment and, perhaps celebrating, perhaps not, became intoxicated and belligerent. That evening he resisted orders of the provost guard, was shot through the chest and died in the same Overton Hospital from which he had been discharged in the morning. He was survived by Julia and their three-year-old son who were living in Elkader. Due to the circumstances of Enos' death, Julia was denied a widow's pension.¹⁴⁴⁸

In Alabama, weather was still warm and Ed Snedigar, William Abernethy and George Brownell found a turning pole *"and put it up in our street."* An *"Official Report relative to the Conduct of Federal Troops in Western Louisiana during the Invasions of 1863 and 1864"* commissioned by Confederate Governor Henry Allen was published in April with residents testifying to claimed *"atrocities and barbarities committed"* by Union soldiers. The report was understandably biased but even a federal soldier had remarked after the 1863 Teche campaign that *"we have left an awful scene of desolation behind us. In spite of orders not to pillage, burned and sacked houses mark our course."* On the 29th, Allen led a meeting in Shreveport and Kirby Smith, Simon Buckner, Sterling Price, Governor Reynolds of Missouri and other high ranking leaders were present as Allen urged patience. Success for their *"glorious cause"* was still possible.

Springhill Alabama

Sunday April 30th 1865

Dear wife

yours of the 9th inst came to hand last week; was glad to hear from you once more, that you were all well. your letter found us also well we are still at springhill enjoying peacable times. we have a chain picket out all the time, but are not much afraid of the rebs, although we see plenty of them every day, but they come without arms. there has been two or three hundred come in here and give themselves up since we came out here, besides a great many more who gave themselves up at Mobile we are receiving good news every day from all quarters of the confederacy. the cry is, still they come they all seem glad to imitate the example of their commander in chief Gen Lee and the whole affair seems to be coming to a focus as fast as possible the news here yesterday was to the effect that General Sherman and Jonson had agreed upon an armistice and were negotiating for a final and last peace, Dick Taylor has sent in a flag of truce and announced his willingness to surrender upon the same terms that Lee surrendered to Grant. Some of the boys are offering to bet on being home by the 4th of July, but for my part I would not bet either way. there are a great many troops to go up the river about the same time and it will be impossible to get transportation for all at once and it is hard to tell whether we will be among the first or the last. I should like mighty well to be at home by the 4th of July for I expect they will have a merry old time in the north on that day: but I do not much expect to be there. but let us be patient there is a happy time coming it is bound to come and our impatience and fretting will not make the time one minute sooner or later, so let us rest easy and wait the motion of that slow but sure travailr time to bring our happy dreams to reality You are probably by this time installed in your new home in sigourney, how do you like it I hope you are not lonesome I hope that

(Da Capo Press 1971), page 682. Corbett had reportedly castrated himself for having once sought the services of a prostitute. Claims that Booth escaped, changed his name to John St. Helen, and committed suicide in Enid, Oklahoma, in 1903, led to exhumation of the body in the unmarked grave so the DNA could be compared with that of his descendants.

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Estimates of the dead ranged from an official 1,238 to as high as 1,900. E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day to Day* (Da Capo Press 1971), page 683. The *Lady Gay* was in better condition and also available for transport, but \$5.00 per man was being paid for transport and the owner of the *Sultana* wanted as many on board as possible.

¹⁴⁴⁸

Enos is buried in Memphis National Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3169112.

clothing in that box was all distributed before you left McGregor if not who did you leave it with and who got their clothing and who did not The paymaster is in Mobile and was out here yesterday. we expect to get paid off this week. we muster for pay to day. there is eight months our due I dont know whether we will get it all this time or not. We have not heard from Robert for some time he is probably in Arkansas yet. I have not heard from fathers folks since they started for Kansas. I am verry anxious to hear from them I have heard nothing from Jonathan since he started for his regiment nor nothing from Nancy since we left I must write to Jont to day Well Cal I dont know hardly how to fill out this sheet unless I tell you the trading expedition that I was on the other day, the boys were all trading their surplus rations for meal and milk and eggs etc. so I thought I would go and try my luck so I took a havresack full of crackers and about two pounds of sugar and started; came to a splendid mansion and met an old darky in the yard to whom I traded my havresack for meal and made a verry good trade. and while he was measuring out the meal a little girl came up an she me what I wanted for the sugar I told her eggs or butter. she ran back to the house and came back and said the lady of the house wished to see me. I went to the front door and a fat black eyed widow (Mrs Martyn) came to a window above my head and commenced bantering for the sugar. She first offered me a pint of milk and six eggs which I refused telling her I wanted butter she then held a plate out of the window over my head and said she would give me that much butter and six eggs. I could not see how much butter ther was so I said all right and handed her the sugar and when I got the butter it was a little lump about the size of a walnut and when I got to camp three of the eggs proved rotten the boys had a good laugh at me and I have concluded not to trade sight unseen any more especially with the chivalrous ladies of the south hoping this will find you and little Ella well I subscribe myself your husband Jim

On May 1st, David Greaves was relieved as Acting Commissary and detailed for service on a court martial at Spring Hill and, on the 2d, the prisoners from Dauphin and Ship islands reached Vicksburg for processing of paroles and signing of oaths swearing to defend the United States "*against the Rebellious League known as the Confederate States of America.*" President Johnson issued a proclamation offering rewards for the arrest of "*Jeff. Davis late of Richmond Va*" while Davis met with advisers in South Carolina and decided to fight no more and try to reach safety in Texas.

With the war ended, McGregor's future looked bright. On May 3, 1865, the *North Iowa Times* reported that Tim Hopkins, discharged more than two years earlier, "*has re-papered the St. Nicholas, and the general overhauling he has given that resort of sportsmen adds materially to the pleasure of a session at Tim's festive board.*" The city in general was prospering, it said. "*New signs are being put up, houses moved, lots well fenced, painting is fashionable and general, houses, for sale and rent, are in demand, and everything indicates confidence in the future of our 'used up' city.*" A friend asked, "*If a man can't live in McGregor, where will he go?*" That, however, was also the year that McGregor's population reached its peak of about 5,500 residents.

On May 4th, Abraham Lincoln was buried in Springfield, Illinois. In the South, Jefferson Davis reached Washington, Georgia, Aaron Frankeberger entered a Mobile, Alabama, hospital with acute dysentery and, two days after a "*bountiful luncheon*" with Canby at Citronelle, Dick Taylor surrendered his 12,000-man army for the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, all the Confederate forces still east of the Mississippi. According to Taylor, "*conditions of surrender were speedily determined, and of a character to sooth the pride of the vanquished*" and he was allowed to keep enough rail cars and steamboats for his men to get home. When all paroles were issued and his men gone, Taylor and his Negro servant, Tom Strother, now a free man, went to Mobile. From there "*General Canby most considerately took me, Tom, and my two horses on his boat to New Orleans, else I must have begged my way.*"¹⁴⁴⁹ On arrival, Strother found his family while Taylor sold his horses so his wife and daughters could join him from Natchitoches. Traveling the short distance to *Fashion*, they found their Mississippi River estate had been confiscated and sold. The house was in ruins, ransacked by Union soldiers who had taken clothing, rings, watches, guns, swords and every other remembrance Taylor had of his famous father. Furniture was smashed, walls were destroyed, pictures had been cut from their frames and correspondence and official documents were scattered on the floor. A small barn was one of the few structures still standing. Nailed to its door were the dried hides of two ponies that had been pets of his deceased sons.

On May 5th, Charles Husted was reduced from 3rd Sergeant to Private in Company F and sentenced to twenty-

¹⁴⁴⁹ T. Michael Parrish, *Richard Taylor. Soldier Prince of Dixie* (U. of North Carolina Press 1992), page 442.

five days of fatigue duty for passing through the lines without permission of his commanding officer and absenting himself from roll call.

On May 7th, Dabney Maury, having withdrawn his Confederate forces from Mobile a month earlier, was camped six miles east of Meridian, Mississippi, when he addressed an order to his soldiers;

Our last march is almost ended. To-morrow we shall lay down the arms we have borne for four years to defend ur rights, to win our liberties.

We know that we have borne them with honor; and we only now surrender to the overwhelming power of the enemy, which has rendered further resistance hopeless and mischievous to our own people and cause. But we shall never forget the noble comrades who have stood shoulder to shoulder with us until now; the noble dead who have been martyred; the noble Southern women who have been wronged and are unavenged; or the noble principles for which we have fought. Conscious that we have played our part like men, confident of the righteousness of our cause, without regret for our past action, and without despair of the future, let us to-morrow with the dignity of veterans who are the last to surrender, perform the sad duty which has been assigned to us.

Your friend and comrade,

*Dabney H. Maury,
Major-General Confederate Army¹⁴⁵⁰*

In Spring Hill, the 8th was clear after a "big rain" overnight and on the 9th the regiment was paid "all square up to the first of march." For those who had been promoted from the enlisted to the commissioned ranks, payment would include the final amounts due for their service as enlisted men. George Fisher, having been promoted from 1st Sergeant to 1st Lieutenant in Company C, received \$222.90. George Moser, promoted from 1st Sergeant to 2nd Lieutenant in Company I, received \$195.54.¹⁴⁵¹

Myron Knight visited Mobile on a pass, George Brownell read "Pilgrim's Progress" and surrender terms were presented to Kirby Smith in Shreveport. Western Governors advised surrender. Shelby and many others felt Buckner should replace Smith but Smith advised the Union emissary, Colonel Sprague, of terms he considered acceptable. Pat Burns reached the regiment on May 10th, Albert Knight and Will Boynton toured Mobile, and Jefferson Davis, stating "God's will be done," was captured, allegedly in his wife's clothing, near Irwinville, Georgia.¹⁴⁵² For the next two years he would be imprisoned at Fort Monroe, much of the time in shackles, while Northerners sang a new song, "Jeff In Petticoats," and cartoons proliferated.¹⁴⁵³

On April 28th, the *North Iowa Times* had published a letter regarding the Mobile Campaign. When the paper made its way to Spring Hill, Linus McKinnie was quick to respond to Colonel Richardson.¹⁴⁵⁴

Mobile, Ala., May 10th, 1865

Col:- I have been shown a copy of the McGregor News of April 28th, 1865, in which is a letter written by one Jas. A. Henderson of the 27th Iowa.¹⁴⁵⁵ He stated: "That the 16th Army Corps, on the 20th of March, marched to a point within 20 miles of Mobile and waited for the 13th Army Corps to come up. On the 26th the 16th corps was engaged in holding several brigades in the rear and investing Fort Spanish, with the 13th

¹⁴⁵⁰ Dabney H. Maury, *Defence of Mobile*. Southern Historical Papers, Volume III, No .1 (Richmond, Virginia, January 1877, Kraus Reprint Co).
¹⁴⁵¹

As 1st Sergeants, their pay was \$24.00 monthly. George Fisher received \$141.60 pay, \$75.00 as the balance of his bounty and \$6.45 reimbursement for travel that had been overcharged, less \$.15 for clothing. George Moser received \$96.00 pay, \$75.00 as the balance of his bounty and a \$24.54 travel reimbursement.

¹⁴⁵² Harper's Weekly, May 26, 1865.

¹⁴⁵³

Others, mostly Southerners, some present and some not at the time of capture, contend Davis was dressed appropriately but said his wife "threw over his shoulders a water-proof cloak or wrapper," a "Raglan," "a light aquascutum or spring overcoat, sometimes called a 'water-proof.'" ¹⁴⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵⁴ *North Iowa Times* (May 31, 1865).

¹⁴⁵⁵

James A. Henderson was an eighteen-year-old resident of Garnavillo when he was enrolled on January 16, 1864, in Company E of the 27th Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry. Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume III (State Printer, 1910).

corps one mile in the rear of them.- On the 27th the 16th corps was and still is in the advance, and the 13th A.A. batteries are doing awful havoc with their men, and already several of the 12th Iowa had been killed by their shell.

Now, Col, I do not want to make you any trouble, or through the columns of your paper wound their feelings of any one, but in justice to the boys of the 13th, would simply state that the 16th did not "march to a point within 20 miles of Mobile on the 20th of March," but that they were transported from Dauphin and safely landed at the mouth of Fish River, where they debarked and waited until the night of the 24th, when the 13th, after 8 days hard marching, building corduroy roads for upwards of 18 miles of the way, arrived and went into camp at 10 o'clock at night. On the morning of the 25th the 16th corps took the advance and moved to a point called Deer Park, where we all encamped for the night (little thinking that on the next day we would be killing off the 16th A.C.!) On the morning of the 26th the grand army moved in the following order, on four different roads: Col. Bertran's Brigade of the 3d Division, 13th A.C., on the extreme left or shore road of the Bay, Gen. Veatche's 1st Div., 13th A.C., (right in front) on the 2d parallel road, followed by his and the 3d Div. as a rear guard while the 16th took the two parallel roads to the right of the 13th. Thus you will see by the map that I sent you some time ago, that the 13th covered as much ground as did the 16th, and of a much tougher nature, cut into deep and narrow defiles and studded over with thick under-brush, making it difficult for the skirmish line to advance with that steadiness and precaution that should always be exercised on like occasions.

After moving some 2½ miles, the column halted for the purpose of closing up and reconnoitering in the front; the story was soon told; the General and staff soon came riding back, informing gen. Slack that they were just ahead, and at the same time ordering the 21st Iowa forward as skirmishers. Four companies were deployed with six remaining as reserves. They moved rapidly forward, driving the enemy's pickets before them to a point within one mile of Spanish Fort in which position they remained until 4 o'clock A.M. of the 27th during which time the boys all concur in saying that the 16th was not in the advance and furthermore, it was not until late in the evening that the whereabouts of the 16th could be told! As 8 A.M., 27th, the whole line commenced advancing and night found the skirmishers of the 13th as close as any along the line, with the rear well closed up. I will here state that Gen. Carr, 3d Div., 16th Corps, was on our immediate right, and his skirmishers were not as far advanced by 50, and in many places 100 yards, as were the lines of the 13th corps, there being no troops in the rear except Gen. Girard's Div., 13th A.C., and if I mistake not the 27th Iowa at that time was with it, building rear defences and gabions for the batteries in the front, not having participated in the engagement. The heavy firing that he heard was nothing more than the skirmish line of the 13th corps, advancing with unflinching bravery to within 80 yards of the rebel stronghold and from its moving forward, gave it much the appearance of the fleet moving up to the work. But alas, that fleet! God knows how anxiously we all looked for its coming, but it did not come until the day after the surrender of the city, for the reason, the commanding officer said, it could not be done with safety!

On the evening of April 2d we moved to the mills on the Biminett, and at 2 A.M. of the 3d, we took up position in the rear of Blakely, to the left of Gen. Andrews' 3d Div., 13th A.C.; at 2 P.M. Gen. Girard's Div., 16th A.C., formed on our left, extending toward the Bay, where we remained until the evening of the 9th, when a charge was made upon the whole line, resulting in carrying the works, and we are not informed that the 16th corps took any more active part in this brilliant affair than did the 13th! On the night of the 11th, the 1st and 3d Divisions, 13th A.C., moved back to Stark's Landing, embarked on board Transports, crossed the Bay, disembarked at "Magnolia Race course," and by ... M., of the 12th, the Stars and Stripes were waving from the Custom House and other public buildings within the city limits.

Now, Mr. Henderson, for all this, I would respectfully refer you to the records of this campaign, and you must certainly agree with me that to each of these corps should be ascribed the praise of having well and faithfully performed any and all the duties assigned them with a willingness and bravery that but too plainly told the just cause of a common country was in every heart. It does me good to see and hear men stand up for their regiments, but when, with one goosequill, you take up arms against the Army Corps, and by misrepresentations try to detract from their good name, you should look well to your base of supplies and see that they are of such a character that a congratulatory order from the commanding General will not pass over them and forever hide from view the efforts of a mind that might have been directed in a better channel.

Take for example the 22d Iowa, the cock and bull story that they got up about Bill Stone, (I'll be d__d if I call him Governor): how on the 22d day of May, before Vicksburg, he ordered a man that was wounded in the

thigh to be taken from the stretchers and he (Stone) the belted knight, climbed on, having only a flesh wound in the arm; he was carried to the rear: how, while passing Gen. McClernand's Headquarters, he agonized out the following: My regiment has made a lodgement and if supported they can hold their position." McClernand telegraphed this to Gen. Grant. Grant got mad at McClernand because it wasn't so, and had him reported to Washington. The authorities at Washington banished him to Matigorda [sic] Island with one division, and another one at Brownsville, on the Rio Grande, leaving one on the Mississippi. Stone made a Gubernatorial chair out of that! Mack made a quiet residence in Illinois.

The utmost care should be taken not to treat on the horns of any one, but when allusions are made to any one man or body of men, they should be made with all due reference to candor and truth. I have endeavored, in the spirit of meekness and heart-felt sincerity, to place your letter on a firmer basis, and trust that I am forgiven this bit of intrusion.

On the happy event of our soon returning home, "before calling me out," some of my friends, I have no doubt, will be happy to inform you that I wear a "Leather Medal," presented to me by our gentle manly wagon-master, with the hieroglyphic autograph of a much admired Brigadier General. The aforesaid medal was presented for the following good and sufficient reasons: 1st, The respectful distance that I always keep from the front during an action, thereby enabling officers and men to fully perform their duty without interruption. 2d, The natural highly military qualities I possess of judging distances to the rear, whereas in one or two instances I have rather let distance get the better of enchantment, but never to such an extent as to be stiled "a calamity!" 3d, Is for reasons of a personal character, which if made public might implicate me with the class that wear tall black hats, neckties, and for a pretence, say a good deal that is like some army reports.

Should this give offense, the same will be as thankfully received.

I am, Col., pretty near out of the service and glad of it

Line McKinnie, 21st Iowa.

In an accompanying article the *Times* acknowledged the long letter and said Linus was "a hard man to head" but suggested that he and Mr. Henderson could "do their own fighting" when they got home. "Pity, we think, where all have done their duty, that any ill-feeling should be cultivated or extraordinary merit claimed; but among them be the discussion."

On May 10, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation declaring that "armed resistance to the authority of this government may be regarded as virtually at an end" and on May 12th and 13th a battle was fought, arguably the last battle of the war, at Palmito ranch near Brownsville, Texas.

By the 14th, Jim had finally received news of his father's move to Kansas when he wrote to tell Cal of his visit to the Jesuit College of St. Joseph founded thirty-three years earlier by Michale Portier, first Bishop of Mobile.¹⁴⁵⁶

Springhill Alabama

Sunday May the 14th 1865

Dear wife

yours of the 30th of April came to hand yesterday evening you say you are not verry well I hope you are not seriously sick I am glad to hear that Ella has got about well and I hope that the next letter from you will bring the news that you are both well and comfortably situated in your new home at sigourney where you will probably find a letter from me awaiting you as if I remember right I have directed my last three this being the fourth to that place. I received a letter last Friday from father and Libby dated Leroy Coffee county Kansas April the 21st they started on the 20th of March and went to Cincinnatti by rail and after waiting there a week for transportation took steamboat transportation via the Miss Ohio and Missouri rivers to Wyandot city and from there made their way in a waggon to coffee county which place they reached after a journey of 24 or 25 days, father has bought a farm of 160 acres 35 of which is timber and the rest bottom prairie 100 hundred acres of it is broke and 60 acres fensed, there is a stream of living water running through it and

1456

Many students had left to fight for the South and many staff members were serving as regimental chaplains. Father Turgis had barely escaped capture at Spanish Fort and Father Usannaz had ministered to Union prisoners at Andersonville.

orchard of about 80 apple trees some of which bore last year besides some smaller fruit He gets the place for \$1200 it is within 4 miles of Leroy the county seat he says he will not buy any more until he is better acquainted with the country. he is going to raise a crop this year Fathers part of the letter seems to have been written in a hurry and he nor Libby neither one said any thing about what he got for the old place nor the terms of the sale Jim Grays folks went with them but they parted at wyandot and Jimss folks went to Lawrence Father shiped his goods to Lawrence and was going to start after them in a few days Libby said she had just sent a letter to you in answer to one she received from you before they left Ohio

Well Cal we got paid off last week that is to the 1st of March we got six months pay and there is two months our due up to the 1st of May I have paid all of my debts, orphans home and all, and have got 103 (one hundred and three) dollars left which I think I shall keep until I can carry it home myself if you had stayed at McGregor I should have expressed it to you, but as it is, I think it is full as safe in my pocket. I attended Catholic church at springhill College to day and after services were over the priests who are the superintendants and president¹⁴⁵⁷ of the collidge took us into all of the rooms and into the musium which is filled with all kinds of minerals shells, birds eggs, insects and all kinds of natural curiossties from all parts of the world and some splendid pictures they also had machinery for scientific experiments such as galvanic batteries, air pumps, load stone & the priests were verry sociable and polite and took considerable of pains to explain to us the machinery and natural curiosities, we also went up into the steeple where we could see all over what was once the southern confederacy as far as the eye could reach we could see the city of Mobile and the fortifications around it and spanish fort, and Blakely, and down the bay towards forts Gaines and Morgan until the water and sky seemed to come together. There was about a dozen of us blue jackets and half a dozen Johnnies together some of the Jonnies still contended that their cause was right and just but acknowledged themselfs fairly whiped

Cal I received the letter that you was afraid you had sent to Ohio so give yourself no more trouble on that score. Jim Rice and myself are well Your husband Jim

The federals had "*posted some 2,000 soldiers on the hill*" shortly after the occupation of Mobile and "*General Slack and other federal officers, who were courteously entertained at the College, gave assurance of the most rigid protection of her properties and interests. This they continued safely to afford; and their liberality and friendly assistance helped greatly to relieve the hard conditions hitherto prevalent, and, with renewal of confidence in the old Flag, to encourage the Faculty and ease the President's way towards recuperation and continuance.*"¹⁴⁵⁸

By mid-May there were rumors the regiment was returning to Texas, they learned of the shooting death of Enos Russell, George Goodman was treated for night blindness and William Robbins continued to suffer from heart problems. Christian Maxson was guarding a house, keeping soldiers from tearing it down, when William approached to deliver orders. No sooner had he arrived than he slumped on the porch, placed a hand over his heart, fell backwards and lost consciousness. He was revived only when Christian sprinkled water on his face. This, said William, had been the worst of his attacks, "*it would be the death of him yet.*" He was a good man, "*strictly temperate*" to most, and Christian described him as:

"one of those quiet fellows that never complained and if no one had seen him have one of those spells no one would have ever known anything about it for he would never have said anything about it. He was a man who never drank anything i.e. to excess. He might have taken a drink occasionally."

On May 16th, Linus McKinnie wrote a short note to the Times.:¹⁴⁵⁹

1457

The President was Rev. Francis S. Gautrelet who earlier had "*left his presidential office ... and risked the guns of the blockading fleet to care for the soldiers quartered at Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan.*"

1458

Michael S. Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama. Centenary Story of Spring Hill College 1830-1930* (The America Press, New York, 1931), page 220.

1459

North Iowa Times (June 17, 1865).

Mobile May 16th

This day is the second anniversary of the battle of "Champion Hills;" the event is solemnized in a proper religious spirit: tomorrow (17th) is that of the charge at Black River. In the future there will be many days to give thanks for that we are spared. "Col." sit down and write me a letter and tell me all the news. I have written to Tim and Mat but they are negligent. To day (16th) this city was joined by Telegraph with Washington and New York. How are you? The weather is warm and rain is an article much needed: the troops are beginning to sicken to an alarming extent.

By the 17th, the *Times* reported that \$90,000 had been subscribed by Iowa soldiers to the fund for the Orphans' Home, that it was "deemed very important for our interests that a good road bridge be made across the mouth of Bloody Run at North McGregor" and that Willard Benton, McGregor's prewar postmaster and wartime Captain of Company G, was again serving as postmaster and "has improved his place of business very materially. The office has heretofore been a little 7 by 9 room quite too small for the crowd to do business in. This is the 3d or 4th improving touch 'Will' has given it and this is the best of all."¹⁴⁶⁰

After "hot and sultry" weather on the 16th and 17th, there were "frequent showers" on the 18th while Asa Hankins and George Brownell spent the day in the country and "had a good visit with good and kind sociable folks." The regiment was still camped at Spring Hill, but William Lyons was in Mobile where he continued in command of a Pioneer Corps. In need of someone who was literate and had good "penmanship," he asked that Charles Husted be assigned to help him and a Special Order was issued to that effect on the 18th. Later that day, George Childs, Captain of Company F, became aware of the order and immediately asked that it be rescinded. Charles' twenty-five day sentence to fatigue duty had not expired and George felt removing him from fatigue duty to the much lighter service as a clerk with the Pioneer Corps "would be detrimental to the discipline of my company." Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda agreed. "It is a lamentable fact," he said, "that unworthy soldiers hang around detached officers and get details, thereby depriving worthy soldiers of positions they would fill with honor This soldier is suspected of misdemeanors that would send him to Ship Island detectives are now upon his track. I would arrest and punish any officer of my Regiment for recommending such a soldier for any honorable detached duty if he knew the circumstances." When General Veach asked William Lyons for his opinion, Lyons said he had not understood the nature of Charles' transgression and "I do not desire any more out laws in my company." The order was rescinded and Charles continued on fatigue duty.¹⁴⁶¹

Weather cooled on the 19th with the regiment again under marching orders. President Johnson replaced Banks with Phil Sheridan in western Louisiana, an appointment that was denounced by Southerners aware of Sheridan's reputation for wholesale destruction, and Kirby Smith decided it was time to leave Shreveport. His army had lost confidence in him, Buckner was their preference and Smith sent his family to Virginia while he left by stagecoach for Houston.

On the 21st, some from the regiment went to church three miles away in Cottage Hill and heard a good sermon by a "cittizen preacher." On the 22d, John High (wounded in the hand during the assault at Vicksburg) died of chronic diarrhea in New Orleans,¹⁴⁶² Alfred Goldsmith (a patient in New Orleans' U.S.A. Hospital) was discharged from the military and Jim wrote his next letter.

**Springhill Alabama
May the 22nd 1865**

Dear wife

I failed to write to you yesterday (my regular writing day) but I have a plausible excuse, here it is I went on picket yesterday morning and came off this morning. I wrote you a while ago that the pickets were releived, and to prevent you thinking that I have lied I must explain that. they were releived and shortly afterwards General Slack went away to New Orleans and the Col of the 47th Ind -

1460

North Iowa Times (May 17, 1865). A week later it reported "the bridge across Bloody Run is commenced; piles are being driven to day." *North Iowa Times* (May 24, 1865).

¹⁴⁶¹ Military records of Charles Husted on file with the National Archives and Records Administration.

¹⁴⁶² John is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, Chalmette, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #38077128.

took command and put a picket again General Slack has returned and the picket was relieved again this morning and a camp guard put out instead. Well Cal I was considerably disappointed by not getting a letter from you last week; The regt received mail last Friday Saturday and Sunday but nary letter for me Jim Rice received two letters from Lib last Saturday. she was well enough to go fishing, and was going out to Charly Sheldons. I suppose that the fact of your being on the move accounts for my getting no letters from you last week I presume you are watching the papers very close these times to find out what troops are to be mustered out first. we are expecting to start home now very soon I understand there is an order to muster out all troops whose time expires by the 1st of Oct. immediately, our Colonel thinks we will be at home by the 4th of July. I hope we will There is vague rumors flying about camp all the time and it is hard to tell what is going to be done Madam rumor has us just starting for home one day and the next she has on our way to Texas. it seems that the affair is not quite settled over in Texas yet, but I dont think there will be any fighting there it seems that Smith and Buckner are willing to surrender but the difficulty is with the Missouri troops. they probably dont like the act passed by there state disfranchising all who have taken part in the rebellion.¹⁴⁶³ Well Cal I have no news to write and considering it is very warm to day and I having been on picket last night I cannot afford to make you a long letter out of nothing Jim Rice and myself are in good health and high spirits we expect to be on our way home by the time this reaches you so for the present good bye

your husband
James Beathard

On May 23, 1865, Linus wrote another note to the *Times*:¹⁴⁶⁴

Mobile May 23d

Kirby Smith is in New Orleans surrendering. Praise God! Weather 102 in the shade, and hot enough to remind a fellow of the place we read of in the Good Book. The troops are anxious to see this affair wound up. Alabama sends a respectable delegation to Washington from Montgomery and Selma: the delegates took cotton to pay expenses. How is business going to be up north? It will take some time before everything is all right down here, but all this is the country to live in - one crop will set the thing to moving. Tell Tim H. and Mat. McK. to write me or prepare for the worst when I arrive. Sickness on the increase, the suffering of the destitute saddens every heart and moistens all the eyes. Every body here is awaiting orders. I am having an easy time, but I want to be "free" and hats off to nobody! Get a big piece of ice and eat it for me: it will be some consolation to know that I have a friend this side of Trophet.

Dr. Chase tendered his resignation on May 23d while George Brownell and Henry Hysham toured the ironclad *Chickasaw* in Mobile Bay. On board was one of their former comrades, Ripley Hale, who had been transferred to the Navy ten months earlier.

To recognize the end, or near end, of the war and provide recognition for its returning soldiers, the War Department at the suggestion of Secretary Stanton had ordered a grand review of Meade's Army of the Potomac and William Sherman's Armies of the Tennessee and Georgia. On the 23rd, 80,000 veterans led by George Meade, Phil Sheridan and George Custer marched down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue to receive the accolades of thousands of spectators. On the 24th they were followed by 65,000 "ragged, unkempt, and travel worn" men led by Sherman. These "were not holiday troops with bright uniforms, trained only for display," but veterans "who had not slept under a roof for years, who had marched over countries more extended than those traversed by the Legions of Caesar, who had come from a hundred battle-fields on which they had left comrades more numerous than the living who now celebrated the final victory of peace."¹⁴⁶⁵

¹⁴⁶³

Missouri Unionists were hard on those who had sided with the Confederacy. Homes and other property were confiscated and returning Confederates had to apply for amnesty if they wanted to participate in state politics.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *North Iowa Times* (June 17, 1865).

¹⁴⁶⁵

Service rivalry raised its head after the review and "*much friction developed between the army of the Potomac and Sherman's army, and several personal encounters took place regarding the achievements of the two armies.*" The "*cocky*" westerners were not about "*to take anything out of the 'fellers' they had pulled out of a hole.*"¹⁴⁶⁶ Among Sherman's "*Bummers*" and "*Do-Boys*" reviewed by President Johnson and other government leaders were the 10th Illinois (although Jonathan Bethard was at home on furlough), the 32d Ohio and fifteen regiments of Iowa infantry including Sterling Mather's 9th Iowa whose tired soldiers had traveled more than 4,000 miles and served in every Southern state but Florida and Texas. On the way to Washington they had passed through Petersburg and Richmond, marched by Libby Prison and seen President Davis' capitol building and the Hanover Courthouse where Patrick Henry had become famous for his Revolutionary War rhetoric. They saw the Fredericksburg battlefield on the Rappahanock and were most impressed when they passed Mount Vernon. After stopping in Alexandria they crossed the Potomac and spent the night near their nation's capitol. It was a memorable trip for men who had fought to preserve the Union but Sterling's joy was no doubt tempered by the memory of his three dead brothers.

Elsewhere on the 24th, Iowa's "*Graybeard*" regiment, the 37th, with an average age of fifty-seven including Curtis King who was eighty, became the state's first regiment to be mustered out of service and the *Times* reported that "*Line McKinnie writes to Tim Hopkins from Mobile that the 21st will probably be home by June.*"

In Memphis, Nelson Reynolds, slow returning from furlough, was brought before a court martial that ordered "*Corporal Nelson R. Reynolds, Company 'G,' 21st Iowa Infantry Volunteers, having been acquitted by the General Court Martial before which he was tried on the charge of 'Absence without leave,' is hereby restored to duty without loss of pay.*"

Union soldiers in Mobile had no battles to fight, but arms, ammunition and abandoned supplies had to be collected and inventoried and Charles Brugh, a Captain in Company C, was named Quartermaster of Abandoned Property with Charles Kellogg as his Chief Clerk. On May 25th they were working in the Alabama State Bank building about 2:00 p.m. when an estimated 300 tons of Rebel gunpowder "*stored in a cotton press in the upper part of the City*" (according to some) caused a "*great explosion*" followed by an enormous fire.¹⁴⁶⁷ The blast had been in the Marshall Warehouse Ammunition Depot "*at Commerce and Lipscomb Streets.*"¹⁴⁶⁸ Some suggested it had been purposely caused by unrepentant Rebels but it was considered more likely that workers had carelessly handled some of the explosives or that a soldier accidentally "*dropped a percussion Shell and it Exploded and set fire to the powder and it Exploded destroying about half the City and three or four boats. Eight Blocks ware all destroyed tareing down buildings hardly leaving one brick upon an other.*" According to Kellogg, "*800 men were killed both Capt Brugh and myself were ... injured by being blown across the room by the rush of gasses and cut by flying glass and broken window frames and other debris.*"¹⁴⁶⁹

RETURN TO NEW ORLEANS (May 26, 1865)

In New Orleans, Dick Taylor and Sterling Price were present on the 26th as Simon Buckner surrendered Smith's Trans-Mississippi Department to Canby subject to Smith's approval. Canby immediately ordered that Francis Herron take 4,000 men to Louisiana and that more be brought from Arkansas. Together they were to garrison Alexandria, Shreveport and other sites along the Red River. The 21st Iowa was included and, on the 26th, "*received orders right after reveille to pack up and get ready to move.*" Leaving Spring Hill about 6:00 a.m. they reached Mobile four hours later while William Sabins died in New Orleans. A member of Company I, he had done well in the military and

James Gillespie Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield.* (The Henry Bill Publishing Company, Norwich, Connecticut, 1886), page 20

¹⁴⁶⁶

Even their old foe, Joe Johnston, had said Grant's western soldiers "*are worth double the number of north-eastern troops.*"
¹⁴⁶⁷

The date is from an outline by Dr. R. B. Rosenberg, U. of N. Alabama, *Alabama Moments in American History*, Alabama Department of Archives & History (www.AlabamaMoments.State.AL.US) and numerous other sites. Others have given the date as May 26, 1865.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Department of the Gulf, Order (July 13, 1865).

¹⁴⁶⁹

The actual number of dead was estimated by others at closer to 300. The damage was so widespread that cause of the explosion was never determined.

received six promotions before dying from the effects of chronic diarrhea.¹⁴⁷⁰ His regiment spent most of the day resting in the shade until 5:00 p.m. when, with the *St Mary's* in drydock for repairs, they boarded the river steamer *Mustang*.

In Washington, President Johnson proclaimed amnesty for all Confederate soldiers, except specified leaders, if they would accept the pending 13th Amendment. In Houston, Kirby Smith learned his army had been surrendered and, in Mobile, Marion Edgington, mustered only eight months previously as one of the regiment's final recruits, stood on the deck of the *Mustang* and watched the fire that was "still raging, and shells which were covered up in the ruins continued to explode as the fire advanced. The destruction of life and property exceeds anything of the kind in the history of our country."¹⁴⁷¹ "Shells bursting all the time and fire bells ringing and the city is all in an uproar," said Brownell on the 27th as they "left Mobile at daylight down the river into Bay." The *Mustang* moved carefully into "a strong head wind" and down a marked course to avoid torpedoes still anchored beneath the surface, passed Forts Morgan and Gaines, and turned west across the Gulf. Nearing New Orleans in darkness, it followed a channel to Lake Pontchartrain and tied up at daylight at the Lakeport landing where men disembarked on the morning of the 28th.¹⁴⁷²

George Purdy and Christopher Himmel were admitted to the Marine Hospital for treatment of illness while others marched on the shell road adjacent to New Canal and parallel to the Jefferson & Lake Pontchartrain Railroad about three miles to the Metairie Ridge Racecourse and camped near Greenwood Cemetery where the previously wet lowlands were now baked hot and dry. Four years earlier the same camp had been occupied by Louisiana volunteers commanded by Jefferson Davis.

May 29th was a layover day. George Brownell noted that "about half of the regiment have been on a spree to day drinking lager beer" and Linus McKinnie wrote to the *Times*:¹⁴⁷³

We landed here this morning after a severe blow on the lake. I hope we are done fighting. The loss of property and life by the great fire in Mobile is immense. I am only waiting to be mustered out - hope it will be soon. - Many of the troops are going to Texas on garrison duty; it is possible I may hail you from Galveston next time I write. The city is full of Rebs. hunting their old homes, and "few there be that find them." Tell Mat. and Tim. I am thankful for the letters they didn't write me: they have my consent to go to the devil or "Davy Jones' locker," and I will try to live in Dixie.

Yours,
Line

On May 30th they were ordered to march at 3:00 p.m., took down tents and packed their gear, but Company D was still on fatigue duty loading wagons and it was 8:00 p.m. before the regiment "marched down through the City of New Orleans on Canal Street and embarked on boats" on the morning of the 31st after spending the night on the dock. The 21st boarded the *E. H. Fairchild* with the 99th Illinois and 29th Wisconsin amid rumors they were heading for the Red River "to receive the surrender of arms, ammunition, etc., of the Rebels" and Kirby Smith sent his final message to the soldiers of his Department. He urged them to return to their families and "labor to restore order" and, from Union Colonel Sprague, he requested a "conciliatory policy, dictated by wisdom and administered with patient moderation."

RED RIVER, LOUISIANA (May 31 to June 20, 1865)

While the regiment still had work to do, the *New York Tribune* reported that peace had returned elsewhere and postwar plans were underway. The Mississippi legislature, it said, had met on May 20th and "took action with a view

¹⁴⁷⁰ William is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, New Orleans. Find-a-Grave Memorial #32210267.
¹⁴⁷¹

Letter by Marion S. Edgington, Company K. William E. Corbin, *A Star for Patriotism* (self-published, Monticello, Iowa 1972), page 331.
¹⁴⁷²

Diary of Gilbert Cooley. Lakeport was "a Federal outpost in the City of New Orleans on Lake Ponchartrain at the end of the Ponchartrain Railroad in the area later called Milneburg." Powell A. Casey, *Encyclopedia of Forts, Posts, Named Camps and Other Military Installations in Louisiana, 1700-1981* (Claitor's Publishing Division, 1983).
¹⁴⁷³

North Iowa Times (June 21, 1865).

of restoring that state to the union.” President Johnson “ordered that all prisoners, sentenced to be confined during the war, be immediately released.” Confederate General Beauregard was “highly pleased by the kind and considerate treatment he received from federal officers.” Secretary of War Stanton “desires to leave the Cabinet as soon as the military trials are finished.” “Gen. Logan has refused a brigadiership in the regular army, and will return to civilian life,” but Sherman would stay in the military. The Army of the Tennessee was to be mustered out at Louisville.¹⁴⁷⁴

On May 31, 1865 the regiment "left New Orleans about 7 in the morning with a couple other boats all of which contained the First and Second Brigade of our Division. We went up about 4 miles and had to tap our boat - was taking on water."¹⁴⁷⁵ The *Fairchild* carried three regiments, too many for comfort, and Company D was squeezed in near the "very hot and disagreeable" boilers as they continued north about forty miles and camped in a field waiting for the headquarters boat to catch up and George Brownell "had a fine swim in the Mississippi," a river running high from spring rains. In many places levees were broken and lands were flooded.

The next morning they were under way about 7:00 a.m. with Company D in "our old position near the boilers" and "very much crowded on this trip" as they moved slowly upstream to process paroles and receive ordnance and supplies from the army surrendered by Buckner five days earlier.

On June 2d, Kirby Smith signed surrender documents on board the *Fort Jackson* in Galveston harbor, Governor Allen announced his intent to "go into exile ... to avoid persecution," Christopher M. Himmel, a German native from Delhi, died of a bowel inflammation in New Orleans¹⁴⁷⁶ and Nelson Reynolds, under medical care as a convalescent, was approved for an early discharge.¹⁴⁷⁷

Some on the *Fairchild* thought they also were going home and were disappointed about 5:00 p.m. when contrary rumors proved true and they turned up the Red River. A short distance later they "came to the other boats and stopped and tied up a short time to let part of the 29th and 99th get on another boat. Went on until midnight when we tied up." The next morning, June 3d, they started about daylight (with Company D in more comfortable quarters "on the upper deck by the pilot house") and passed Fort DeRussey about noon.

Like the Mississippi, the Red was high, levees were broken and the river lived up to its name - running red from the red clay soil. The main channel was "very crooked" and hard to follow. Gardens and fields could be located only where fences were visible above the water and progress was slow. Many buildings were flooded but others were built on piers and stood above the surface and George Brownell noted that they "passed some nice country and beautiful plantations." Finally, he said, "just at night we came where land was in sight."

About 3:30 a.m. on June 4th they reached Alexandria, a town destroyed by repeated occupations and the devastating fire during Banks' retreat a year earlier. Only two blocks were still standing, one with an old hotel that had been used as a Confederate hospital. Across the river they "landed troops near two very strong Rebel forts to have the boat cleaned off - the 11th Illinois was left at Alexandria" and Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda learned he had been selected by Major General Herron "to command the post of Natchitoches, where your own regiment will be stationed." The order, signed by William Clapp, Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General for the Northern Division of Louisiana, said "the major-general commanding desires that you will do all in your power to restore confidence and promote good feeling. You will have no system of passes for the people, and will interfere in no way with trade and transportation of products."¹⁴⁷⁸

After laying over another six hours, they left about 4:00 p.m., traveled upriver "most all night" and Elisha Boardman and Alexander Voorhees received orders from Van Anda. Elisha was to oversee paroles of 6,000 to 7,000 enemy soldiers at Natchitoches while Voorhees was to assume command of the regiment and carry out Van Anda's orders. Soldiers' movements were to be restricted and looting of civilians was forbidden.

1st There will be 5 roll calls per day as follows - at Reveille, at 11 o'clock AM., at 3 P.M., at Retreat and at Tattoo. No officer or soldier will be absent from either of the roll calls without permission of the comdng officer of the Rgt

2d No passes will be granted to go into the country except upon special and urgent business and then

¹⁴⁷⁴ *North Iowa Times* (May 31, 1865).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Diary of Myron Knight.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Christopher is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery, New Orleans, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #38077173.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Christopher M. Himmel is buried in Chalmette National Cemetery.

¹⁴⁷⁸ O.R. Series 1 ,Volume XLVIII/2 [S#102].

they must be offered by the Post Comdr

Guards will not be placed around the Rgt unless depredations are commenced by the men but the first depredation will be the cause of placing on a strong guard and entirely forbidding officers and men beyond the lines

There is no more fighting to do consequently no more plundering. Any officer found taking books or any property whatever will be recommended for dishonorable dismissal."

On June 5th, George Purdy was discharged early at New Orleans, Brad Talcott was promoted to 1st Sergeant to take his place and the *Fairchild* reached Grand Ecore about noon. Men in the 21st Infantry debarked but *"the rest of the Division went on up to Shreveport except the 2nd Company of cavalry."*¹⁴⁷⁹ Twenty-three men from Company A were transferred to Company F while the remaining thirty-seven who had been among its early enlistees were left at the landing and would go on to Shreveport.¹⁴⁸⁰ Company D stayed behind temporarily to unload boats but the balance of the regiment moved about two miles northwest of Natchitoches. There they occupied Camp Salubrity, a camp that until May 15th, had been occupied by Harry T. Hays' Division of Confederate infantry,¹⁴⁸¹ a camp originally established on Ebenezer Leech's plantation during the Texas annexation debates of 1844 when it was visited by the 4th U.S. Infantry and twenty-two year old Ulysses S. Grant who found it *"infested to an enormous degree with Ticks, Red bugs, and a little creeping thing looking like a Lizard."* It was, said Grant, *"on a high, sandy, pine ridge, with spring branches in the valley, in front and rear. The springs furnished an abundance of cool, pure water, and the ridge was above the flight of mosquitoes, which abound in that region in great multitudes and of great voracity."*¹⁴⁸²

"We cannot tell how long we shall be here," said Marion Edgington, *"but hope we or the mosquitoes will be removed soon."*¹⁴⁸³ The entire area was covered with pine and oak trees and, except for the mosquitoes, it was *"a fine healthy location"* although temperatures were 100 degrees in the shade.¹⁴⁸⁴ Most of the rebels were gone but those who remained were cordial and, said Cooley, *"were willing to come back under the old Stars and Stripes They acknowledged they were completely thrashed but intend to make the best of a bad job."*¹⁴⁸⁵ They blamed deserters and disenchanted soldiers for their surrender and helped turn over cannon, ammunition and large quantities of supplies, much of them captured from Banks.

John Carpenter, Tim Hayes and several others were clearing out a building for new quarters in Shreveport when stairs and a platform attached to the building gave way. Tim fell almost twelve feet and received a severe rupture on his right side but paid little attention to his injury. Instead of getting better, it got worse. Meanwhile, with the war at an end, George Hess was still working with the Memphis police when he was mustered out.

The 6th was very hot and Company D spent the morning loading ammunition on the boat and watching the arrival of two transports *"loaded with rebs from Shrevesport"* before moving to camp in the afternoon¹⁴⁸⁶ and David Wagner was mustered out at Davenport. On the 7th, Jim, misunderstanding the name of his Camp, wrote to Cal.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Journal of Myron Knight.

¹⁴⁸⁰

Incorporated in 1839 and named for Captain Henry Miller Shreve who had opened the river to navigation by clearing a massive logjam.

¹⁴⁸¹

"Camp Salubrity was established in May 1844 when eight companies of the 4th U.S. Infantry regiment came to St. Louis from Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, as part of the American army being mobilized to move into Texas when that republic voted to become part of the United States." Powell A. Casey, Encyclopedia of Forts, Posts, Named Camps and Other Military Installations in Louisiana, 1700-1981 (Claitor's Publishing Division, 1983), page 214.

On the road from Shreveport to Alexandria, with Shreveport being *"Mile 0"*, Powhatan is at *"Mile 58.8"* (now only a few houses). At *"Mile 69.6"*, opposite a cemetery, is a junction with a dirt road. *"Left on this road to a fork, 0.2 m.; R. here to the site of Camp Salubrity, 1.8 m., on a high ridge covered with oak and pine."* Natchitoches is at *"Mile 71.1."* Louisiana: A Guide to the State (Louisiana State University, 1941).

¹⁴⁸² Ulysses S. Grant, Memoirs and Selected Letters (The Library of America 1990), page 40.

¹⁴⁸³

Letter by Marion S. Edgington, Company K. William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 332.

¹⁴⁸⁴ William E. Corbin, A Star for Patriotism (self-published, Monticello, Iowa, 1972), page 332.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Journal of Gilbert Cooley.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Journal of Gilbert Cooley .

Camp Liberty. Louisiana
Wednesday June the 7th 1865

Dear wife

I did not get to write you my regular Sunday letter last Sunday but believing a letter from me would be considered by you better late than never I will write you a few lines this morning. in the first place I will tell you that I am not at home yet and do not know when I will be but hope to get there sometime if I ever do. but this is rather poor consolation for you aint it Cal. We left New Orleans one week ago yesterday on board the U.S. transport Fairchild and there was a great deal of talk and speculation and some bets made as to whether we were going home or going up red river and the question was not fairly decided until until the boat turned her snout into the mouth of red river. We arrived at Alexandria last Sunday morning and lay there about six hours and then came on up to Grand Ecore which is about 280 miles above the mouth of red river we arrived at Grand Ecore on monday about noon and marched out two miles from the river and camped in camp Liberty (an old rebel camp) about half way between Grand Ecore and Natchetoches we have got a good healthy camp this ground is high and rolling and any amount of springs of good cold water the whole of the 1st division came up here and all but our regiment went on up to Shreveport Co A of our regiment went up to Shreveport to be mustered out of the service (all except the recruits) their time being out the 11th of this month. As I did before I cannot tell you when we will get home, but if you wish to avoid disappointment I would advise you not to look for us until our time is out. we came up here to receive and take care of property turned over by the rebels to our government, and to establish law and order among the citizens. we found but verry few rebels either here or at Alexandria. they begun to scatter for their homes before Kirby Smith surrendered taking with them what they could in the way of provisions from the comisary and clothing and ammunion they also took their small arms and horses. I believe there has been nothing much found here yet except 30 tons of ammunion Kirby Smith has skedadled for mexico with 40 men; and it is reported here that Shelby is after him with 50 men to bring him back

Well Cal I am sorry you took my letter in answer to yours in regard to clothing and the orphans home so hard I did not wish to hurt your feelings but only to show you where I differed from you in opinion, in regard to dress and the propper use of money. you said you knew that I would not care what you said to me, and so I didnt; and thinking that you would not care what I said to you I wrote the letter which has so deeply wound your feelings Cal is it any thing more than fair that you should exercise the same forbearance toward me that you expect from me if not then dont fret and grieve any more over that letter but let it pass and allow me still to disagree with you in regard to dress. perhaps you do not know the cost of such a suit as you discribed. I think not or you would not have advised me to get such a suit. An officers suit such as you discribed and wished me to get would cost at the last calculation not less than 75 or 80 dollars and after I got home it would be of no use to me at all, as it is not likely that it will be fashionable for citizens to dress in military uniform. I should then have to bye me a citizens suit and I think the money paid for the military suit would be much better invested in the orphans home or given to soldiers widows Cal if you please you may make me a couple of white shirts and I will buy me a citizen suit at St Louis or some where on my way home. Jim Rice is well. Accept my love your husband Jim

"Shelby" was Jo Shelby, Confederate cavalry captain, leader of the Iron Brigade of the West and easily recognized by the black plume he wore in his hat, the same Shelby who fought with Marmaduke at Hartville. He had no intention of bringing Smith back but Jim's comments about postwar popularity of military uniforms were more accurate. Old uniforms were of little use and new ones would not be needed. Many had been produced by the Eagle Cotton Mills in Pennsylvania, on the north side of Pittsburgh, across the Allegheny River. With the end of the war, profitability of the mills would decline rapidly and it's facilities would be razed to make room for row houses.

On June 8th, Herron, commanding the 13th Corps in Texas and Louisiana, moved more men to Shreveport but the 21st Iowa and 16th Missouri Cavalry stayed where they were. George Brownell and Asa Haskins went into town and "got a good vegetable dinner and supper" although the town itself was "very filthy" and Company K's Marion Edgington wrote another letter to the Delaware County *Union*.

Natchitoches, La.
June 8, 1865

Mr. Editor:

The 21st Iowa broke up camp at Spring Hill, Alabama, May 26th, the next day after the terrible explosion in Mobile, and left the landing in the city on the 27th. The fire was still raging, and shells which were covered up in the ruins continued to explode as the fire advanced. The destruction of life and property exceeds anything of the kind in the history of our country. Coming down the bay there is a narrow, crooked channel staked out for boats, for there are many torpedoes still concealed beneath the water, several boats have been injured by them. The St. Mary's was in dry dock being repaired. I think the city has been paid off for the use of these infernal machines, by this great explosion caused by rebel powder.

We came down Mobile Bay and up the channel across Lake Pontchartrain. We landed at Lake Port, near New Orleans and camped by Greenwood Cemetery. The lowlands, which in the winter are covered with water, are now literally baked, the weather being so dry. On the 30th, we were ordered up the river. The expedition consisted of the first and second brigade, first division, 13th Army Corps, and four gunboats.

Below Baton Rouge is fine country to travel through. On either side of the river is one continuous village, but farther up the levee it has given away in places, and the river being very high, the lands were flooded.

Some excitement was manifested when we came to the mouth of the Red River, for thought it was apparent that we were going up the river, as they said the war was over, and we were going home, until the boat had taken the channel of the Red River.

The waters of the Red River were very high, and had overrun the land on both sides. Some buildings were half under water, while others were set on piers, and were inhabited, while no land was in sight. The outline of gardens and fields could be distinguished by the tops of the fences. This river is crooked, and runs through a soil of red clay which gives it its reddish color. About one hundred miles up the river the banks are higher, and there are several forts along its banks. Alexandria [Alexandria], which was quite a town, was nearly destroyed by Gen. Banks. Only two blocks of the main town are standing; one of these is a large hotel used, as a rebel hospital, which saved it. Nearly all the rebel soldiers have gone home; only a few remaining to turn over cannon, ammunition, and a part of the small arms. They tell us that it was not Kirby Smith who surrendered, but the men, who refused to fight any more. It is reported that Smith has started for Mexico, with as many as he could get to follow him. Perhaps the next we hear of him he will be trying to become a Jeff Davis on us.

We arrived at Natchitoches on the 6th. It is some distance back from the river. Here the 21st remained and the rest of the troops went on to Shreveport. At the landing was a fort occupied by a few rebels. In one building was ammunition, and there was posted on the door, "No one allowed in Cide." One of our own guards came to this building and notified the rebel sentinel stationed there that he was relieved, whereupon he threw down his gun and said, with an oath, that it was the best relief he had ever had.

We are now camped in an old rebel camp, where, we are told, there were some ten thousand, and when it was known that the army was surrendered they took what they could and left for other parts.

The country along the river is covered with pine and oak timber. The soil is very poor. The temperature is usually 100 degrees in the shade.

We cannot tell how long we shall be here, but hope we or the mosquitoes will be removed soon. Company A was mustered out of service, its time having expired. The health of the regiment is not good as it has been; quite a number have been taken to the hospital lately.

Respectfully yours,
Marion Edgington

June 9th was hot and humid after a nighttime shower and David Drummond returned from service on another court martial and, on the 10th, the Shreveport newspaper published a federal notice warning that, although slavery was ended, Negroes should not abuse their freedom.

The early enlistees assigned to Company A, those originally intended for the 18th regiment, had been mustered into service during June, 1862, their three years were up and, on June 10th, thirty-seven were mustered out at

Shreveport.¹⁴⁸⁷ Also in Shreveport were George Goodman who was ill and Cal's cousins, Eli and Aaron Frankeberger and others from the 46th Illinois who were on provost duty "*parading the street to keep order*."¹⁴⁸⁸ when a disturbance broke out in a nearby saloon. According to Eli, he had just entered the door and was trying to arrest a drunk when he was hit in the face by an object thrown by someone inside. After three years of dodging bullets, Eli was felled by a salt shaker. According to his Sergeant, it was thrown by a "*bleeding A. nigger ... The niggers were trying to serve the town and we did not want to let them for we were there on duty and they were not.*"¹⁴⁸⁹ The Sergeant thought Eli had gone in to eat and was hit as he was leaving, while Aaron said he and Eli were going to have lunch and a waiter, possibly a Negro, had thrown a salt cellar into a crowd. Although versions differed, Eli's nose was broken in two places and the injury would bother him for the rest of his life.

On the 11th, Alexander Bethard paid \$1,300.00 for another 240 acres in Kansas and there was preaching morning and evening at Camp Salubrity. On the 12th, it rained hard in the morning but George Brownell, Asa Haskins "*and our Negro boy went berrying*" in the afternoon and got 14 quarts while Jim wrote to Cal.

**Camp Salubrity La
Monday June the 12th 1865**

Dear wife

I seat myself once more to write you a few lines from old camp Salubrity I did not understand the name right when I wrote you last week and wrote it camp Liberty but I was told by a rebel officer the other day that the proper name was Salubrity

Cal I have no news to write except ... which I have wrote so often and which you are probably most anxious to hear that is that we are both well it has rained verry hard all the forenoon to day but it stoped about noon and the clouds have broken away and the indications are that the rain is over. Jim Rice started about half an hour ago after some blackberys. I was out yesterday went about two miles from camp and came to a little lake surrounded with blackberry bushes just black with the ripe fruit I got all that I could eat and and filled a six quart pail in about half an hour they are the sweetest berries that I ever eat and nearly as large as wild plums. I thought of you how you would delight to be in there picking berries dressed in mens cloths. John Grutchek has spoken to me several times in a laughing way about catching you and Phila Haiens in the blackberry patch dressed in mens clothes he says he meant to have had some fun not pretending to know but what you were boys but you cut and run to soon John is a good boy he is good natured and allways full of fun he has had good health ever since he came back from his furlough after the fall of Vicksburg

I suppose you will expect me to say something about coming home but I cannot give you much information on that yet the prospects are about the same as when I wrote you last week. some of the boys were having a jubilee last saturday night over an order just received from General Canby to the effect that all troops whose time were out prior to the 1st of October were to be immediately mustered out but we heard some time ago of such an order having been issued from the war department and we might have been mustered out three weeks ago had it not been for red tape, but it seems that some of the wearers of red tape and shoulder straps are bound to keep us in as long as possible for they know that they are making money easier than they ever will again but let them crack their whips they cannot keep us but two months longer and do their best. I have give up all hopes of getting home by the 4th of July for we would have to make good time if we started now to get there by the 4th we expect when we leave this place to start for home but when that will be I know no more than you all the way that we can find out anything here is to wait and see

Cal as I have nothing else to do I will tell you what a happy dream I had this forenoon . . . raining verry hard and I was laying on my bunk I fell asleep and . . . I was at home I . . . father and mother and you, your faces all beaming with joy and I inquired of you where was little Ella you called her and the most beautiful and lovely little girl that I ever saw or my imagined ever conceived came

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Six other early enlistees were mustered out on other dates, while the balance had resigned, been discharged, died from disease, been killed, were transferred or deserted after being mustered in with the Company.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Statement by Eli Frankeberger (December 6, 1894) to pension examiner.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Statement by Anson Tusenzo (January 18, 1896) supporting pension application of Eli Frankeberger.

running up and threw herself into my arms and Kissed me and called me pa-pa O what a delicious moment but just at this juncture I awoke and found myself on my bunk in my . . . with no little Ella in my arms nor wife by my side and thus vanished my happiness in an instant but I take much pleasure in the hope that such happiness may soon be mine in reality without the probability of being vanished in an instant so with my best wishes for your safety and . . . my highest esteem and love for you and little Ella I bid you for the present good bye (Your husband Jim

On June 14th, John Ano was detailed as Orderly at Post Headquarters in Natchitoches. Signing the special order on behalf of Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda was Lieutenant William Grannis, then serving at Post Adjutant. On the 15th, some of the men went bee hunting, William Kerr died from lung congestion¹⁴⁹⁰ and, still recuperating at Fort Gaines, John Rogman was mustered out early due to his rupture. Returning to Garnavillo, he would continue his medical treatment, work at Millers Valley Mills and resume farming in plenty of time for the fall harvest.¹⁴⁹¹

On the 16th, Brownell, Haskins and their "Negro boy" went berrying in the morning¹⁴⁹² and their company went down to the landing for fatigue duty in the afternoon and didn't get back to camp until 9:00 p.m.

On the 17th, there was more bee hunting, Confederate Edmund Ruffin, unable to live with defeat, cursed "*the perfidious, malignant and vile Yankee race*" and blew his brains out at his home near Richmond and William H. Clapp, Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General issued Special Orders No. 115 from Shreveport:

*"The Forty-sixth Illinois Veteran Infantry will be forwarded without delay to Natchitoches, La., and relieve the Twenty-first Iowa Infantry, now doing duty at that point. The Twenty-first Iowa Infantry, on being relieved, will proceed to Baton Rouge, La., for the purpose of being mustered out of the service in accordance with General Orders, No. 64, headquarters Military Division of West Mississippi. The quartermaster's department will furnish the necessary transportation."*¹⁴⁹³

The 18th was hot and sultry and General Dennis ordered that Lewis Eno and William Lyons be released from the pioneer corps and returned to the regiment. On arrival, Lyons found Tim Hayes still suffering from his rupture and in "*very poor health,*" called on Dr. Hunt for help and left for Shreveport.

On June 19, Haskins and Brownell went into Natchitoches on a pass and "*got a good vegetable dinner for 50cts*" and slaves in Texas finally learned they had been emancipated.¹⁴⁹⁴

On the 20th the regiment learned it was relieved and should be ready to move on a moment's notice.

Camp Salubrity La June the 20th 1865

¹⁴⁹⁰ The site of William's burial has not been found.
¹⁴⁹¹

It was also on June 15th that Union soldiers went ashore in Galveston, Texas, to report that the war had ended, slaves were free and an emancipation proclamation had been made by the President more than two years earlier. Then event has subsequently been recognized as "*Juneteenth,*" a Black Independence Day.

¹⁴⁹² Journal of George Brownell.

¹⁴⁹³ O.R. Series I, Volume 48/2 [S#102], #37. Cal's cousins in the 47th were relieving her husband and bother in the 21st.
¹⁴⁹⁴

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued September 22, 1862, with an effective date of January 1, 1863. Texas was resistant to the proclamation and, though slavery was very prevalent in East Texas, it was not as common in the Western areas of Texas, particularly the Hill Country, where most German-Americans were opposed to the practice.

On June 18, 1865, General Gordon Granger and 2,000 federal troops arrived in Galveston, Texas, to take possession of the state and enforce the proclamation.

On June 19, 1865, Granger read the contents of General Orders No. 3: "*The people of Texas are informed that, in accordance with a proclamation from the Executive of the United States, all slaves are free. This involves an absolute equality of personal rights and rights of property between former masters and slaves, and the connection heretofore existing between them becomes that between employer and hired labor. The freedmen are advised to remain quietly at their present homes and work for wages. They are informed that they will not be allowed to collect at military posts and that they will not be supported in idleness either there or elsewhere.*"

Dear wife

we are still at old camp Salubrity with no visible signs of leaving yet; we hear stories every day or two of troops coming to relieve us and other signs of getting away; but time keeps dragging away and all signs fail. we had the camp illuminated a few evenings ago on the strength of a report that we were to start immediately for home, but the excitement passed away and those who burned their candles that night have now have to make their beds in the dark I did not burn any of my candles for I have heard too many such reports to allow myself to be carried away very far by them; a letter was received yesterday by an officer of the regt from Capn Lyons who is at Shreveport stating that a mustering officer would be here to day to muster us out. the muster officer is to come from Shreveport but I have about as much faith in Cap Lyon's stories as I have in camp reports generally Cal you may imagine time passing very dull now with us the war being over and we laying here doing nothing without any guards or pickets; it seems as though our mission was accomplished and our contract fulfilled and we are being kept here now for no purpose whatever: According to orders from war department and from General Canby we should have been mustered out before this but red tape is keeping us O how glad I shall be when released from the contrroll of red tape, but enough of complaining, if the war was still going on and we had another year to serve and were under as good circumstances as we are here, we would be perfectly contented thinking we were in clover up to our eyes; but as it is all are discontented and complaining; such is human nature.

We got a mail last friday the 1st since we came here. I received two letters from you and they met a hearty welcome indeed here in my forrest home. I was glad to hear once more that you were all well and that little Ella was so lively and smart she must be getting to be quite a girl if you can send her out shopping alone O how I should like to have been in that grocery when she came in to buy the gum.

Cal I am thinking about you and little Ella here lately more than I ever have before since I came into the army it seems to me there are pleasures awaiting me at home of which I am being deprived for no purpose at all before the war was closed I could console myself with the idea that I was in a good cause but now the purpose for which I enlisted being accomplished, that idea ceased to be a consolation. I dont think I would make a good regular for I certainly could not content myself in the army in time of peace. No my little family is too deeply seated in my heart for that Cal we have been deprived of each others society for the last three years and you no doubt as well as I have thought it a great hardship, and so it was, but the stern duties of the defense of our beloved country demanded it, and if we are permitted to meet again as I hope we soon will be, let us try to make the future atone for the past we have been apart long enough to look over and correct the errors of the past when we were living together. it seems impossible that any harsh unpleasant words should ever have passed between us, but facts are stubborn things and it cannot be denied that such was the case but let us in the future try and never have a repetition of the same, let us look over each others faults as lightly as possible and let a feeling of pure love predominate over all other feelings. Far be it that little Ella should ever hear a harsh or unpleasant word drop from either of our lips) With my highest esteem and love I bid you for the present good bye Your husband Jim

Jim Rice is well he got a letter from Lib last Friday my health was never better than it is at present

Meanwhile, the regiment had also learned, to its surprise, that young Seth Hickock was never intended to be one of its members. He had been assigned to the 7th Infantry from the beginning and apparently joined the 21st since that was the regiment he preferred and to which he said he thought he belonged. A Special Order was issued on June 20th providing that:

Private Seth B. Hickock, Company 'B' 21st Reg. Iowa Vols. being (according to information received from the office of the Supt. of Vol. Recruiting Service at Davenport, Iowa), a substitute who was assigned by the War Dept. to the 7th Iowa Inf. and who was forwarded from Davenport for that Reg't will be immediately placed enroute for the Reg't to which he belongs and will be dropped from the rolls of Co. 'B'.

**BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA
(June 21, 1865, to July 15, 1865)**

On Wednesday, June 21, 1865, they left Camp Salubrity about 10:00 a.m., marched to the landing and that night boarded the *Peerless*. They left about 6:00 p.m., moved downstream, tied up at dark and resumed their trip at daybreak on the 22d. They reached Alexandria at "2 moments past 11am touched the landing then proceeded down the river"¹⁴⁹⁵ and reached the mouth of Red River about 11:00 p.m. but, instead of turning north on the Mississippi as some hoped, they went south as ordered.

On the 23d, they reached Baton Rouge at daybreak, debarked and made camp on a hill a mile below the city about 10:00 a.m. Water was bad, heat was oppressive and the camp was poor but officers worked rapidly to update Descriptive Books and prepare Muster-out Rolls, expecting to leave as soon as they were finished. It was time for Seth Hickock to go to his proper regiment and Lieutenant Colonel Van Anda wrote to the commanding officer of the 7th Infantry:

I have the honor to transmit to you a Descriptive Roll of Private Seth B. Hickock who joined this Regiment on the 4th of last October [sic] without Descriptive List.

The Provost Marshal at Dubuque, Iowa, and the Superintendent of Recruitment Service, were both more than once applied to for his Descriptive roll, but no official notice was taken of such applications until the date of the letter from Col. Grier's office of which a copy is herewith sent to you. I beleive [sic] that this boy beleived [sic] that he was with the regiment to which he was assigned. He has been on active duty since he joined us to this date and has been a good soldier.

*He has never received pay.*¹⁴⁹⁶

Salue Van Anda continued in command and wrote to Adjutant General Baker to let him know they would probably be home by the 10th, George Goodman was treated for diarrhea, William Boynton was treated for poisoning and Jim wrote the long awaited letter to Cal.

**Baten-Rouge. La
June the 26th 1865**

Dear wife and friends one and all. Cheer up we are coming home; We were releived at Grande Ecore and Nathetoches and camp Salubrity on last Wednesday the 21st inst by the 46th Ill and started the same evening on board the transport Purless for Baten Rouge to be mustered out. we arrived here last Friday morning and Colonel Vananda has received orders to have his papers ready to have the regt mustered out by next Friday (the 30th) we expect to be mustered out of the U.S service here and, as soon as transportation can be got, we will go to Clinton Iowa where we will be paid off and receive our final discharge Jim Rice and I are going take our guns home with us. a great many of the boys are going to take their guns home, for relics of the war. we get them for six dollars apiece, accouterments and bayonets included our recruits are to be transfered to other regiments. we are having verry warm weather we are camped on a raise of ground just below the city where there is not a bush for shade and our day tents are about as good as those old fashioned tin reflectors for baking biscuits Well Cal I have no great variety of news to write you this time but what there is is so good that you can afford to the take the less of it, and it is so almighty warm that I cannot afford to write you a long letter to day the less I write the more I will have to tell you when I get home. you may look for us a few days after the receipt of this letter this is probably my last letter to you from the army, so for the present good bye JB

On June 27th, Horace Poole received an early discharge in Nashville and Brad Weeks, suffering from chronic

¹⁴⁹⁵ Journal of George Brownell.

¹⁴⁹⁶

Van Anda referenced October 4th, but two muster rolls said it was November 4th. Additionally, Captain Lyons had said that Seth joined them at the mouth of White River. That's where they were located on November 4th, but they were at St. Charles on October 4th. It seems likely that Seth never reached the 7th Infantry which, on May 24th had participated in the Grand Review in Washington, D.C. and its active service had ended. On July 12th, only nineteen days after Van Anda's letter, it would be mustered out at Louisville, Kentucky.

diarrhea, was discharged at Davenport,¹⁴⁹⁷ while down river in Baton Rouge, Brownell, Haskins and Mortimer Strunk were serving as guards "in the jail it is full of all kinds of human beings."¹⁴⁹⁸ While they waited to be mustered out, the thirty-seven early enlistees in Company A who had been mustered out on June 10th had reached Davenport and Thomas Duncan, the state's chief mustering officer, sent a wire from Davenport to Adjutant General Baker in Clinton:

Davenport Iowa
June 27th 1865.

Dear General:

Your dispatch of today requesting to be informed by telegraph whenever a Regiment or Battery arrived is received. Your request shall be complied with.

Company A, 21st Inf. arrived yesterday evening & will be paid off tomorrow. I understand this Co. was mustered in two months before the rest of the Regt.

In haste
Yours truly
Thos Duncan
Bat Col & c.

While anxious men continued to wait in Baton Rouge, the end of the war was clearly evident elsewhere. A member of Iowa's 1st Cavalry "just returned from the war has purchased the News and Fruit stand of James Redding at the Post office," General Grant was resting and preparing a report "of his late campaign," business was improving in the South, rebels who had been sent north could stay if they wanted to, Washington fortifications were being reduced, a military prison in Atlanta was closed, "over fifty gunboats and other vessels lately comprising a portion of the Mississippi squadron" would be sold at an auction, Georgia's wheat crop was back to normal and a New York businessman was "arranging to build a block of business houses in the burnt district of Richmond." Out of 70,000 soldiers from Iowa, "only one has been dishonorably discharged from the service."¹⁴⁹⁹

Already, however, more and more attention was being paid to the possibility of Negro suffrage. *The Council Bluffs Nonpariel* was "positively opposed to granting the right of suffrage to the negroes."¹⁵⁰⁰ Mr. Pendleton, editor of the *Raleigh Progress*, met with Chief Justice Chase and reportedly told him "we thought it would be bad in policy, as well as wrong in principle, to open the ballot box to the ignorant, uninformed and depraved slaves of the Southern cotton, rice and sugar fields." General Sherman's wagon train was "drawn by six mules to each wagon, and engineered by contrabands of great blackness." Negroes in Cincinnati were denied permission to purchase lots in Spring Grove Cemetery. The *Burlington Hawkeye* was "pretty mad at its party for advocating negro suffrage."¹⁵⁰¹ "The soldiers at Keokuk met in Convention there to denounce the negro suffrage clause of the Iowa State Republican platform."¹⁵⁰² "An anti-negro suffrage state convention is called to meet at Des Moines on the 23d."¹⁵⁰³ "The colored people of Washington and Georgetown are discussing the question of obtaining the right of suffrage."¹⁵⁰⁴ Ohio Veterans addressed General Cox, the Republican candidate for Governor, and said, "we entered the war to put down the rebellion, and thereby preserve the Union, but we cared nothing for the negro then, nor do we now. If slavery went down we did not care, it was all the same to us, provided we saved the Union. We did not want to see the Union broken up, nor do we now want to be laced on a level with negroes, as a reward for our services."¹⁵⁰⁵ "Massachusetts lets niggers vote who have two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of property. She is willing to be governed by rich niggers, but not poor ones."¹⁵⁰⁶

¹⁴⁹⁷ Military records of Bradford T. Weeks on file with National Archives and Records Administration.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Journal of George Brownell.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *North Iowa Times* (June 28, 1865).

¹⁵⁰⁰ *North Iowa Times* (July 22, 1865).

¹⁵⁰¹ *North Iowa Times* (July 19, 1865).

¹⁵⁰² *North Iowa Times* (August 2, 1865).

¹⁵⁰³ *North Iowa Times* (August 2, 1865).

¹⁵⁰⁴ *North Iowa Times* (August 2, 1862).

¹⁵⁰⁵ *North Iowa Times* (August 9, 1865).

¹⁵⁰⁶ *North Iowa Times* (August 16, 1865).

On June 28th, Elizabeth Merrill, wife of Sam, gave birth to daughter Hattie while Viola Golder, wife of Eber, gave birth to their second child, a boy named Zabin Henry and the guards returned to camp and "tried to take a knapp but the flies were so thick" sleep was impossible. James Adams suffered several days of illness and was disabled from duty, David Greaves was discharged "for disability from wounds," John Grutchek was treated for ague and Abram Treadwell was relieved of temporary command of Company B due to Lyons' return from the pioneer corps. Abe received added compensation for the extra duties he had performed, but \$1.12 was deducted for lost ordnance. Company officers caught up on paperwork, filled out inventory sheets, did final accountings and completed Descriptive Books and Muster-Out Rolls.¹⁵⁰⁷

*"In addition to his pay, a Northern volunteer soldier had a clothing account that allowed him to draw up to forty-two dollars worth of clothing per year from his regimental quartermaster. The annual allowance included one or two caps and one hat, two coats or jackets, three flannel shirts, three pairs of trousers and three pairs of drawers, four pairs of stockings and four pairs of shoes. One wool blanket, one waterproof blanket and one overcoat were also part of the standard allowance, but these were supposed to last three years."*¹⁵⁰⁸

Clothing accounts had been settled as of December 31, 1864, and men had been paid to February 28, 1864. For the enlisted men, there was little to do and Linus McKinnie wrote another letter.¹⁵⁰⁹

Baton Rouge, June 29th.

We left Natchitoches on the 21st, reached here the 23d - been at work ever since on our final muster rolls - the "order" has come and we expect to be mustered out in a few days - "Glory to God in the highest!" I will inform you from Cairo where we will next rendezvous. My best wishes to you and my friends and the friends of the 21st - the other fellows, if any, can go below as soon as the sulphur train is ready for them. To the first named I would say we may possibly go to Dubuque and if so they can come down and spend a few days in camp. We will do everything to make your visit pleasant. Health good.

The people here are preparing for a big Fourth: we may be here to assist, but home not. Tomorrow (30th) a negro will be hung (if the rope is sound) for murdering his late master at this place.

The *Times* article continued:

Line also sends us copies of the Natchitoches Times of June 24th. In it we find very highly complementary language of Lt .Col. van Anda, commanding the post; of Lt. Wm. Grannis, (of Strawberry Pt.,) the Adjutant; of Capt. Jno. S. Craig ,the Provost; and of the officers and men generally - particularly companies G and H. A writer, signing "Impartial," in a column of kind words, closes as follows:

"In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I will state that as far as I have seen, (and I have endeavored to notice minutely,) the U.S. soldiers stationed at this Post, comprising Cos. G and H, have acted towards the people with kind and respectful feeling, and it reflects an immense credit to the officers commanding for the discipline and good behavior of their soldiers. The officers of Cos. G and H are fine officers and cannot fail to impress citizens as well as soldiers with their military bearing and officer-like deportment. I am satisfied they are skilled in their profession, and their kindness to their soldiers elicits the highest respect and gratitude.

These officers and men will leave us in a few days and I am satisfied they will be missed, and

1507

Rolls were required not only for men still with the regiment, but also for those who were no longer present due to death, discharge, transfer or desertion. Some had been gone for more than two years and records available in Baton Rouge were not always accurate.

1508

Mark W. Wilson, The Business of the Civil War (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), page 91.

1509

North Iowa Times (July 22, 1865). "Our correspondent, 'Line,' spoke roughly of Gov. Stone - the copy of his remarks is clipped by the *Des Moines Statesman* and other exchanged. 'Line' is a man of truth, and writes what he knows every time. We are indebted to him this week for information from the Regiment (21st). In his usual devil-may-care soldier manner, he write us as follows."

other officers and men will be sent here in their stead, but come what will, you, nor I, nor no citizen of this town or parish who had business with this corps, can forget the kind, respectful and polite treatment we have received from the officers and men of the 21st Iowa Infantry.

Men were allowed to “break ranks” on July 2nd¹⁵¹⁰ and George Brownell continued his journal entries:

June 29th All quiet in camp hot enough to roast eggs

June 30th A very heavy rain fell last night and has left the camp clean and cool.

July 1st Very hot sultry wether our rolls are ready to muster out. we are waiting for orders

July 2d I am not very well to day. went to church this evening dreadful warm

July 3d Spent the day laying a round in the shade

Van Anda had told the Federals on the Red River there was “no more fighting to do” and so it was for the Confederacy. Deciding “to place the Rio Grande between myself & harm,”¹⁵¹¹ Kirby Smith traveled to San Antonio and joined Jo Shelby who had arrived on the 16th. Reminiscing at the Menger House, they relaxed and enjoyed the bar, but soon left with 1,000 heavily armed men heading southwest through desolate sagebrush “from no place through nothing to nowhere.” Also going to Mexico or Brazil were naval commander Matthew Maury, a friend of Maximilian who would name him director of the observatory and commissioner of colonization and General John Magruder who became chief of the land office. Other generals included Richard Ewell, Wallace Wood, Hamilton Bee, Simon Buckner and Sterling Price who had dreams of starting an agricultural college.¹⁵¹² Politicians included Judge Perkins whose *Somerset* plantation had hosted the 21st Iowa, Governors Isham Harris of Tennessee whose journey was “one of the longest, most laborious, and hazardous of my life,” Thomas Reynolds of Missouri, Thomas Moore of Louisiana, Henry Allen also of Louisiana who became editor of the *Mexican Times* (a weekly English language newspaper) and Pendleton Murrah of Texas who would die of tuberculosis only two months later in Monterrey. On July 4th, the banner of the Iron Brigade was consigned to the muddy Rio Grande at Eagle Pass together with Shelby's trademark black plume as they entered Mexico to offer their services to Maximilian and avoid anticipated postwar retribution.¹⁵¹³ Kirby Smith crossed the river, reportedly on a mule and wearing a calico shirt and silk bandana and carrying a revolver on his hip and a shotgun on his saddle. On his arrival in Mexico City, Maximilian would decline his offers of assistance.

For the 21st Iowa there was “not much done on the Fourth except the military collected together in Baton Rouge and marched around through the principal streets” and, said George Brownell, “we had the Honor of being received by Gen. M. K. Lawler our squad had a splendid dinner got up by a colored cook.” Jonathan Bethard's 10th Illinois was mustered out on the 4th and discharged a week later in Chicago with Jonathan still owed three months extra pay and the \$240.00 balance of his reenlistment bounty. As soon as possible, he would leave for Kansas and a reunion with his family but it was business as usual in Baton Rouge.

On the 5th, Brownell “spent the most of the day a sleep” and on the 6th “went down to the mill on the bank of the river to write.” Brownell and Hanchett wrote more on the 7th (“we are writing a co. History”) and the 96th Ohio was mustered out in Alabama after marching 1,683 miles and traveling another 517 by rail and 7,686 by boat. Ira Homan had been discharged early and Napoleon Gibson had died in captivity¹⁵¹⁴ but Robert Johnson and James Tanner, who had lost a brother and cousin in the war, were among those returning to Ohio.

In Baton Rouge, the impatient Hawkeyes knew their time would come once it was known where to send the recruits. Brownell finished writing the company history and on the 9th went down to the mill to read during the day and into the city for church in the evening. On the 10th, Van Anda wrote to Adjutant General Baker:

¹⁵¹⁰ Pension file of John Presho.

¹⁵¹¹ Joseph H .Parks, General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A. (Louisiana State University Press, 1954, 1982), page 481.

¹⁵¹² See Albert Castel, General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge; 1968), page 273.

¹⁵¹³

Edwin Adams Davis, Fallen Guidon. The Saga of Confederate General Jo Shelby's March to Mexico (Texas A&M University Press; 1995), page 71. By the 1990's, Eagle Pass would be equally popular as a crossing for drug dealers.

¹⁵¹⁴ Napoleon is buried in Alexandria National Cemetery, Pineville, Louisiana. Find-a-Grave Memorial #3209590.

“we have been delayed here and as I think without any cause and are still delayed. We are doing nothing and were ordered here by Maj. Genl. Herron to be mustered out. Our Rolls and papers are all prepared and have been for ten days and we are only waiting orders to transfer our recruits and proceed to Clinton. I think there will be no doubt but we will start this week. The boys are very impatient at the delay & a very bad feeling exists.”

The expected orders finally arrived from New Orleans on the 11th. Pursuant to General Orders No. 64 from the War Department and Special Orders No. 182 from the Military Division of West Mississippi, each man could purchase his musket and accouterments for \$6.00. The government needed the money more than it needed the equipment and Jim, John Baade, George Brownell, Pat Burns, James Chiles, Perry Dewey, Frank Farrand, Dennis Fitzpatrick, Jonathan Foster, Aaron Frankeberger, George Goodman, Myron Knight, Hiram Libby, Alexander Phillips, Brad Talcott, Jim Rice, the always interesting Hugh McCafferty and many others kept their weapons as they made plans for the trip home.¹⁵¹⁵ On July 12th, the recruits, 106 men whose terms extended beyond October 1st, were transferred to a 34th/38th consolidated regiment as "*unassigned recruits*" (members of the regiment but not attached to a specific company). At 4:00 p.m. on the 14th orders were given for the recruits to board a transport. Among those leaving for Galveston at midnight were Myron Knight's brother Albert and Flavius Patterson's brother Osbra. "*I parted with Osbra at the landing at 5 PM. & went back to Camp feeling lonely & Sad,*" said Flavius. Also boarding was Jonathan Dazey, the Louisiana recruit from Brashear City and Demosethnes Scott, brother of Allen, Aristides and Cornelius who would be going home. William Boynton was supposed to go but would be confined in a Baton Rouge hospital another eight days.

MUSTER OUT (July 15 to July 20, 1865)

With Company A's early enlistees having already been discharged and its recruits transferred to the 34th/38th consolidated, it no longer had any members but there were still 428 of the original 985 men on the regiment's muster rolls. Some were already at home and others were in hospitals in New Orleans, Memphis and St. Louis, but all were anxious to be mustered out and Jim's previous letter was prophetic - he had written his "*last letter*" from the army.

At Baton Rouge on July 15th the regiment was mustered out of federal service by Captain Elbridge L. Hawk, then Captain of Company A of the 114th Ohio Infantry, who was temporarily serving as an Assistant Commissary of Muster on the staff of Brigadier General Michael Lawler, District of East Louisiana. That evening they turned in their tents and equipment and moved rations to the landing where Flavius Patterson "*was detaled as Sargt of the guard. guarding our property*" The next morning, they boarded the *Lady Gay*.

Leaving about 7:00 a.m. on the 16th, they started upriver past memories of three years of combat, scenes of battle and graves of friends. They passed Port Hudson about 9:00 a.m. their old camp at Morganza shortly thereafter and the mouth of Red River at 3:00 p.m. and reached Natchez at 8:00 p.m., took a coal barge in tow and left again at 9:00 p.m. They passed Bruinsburg on the right and *Disharoon's* on the left where they had crossed the river two years earlier, Grand Gulf where they had witnessed the bombardment by Porter, the landings at *Hard Times, Ashwood, Somerset, Briarfield* and, at 10:00 a.m. on the 17th reached Vicksburg itself. Here they stopped while their transport "*took on some cotton and started again at 11am*" but it was likely a solemn passing as they remembered John Mather, David Shuck, Cornelius Dunlap, Wallace Farrand and many of their other comrades who would lie forever in the city's national cemetery.

They "*touched*" at Lake Providence at dark on July 17th, made good time during an evening rainstorm, "*touched*" again at midnight to load coal at White River and stopped briefly at Helena about 9:00 p.m. on the 18th.¹⁵¹⁶ Continuing through the night, they reached Memphis about 7:30 a.m. on the 19th and laid over for an hour,¹⁵¹⁷ passed

¹⁵¹⁵

Myron Knight's musket has been retained by his descendants who indicate it is stamped "*1863 Providence, R.I.*," indicating it, and possibly all the Springfield's received by the regiment, had been made by the Providence Tool Company in Rhode Island.

¹⁵¹⁶

Elsewhere it's indicated they passed Vicksburg at 10:00am on the 17th, reached the White River at 11:00am on the 18th, took on coal and passed Helena in the evening.

¹⁵¹⁷

On June 19, 1865, General Gordon Granger was in Galveston, Texas, where he advised residents that slavery had ended more than two years

New Madrid, rounded the bend, passed Hickman at 5:00 a.m. on July 20th, passed Columbus at 7:00 a.m. and reached Cairo about 8:00 a.m. unaware that Washington was ordering their old corps, the 13th, out of existence. At Cairo they debarked and "went to the soldiers rest where a dinner was waiting for us" while a wire from the post commander was sent to Adjutant General Baker:

July 20 186_

By Telegraph from Cairo

To Gen N B Baker

The twenty first 21 Iowa leaves by rail for Clinton at twelve 12 pm today

J E Cornelius

Maj Cmdg

Delayed slightly, they "took the cars - left Cairo at 2PM on a special"¹⁵¹⁸ and traveled on the Illinois Central Railroad, too far east to see Ste. Genevieve where Dwight Noble lay in the "burying ground" or Jefferson Barracks where the national cemetery held thousands of young men including eighteen year old Alfred Hall (Company B's first to die) and many others who had succumbed to measles in Rolla.

As the regiment was leaving Cairo, Charles Reeves was arriving in Baton Rouge from a New Orleans distribution camp. Advised that his regiment had been mustered out five days earlier, he was quickly provided with transportation north.

DISCHARGE (July 21 - 28, 1865)

Joseph Streinz, a forty-two year old who had endured three years of war, was ill and traveled separately on the *D. A. January*. On July 21st he died¹⁵¹⁹ while his regiment was nearing the end of a three year journey - "Got to Clinton about midnight and got supper in a nice grove - prepared for us by the city - the 9th Iowa arrived from Louisville, Kentucky, about two hours ahead of us. We moved out 1/8 miles from town and went into camp near the 9th."¹⁵²⁰ Here they were "on a beautiful peace of grass land" and George Brownell made the final entry in his journal - "we arrived better human beings." On July 22, 1865, Linus McKinnie wrote a letter from Clinton, a letter published by the *Times* on July 26th:

A letter from Line, of July 22d, at Clinton, says: we will leave for home next Tuesday or Wednesday" (to-day).

"I am sore, from jolting about day and night, from yelling to loyal citizens along the rout and besides I am - near frozen up with cold - hence I write briefly. Love to all mankind, and here we go, out of the service."

Men were no doubt anxious to receive their discharge and final pay. For most that meant the \$75.00 balance of their enlistment bounty plus monthly pay from February 28th when most accounts had been settled less an amount sufficient to cover any excessive clothing withdrawals and stoppages for lost accouterments and supplies or to cover the \$6.00 charged to those who elected to keep their muskets.

On Monday, July 24, 1865, members of the 9th Iowa marched into town before noon to be discharged while, said Myron Knight, "our regiment marched down to town at 1PM and received our final discharge and payment - myself and part of the regiment left Clinton in the eve at 9 by rail for home arrived at Dixon at midnight and changed

earlier. For unknown reasons, the information had not reached most of Texas, most of those who were aware of it did not recognize it and many still delayed freeing their slaves. The day known as Freedom Day is celebrated by some as "Juneteenth."

¹⁵¹⁸ Journal of Myron Knight.

¹⁵¹⁹ The site of his burial has not been found. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55023623.

Journal of Myron Knight. Elsewhere it's indicated they reached Clinton by rail at 2:00 a.m. on the 22nd and elsewhere that they traveled the entire way by river, debarked at Clinton on the 23d, turned property over to the government and were disbanded on the 28th. This may be due to most of the regiment traveling by rail while a few in need of medical care stayed on the transport.

cars.”¹⁵²¹ Others remained in Clinton where the *Herald* was advertising “*Prurigo Lotion - The great Itch and Humor Killer,*” a “*sure cure for every species of itch, prairie itch, barber’s itch, wabash scratches, Illinois mange, cutaneous eruptions, pimples on the face, salt rheum, scald head, ringworms, & c.*” On July 26th, the *Times* noted:

“The 2d Iowa (consolidated from the 2d and 3d,) and the 9th Iowa, belong in this part of the State, have arrived. The 21st is expected to-night. We cannot name the numerous acquaintances with whom we have already met. Welcome home brave boys to the hearts of those who love you!”

On the 28th, the remaining men in the regiment were paid and it was formally disbanded.¹⁵²²

The war had a devastating, divisive impact on the country. When it began, medical practice had been ill-equipped to handle injury and illness in the field, food was poor and living conditions unsanitary. Battle casualties were extreme. Tennyson immortalized the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava in which 36.7% of the brigade were killed or wounded as they rode into the “*valley of death.*” At Gettysburg, the 1st Minnesota and 26th North Carolina lost an estimated 85%, at Antietam the 1st Texas lost 82.3%, and over one hundred other regiments suffered losses in excess of 50% in a single battle. Statistics vary greatly but one source¹⁵²³ estimates military deaths in America’s major wars as:

4,435 American Revolution
53,402 World War I
291,557 World War II
36,574 Korean War
58,220 Vietnam War
383 Persian Gulf War
4,412 Iraq War
2,351 War in Afghanistan
451,334
498,332 Civil War
949,666

It has been widely suggested by many Civil War researchers that more than 600,000 men died during the war with 100,000 of the deaths being from battle wounds. Others estimate battle deaths at more than 200,000. Regardless of accuracy, all agree that deaths from disease far exceeded deaths from battle.

Union reports showed more than 6,000,000 cases of sickness. Confederate cases were estimated at 3,000,000. Most common on both sides were diarrhea, measles and malaria followed by pneumonia, smallpox, yellow fever and tuberculosis. An estimated 2,000,000 went home with the loss of a limb or, like Jim, afflicted with chronic diseases and other problems that would trouble them for the rest of their lives. Of 2,700,000 Federal soldiers, 2,000,000 had been under twenty-one, more than 1,000,000 of these were under eighteen, 300 were thirteen or less, and twenty-five soldiers were under ten.

For Iowa, it’s estimated that 72,000 to 76,000 men, almost half of the men from eighteen to forty-five then living

¹⁵²¹

Journal of Myron Knight. Elsewhere it’s indicated the 9th Iowa left Washington by rail on May 31st and reached Louisville, Kentucky, five days later and it was not until July 18th that Sterling Mather, recently promoted to Captain, was mustered out with the rest of the regiment. From Louisville they traveled by rail to Chicago and were discharged at Clinton on the 24th.

¹⁵²²

On June 8, 1920, eighty-seven year old William O. Hart, Company H, said he had been discharged at Camanche in Clinton County which was only about five miles from Clinton. It’s possible this was due to a failing memory (i.e. in the same affidavit he noted “*memory poor*”) or that he was merely being more precise than the others as to the specific place of their discharge.

¹⁵²³

Pew Research Center (2016) using figures as of May 2015 and referencing the Congressional Research Center, U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs and U. S. Department of Defense. The report notes that figures do not include deaths outside the theaters of conflict and that Civil War deaths are based on incomplete returns due to estimates of Confederate deaths.

in the state, enlisted. Of those, one article says 13,001 died (3,540 killed or fatally wounded, 8,498 died from disease, 515 died while prisoners, 227 from accidents and 221 from other non-battle causes).¹⁵²⁴ Many others returned home with wounds or illness that would bother them the rest of their, sometimes very short, lives. In the 21st Iowa, subsequent to September 9, 1862 when the regiment was mustered into service, thirty-seven men had been killed in action, thirty-seven had died of wounds and one hundred fifty-three had died of illness. Twenty-six had been taken prisoner, twenty were discharged for wounds, one hundred thirty-seven had been discharged for disability, five had been promoted and transferred to other units, thirty resigned and thirteen deserted.¹⁵²⁵ An historical sketch of the regiment ended with the belief that:

*"In the generations to come, those who can trace their lineage to the men who belonged to the Twenty-first Iowa may well claim kinship with as heroic a race of men as the world has ever known - the men who helped to save the Government whose principles must, sooner or later, be adopted by the people of all countries who are capable of self-government and appreciation of the blessings which it confers, - that form of government that inspires its citizens with a patriotism like that which animated the soldiers of the Union Army from 1861 to 1865."*¹⁵²⁶

POST WAR

The war was over and many had died, both soldiers and family members. Those now discharged from the military made their way home and began to put lives and families back together. Some did well, some did not and some could not. Most were farmers but many, with missing limbs or other ailments, had to find another means of support. Many were returning to children who had been very young when their fathers left. Some children had never seen their fathers and waited and watched as the soldiers returned. For years William Wood would recall the poignancy of the scene as he walked down a dirt road, past anxious women and children standing in front of their homes, and the little girls who came up to him and asked "are you my daddy?"¹⁵²⁷

Myron Knight reached Dubuque at 9:00 a.m. on the 25th, boarded a train for Earlville and was home by 7:00 p.m. William Warner, the "Old Man" of the regiment, had participated in all of its major engagements including Port Gibson, the Big Black, the May 22d assault at Vicksburg, the siege at Jackson and the expedition against Mobile. Now forty-six, he left Clinton and continued north to his home near Brush Creek while thirty-eight year old David Watkins went to Strawberry Point before leaving to find his family in Dakota. Before long he would separate from his wife and move to Onawa.

John Grutchek and Othmar Kapler traveled together to the small Moravian farming community of Spillville. Charles Voorhees, who had saved the colors in Texas, joined his father Alexander, John Green, Henry Guiles and William McCutcheon as they headed for their homes a few miles apart near Sand Springs and Hopkinton where residents hosted a festive dinner, prayers and speeches were given and men were remembered "with love and gratitude for answering so readily to the country's call."

Jim Bethard traveled 110 miles to Sigourney and a new home he had never seen. Ella knew of her father and had seen his picture. She knew he was coming and sat for days on a fence in front of their house waiting to see him. It had been a long trip, a long three years, and when Jim finally appeared, limping down a dirt road, musket on his shoulder, the first person he saw was his "little jade," now three years old, a hesitant little girl who, predictably, did not recognize her father.¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²⁴ The Iowa Regiments. (The Palimpsest; September, 1959).
¹⁵²⁵

Statistics vary slightly from one "official record" to another sometimes due to methodology (i.e. some include those who died, were discharged or deserted prior to September 9, 1862, when the regiment was mustered into service) or to incomplete records. The numbers given here are based on a thorough man-by-man review of all records including military records obtained from the National Archives & Records Administration.

¹⁵²⁶ Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, Volume III (State Printer, 1910).

¹⁵²⁷ This was related to the author by Peggy Ebel, a descendant.

¹⁵²⁸

This was related to the author by letter dated November 2, 1991, from Herbert R. Hedge, great-grandson of Nellie Bethard Dunn.

The Robbins brothers continued upriver from Clinton and debarked in Dubuque to catch a train to Manchester. While waiting at the depot William suffered another attack, placed his hand on his chest and told his brother, "*God, Fifer, if this old thing sticks to me I won't have but a few days to stay after I get home.*" Charles tried to get William's mind off his problems and assure him there were better times ahead and the next day they were home in Cox Creek Township. A week later William was on his father's farm, cradling grain while his nephew carried the sheaves. Newly returned to farming, they thought it funny when William's hands were soon blistered but an hour later he straightened, took a deep breath, dropped the cradle and grabbed his chest. Sitting on a stump, he described the heart disease contracted in the service and later, while pitching hay with Frederic Peck, William had another attack. Frederic could see William's "*heart throbbing for dear life*" and, from then on, gave him lighter work to do. William, he said, "*might have been awful bad and never said a word.*" Sometimes, if people asked, he merely explained there was nothing wrong "*only I have two hearts.*"

Brad Talcott returned to his farm in Putnam Township where he was six miles from the nearest drugstore. When his doctor prescribed medicines for continuing diarrhea, Brad ordered them by mail from Strawberry Point, Manchester and West Union. For much of the war, "*Nigger Brown*" had served as "*personal attendant*" for Salue Van Anda. When Van Anda returned to Delhi, he "*brought two colored boys from the South. These boys were about sixteen or seventeen years of age.*" Brown was one of them and lived and worked in the area, built a cabin on forty acres in Prairie Township that were given to him, played his violin for square dances, taught others and finally moved to Nebraska.

In Virginia, Robert E. Lee was offered a job at Lexington's Washington College whose pre-war President, George Junkin, had seen his own family bitterly divided when he moved North while his daughter and two sons stayed to support the South. Feeling he did not have the energy to conduct regular classes, Lee offered to undertake "*general administration & supervision*" since he felt it was "*the duty of every citizen in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace & harmony.*" "*I have led the young men of the South in battle,*" he said. "*I have seen many of them die on the field; I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life.*"

On August 2d, the *Times* reported that it had greeted many McGregor veterans:¹⁵²⁹

We have met, the past week, our correspondent "Line" McKinnie of the 21st, now in charge of the Freedman's Bureau (he says) in McKinnie's Block at McGregor, Will. Reed, "Gest" Stringham, Pat. Burns, Old King "Cole," (formerly with Terry as boss tailor.), "Hank" Stringham and lots of others whose names have run away from us.

Maj. Boardman, Wash. Smith, of Waukon, Maj. Gen. Curtis, Capt. Cutter, Maj. Will. Crooke (21st Iowa,) privates Gruber, Madden and Call were here also.

In the same paper it noted that "*Lieut. Drummond, of the 21st, is among the 'boys in blue' amongst us. David looks as plump as a partridge; the Scotch humor of this 'lang syne' acquaintance of ours has not deserted him. In the language of Burns, 'Davie is the ace o' hearts.'*"

*"The period after the war was one of reconstruction not only politically, but in industrial lines. The soldiers returned from the front, the swords were converted into pruning hooks and the volunteers, as well as might be, took up the thread of their own lives."*¹⁵³⁰ For many, that was not easy. During the war, Washington had seen thousands of pension claims by widows, dependent parents, children and discharged soldiers. Now, with the return of the veterans, many with disabilities, Washington was inundated with claims and Pension Commissioner Joseph Barrett "*decided that claim agents are prohibited from receiving more than \$10 for their services in procuring any pension claim, or from receiving any part of such fee in advance.*"¹⁵³¹

1529

McGregor residents from the 21st Infantry included Linus McKinnie (Company G), William T. Reed (Company G), Gleason Stringham (Company B), Patrick Burns (Company G), Alonzo Cole (Company B), Henry Stringham (Company B) and William Crooke (Company B). Elisha Boardman (Company D) was from Elkader.

¹⁵³⁰ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916), Volume II, Chapter IX.

¹⁵³¹ *North Iowa Times* (August 2, 1865).

By August 3d, George Fisher was back in the lead mines, trying to resume his work as a laborer, when he requested an invalid pension.¹⁵³² The minie ball that struck his leg at the Big Black had damaged the tendons, the leg was atrophied and shortened, and he could walk only with great pain. In three more months a certificate would be issued authorizing payments of \$4.00 per month.

On August 15th, William Boynton, Jonathan Dazey, Albert Knight and other recruits who had gone to Texas after their transfer to the consolidated 34th/38th infantry were mustered out at Houston while, on the same day in Iowa, Adjutant General Baker issued a circular warning soldiers against the sale of their discharge papers. *"I understand,"* he said, *"that men are engaged in the purchase of these discharges. The object is either fraud or speculation. Let the soldiers beware."* Discharge papers provided evidence for soldiers seeking pensions or collection of bounties and, said Baker, an honorable discharge *"is worth more to the soldier and his family than the amount any knave will pay for fraud or speculation."*

On August 16, 1865, the *North Iowa Times* announced that *"a Soldier's Ball comes off tonight (Tuesday) at Gutheil's Hall. Let us go and do our best to cheer the brave boys who have stood before bullets and shells while warm bread, potatoes and beefsteak have stood before us."* *"Major Crooke of the 21st, one of our esteemed friends is at Strawberry Point; he is improving in health,"* it said, and Linus McKinnie stopped by. *"Line McKinnie, the trump of the 21st, deposits in this office the Letter (copy) correspondence of Gen. Dick Taylor of the rebel army. The book containing these copies will be rich treat to posterity. There are copies of dispatches and advices from the rebel officers one to another which might be useful to the government."*

On August 18th, Julia and Ulysses Grant were feted in Galena. Greeted with a parade, waving flags, speeches, fireworks and a "grand triumphal arch" across Main Street, they were presented with a furnished home purchased for them two months earlier by local Republicans but they would soon move east. In Clayton County, the *Journal* said *"the homecoming was a time of joy and pride, and in every part of the county the veterans were greeted with honor and with cheers. Unfortunately the record of but one of these receptions has been preserved and that tells of the return of Capt. Boardman's company."*

"On Wednesday morning, the news reached here that Boardman's company of the Twenty-first and Company E of the Ninth Regiment, had arrived at McGregor, and would be at Elkader that day. The friends of the brave boys in this place set to work at once to give them a hearty reception. A dinner was proposed for them. The Stars and Stripes were raised on liberty pole; three or four teams - one of four horse - with fife and drum and banner flying, started out to meet them; but the boys did not come. It was only late at night that they cheered our citizens in their presence.

However, August 18 was set aside as the day when they should return the flag which they had carried through three years of war. That day was a big holiday for Elkader. The town was crowded with people from various parts of the county, but mostly from the southwestern part. It was a grand rallying day of the soldiers who had gone to war from this and adjoining towns. The flag floated high in the breeze over the town, welcoming the brave boys who had fought so nobly under the Stars and Stripes. Three years ago on that day, Company D, of the Twenty-first Iowa Infantry Volunteers was presented with a flag by the ladies at Elkader, which the company then promised to return to them on the close of the war. This anniversary it was therefore agreed upon by the company as the day when the flag should be returned to the ladies, and they took this opportunity of getting them up a splendid dinner, and in fact, such a festival as was due to these brave defenders of our country. All the returned soldiers of other companies who enlisted from this township were invited and most of them accepted the invitation. A procession was formed in front of the Stone Hall and

1532

One author contends that individuals experienced the pension system differently based on the social status of the soldier involved. He argues that three types of status discrimination existed: (1) pension laws paid larger amounts to officers and their families, (2) the Pension Bureau used ability to perform "manual labor" to determine the degree of disability regardless of the applicant's ability to earn a living in any manner and (3) claims based on the service of officers generally were decided more quickly and more favorably than those of enlisted men and military ranks reflected the soldier's civilian social position (e.g. most manual laborers served as enlisted men). These biases, he says, meant that individuals of higher social status received significantly better treatment than those of lower civilian status. Russell L. Johnson, "Great Injustice": *Social Status and the Distribution of Pensions After the Civil War*. *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Volume 10, Issue 2 (Cambridge University Press, April 2011), pages 137-160.

marched to the square in front of James Partch's residence where, three years previously, the flag had been presented to Company D. A. C. Rogers was president of the day; B. T. Hunt, in behalf of the company, returned the flag which had been through eight battles, and had come forth in glory and victory. Miss Mattie Mahoney, in behalf of the ladies, in a beautiful address, responded. This was followed by the popular air, 'John Brown,' led by the choir. The soldiers and citizens marched back to the hall, where a general social was indulged in. Old friends there met again and rehearsed, in brief, their history during the eventful three years just passed. It was a treat of itself to see these brave boys take each other by the hand, and old friends gather around and welcome them with a cordiality that must have done them good. There was a dinner at which two long tables were covered with the best the county could afford. Then there were toasts; to Company D; to the soldiers of Clayton county; to the Union - one and inseparable; to the ladies, without whom the rebellion could not have been crushed; to Washington and Lincoln; to our children; to the president of the United States and to our starved and fallen soldiers - may the tramp of angelic hosts waken them to new life and glory."¹⁵³³

Major Crooke visited McGregor and was "looking much improved. We were very glad," said the Times, "to meet the young Major."¹⁵³⁴

On August 24th, David Drummond, who had lost a wife during the war, was remarried in Waukon to Abbie Bailey, a lady twenty-five years his younger while many others were facing marital problems. The Civil War, like other wars, had caused significant stress for families and relationships frayed by three years of absences often did not survive:

*The divorce cases, as the records of the Court show, are rapidly increasing in New York, having been twice as numerous for the year ending July 1st, as they were during the previous year, and five times as many as they were in 1861. The war has done much to unsettle domestic affairs, and engender an irregularity and restlessness that rarely tends to augment the harmony of married couples. Just at present the Superior and Supreme Courts are granting 12 divorces each week.*¹⁵³⁵

On September 4th, Republicans convened in Elkader with the 21st's Elijah Boardman winning the party's nomination for Sheriff. The Times said it was informed that Elijah was opposed to the election of Governor Stone and to Negro suffrage. "His election on that platform," it said, "is reasonably certain." "He who lives by the negro shall die by the negro."¹⁵³⁶

On September 5, 1865, with Company A having been mustered out in June, the Mustering Out officer forwarded the regiment's Muster Out Rolls for the other nine companies to Adjutant General Baker.

*Headquarters, ~~Department~~ Military Division of the Gulf,
Office Chief Mustering Officer,
New Orleans, La., Sept 5, 1865*

*Adjutant General
State of
Iowa*

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith the following Muster Out Rolls

1	Field and Staff		21" Iowa Inf
2	Company	B	" " "
3	"	C	" " "
4	"	D	" " "

¹⁵³³ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹⁵³⁴ *North Iowa Times* (August 23, 1865).

¹⁵³⁵ *North Iowa Times* (August 30, 1865).

¹⁵³⁶ *North Iowa Times* (September 13, 1865).

5	“	E	“	”	“
6	“	F	“	”	“
7	“	G	“	”	“
8	“	H	“	”	“
9	“	I	“	”	“
10	“	K	“	”	“

*I remain Sir
 Very Respectfully
 Your Obdt Servt
 Sturgeon
 Colonel 1" ... Vols
 Chief M O*

Peter Herber, Company E, married Maria “Mary” Reinert on September 21st while Confederate Abel Hankins returned to Tazewell County in Virginia and on October 11th married Julia Gillespie. In Iowa, the state was still compiling records and on October 28, 1865, Frederick Richardson, wrote to Adjutant General Baker:

*Millville Iowa
 Oct 28th 1865*

*Adjt Genl Baker
 State of Iowa
 Sir*

I have the honor to herewith forward the desired report pretaining [sic] to Co “G” 21st Iowa Infy Vols. as only a small portion of the Co reside in this place I know of no deaths since discharge except the two reported.

*I am Sir
 very Respectfully
 Your Obt Servt
 F. W. Richardson
 late Co. G 21st Iowa*

On September 23rd, a Clayton County Soldiers’ Convention met in Garnavillo. With Linus McKinnie as Chairman and Adjutant George Croke as Secretary, a slate of officers included Elijah Boardman for Sheriff.¹⁵³⁷ Declining a nomination was Salue Van Anda. He was uncomfortable with the Republican platform and his former Colonel, Sam Merrill, but on August 31st had advised the committee that “*I believe that we can better right those evils by remaining in the Republican party than we can by leaving it.*”¹⁵³⁸

On September 24th Company B’s Abe Treadwell married Illinois native Emily Gager, on October 25th Company F’s George Moser married Sophia Weigel and on October 31st Company C’s William Logsdon married Mary Evans. Cal’s brother, George Rice, married twenty-two year old Canadian Martha Payne on November 5th and two days later Charles Wallace’s widow, Susan, married E. D. Nichols in West Union. Men and women were rebuilding their lives. New marriages. New families.

The election campaign of 1865 was held in the shadow of Lincoln’s death and criticism of his presidency had waned. Clayton County Democrats campaigned as the “*Iowa Soldiers*” ticket but it did little good. Col. Stone was re-nominated by Republicans and, when some threatened to bolt the ticket, Sam Merrill, Thomas Updegraff, Elijah Odell and others demanded, and got, their support.¹⁵³⁹ When results were announced, Stone was re-elected as Governor and Elisha Boardman, formerly Captain of Company D and now living in Elkader and running unopposed, became the County’s new Sheriff.

¹⁵³⁷ *North Iowa Times* (September 27 ,1865).

¹⁵³⁸ *North Iowa Times* (September 13, 1865).

¹⁵³⁹ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

On November 10th, Confederate Heinrich “Henry” Wirz was executed in Washington. Convicted, perhaps wrongly, of being a war criminal, Wirz had, for a time, commanded Georgia's Andersonville prison where more than 13,000 Union prisoners died of malnutrition, dysentery, exposure and other ailments. “*The pistol with which Capt. Wirz was summoned to surrender has been presented to Miss Clara Barton who assisted to bury the dead at Andresonville.*”¹⁵⁴⁰ On the 14th Kirby Smith who had fled to Cuba returned to his home in Lynchburg, Virginia, took the amnesty oath and rejoined his family.

Keokuk County was still young when the war ended, organized in 1844 with Sigourney as the county seat although the seat had since been moved to Lancaster. Jim and Cal stayed only a short time before following Alexander and Jonathan to Kansas where an 1862 Homestead Law gave former Union soldiers special inducements in homesteading and the preemption of 320 acres of Kansas land. On November 29th, they paid \$700 for eighty acres in Coffey County not far from Alexander and Jonathan. Living in Ohio, Illinois and Iowa when the war began, Alexander Bethard and his two sons were now united in Kansas.

In Volga City on December 6th, Sarah Brown, widow of William Brown who had died in Washington's hospital for the insane, married John Nichols, a veteran of the 1st Connecticut regiment of heavy artillery.

Before enlisting, Englishman William Croke had studied law in the McGregor office of Thomas Updegraff and, in 1862, he was admitted to the bar. Now, on December 13, 1865, William married Thomas's daughter, Sarah Updegraff.

Confederate Randall Gibson, defender of Spanish Fort, also elected a postwar legal career, He served four terms in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate, while Union General John McClermand resigned from the army and returned to civilian life in Springfield. On December 18th, the 13th Amendment became law after ratification by twenty-seven states.¹⁵⁴¹ Slavery was abolished but history would show that personal prejudices die hard.

Sterling Mather of the 9th Iowa, who had put pre-war wedding plans on hold, married Frances Adams on December 23d, Aaron Moss of the 21st's Company A married Margaret Sturtz on the 24th and Othmar Kapler married Barbara Bachel in Festica's St. Mary's Church on the 28th.

1866

Jack Daniel started a brewery in 1866, Congress recognized the Juarez government in Mexico, Iowa's wartime governor, Samuel Kirkwood, was elected to a short term seat in the U. S. Senate, the *Sacramento Union* published letters from Nevada newsman Mark Twain on his travels to the Sandwich Islands¹⁵⁴² and Clara Barton operated a Missing Soldiers Office in Washington. By sending lists of the missing to post offices across the country, she would eventually track down 22,000 men. On New Year's day, Erastus Kent married Catherine Fowler at her father's house in Van Buren County.

On January 20th, the 12th Iowa was mustered out at Memphis and the 46th Illinois, with Cal's cousins Aaron and Eli Frankeberger, was mustered out at Baton Rouge. Both of their parents had died while the brothers were gone.

In February, the New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad traveled so often by the 21st Iowa was released from federal control and its owners began the repair of wartime damage. Tim Hayes married Laura Maulthrop on the 21st and, a day later, Alvin Merriam, who had shared a furlough with Hayes, married Anna Collins.

Robert Mansfield was among many who had not come home and, on February 27th, his mother, with a \$30.00 cow as her only asset, requested a pension. With much to prove, she secured affidavits from David Greaves who attested to her son's death in the line of duty, from a friend who had been present at her marriage and one from another who attested to her pre-war reliance on Robert for support, but the government demanded more and eventually, four years later, the application would be abandoned.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *North Iowa Times* (September 13, 1865).

¹⁵⁴¹

For some it was not as much a vote for negro suffrage as it was a move to counterbalance “*the Irish vote*” and keep former Rebels out of Congress.

¹⁵⁴²

Samuel Clemens was the son of Judge John M. Clemens, “*slave-holder of Virginia, then of Kentucky, then of Tennessee . . . then of Hannibal, Missouri.*” He had gone west with his brother, Orion, who was Secretary of the Territory of Nevada, 1861-1864.

On the 28th, Cal's brother, Robert Rice, turned in his Remington revolver and was mustered out at Little Rock and planned a return to north where the postwar economy was struggling. *"Iowa was richer, more prosperous and more powerful than when the war began. The population had increased slowly but steadily, crops had been good, and prices were high throughout the war period,"* but *"with the close of the war came a reaction, prices dropped suddenly, and business had to be carefully nursed back into a normal condition."*¹⁵⁴³ Times were hard, families had been decimated, jobs were few and soldiers sought support, companionship and understanding through veterans organizations. The Boys in Blue, Soldiers' and Sailors' League, White Boys in Blue, Colored Soldiers' League and many others lived only briefly, the Soldiers' Relief Commission helped veterans and widows in the Dubuque area, the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War and the women's Auxiliary to Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War were active in later years, while two others prospered throughout the North. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion (MOLLUS) had grown from a discussion by three officers on the day of Lincoln's death and a mass meeting a few days later and by 1899 would have more than 8,000 members. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Custer, McClellan and Farragut were members and fought with others to promote their common ties and advance the interests of veterans, widows and children.

A similar organization was the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) conceived in February 1864 by Benjamin Stephenson and William Rutledge, officers and tent mates in the 14th Illinois Infantry while serving under Sherman near Meridian, Mississippi. They agreed to pursue their concept of a *"brotherhood of comrades"* if they survived the war. In March 1866 a conference of fourteen veterans was held in Springfield and the GAR was born with initial officers appointed by Stephenson on April 1st. Characterized by oaths, rituals and an elaborate badge, a five-pointed star recognizing all branches of the military and the twenty-four corps, the GAR was dedicated to loyalty, fraternity and charity, held annual encampments and organized posts throughout the country. One of many instrumental in its formation and growth was Black Jack Logan who had rallied his men with the *"shriek of an eagle"* at Raymond and moved with the *"speed of a cyclone"* at Champion Hill. Now he led the fight for national pensions and the establishment of homes for orphans and, after a defeat in 1866, would be elected two years later to the first of his three terms as Commander-in-Chief.¹⁵⁴⁴ On July 12th, a veteran's organization in Davenport *"was chartered as Post No. 1 of the Grand Army of the Republic - the first Post chartered in Iowa."*¹⁵⁴⁵

John Grutchek moved to Humboldt County in March, joined the GAR and bought eighty acres of prairie including a heavily forested area along the Des Moines River where the soil, they said, was *"rich beyond measure."* On March 5th, George Purdy, who had learned of the death of his wife and a daughter while on duty at the Ironton courthouse, was married in McGregor after retrieving his surviving daughter, six year old May, in Detroit. His new wife was Betsy Clark, widowed mother of six year old Martha, and together they started a new life in Cresco.

On March 8, 1866, in Burlington, Kansas, Jim's sister, Nancy, married Robert Mooney, a veteran of the 8th Indiana Cavalry and the 39th Indiana Infantry from which it had been reorganized. Robert had emigrated to Kansas after the war and, with a friend, *"selected a site for a store in the Indian's reservation, where New Albany is now located, Mrs. Hall naming the new trading point in honor of the city in southern Indiana. They began business in August 1865, for a time the Indians being their patrons."* Their daughter, Dora, would be the first white child born in New Albany.¹⁵⁴⁶

In April, George Brownell, whose wife had died during the war, married Letha Jane Richard. Ebenezer Still deserted Dorlisca, their two daughters and crippled son on the 18th, disappeared with *"another woman"* and settled temporarily in West Union where he worked as a one-handed mason and claimed an invalid pension. On the 22d, Charles Voorhees was married in Hopkinton and, on the 25th, Leonard and Almira Richey had their first child, a boy named Donn.

¹⁵⁴³ Iowa Journal of History and Politics p106 (January 1918).

¹⁵⁴⁴

It was *"founded"* by Stephenson according to its own *Blue Book*, but elsewhere it's claimed *"the real founder was Governor Oglesby, with Logan as collaborator"* and that Rutledge and Stephenson *"participated, but as tools in the hands of Illinois politicians."* Jones, John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era p.273.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Jacob A. Swisher, The Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936).

¹⁵⁴⁶

William G. Cutler, History of the State of Kansas. Internet (www.Skyways.Lib.Ks/GenWeb/CivilWar).

In May Lucretia Mott was named President of the American Equal Rights Association, an organization dedicated to suffrage for women and Negroes, and Alva Tanner's widow, Mary Ann, was remarried to Amos Wymore. Her new husband had served with Alva as a Private in the 15th Iowa before being discharged for illness.

The *Nashville Union* newspaper, on June 12, 1866, reported that the 21st's Jacob Swivel had returned to Memphis:

Memphis Police Appointments

The Memphis Board of Police Commissioners made the following appointments Saturday:

Captains - Jacob Swivel, Thomas C. Bradley.

Sergeants [sic] - S. S. Garrett, Frank W. Fox, C. A. Lamberg, R. M. Hampton

The Bulletin of Sunday makes the following remarks [sic] relative to these appointments. It will be noted that there is not an old citizen of Memphis amongst them:

Captain Swivel is a native of Pennsylvania, and first joined a police force in Philadelphia. From that city he went to Dubuque, Iowa, to act as superintendent of the force in that city. On the breaking out of the war, he joined the Twenty-first regiment of Iowa infantry as Captain, and was three years in the service. While the regiment was in the service in Texas in 1863, he was ordered to report to Gen. Washburne, then stationed at Memphis, and on his arrival in this city, he was appointed on the United States detective service. He has been in connection with the detective service since that time. He is well known to the citizens of Memphis.

In July, a Board of Trustees assumed responsibility for the 573 children in Iowa's orphans' homes in Davenport and Cedar Falls. Serving as one of the first trustees and as Secretary of a Board that would soon open a new home in Glenwood was Pearl Ingalls who had visited the 21st Iowa in Alabama more than two years earlier. Residents of the homes included children without parents and many whose widowed mothers were no longer able to care for them.

William Dickinson, discharged early due to wounds received at Vicksburg, had married Mary Jones four months later. On July 9th, Mary gave birth to a son, their first child. She died three days later; their son would die in October.

William Robbins moved in with his nephew's family in McGregor, did carpentry work and enjoyed rafting on the Mississippi but the "*old thing*" stuck with him throughout the fall. Many times he was forced to get up during the night, sit on the bed or pace the room struggling to breathe.

Salve Van Anda practiced law with Van Anda & Strong in Manchester and left the Republican Party "*from principle when it was in power.*" He accepted a nomination from the Liberal Party for Secretary of State, but lost the election.

Jonathan Bethard's wife gave birth to another son, Samuel Lewis, on September 14th and, on the 15th, Keokuk's general hospital auctioned wartime equipment and other property that was no longer needed. Records had already been forwarded to Washington and the handful of remaining patients were transferred elsewhere.

Jim and Elizabeth "Lib" Rice had a farm of eighty acres but sold it in October for \$1,150 and moved to Wright County where they would stay the rest of their lives.

Eli Frankeberger worked forty acres and, on November 2d, married Louisa Cronoble in Rock Grove. They had known each other since Louisa was fourteen and had corresponded while Eli was in the service.

On November 19th, Hiram Buel was fitted with an artificial left arm to replace the arm that was amputated at Vicksburg.

In December Robert Rice married Henrietta Butler in Sigourney (they would later have five children) and Erastus Kent, living in Pittsburg, requested a pension. The hernia that forced him to leave the military at Ste. Genevieve was no better and he wore a truss to ease the pain.

Elisha Boardman's service as Sheriff of Clayton County was brief. Years earlier he had been instrumental in raising Company D. He had behaved with "*great coolness*" at the Big Black and had carried William Monlux from the field after the failed assault at Vicksburg. He was acting major at the start of the Mobile campaign but, "*through a personal difficulty with Gov. Stone the necessary papers were not offered him until his return home*" when "*through pride he refused to accept them.*" Suffering from "*pulmonary consumption*" blamed on his wartime chronic diarrhea,

Elisha died on December 16th at thirty-nine years of age. He was buried in Elkader's East Side Cemetery.¹⁵⁴⁷

1867

In 1867, New Orleans removed black stars that had marked its segregated streetcars,¹⁵⁴⁸ George Pullman put a kitchen and folding tables in one of his railroad cars, Lucien Smith of Ohio patented barbed wire, Mark Twain said the still unfinished Washington Monument still had "*the aspect of a chimney factory with the top broken off. . . cow sheds about its base,*" Harper's magazine thought James Butler Hickok was a "*glamorous gunfighter, defender of the helpless and scourge of evil*" and Cal's brother, Mort Rice, married Manerva Belle Leas in Sigourney.

On New Year's day, George Dunn, who had lost his wife and daughter during the war, married nineteen-year-old Ellen Jane King in Prairie du Chien. On February 12th, Frances and Sterling Mather had their first child, a boy named Squire after his uncle who had died during the war. On the 13th, The Blue Danube Waltz was performed for the first time in public and, on March 1st, Nebraska became the country's thirty-seventh state.

William Seward, now fully recovered from the wounds inflicted by Lewis Payne, supported President Johnson, urged conciliation with the South, and negotiated the purchase of Alaska from Russia. Acquired for \$7,200,000, the purchase was viewed as a folly by radicals who, on March 2d, succeeded in passing, over President Johnson's veto, a Reconstruction Act. The act created five districts in the South with military governors taking orders from army commander Grant. Each district was to register voters and supervise conventions to draft new state constitutions but many whites organized boycotts when they learned the vote would be given to Negroes while most Confederate leaders would be disqualified. On March 11th, the governors were named with Edward Ord assigned to the Fourth District of Arkansas and Mississippi and Phil Sheridan to the Fifth District of Louisiana and Texas. While generally well-received, they were branded "*viceroys,*" "*satraps*" and "*little monarchs*" by Southern state-rightists.¹⁵⁴⁹ In short order, Sheridan dismissed the mayor of New Orleans, a local judge, the state's Attorney General and Texas Governor James Throckmorton who was a believer that Negroes were the "*most inferior of God's creatures that wear the forms of men.*"¹⁵⁵⁰

On the 28th, William Rosecrans resigned from the military after two years without a command. Still popular with many politicians, he was not highly regarded by some of his peers and many viewed him as a failure in the field. Lincoln had wanted him as a running mate three years earlier but Secretary of War Stanton was opposed and Johnson had been selected. As President, Johnson selected Rosecrans as his Minister to Mexico, but Grant would take the presidency in 1869 and Rosecrans would be relieved.

In the South, the Ku Klux Klan was organized near Pulaski, Tennessee, by six veterans of the recent war. At their Nashville convention in April, Nathan Bedford Forrest, pre-war slave trader and Confederate cavalry hero, was selected to lead it.¹⁵⁵¹ Similar organizations determined to prevent Negroes from enjoying their postwar rights included the short-lived Pale Faces, White Brothers, Sons of Midnight and Knights of the White Camellia.

In Clayton County, on April 4th, almost four years after he had been carried from the Vicksburg battlefield, twenty-three year old William Barber was married to Izora Hutchins still a month short of her seventeenth birthday. In another year they would be parents of a daughter followed by a son a year later.

On May 13, 1867, Jefferson Davis was freed on bail from Fort Monroe. Although charged with treason and conspiracy to assassinate President Lincoln, his case never went to trial and in another two years the charges would be dropped.

Charles Wallace had enjoyed whiskey toddies and toured Vicksburg with Philo Woods before dying on the *Crescent City*. On June 6th, a guardian of the person and property of Charles' daughter Florence was appointed. Serving as the guardian's attorney was Thomas Updegraff.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #40266075.

¹⁵⁴⁸

New Orleans' star system had first been terminated by Benjamin Butler during his 1862 occupation when he "*required the admission of decent colored people into all the public vehicles.*"

¹⁵⁴⁹ Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (The Macmillan Company, 1917), Volume I, page 457.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism* p. 159 (Louisiana State University Press 1998).

¹⁵⁵¹ He would later resign due to disillusionment with its goals and tactics.

On the 9th William Appleton married Phebe Lovett in Guttenburg and on the 13th Manchester resident Henry Dyer married Harriet Boldan. Henry had impressed General Canby with his service in the Commissary Department and at Canby's headquarters during the campaigns against Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely but now declined an offer from Canby to join his staff in the regular army.

On June 19th Maximilian was executed in Mexico and on the 23d Lib Rice gave birth to a baby girl, Sarah Evelyn (Eva) Rice. On August 10th, fifty-three year old Mike Lawler who had led the charge at the Big Black was enjoying good health and did not, he said, "*feel more than 33 years old.*"

On September 4th, after ten years as a widower, David Watkins married Sarah Cole in Dennison and on the 5th William Lyons, who had lost his wife during the war, was remarried in Montezuma to Atlantic Hatfield who would be the mother of their three sons.

On October 23rd, William Boynton married Katherine "*Kate*" Knight, younger sister of Myron and Albert Knight with whom he had served. Abel Griffin 's widow, Marion, was remarried a day later and, on the 30th, Sam Merrill resigned as President of McGregor's First National Bank. He had defeated Peace Democrat Charles Mason to become Iowa's new Republican Governor and left with the bank's wishes for "*speed to a larger field of usefulness.*"

On December 16th, William McCarty, who had suffered from dropsy during the Vicksburg campaign and been taken prisoner in Texas, married Margaret Quinn, a twenty-three year old from Ireland.

1868

In Humboldt County, John Grutchek still suffered from his wartime diarrhea. With no local doctors, he relied on patent medicines and "*private mixtures*" and, on New Year's Day, married Mary Stewart, an Irish colleen who was one of the first teachers in the county's first school.

A week later in Delhi, James Chiles married Jane (Aldrich) Quick whose first husband had died in 1865. Jane's brother, Frank Aldrich, had served with James in Company B.

Frederick Steele, who had continued his military service in the postwar army, was on leave in California when he suffered an attack of apoplexy, fell from the carriage he was driving and, on January 12th, died from his injuries in San Mateo at age forty-eight.¹⁵⁵²

On January 13th, the Iowa House of Representatives granted a petition by 143 people - "*fifty-three of whom are ladies*" - asking the state's Senators and Representatives in Washington "*to use their influence to have the name of David C. Wagner inscribed on the pension list.*" David was one of the early enlistees who had served in Company A.

On the 16th, Sam Merrill began his term as Governor and, on the 29th, Alexander Bethard died at age fifty-seven. He was survived by the four children of his first marriage, his widow and their children including Mary who was still a minor. On February 3d, Jonathan and Sarah Jane Bethard had another child, a daughter named Cora, and, on the 18th, court proceedings began in Kansas for the administration of his father's estate. Alexander's personal effects including nineteen cows, a mare, two colts and miscellaneous farm equipment would be sold for \$937.42.

On March 7th, John Rogman married nineteen year old Wilhelmina "*Minnie*" Becker in Garnavillo's Lutheran church and on April 1st a twenty-nine year old Scotsman, John Muir, set out from San Francisco on his first visit to Yosemite Valley and a place in American history.

William Robbins married Nancy Scovel in Littleport on April 5th, quit a grubbing job and returned to harvesting. Six years earlier he had left for war as a healthy man, but even his neighbors noted that he had come home greatly weakened with heart disease. He complained to his doctor, but the doctor felt William "*was always in a great hurry when at my office and could not stop to attend to it.*" A proud man, William disapproved of the government's system of invalid pensions and, despite Nancy's urging, said he would never apply as long as he could do a day's work.

In May, President Johnson narrowly survived a vote of impeachment and John Logan, Commander-in-Chief of the GAR, designated May 30th as a day "*for strewing flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country.*" He did so at the suggestion of a Union veteran who indicated it was a practice in his native Germany to honor the dead every spring by scattering flowers on their graves. In Dubuque, that year's "*Decoration Day*" included an address by General William Vandever at Linwood Cemetery and the laying of flowers

¹⁵⁵² Frederick is buried in Woodlawn Memorial Park, Colma, California. Find-a-Grave Memorial #8101296.

on the graves of veterans, including the graves of Stephen Barton and two unknown comrades from the 21st Iowa.¹⁵⁵³ In June, the *North Iowa Times* reported:

"No such lightening , no such thunder, no such rain ever visited McGregor before. From 10 to 3 it did nothing but rain. Cellars were filled, gardens over-flowed, sidewalks turned up and floated off, wagons, buggies and lumber sent to the big river, houses removed from their foundations, families alarmed, carpets covered with mud and the devil to pay all around."

In July, the Secretary of State announced ratification of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution and henceforth *"all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."*

On August 4, 1868, Company G's Dan Donahue was married to 25-year-old Adaline H. Edwards by a minister of the gospel in Prairie du Chien.

Leonard Richey, the Bethard's childhood friend from Marysville, was *"an industrious sober young man,"* said Jim, and would be a good husband for Almira, and so he was. With two young children and a prosperous farm after only two years of marriage, life seemed good but, on August 21st, Leonard was threshing flax when he was kicked by a horse and severely injured. Five days later he died. Friends and members of his 32d Ohio Infantry served as pall bearers as Leonard was buried in Mill Creek (now Buxton) Cemetery and eulogized as *"a man of high honor & undoubted integrity,"* a man *"happily married and comfortably settled in life."*

In September, Sid Champion died at age forty-five. As a Confederate cavalryman, he had served to the end of the war before returning with his wife to their devastated Mississippi farm to rebuild their lives. His former president, Jefferson Davis, had spent much of the year in England and France while Iowa voters approved a Republican-sponsored amendment in the fall elections - *"white"* was removed from the state's constitution and Negro suffrage became law.

Company C's Pat Burns married Ellen Brophy on October 28th in a Jesuit church in Chicago.¹⁵⁵⁴ On November 18th, twenty-five-year-old Nelson Reynolds married nineteen-year old Mary Stoddard at the home of Mary's father in Jesup and, on the 25th, Frank Farrand married Hester Ann Heath, sister of Charles Heath who had been one of the organizers of Company B. On Christmas day, President Johnson declared:

"unconditionally and without reservation, to all and to every person who directly or indirectly, participated in the late insurrection or rebellion a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason."

1869

In 1869, New Orleans became one of the first Southern cities to experiment with integrated public schools, women were given the right to vote in the Wyoming Territory, Princeton and Rutgers played the first intercollegiate football game, Dr. Vincent Price began marketing *"Dr. Price's Baking Powder,"*¹⁵⁵⁵ icebox maker Abram Anderson and fruit merchant Joseph Campbell began canning vegetables, jellies and mincemeat in Camden, New Jersey (soup would come later), Grant became President, Sherman became General-in-Chief, Jefferson Davis was named president

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Dubuque Daily Herald (May 31, 1868). It has also been claimed that, in the spring of 1866, Georgian, Lizzie Rutherford, spread flowers on graves of local veterans and that it was her idea that gave birth to Decoration Day (later renamed Memorial Day). Today, Memorial Day honors military personnel who died in the service of the country, particularly those who died in battle or from wounds received in battle. The first official observance of Memorial Day was May 28, 1868, when flowers were placed on graves of Union and Confederate soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery.

Veterans Day honors all who served in the military, both in war time and peace time and originated in November 1919 when President Wilson declared November 11th as the first commemoration of Armistice Day, a day to remember those who had died in World War I that ended a year earlier. The name was changed to Veterans Day in 1954.

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On October 8, 1871, a great fire (erroneously attributed to Mrs. O'Leary's cow) started in Chicago and, the next day, Patrick and Ellen saw their marriage certificate consumed in the flames.

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His namesake grandson would pursue a career in the film industry.

of a Memphis life insurance company, and John Wilkes Booth's remains were reinterred by his family in Baltimore's Greenmount Cemetery with President Johnson's approval.

Arabella Mansfield was admitted to the Iowa bar as the country's first woman lawyer, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton formed an association seeking a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage, Abraham Lincoln's son, Robert, married the daughter of Iowa Senator James Harlan and the U.S. Treasury Building, started in 1836, was finally completed. With thirty columns, each thirty-five feet high and carved from a single piece of granite, it was a magnificent addition to postwar Washington.

Andrew "*Whiskey Jack*" Smith was still in the military with the 7th U.S. Cavalry. In 1869 he resigned, seven years before its battle at the Little Big Horn, and moved to St. Louis where he served as postmaster and city auditor. In January the Rogmans had their first child, a boy named William.

On March 8th, in Coffey County, Kansas, Cal gave birth to another daughter, Sarah Gertrude "*Kate*" Bethard, and, on May 10th, a ceremonial golden spike was driven with a silver sledgehammer to unite the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in Promontory, Utah.

It had been seven years since Henry Lewis died of measles at Rolla and Sarah was still a widow. Her two youngest children had died and the other three were in the Davenport orphans' asylum. On June 23d, Sarah was finally granted much-needed pensions for the children after help from Jabez Rogers, Captain Benton and Chaplain Sloan.

Nelson Reynolds and his wife had their first child, a son named Clifford. Charlie Robbins married Hannah Galer in Prairie du Chien and Sarah Bethard, Alexander's widow, married Elisha Garrett.

Jay Gould and James Fisk prevailed over Cornelius Vanderbilt in a battle for the Erie Railroad and Gould worked on a new scheme, this one to corner the gold market. To prevent the U. S. Treasury from foiling his plan, he lobbied a disinterested President Grant and bribed Grant's brother-in-law, and prices skyrocketed. The President ordered the Treasury to sell gold to stop the craze, public confidence was shattered and, on Black Friday, September 24, 1869, the market crashed. Millions were lost but Gould, it was rumored, made a profit of \$11,000,000.

Odell & Updegraff continued to practice law in Strawberry Point and frequently represented veterans and widows pursue pension claims. Clients included Susan Wallace, widow of Charles, and it was Thomas Updegraff who attested to the marriage of his sister, Sarah, to William Crooke and successfully handled the pension claims of Dan Donahue and Louis (also spelled as Lewis) Eno.

Of the jailed Lincoln conspirators, one had died but, in 1869, the others were pardoned by President Johnson. Among them were Samuel Mudd (who had performed heroic work breaking a yellow fever epidemic during his imprisonment) and Samuel Bland Arnold.

1870

Iowa was prospering and, by 1870, its population had swelled to 1,194,020 (3% of the nation's 39,818,449) and a circus showboat performed in McGregor. Local residents, the four Rüengeling boys, were intrigued, put on a show of their own and called themselves the Ringling Brothers. Possibly watching their show was another McGregor resident, three year old Frank Lloyd Wright.

In the west, the nation's first armed train robbery took place when a Wells Fargo shipment was stolen from the Central Pacific near Reno and, in the east, Hiram R. Revels was elected as the nation's first black U.S. Senator, elected, ironically, to fill the seat vacated by Jefferson Davis at the onset of the late war.

On January 10th, Mike Lawler claimed an invalid pension due to a wound received at Fort Donelson that caused a severe loss of strength in his left hand making it difficult to "*use a hand axe or hatchet*" and, on January 13th, Sam Merrill made his inaugural address to two houses of the general assembly as he began his second term as Governor after winning reelection with "*a comfortable 40,000 vote majority.*" Noting "*the summary process known as 'lynching' is yet too often resorted to,*" he suggested a commission be established to revise the state's laws, a suggestion that was quickly followed. On the 29th, Jonathan and Sarah Jane had their final child, Nancy Emiline, named after Jonathan's sister, and, on March 10th, John Baade married Doris Krambeer in Garnavillo. They would have four children before Doris' death six years later.

On the 17th, Andrew "*Judge*" Lawrence, who had always kept his gun "*in splendid order,*" married Jane Bigger in Bovina, New York.

David and Abbie Drummond were living McGregor where David was active in the Grand Army of the Republic and worked as a carpenter and “*pattern maker.*” On January 18th, he was granted a federal patent for an improvement to screw drivers and two months later, on March 26th, David Company G’s Philander Drake, also a McGregor resident, applied jointly for another patent, this one for an improvement to split-planes used by carpenters. In their application, they said they had:

“invented certain new and useful Improvements in Splint-Plane or S lat-Cutter, and do hereby declare that the following is a full, clear, and exact description thereof, reference being had to the accompanying drawing and to the letters of reference marked thereon, making a part of this specification. Our invention relates to that kind of planes used in cutting thin strips or slats for rustic shades, and other purposes.”

On September 27th, letters patent were issued.

Meanwhile, on March 30th, the Secretary of State announced ratification of the 15th Amendment, the last of the Republican-sponsored reconstruction amendments - *“The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”* Although women would have to wait another fifty years, race was no longer a bar to “*manhood* ,” a cause championed in Iowa by Sam Merrill, and a big step was taken at West Point when James Smith was admitted as the Academy’s “*first Negro cadet.*”¹⁵⁵⁶

Alexander Bethard's widow asked a court to divide his real estate and a “*darling project*” of Governor Merrill came to fruition as thousands of veterans camped east of the old state house for a reunion.” It was recognition deserved and a project pursued “*in spite of discouragements from about everybody whom he consulted.*” To assure success, Merrill had begged and pleaded and cajoled the state’s railroads and secured their commitment to provide free transportation for all enlisted veterans.

Sixty-three year old Robert E. Lee died in Lexington, Virginia on October 12th, Frances and Sterling Mather had another son on November 28th, and in the same year Horace Poole founded Poole, Gilliam & Co., jobbers and wholesale dealers in fancy groceries, teas, syrups, canned goods, fruits, tobaccos and cigars in Dubuque.¹⁵⁵⁷

1871

In 1871, cartoonist Thomas Nast helped expose the corruption of “*Boss*” Tweed in New York, a Cincinnati resident patented the world's first pinball game, and Lulu, a young man posing as a woman, became the world's first “*human cannonball*” when he was shot from a catapult-like device in London. Myron Knight celebrated New Year's Day by getting married in Strawberry Point. His new wife was Bessie Jane Gilbert who had lost two brothers in the war.

John Crop had died on furlough in 1863, but it was not until January 11th eight years later that an overwhelmed pension office finally approved a pension for his young daughters. Their claim was supported by testimony from John's brother, George, who had served with him in Company B.¹⁵⁵⁸

In the west there was fighting with the Apaches and William Sherman investigated the Comanche and Kiowa. After a meeting on May 22d, eight years to the day after the disastrous assault at Vicksburg, one of the chiefs raised

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Harassed by classmates, denied the right to eat with other cadets, court-martialed twice and expelled for failing an exam, the former slave would persevere and earn his commission.
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The business would last until 1890 when the *Dubuque Daily Herald* (May 3, 1890) announced, that “*Much to the regret of every citizen of Dubuque, the well known grocery firm of Poole, Gilliam & Co. , was compelled to make an assignment yesterday for the benefit of creditors. D. E. Lyon is the assignee. For twenty years this firm has conducted a wholesale grocery business at 264 to 272 Main street, and throughout the entire period the firm has borne an enviable reputation. It is not thought even to-day that the assignment is owing to any criminal intent on the part of the members, Horace Poole. T. F. Gilliam and John McArthur, but is owing to financial straits caused by the vicissitudes of business, among them being a loss of accounts among patrons once considered good, losing deals in sugar and the enormous interest they have been compelled to pay on loans for carrying on their business.*”

¹⁵⁵⁸ John is buried in Clayton County’s Brown Cemetery.

his rifle, but Sherman was saved when Benjamin Grierson, then commander of Fort Sill, wrestled the chief to the ground.

Frederic Bartholdi arrived from France on June 21st and selected Bedloe's Island as the site for a New York statue and Lib Rice had another daughter, Nellie, on July 8th. On the same day in Kansas, Sarah Garrett, Alexander's widow, was named guardian of their daughter, Mary.

George Parker, one of the Camp Ford prisoners, married Louisa VanDeveer in Delaware County two years after being discharged from the military. Still young when the war ended, George had "*kept my condition from the examining surgeon*" and spent three postwar years with the regulars, but Louisa had been a friend since childhood and, at twenty-four years of age, it was time for George to settle down. His ability to do manual labor was increasingly limited by the effects of the scurvy, chronic diarrhea, piles and rheumatism suffered at Hartville and Camp Ford, but he would soon find work as a Sac City merchant and traveling salesman.

In September, Mary and Nelson Reynolds had their second child, a daughter named Hattie, and, in October, a fire started in Kate O'Leary's barn, caused 250 deaths and destroyed great parts of Chicago.

On November 23rd, Governor Merrill delivered a speech "*at times eloquent with the fire and genius of American patriotism*"¹⁵⁵⁹ as the cornerstone was laid for Iowa's new state capital and, on the 28th, Jonathan Foster who had injured his back during the Mobile Campaign was granted a disability pension of \$3.00 per month. To supplement his income, he worked as a miner in Dubuque but was handicapped by the arm broken at Jackson. Despite his struggles, Jonathan survived better than those who had lost arms and legs or were otherwise incapacitated and could no longer "*follow the plow.*" Many were destitute and sat on street corners selling apples or dolls made from wooden clothes pins, begging for hand-outs, dirty, unkempt, shaggy-haired men in badly worn clothing, the kind avoided by decent Americans.

On December 6th, William Dickinson was remarried to twenty-three year old Evalina Robinson in Auburn, New York, and, on the 24th, Verdi's opera *Aida* made its debut as part of the festivities accompanying the opening of the Suez Canal.

1872

In 1872 Congress granted amnesty to most Confederates and Susan B. Anthony was fined for voting. Jules Verne debuted Phileas Fogg, Passepartout and their trip *Around the World in 80 Days*, and the Colt 45 revolver was introduced and quickly became the "*gun that won the West.*" In Philadelphia, Republicans nominated Ulysses Grant for another term as President, but only after the party's "*reformist*" wing separated from the rest of the party in opposition to his policies of reconstruction. With Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts as his running mate, Grant would prevail on a platform opposing discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color and calling for "*respectful consideration*" of greater rights for women.

Brad Talcott had a "*hard spell of sickness*" in the war when he suffered from chronic diarrhea. Now forty-five years old and physically unable to work in the field, he traded his farm for an interest in a mill and moved to Wadena. Sam Merrill's second term as Governor ended on January 11th and he accepted the presidency of the Citizen's National Bank of Des Moines, Cyrus Carpenter became the state's new Governor and, on the 28th, Frank Dibble was married in West Union. He and his wife would have seven children. McGregor's population had shrunk to 4,000.

In February, David Greaves was examined by a board of pension surgeons in Manchester. He had requested an invalid pension due to complications from wounds received at Vicksburg and was supported by Manchester attorney Salue Van Anda and by the regiment's surgeon, William Orr, who was now practicing medicine in Ottumwa. David's scars were clearly evident and his left leg was greatly weakened by muscle and nerve damage. Dr. Orr, still bothered by the acute dysentery and prolapses that had caused his discharge more than seven years earlier, was also seeking a pension. For more than two weeks he had been bedridden and unable to work.

Bessie and Myron Knight had the first of their six children on March 30th, Jim and Cal purchased another twenty

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Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa (Chapman Brothers, Chicago, 1887), page 136; The Western Life-boat and Journal of Biography, History and Geography (1889), Volume I.

acres in Coffey County in April, and, on June 9th, George Goodman, who had been incapacitated only four days during the war, married Martha Giroux in Chicago. The newlyweds settled in Waukon where George joined the G.A.R. and worked as a brick and stone mason.

The 21st, like most regiments, held postwar reunions with their first being on September 16 and 17, 1872. Gathering in Dubuque, the same city where they had boarded barges and the ill-fated *Henry Clay* ten years earlier, seventy-four men, most living locally, reminisced, exchanged addresses and remembered those who were no longer with them. Among those in attendance were William Crooke, William Orr, Dwight Chase, Horace Poole, George Crooke, James Hill, William Dickinson and Jeffrey Parker. Also present were David Drummond, Barna Phelps, Robert Strane, William Barber, David Greaves and many others.

On October 22nd, William McCarty, one of the Green Lake prisoners, died after years of suffering from his wartime scurvy.

On November 18th, Jonathan Bethard purchased another eighty acres in Coffey County and, on the 29th, near Tule Lake, California, a cavalry unit approached the Modoc Indian camp of "*Captain Jack*" Kintpuash and the Modoc war was underway. The military commander was Edward Canby, veteran of the pre-war Navajo campaigns and wartime favorite of Jim Bethard. Canby was a compassionate man, not in favor of the political decision to force the Modocs back to their reservation but, as a soldier, he followed orders.

1873

The country's national cemeteries, most near eastern battlefields, held the remains of more than 300,000 Union soldiers who "*died in the service of the country*," many reinterred from graves hastily dug where they had fallen. In 1873 the cemeteries were opened to all honorably discharged veterans.

In the west, the country's first cable car struggled to the top of San Francisco's Nob Hill, rail lines extended into the Dakota Territory, and Colonel Richard Dodge, at an army post in Kansas, reported that "*where there were myriads of buffalo the year before, there were now myriads of carcasses.... The vast plain, which only a short twelve months before teemed with animal life, was a dead, solitary, putrid desert.*" Early conservationists like Dodge mourned the loss of the bison, but Phil Sheridan, Civil War veteran and dedicated Indian fighter, said hunters "*are destroying the Indians' commissary. For the sake of a lasting peace, let them kill, skin and sell until the buffaloes are exterminated.*"

During the January 11, 1873, reunion of Company D in Volga City, Gilbert Cooley recalled how one member of the company had once "*milked a cow, known as Sutton's heifer, in a canteen, holding her with one hand by the horn and milking her with the other, holding the canteen in his teeth.*"¹⁵⁶⁰ Attending the reunion were Julia Boardman and her son, Clinton. With them they brought the Company flag inscribed with the names of battles. On March 3rd, Samuel Collins married Rhoda Story. For three years Samuel had served in Company F with Rhoda's father, Ephraim Story.

On April 11th, General Canby led peace commissioners to the Modoc stronghold near Siskiyou, but their meeting had barely begun when the Modoc's Captain Jack shot Canby in the face, stabbed him repeatedly and removed his uniform. Another commissioner was killed and a third wounded before survivors made their escape and returned Canby's body to his home in Indianapolis for burial. Captain Jack would be hung in October and seven years later the government would name a Modoc County post office in Canby's honor at the site of the present town of Canby.

Willard Benton, who had resigned from the service due to sickness caused by bad water, something from which he would never recover, returned to McGregor and took a contract to furnish ties for the narrow gauge railroad. Now, ten years later, he was elected Sheriff of the County, a position he would hold for six years.

William Warner sought a pension based on the unique injury suffered at Indianola when the building being moved slipped, threw him against the edge of a roof and his collar bone was displaced. He was supported by Brad Talcott and David Drummond who remembered he had been a "*good soldier that did his regular duty as man ought to*" but, as with many others, the military could find no record of the injury. On December 6th, Sterling Mather and his wife had their third child, a daughter named Marion.

During the period from 1873 to 1875, northwestern Iowa, the "*Garden of the West*," suffered from a devastating

¹⁵⁶⁰ Clayton County Journal (January 15, 1873).

grasshopper plague. Crops that were often healthy in the morning, were gone by evening. Crops intended for market disappeared. Family gardens were obliterated. "*The man who would do the most to help the destitute settlers of northwest Iowa was General Nathaniel Bradley Baker,*" the state's wartime Adjutant General.¹⁵⁶¹

1874

1874 saw the incorporation of North McGregor and the opening of its railroad pontoon bridge, at the time the largest in the world.

In the South, Carrollton, where the 21st Iowa had camped ten years earlier, was annexed by New Orleans and the city suffered many deaths in the *Battle of Liberty Place* when angry white Democrats rebelled against Republican Reconstructionists. On March 11th, Charles Sumner died in Washington and eight days later Jerry Maloney was fifty-two and still suffering from chronic diarrhea when he signed with an "X" and requested an invalid pension.

Thompson Spottswood, the regiment's first to die, had been survived by his parents and, on May 26th, his mother applied for a pension as a parent partially dependent on her deceased son for support. She and her husband had survived on money she earned by taking in boarders at their rented home and on his income as a partially disabled shoemaker but now her husband had died and Margaret needed help.

In the west, the Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne raided southern Kansas and the Texas panhandle and, on July 20th, Sherman authorized Phil Sheridan to take the offensive. Farther north, George Custer was leading a wagon train into the Black Hills of South Dakota where prospectors found small quantities of gold. By August the "*fever*" had struck and an epidemic of miners inundated the west.

The regiment's popular chaplain, James Hill, continued his work as a Baptist minister in Cascade and nearby Worthington. Sylvia died in March and six months later James was remarried to Susan Potter, herself a Civil War widow. In November, Elizabeth and Sam Merrill had another child, a son, and Washington Casey died of tuberculosis at his home in Manchester, Iowa. He had never recovered from the forced march to Beaver Creek twenty-six years earlier, could do no more than a few hours work each day and had been bedridden for years. Hiram Buel died of typhoid fever on December 17th.¹⁵⁶²

1875

With all the returning veterans, shooting had become a popular postwar form of entertainment and marksmen, many from the military, competed for prizes. In 1875, Frank Butler lost a shooting match in Cincinnati to young Phoebe Ann Moses, an Ohio farm girl later known as Annie Oakley, and James Eads began work on a deep-draft navigation channel at the mouth of the Mississippi.

In Keokuk County, the new town of Delta was considered by locals to be a beautiful site. On high ground sloping away to the south, it was one of the best shipping points in the area, its businessmen were among the most active and enterprising, and it was here that Jim and Cal would make their new home. On March 3d, Jim, Jonathan and their wives transferred their interests in eighty acres of Alexander's land to Sarah after reaching an agreement settling his estate. Libby, now living in Janesville, Kansas and married to George South, agreed with them, the multiple deeds to Sarah were recorded and Alexander's remaining 160 acres were distributed to his children.

On the 16th, Dick Taylor's wife, Mimi, died in New Orleans. A devoted husband who had lost two sons to disease, Taylor would later recall that, with Jefferson Davis weeping next to him, "*I stood by her coffin, ere it was closed, to look for the last time upon features that death had respected and restored to their girlish beauty.*"

William Barber had spent two days lying on a battlefield and carried a musket ball in his groin for a year and a half. Now he was the father of three young children. When he requested a pension the examining surgeon concluded the injury had merely been a flesh wound that healed satisfactorily. The Adjutant General's office confirmed their

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Matthew M. Colbert, *General Nathaniel B. Baker and the Grasshopper Plagues in Northwest Iowa, 1873-1875* (Iowa State University, 2009).

1562

The site of Washington Casey's burial has not been found. Hiram is buried in Evergreen Cemetery, Red Oak, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #125500757.

records also "*do not show him wounded as alleged*" but William submitted affidavits from Captain Benton who had witnessed the injury and Dr. Orr who had treated it. William was examined by two more doctors who confirmed he had weakness in the thigh and pain in his hip and knee, was incapacitated from many kinds of farm labor and had difficulty riding a horse. On June 27th a pension was granted at \$3.00 per month.

In the fall, Frédéric Bartholdi began work on a Statue of Liberty in a Paris studio and, on September 15th, gale-force winds came ashore at Indianola. By midnight, they were estimated at 100 miles per hour as water from the gulf and Matagorda Bay swept twenty miles inland and killed 176 residents. Three fourths of the town's buildings disappeared completely and the rest were greatly damaged by one of the century's great hurricanes.¹⁵⁶³

On November 3rd President Grant conferred with military leaders George Crook and Phil Sheridan. The number of miners entering the Dakota Territory was overwhelming and Grant decided the military should offer "*no further resistance*." On November 10th, Jim and Lib Rice had their final child, a daughter named Nora.

1876

In 1876, twenty-nine year old Alexander Graham Bell patented a telephone, Martin Baal, who had a foot amputated after being wounded at the Big Black, began a cigar-making business in Dubuque, and Jane and James Chiles moved to the Dakota Territory. Of the four Mather brothers who served in the war, only Sterling survived. In 1876 he moved to California and Kentucky became the next-to-last state to ratify the 13th Amendment.¹⁵⁶⁴

On January 13th, Sam Kirkwood was inaugurated "*for an unprecedented third term as Governor*" but would soon be elected to a second term as a U.S. Senator.

On April 26th the Mississippi did what an army could not when it cut through DeSoto Point not far from the wartime canal abandoned thirteen years earlier. Vicksburg was left high and dry but in 1903 would again become a river city when the Corps of Engineers diverted the Yazoo into the Mississippi. On June 25th, 269 members of the 7th Cavalry including Civil War veteran George Custer and two of his brothers were killed at the Little Big Horn by Sioux warriors led by Crazy Horse.

William Robbins returned to the fields in the fall, "*drawing hay*" as usual, pitching from a loaded wagon while a friend mowed it away. Without warning, William sat down on the load and put his hand on his chest. The attacks were averaging one a month, sometimes more and sometimes less, and William was convinced he would soon "*die with his boots on*."

On August 2d, thirty-nine year old Wild Bill Hickok was shot and killed while playing poker in Deadwood, South Dakota. His cards, including two Aces and two eights, would be known forever as the "*dead man's hand*"¹⁵⁶⁵ and, on September 7th, former Missouri guerrillas including Jesse and Frank James, Clell Miller, Charlie Pitts and Cole Younger tried to rob a bank in Northfield, Minnesota. Miller was killed, Pitts died a few days later and Younger was captured.

On September 11th, Iowa's wartime Adjutant General, Nathaniel Baker, died after several months of declining health. Four days later he was buried with full military honors and eulogized by Governor Kirkwood:

*"To the soldiery of Iowa, of whose deeds he was ever proud, and whose history he did so much to preserve, he was especially dear; and so long as that history shall be read, will the memory of Iowa's great Adjutant General be perpetuated."*¹⁵⁶⁶

Confederate soldier Able Hankins, his wife Julia and their two daughters left Virginia in a covered wagon constructed by Able. Traveling west they settled in Iowa, in the town of Delta, and had three more children, sons William and James and daughter Mary Ellen. Julia died in 1876, Abel was remarried to Sarah Randall on November

¹⁵⁶³ Erik Larson, *Isaac's Storm* (Vintage Books 1999).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Angry there had been no compensation for freed slaves, Mississippi would not ratify the Amendment until 1995.

¹⁵⁶⁵ James Butler "*Wild Bill*" Hickok is buried in Mount Moriah Cemetery, Deadwood, South Dakota. Find-a-Grave Memorial #479.

¹⁵⁶⁶

Johnson Bingham, *Nathaniel Bradley Baker, Iowa - Its History and Its Foremost Citizens*, Vol. I (S. J. Clark, Chicago, 1915), pages 325-326. Nathaniel Baker is buried in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #16327350.

5th and soon they would have a son named Thomas.

Andrew Lawrence, "*a strictly temperate man*," helped his brother harvest corn in Iowa but usually stuck to his trade as a carpenter on a railroad in Missouri, repairing a neighbor's house and working in a mill. By 1876 dizziness brought on by his wartime catarrh would no longer let him work on scaffold and he was forced to give up outdoor jobs in favor of work in a cabinet shop.

John Baade's wife died in April and eight months later he married Mary Hoth, a native of Greipswalde, Germany. With Mary, he would have another eleven children.

1877

Grant's presidency ended in 1877 and he and Julia left on a trip around the world during which they would visit Queen Victoria, the Pope and the Emperor of Japan. Thomas Edison invented the phonograph, advancements in civil rights began to crumble, J. A. Lang opened the first drugstore in Wadena and Charles Howard of Company F moved to Denver and co-founded the construction and lumber firm of Halleck & Howard.

In 1863, the regiment had participated in the May 22nd assault at Vicksburg and David Greaves had been shot in the leg and left arm. Now, twenty-four years later, his arm was almost totally useless.

Jim and Elizabeth Rice were still living in Wright County but stayed in contact with his parents (Joel and Sarah Rice) and sister (Caroline "Cal" Bethard), in Keokuk County. On a warmer than usual winter's day, Jim was out cutting wood and the children were quiet when Lib wrote to Joel and Sarah and asked that they pass a message along to her longtime friend "Call" ("Cal").

Dry Lake Iowa

Feb 28th 77

Dear Father & Mother and all the rest. I am all alone baby asleep and nothing to do but a little mending no dinner to get as Jim has gone to the timber for a load of wood so I thought I would write to you all & answer mother's letter we got a week ago it is terrible hard work to stay in the house this fine weather I never saw such weather at this time of the year. it has been warm ... days ever since the last week of January. ground is in good rig to put in wheat & oats if farmers dare to put it in the ground but we dont know what the month of March may be. Mother you say that father has traided of his horses well what of that it is only 6 miles to go and get you from the rail road hear, dont give it up but be shure and come up here this spring. Eva & Nellie talk every day about you coming. Eva says that she dont see why grandma wants to call Nora a little stranger for that she aint a stranger but a great big girl most 16 months old & trying to talk school will be out next week than the girls will be at home to tote the baby out of door when the weather is nice

Bell's youngest Hattie has been verry sick for the last 4 days but was getting a little better yesterday of some kind of fever

George Rice's children have all had the measles or something just like the measles the Dr gave it some kind of a new name but said they would never have the measles again we heard from there last night they were all about well again George had rather bad luck this winter in loosing the best corn they had

Jim will have his summers wood all hauled to-day. he says the less he has to do the lazier he gets all he has had to do for the last month is to get a little wood up he dont calculate to do any braking this summer he is going to put in a lot of corn and stay at home and tend it. perhaps he will have more time to visit with you when you come up here tell all to come that can come. Just ask Call if she aint a little bit mistaken about writing the last letter. if she still thinks she wrote last just read all the news out of this and hand it to her and tell her I wrote this one last. we will have 17 head of cattle to herd this summer & it costs from \$1.00 to \$1.23 per head to herd them. we expect 10 cows. wont Eva & I have to pump a good deal of milk to milk that many this summer. Call come up and make me a visit & I will let you milk all you have a mind to, butter aint but 15 cents now I expect it wont be worth hardly anything by the time I have much to sell, eggs are 10cts, so we eat ours. Nora has got up and wants to help write so I have to quit as my writing is poor enough without her help my love to all we are all well and hope this will find you all the same write soon and write all

E S Rice

On the same February 28th that Lib was writing to Joel and Sarah, Congress approved an "agreement" in which the Sioux surrendered the Black Hills to the United States. Deadwood and Custer City had grown overnight, Butch Cassidy and his Hole-in-the-Wall Gang robbed their first bank in nearby Belle Fourche and Company B's Richard Wright was a local resident. Richard was a stagecoach driver working various lines that served the territory but that winter experienced an injury that would end his career. He was working the line between Pierre and Deadwood, a route supplied by stations fourteen to sixteen miles apart and the weather was fierce. The only inhabitants were the drivers and a cook at each station, most known only by nicknames. In February, late in the month, while the army was nearby chasing Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, Richard was caught in a blizzard on his way from Mitchell to the station at Plum Creek. Stopping meant death so he continued on. Coincidentally, John Heckinger had been traveling to Deadwood by foot and taken refuge at the station. When Richard arrived he was crusted with ice and snow and unable to move. John helped him down from the stage but Richard's feet were so badly frozen that he was crippled for life.

William Barber was now living in Marion, Iowa. He requested a larger pension and complained of partial paralysis in the hip and pain that was especially bad when working on his farm or walking along a road. Doctors confirmed the leg was atrophied from the fourteen year old Vicksburg bullet wound and he had trouble walking "*such as to prevent his following a team and cultivating.*"

In March, Mary and Nelson Reynolds had their third child, a son named Clayton. In April, Cal's brother, twenty-four-year-old Tero Rice, died¹⁵⁶⁷ and, on June 26th, George Moser married for a second time when he married twenty-year-old Margaret "Mary" Funk in Dubuque. His first wife, Sophia, had died during childbirth in 1875 and was buried in Linwood Cemetery.¹⁵⁶⁸

William Robbins suffered another "spell" during the fall haying season. "*Although it was warm weather he complained that the weather was cold,*" he looked thin and wore his overcoat, even in summer.

1878

On January 11, 1878 (fifteen years after their battle at Hartville), veterans of Company D, gathered in Volga City to attend the company's annual reunion. "*There were about twenty present at the Palmer House where we held pleasant converse and fared sumptuously,*" said Gilbert Cooley. At 7:00 p.m. they met at the residence of J. W. Lowe "*and the spirit of fun and song prevailed until the midnight hour*" and "*the inevitable Stahl was himself again.*"¹⁵⁶⁹

On the 16th, the regiment's young drum major, William Matson, married Mary Rogers in Minnesota and, on the 30th, Jabez Rogers, a postwar painter, requested a pension for chronic diarrhea contracted at *Somerset*. No longer able to work, "*Jabe*" was "*disabled and decrepit,*" emaciated at forty-seven.

Sterling Mather and his wife had their fourth and last child, a daughter, in Lakeport, California, and Cal was in Jefferson County when she gave birth to her third daughter, Bessie Belle. Her brother, George Rice, died in March.¹⁵⁷⁰

Fitz Henry Warren, "*cordially hated*" by his men, had resumed pre-war pursuits and served in Iowa's Senate, as U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, as an official of the Liberal Party and as a correspondent for the *New York Sun*. On June 21, 1878, he died in Brimfield, Massachusetts, the town where he was born sixty-two years earlier,¹⁵⁷¹ while Jonathan Foster, one arm permanently deformed and useless due to the injury sustained while he was serving as a vedette sixteen years earlier, sought an increase in his existing pension. Witnesses were supportive with the exception of one Charles Cook who testified on August 17th that, one arm or not:

"Jonathan Foster is a sort of bully in this township of Buena Vista and when any fighting is to be done he is the man that steps forward to do it.... he disputed with me and knocked me down and bruised me I am informed that his brother in law Archie Stuart of Dubuque Iowa has prosecuted the claim of Jonathan Foster.... Now he is an able bodied man and a bully. If he is claiming for a wound it does not disable him a

¹⁵⁶⁷ Tero is buried in Pleasant Grove Cemetery, Sigourney, Iowa.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #83721603.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Strawberry Point Press (January 16, 1878).

¹⁵⁷⁰ George is buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Franklin County, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #157617837.

¹⁵⁷¹ Brigadier General Warren is buried in Brimfield Cemetery, Brimfield, Massachusetts. Find-a-Grave Memorial #5893286.

particle and I believe him to be fraudulently pensioned."

1879

Thomas Edison made an incandescent lamp in 1879, Frank Woolworth opened a Five Cent Store, the University of Michigan won its first football game and Congress paid belated attention to veterans through an Arrears Act providing payment to survivors of any man who died as a result of wartime service. It would be another decade before a more comprehensive law provided benefits for disabled veterans who had served at least ninety days and been honorably discharged. Civil War veteran James Wolverton named a giant California sequoia, later reputed to be the world's largest tree, the "*General Sherman*," and, in the South, Varina and Jefferson Davis purchased *Beauvoir*, an estate near Biloxi where Jefferson would write his memoirs.¹⁵⁷²

Lewis Eno requested a pension on January 27th. Witnessing his application was his old Lieutenant, David Drummond. Now blind, Lewis signed with an "X" and claimed his condition had been caused by the eye injury sustained fifteen years earlier by blowing sand at Matagorda. When the claim was questioned, his case was argued and won by Thomas Updegraff with support from William Croke and other veterans of the regiment.

Also seeking a pension was Hiram Libby, one of the Green Lake prisoners. Only thirty-eight, frequently prostrated by lung disease, coughing, congestion, hoarseness and painful rheumatism and often unable to walk, he had worked as a mailman, farmer and flour miller in Minnesota where his hand was crushed and he lost two fingers in a threshing machine. Moving west to the Montana Territory, he worked as a watchman, machinist, blacksmith and prospector; "*general tinkering*" said one of his employers; a "*jack of all trades*" said another.

Dick Taylor, a well-respected adversary during the war, had become a strong advocate of Southern rights during reconstruction. After several days of illness while visiting New York, he received holy communion on April 11th and the next morning died, only a week after publishing his memoirs. His body was returned to New Orleans for burial with Mimi in the family crypt in Metairie Cemetery.¹⁵⁷³ Taylor had been critical of Kirby Smith's leadership and, now that he was deceased, Smith was urged to respond and write a rebuttal to Taylor's accusations in his book, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, but refused to do so. He corresponded with Fitz John Porter, Joe Johnston, Jefferson Davis and other old veterans but avoided controversy. Highly respected by friends and former enemies, Smith was made an honorary member of an Iowa historical society.

On August 20th, Cal gave birth to her fourth daughter, Edith Maude.

On September 6th, during the dedication of Nathaniel Baker's monument in Woodland cemetery, Baker was eulogized by Sam Kirkwood. He had asked Baker to serve as Adjutant General and Baker "*created the Adjutant General's Department in Iowa. Before the rebellion it had existed in name only. He made it a reality, gave it form and substance and made it one of the best of the best, if not the very best, state Adjutant General's offices in the United States.*"¹⁵⁷⁴

On October 22d, forty-one year old William McCarty, another of the Green Lake prisoners, died in Rockdale, a village no longer in existence south of Dubuque. He had been a poor man, frequently unable "*to doctor*," but got along "*by avoiding salt and being very careful of what he ate and using Patent medicines.*" In recent years he was "*entirely broken down*" from abdominal cancer that his doctor thought was "*brought about from want of proper food & to exposure while in Rebel prisons.*"

1880

In 1880, settlers fighting the Southern Pacific's "*railroaders*" shot it out with marshals in California's San Joaquin Valley while Juliet Corson's *Housekeeper's Guide* told women how to clean a kitchen ("*dust down the ceiling and*

1572

Beauvoir and its grounds, Confederate cemetery, Presidential Library and museum were open to the public until August 29, 2005, when it was heavily damaged by Hurricane Katrina. The Hayes Cottage, Library Pavilion, barracks replica, a Confederate Museum and the Director's home were destroyed. The main house suffered heavy damage but restoration allowed it to reopen June 3, 2008.

¹⁵⁷³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #11085.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Address of Governor Kirkwood, The Iowa Historical Record, Vol. VII (January 1891).

walls with a feather duster, or a clean cloth tied over a broom") and stove ("take up the cinders and ashes carefully to avoid all unnecessary dirt; put them at once into an ash sifter fitted into the top of a keg or pail with handles").

In 1862, the 21st Iowa had received its basic training at Camp Franklin just south of Eagle Point. Now eighteen years later, George Fengler, who had served three years with the regiment and been wounded at Jackson, was back as the proprietor of the Eagle Point Lime Works, running three kilns and shipping lime as far west as Sioux City.

Iowa's population was tallied at 1,624,615 (70% of whom lived on farms) and Keokuk County boasted that Delta "contains a population of about five hundred, is regularly incorporated, having a full force of town officers and constitutes an independent school district which supports as good a graded school as can be found in this or any other county." The school was important to no one more than Jim, Caroline and their four girls. Ella was seventeen, Sarah Gertrude was ten, Bessie a year old and Edith only four months. Jim had given up farming due to his health, tried railroad work and finally went to work as a laborer and harness maker in Abel Hankins' harness shop. The family moved into town where Jim became one of Delta's six councilmen¹⁵⁷⁵ and, on October 7th, his "little jade," the child with three hands and a "nubby" photograph, the three-year-old who sat on a fence waiting for her father to come home from the war, was a young lady of eighteen when she married Will Dunn.

John Carpenter, who had served in Company B, was living in Osborn, Kansas. At fifty-six years of age, he was having his share of "aiks and pains" and told his sister, Elizabeth (Carpenter) Marshall, "I do not expect to follow farming any more."

Brad Talcott was in Wadena where he bought patent medicines at Lang's drugstore, medicines such "as advice of physicians and my own experience proved to be the most likely to regulate the bowels and aid digestion," but he "could not digest enough to sustain himself at constant labor." On June 16th, he requested a pension.

In September, Othmar Kapler applied for a pension. Living in Spillville, he said he had contracted rheumatism during the Vicksburg Campaign and sustained a severe rupture in Texas. Three months later, on Christmas day, Henry Potter and Francis Orr were married in Edgewood but the year had not been good for John Rogman, his wife and their three young sons. After financial failures on a leased farm in National and a small brush farm they owned near Clayton, they moved to Otoe County in Nebraska. In another year they would settle in Glenalpine.

1881

In 1881, Jonathan Foster joined the Dubuque police force, Clara Barton founded the Red Cross, Samuel Kirkwood became Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Garfield, and, in Osborn, John Carpenter's hair was white, his teeth were gone and he suffered from jaundice contracted in the military. His pension application was supported by Dr. Benham, Dr. Orr, William Kellogg, Charlie Robbins, Barna Phelps, David Drummond, Seymour Chipman and Brad Talcott, all of whom clearly recalled his illness in Missouri.

John Carpenter was just starting the pension process but Philena Mather's application had already been pending for seven years. Upset by the delay, Fortner, her minister son who had not served in the war, remembered his brothers who had served - Darius, John and Squire who had died and Sterling who survived. Fortner interceded on his mother's behalf, asked Samuel Kirkwood for help and recalled that he "often in 1863, heard the ring of your voice as you gave us those telling and grand addresses in favor of our country. In 1875 I heard you again at Dubuque and other places as you effectively silenced the guns of the inflationists. Four of my brothers, all from Iowa, were in the army; three of whom were buried in soldiers' graves."

Jonathan Bethard's wife died in April and John Wynn Davidson, commander of the Army of Southeast Missouri when Jim was at West Plains, died in June. His body was taken east for burial in Arlington National Cemetery¹⁵⁷⁶ and, on July 2d, President Garfield was mortally wounded by a gunman in Washington's Union Station. Only two days earlier he had met with Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln who discussed his father's assassination. Now he lamented, "How many hours of sorrow I have passed in this town."

Manchester attorney Salue Van Anda requested a pension claiming he was still suffering from diarrhea contracted at Vicksburg, an illness, he said, that rendered him an "old man" and ruined his strength and ability to work, but Van Anda's problems were more serious than that. On July 5th testimony was filed with the Circuit Court alleging he was

¹⁵⁷⁵ The History of Keokuk County, Iowa, page 560 (Union Historical Company, Des Moines, 1880).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Find-a-Grave Memorial #5885371.

"insane and a fit subject for custody and treatment" and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Two days later the Commissioners of Insanity conducted a hearing, the charges were sustained and Van Anda was admitted to the Hospital for the Insane at Independence. He had been arrested in New Orleans and been a hard drinker for many years. Some said he had reformed five years earlier, but was suspected of still using opium to quiet his nerves. According to witnesses, Van Anda, *"in the last 6 weeks has been obliged to give up business, spends his time in a childish, silly manner and in the last weeks, has developed the most extravagant delusions about his wealth, importance, etc; racehorses that will drive 50 m. an hour etc. Is easily enraged, very profane etc; says he had syphilis in the army."* Initially he refused to eat or bathe in the hospital, but soon became more content, took his medication and ate well. He was, however, *"very lawless and at times disorderly; full of his 'mania de grandeur.'" His speech was thick and movements clumsy and he wrote in a sprawling style omitting letters and syllables. On July 13th, his old Vicksburg adversary, sixty-six year old John Pemberton, died on his farm in Penllyn, Pennsylvania.*¹⁵⁷⁷

On October 26th, Wyatt Earp was in a gunfight at the O.K. Corral.

1882

The tuberculosis germ was discovered in 1882, Texas Justice of the Peace Roy Bean was the "law west of the Pecos" and President Arthur created a 2.5 million acre Arizona reservation for the Hopi and *"such other Indians as the Secretary of Interior saw fit to settle thereon."*¹⁵⁷⁸ In Washington, ground was broken for a pension building, a facility badly needed to handle claims of the country's aging veterans and their dependents.

Emily and Abe Treadwell and their four children lived on their 120 acre farm, *"eighty under cultivation, and thoroughly stocked,"* in Clayton County's Lodomillo Township. *"He has held various offices of trust in his township, and has always taken an active interest in educational matters. He is well and favorably known throughout the county as an energetic citizen."*¹⁵⁷⁹

Nancy and William Robbins also had four children. They moved to Edgewood but William's heart continued to bother him. He had *"great endurance"* before the war but now often felt a *"deathly sensation"* in his chest and tired easily. Nearly every fall he traveled throughout the area threshing in all kinds of weather and sleeping under the machine at night. Life was hard. His attacks continued, striking him when lifting a heavy log, working with a threshing machine, oiling equipment and even when startled by a friend. When he left home with a team of horses someone always went with him. On February 2d, William spent the day cutting brush and that night was unusually tired but slept little. The next day he chopped wood in the morning, had a noontime meal and spent a restful afternoon reading with Nancy. By 3:00 p.m. it was time to get back to work but, before he could get up, he suffered another attack. His head slumped to his chest. Nancy sent for help but by the time the doctor arrived it was too late. William died at forty-one years of age from the heart disease contracted during the siege at Vicksburg. He is buried in Delaware County's Edgewood Cemetery.¹⁵⁸⁰

On February 7th, John L. Sullivan became the last bare knuckle heavyweight boxing champion, on March 8th Cal's cousin Eli Frankeberger was granted a \$2.00 pension for complications resulting from his broken nose which now made breathing difficult and, on the 14th, Charlie Robbins requested a pension for the ankle sprained, he said, at "Raleigh," Missouri. He had five children and was working a *"finely cultivated farm of 156 acres"* in Clayton County.

On April 3d, Jesse James, wartime guerrilla and postwar bank robber, was living in St. Joseph, Missouri, under the alias of Tom Howard when he was shot and killed, allegedly from behind by his friend Bob Ford. Frank, like his better known brother, had also ridden with Quantrill but, with Jesse dead, Frank would soon surrender. Only forty years old, he was acquitted in a trial where Confederate General Joseph Shelby testified in support of his *"fellow soldier."*

On April 11th, the Barbers had their fourth and last child and, on May 14th, Cadwallader Washburn died in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, after suffering a severe stroke a year earlier. He had amassed a fortune after the war, served

¹⁵⁷⁷ He is buried in Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #4860.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Vague wording that would later augment difficulties between the Hopi and Navajo.

¹⁵⁷⁹ History of Clayton County, Iowa (1882)

¹⁵⁸⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #5760937.

in the House of Representatives and as governor of Wisconsin and was a founder of Washburn, Crosby & Co., later known as General Mills. So successful was his company that, in 1880, it had won gold, silver and bronze medals at the first International Miller's Exhibition and soon thereafter the company's finest flour was marketed as "*Gold Medal*."¹⁵⁸¹

John Conant died on April 19th. Twenty years earlier he had enlisted in Company G at McGregor and he continued to live in McGregor for several years after the war. From there he moved to Brainerd, Minnesota, where, referred to in a news article as "*Uncle John*," he had been appointed Deputy Sheriff and Jailer for Crow Wing County in 1874 and Constable in 1876. He was buried in Brainerd's Evergreen Cemetery.¹⁵⁸² His widow, Lydia A. (Allen) Conant died in 1918 and was buried next to John.

On June 5th, sixty-eight year old Wilmer McLean died in Alexandria, on the 8th, Jim Rice's wife, Elizabeth, died in Wright County¹⁵⁸³ and, on the 10th, Horace Poole joined the G.A.R. in Dubuque. On July 17th Nancy Robbins was working as a washerwoman when she applied for a widow's pension with support from William's brother, Charles, then living in Osborne, about twelve miles from his comrade William Appleton in Elkport. On the 26th Mike Lawler, "*Big Mike*" who fought in shirtsleeves, died on his Illinois farm.¹⁵⁸⁴ By the time of his death he was almost totally deaf from the effects of cannon fire during the lengthy siege at Vicksburg, but he was not alone. Alexander Voorhees, Henry Guiles and numerous others in the 21st Iowa also suffered deafness they attributed to Vicksburg where, said Henry, "*we lay in a draw and big siege guns fired right over us.*"

On August 23rd, six months after the death of his last child, forty-seven-year-old Peter Herber, Company K, died from Bright's disease. Herber Road in Dubuque County still runs by his residence and eighty-acre farm. He is buried in Saints Peter and Paul Cemetery, Sherrill.¹⁵⁸⁵

1883

In 1883 the Elisha Boardman Post of the G.A.R. was organized in Elkader while Ohio's Dover Township took time to reflect on the war and its aging veterans including so many friends of Jim and Cal::

Almost twenty years have passed away since the close of the war, and when peace spread her mantle over the land, the ranks of the army melted away like the smoke of battle. The soldiers laid aside their uniforms as quickly as they had donned them when the first drum-beat sounded 'to arms!' and soon took their places in the busy marts of industry and the peaceful avocations of life.

A million soldiers laying down their arms after four years of sanguinary war, and quietly taking their places in the civil walks of life without any unusual commotion, was a sublime spectacle upon which all civilized nations looked with wonder and admiration. These were the volunteer soldiers of a free country.

The soldiers of Union County were no exception to this rule, and the boys of twenty years ago have become the good and substantial citizens of to-day. The 'good soldier is the good citizen,' and in all the positions of life they bear themselves as becomes brave and gallant soldiers of the Republic. They are found as farmers, merchants, in the counting-room, in the halls of legislation and in places of honor and trust all over the land.

From disease contracted and from wounds received during their services, the soldiers are falling rapidly, one by one - falling by the wayside, comrades of all ranks passing away.

A chosen corps they are marching on

¹⁵⁸¹ He is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery

¹⁵⁸² Find-a-Grave Memorial #73805225.

¹⁵⁸³ Lib is buried in Blairsburg Cemetery, Blairsburg, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #104521253.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Michael is buried in Hickory Hill Cemetery, Junction, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #5895093.

¹⁵⁸⁵

Find-a-Grave Memorial #84628899. In her application for a widow's pension Mary Hereber, signing with her given name of Maria, said he died on August 24th and that's the date on his gravestone but the Physician's Certificate of Death dated August 28, 1882, and signed by Dr. E. Reitz of Sherrill's Mound says death actually occurred at 11:00 p.m. on August 23, 1882.

*In a wider field than ours:
We shall meet and greet with closing ranks
In time's declining scenes,
When the bugles of God shall sound recall
And the battle of life is won.*

And as one by one our comrades are mustered out of life's service, let us cherish more warmly each succeeding year the memory of their services, and as our heads are bowed and sprinkled with the frosts of many winters, let us be bound more closely by that friendship formed during our service on the march and in the camp, and 'welded in the fire of battle;' and let us not forget the widows and orphans of our late comrades. They are the wards of the nation; let us 'guard them with a jealous eye,' and keep them in our fostering care, for no man can give better proof of devotion to friend or country than that he will 'lay down his life for them.'

The Brooklyn Bridge and Metropolitan Opera House were completed in New York and John Grutchek received pension support from his old friends Othmar Kapler and David Drummond. Unfortunately, Hiram Hunt, the doctor who had cared for him, could no longer remember the names of the soldiers he had treated and the chest in which he had stored his records had been broken and the documents stolen while he was going up the Mississippi in 1865.¹⁵⁸⁶

On February 12th, Tim Hayes was living in Minnesota when he signed an application for an invalid pension in Mankato where the thirty-eight Dakota had been hung twenty years earlier. On the 15th, after the death of his wife six months earlier, Jim Rice married Mary La Valle (aka Valley) and, in May, Joseph Carter deserted his wife and two children. After allegedly being involved in what one called a "*questionable transaction*" in Cedar Falls, he moved to California where, on July 15th, under the name "*Richard Clark*," he would "*marry*" Catherine Wyche in Petaluma.

A week later Edward Ord would die in Havana after contracting yellow fever on a ship bound for Vera Cruz. Ord was eulogized by Sherman as one whose career had been marked "*by faithful, devoted, and intelligent discharge of duty, by personal gallantry, by honest administration, and by a firmness which was not weakened by his great kindness of heart. As his intimate associate since boyhood, the general here bears testimony of him that a more unselfish, manly, and patriotic person never lived.*"¹⁵⁸⁷

Charles Voorhees had been captured and imprisoned in Texas and cared for by his father, Alexander, after being exchanged. In 1883 they were living in Nebraska where Alexander was the proprietor of the Steam Elevator & Chop Feed Mill ("*dealer in grain, coal and flax seed*") in St. Edward. Company G's Pat Burns was living in Chicago when he requested a pension. Married with four children including seven year old twins, Pat suffered from rheumatism he attributed to the severe cold contracted near Hartville. He was described by his brother as "*badly broken down and unable to perform manual labor.*" He could no longer climb stairs without pain and, at times, could scarcely sit. Pat was forty-one years old.

On September 3d, Jonathan Bethard remarried near New Albany, Kansas, on the 4th Wallace Bowen was divorced from his second wife (two months later he would marry Catherine Brooks) and on the 5th Jonathan Foster was examined by surgeons who agreed his arm had "*considerable deformity and greatly impaired motion.*"

Jim Rice and his new wife, Mary, had their first child, a daughter named Pearl, on November 11th and, on the 16th, William Warner joined the Brush Creek Post of the G.A.R. In December Myron Knight and Abram Treadwell joined the Post in Strawberry Point and Jim Rice joined the Post in Dows, a railroad town founded only three years earlier.

1884

1586

Affidavit dated June 16, 1883 by John Grutchek in his pension file. In an affidavit dated March 20, 1880, in the pension file of Eber Golder, Dr. Hunt said "*most of Hospital reports of the 21st Regt Iowa Vol was lost on transport near Kennerville.*"
1587

He was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D.C. (Find-a-Grave Memorial #41558214), but his remains were later moved to Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia (Find-a-Grave Memorial #6515).

In 1884, a World's Fair was held in New Orleans, Henry Dyer sustained a serious hernia while hunting near Marble Rock, William Barber joined the G.A.R. in McGregor and many veterans continued to die too young. On January 10th, thirty-seven year old Marshall "Mort" Rice died in Sigourney¹⁵⁸⁸ and, on the 19th, Frank Farrand died in Covington, Nebraska. For years he had worn a truss to ease pain caused by the hernia suffered during the regiment's forced march in southern Louisiana. He is buried in Dakota City Cemetery in Dakota County.¹⁵⁸⁹

On February 8th, William Sherman retired from the military and Phil Sheridan became the new commanding General. On the 22d, a monument honoring Robert E. Lee was unveiled in New Orleans at a ceremony attended by Union and Confederate veterans including Jefferson Davis and General P. G. T. Beauregard.

Jim Rice's daughter, twelve year old Nellie, died on June 10th and John Rogman's son, eight year old Edward, died on the 20th while John continued to pursue a pension with support from former comrades, William Orr, Othmar Kapler, William Lyons and David Drummond. Some applicants were unable to get a pension but were helped by politicians and, on July 3d, Congress granted \$50.00 per month to Mike Lawler's widow, Bessie. Two days later a similar amount was approved for Mary Ord, a pension mailed to her at her new home in San Diego. When her husband died the previous year he was penniless.

Cal's cousin, thirty-nine year old Aaron Frankeberger, had lost weight, still suffered from his wartime diarrhea and was now in constant pain. A poor man, he had trouble walking and could manage his farm only "by having riding plows and improved machines." In July he was stacking barley when he was overcome by heat, unable to work for three weeks and, he said, forced "to hire a self binder to cut the rest of my grain."

In the fall, John "Black Jack" Logan campaigned for the vice presidency in a race that was lost to Democrats Grover Cleveland and Thomas Hendricks while Logan's old commander, Ulysses Grant, learned he was dying. Grant had "grown very weak" following an injury a year earlier, learned recently that a "sore throat" of several months standing was cancerous, and was "a sufferer from neuralgia."¹⁵⁹⁰ Cheated out of his fortune by a business partner, he was desperate for funds and sold articles describing his military experience. Heavily sedated by cocaine and morphine, he selected a publishing company headed by Mark Twain and devoted himself to his memoirs.

On November 6th, James Hill joined the Cascade Post of the G.A.R. True to his nature, he quickly became one of the post's most active members, attended encampments, served as post commander and was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of the department commander.

1885

In 1885, John Kuntz was working as a plasterer and James Brunskill as a miner in Dubuque when they supported the pension application of grocery clerk Joseph Baule, and James Adams, still single at fifty-one, was living in Osage City, Kansas, when he requested a pension for catarrh and a bad back. His application was witnessed by his brother Asher. Some applicants tried to process their own claims but most retained pension agents either locally or in Washington D.C. Unfortunately, "devices for swindling pensioners" were then on the increase.¹⁵⁹¹

In January, John Presho joined the G.A.R. in McGregor and, on February 21st, almost thirty-seven years after construction began, the Washington Monument was dedicated by President Arthur "to the immortal name and memory of George Washington."

On July 14th, Sarah Goode became the first black woman to obtain a federal patent and nine days later, on the

¹⁵⁸⁸ Mort is buried in Pleasant Grove Cemetery, Sigourney, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #9613690.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #8232718.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Stanley P. Hirshson, Grenville M. Dodge p213 (Indiana University Press 1967).

¹⁵⁹¹

A Pension Swindle Exposed. The New York Times (08/12/1883). The article discusses improper practices of Washington D.C. attorneys N. W. Fitzgerald and others in his office, an office that Fitzgerald said represented "50,000 disabled soldiers, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen on Southern battle-fields. So long as one soldiers lives who has lost a single drop of blood in the Union cause, I will continue to prosecute their claims." Related articles appeared on August 14 and October 31, 1883. By the following June, despite Fitzgerald's resolve, the cases of the Fitzgerald office would be transferred to George E. Lemon who would represent many member of Iowa's 21st Infantry before being arrested and convicted of pension fraud and sentenced to imprisonment in Anamosa Prison..

23rd of July, Ulysses Grant died of cancer at Mt. McGregor, New York, shortly after completing his memoirs.¹⁵⁹² He was sixty-three years of age. Two weeks later, one million people lined the streets of New York City to watch 60,000 march in his five-hour funeral procession. In August, Tuesday through Thursday, August 18th through the 20th, veterans of the 21st Iowa held their second reunion. Meeting in Farley, they reminisced and formed a regimental association to organize future reunions while, in Iowa City, Samuel Kirkwood implored veterans to preserve their war time memories. "*Write out these stories you so love to tell and to hear,*" he said, "*and place them in our State Historical Society for preservation . . . that in the distant future will excite the smiles of those now unborn.*"¹⁵⁹³

On November 26th, Warren Braman died in Chicago's Cook County Hospital of heart disease and asthma. After thirty-five years of marriage, his widow was destitute.¹⁵⁹⁴

1886

In 1886, President Cleveland spoke at the dedication of the Statue of Liberty fifteen years after Bartholdi had first viewed New York's harbor and a *Sears Catalog* appeared for the first time. Initially featuring only jewelry and watches, it would expand to general merchandise in another ten years and shape buying habits of rural Americans for generations. In May, Atlanta pharmacist John Stith Pemberton unveiled Pemberton's Tonic, a carmel-colored syrup that was mixed with water and sold at soda fountains. Within days it was named Coca-Cola Elixir and Syrup because it contained extracts of the cocoa leaf and kola nut and, before long, it would be mixed with carbonated water.

In St. Louis, a campaign was underway to raise funds for a monument to Ulysses Grant. Held in the great theater of the Exposition Building, lectures on the war were presided over by his old subordinate, sixty-six year old William Sherman, who entertained dinner guests with his personal recollections and "*abounding good-fellowship and his flashes of quaint wit.*" In the fall, he and his wife would move to New York City where their youngest daughter was still in school.

On January 29th, Jim Bethard requested an invalid pension. He was forty-eight years old and hired Smith & Talley, attorneys and insurance agents in Sigourney, to represent him. He was suffering, he said, from sores due to the impure smallpox vaccine received at Vicksburg and from weakness and soreness in the eye due to the injury at Blakely. Jim Rice signed an *Officers and Comrades Certificate* confirming his brother-in-law had suffered the eye injury and:

"a Breaking out or scrofulous sores which was brought on or superinduced by being vaccinated with impure virus from the arm of your affiant & that your affiant was vaccinated with impure virus received from surgeons in charge but that the virus run short and the soldiers had to be vaccinated from one another's arms My knowledge of the above facts is from being present with the regiment at the time and seeing him vaccinated seeing his arms and the sores on his body from that time on to his discharge sleeping with said Bethard nearly all the time during his entire term of service by being present with him at the time he got his eye hurt."

Also supporting the application was David Drummond who recalled that twenty-three years earlier, at Vicksburg, Jim had sores after "*being vaccinated with impure vaccine matter and that he was so afflicted until the end of the service.*" He also remembered Jim's inflamed left eye, damaged while digging rifle pits at Blakely.

Jim was embarking on a quest that was time-consuming, cumbersome and often frustrating. Initially based on service-related disabilities, the pension process required the veteran to file a written application with the Pension Bureau in Washington indicating the nature of his disabilities. To prove their health problems were service-related, claimants submitted affidavits from fellow soldiers, doctors, friends and relatives who had knowledge of the veteran's health, the cause of the alleged disability and its continuing nature. Locating witnesses could be difficult, especially in

¹⁵⁹² Grant is entombed in the General Grant National Memorial, New York, New York. Find-a-Grave Memorial #411.

¹⁵⁹³ Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, page 397.

¹⁵⁹⁴

The site of Warren's burial has not been found. Records give his name as "*Warren Elnathan*" and as "*Elnathan Warren*" and his surname as "*Bramen*" and "*Braman*." When his wife, Caroline, applied for a widow's pension she gave his name as "*E. Warren Braman*" and signed as "*Caroline Braman*."

the west where many left home to take advantage of homestead laws or live with children. Pension examiners contacted the Adjutant General's Office in the War Department to verify the veteran's service record and any record of medical treatment, records that were often incomplete or non-existent, and the veteran was required to meet with a Board of Surgeons, three men who listened to the claim, made a physical examination, stated their findings and made recommendations regarding the nature and extent of any disability. In exceptional circumstances, handwriting samples were requested or Special Examiners reviewed family Bibles and other documents or took depositions from veterans, families and friends. The entire claim was then reviewed and, if everything was satisfactory, it went to a Legal Reviewer and Re-Reviewer to determine its legal correctness. If necessary, it then went to a Medical Referee who reviewed the medical evidence and, ultimately, if everything was in order, a certificate was issued providing for a monthly pension in a stated amount payable quarterly through a local pension agency. If the condition worsened, the veteran could seek an increase and repeat the process. On April 5th, the pension office asked the Adjutant General for Jim's "*full military history*" including his military and medical records.

On the 8th, Jim Rice and his wife had another daughter and on the 14th Jim Bethard was examined by a Board of Surgeons. Now weighing 175 pounds, he told them his sores were almost impossible to heal and "*they have continued to break out on him from time to time, especially after hard labor, or after getting very warm. He has been compelled to abandon farming and all hard manual labor, in consequence of the blood trouble.*" Although there was evidence of his eye injury and there were countless scars from old ulcers, he had no open sores at the time. As a result, the Board felt he was entitled to nothing for the sores but suggested \$4.00 per month for the eye problem.

On March 14, 1886, sixty-six year old William Grannis, who had served his entire term as 1st Lieutenant of Company D, was working as a hotel proprietor when he died in Earlville. His father, mother, five brothers, several of his brothers' children and several of his aunts and uncles had died of tuberculosis and William feared that he too would succumb to the disease but death came from a heart illness complicated by the chronic diarrhea he had contracted in the military.¹⁵⁹⁵

Seventy-four year old Alonzo Cole was a resident of the National Home for Disabled volunteer Soldiers in Wisconsin when he passed away on April 26, 1886. He was buried in the Home's cemetery in Milwaukee.¹⁵⁹⁶

On June 17th, Alvin Merriam requested an invalid pension in a declaration supported by David Drummond and William Lyons. David Greaves worked as a Deputy County Clerk in Hot Springs, Arkansas, where he was active in the Canby Post of the G.A.R., Jonathan Foster joined the G.A.R. in Dubuque on August 9th, and Indianola was devastated by another hurricane. Residents had regarded the 1875 hurricane as an aberration, a freak storm that would never happen again, and many had rebuilt. Arriving about midnight on August 19th, strong winds grew stronger and the next day water in the bay rose rapidly. Not a single house was undamaged. Many were washed out to sea or scattered over the inland plains. This time the destruction was so severe that residents abandoned the town forever. The courthouse was moved back to Lavaca and all that survived were three old cemeteries, a few cisterns and the foundation of the old courthouse where Jim Bethard had found shelter from the cold more than twenty-three years earlier.¹⁵⁹⁷

In September, veterans of Clayton County held a reunion in Elkader. "*Great preparations were made for this event. The camp ground was selected, tents erected, a stand built and decorated and supplies enough for 500 were procured.*"¹⁵⁹⁸ The two-day event include a dress parade, drum corps from McGregor and Strawberry Point and speeches by Thomas Updegraff and Company D's John Stahl. On the second morning, "*the music of the drum and fife awakened them,*" "*rations were served and at 9 o'clock there was guard mount.*" John Everall delivered a welcome address to which the 21st's Gilbert Cooley responded and the circumstances of Captain Boardman's bravery were related.

Geronimo surrendered on September 4th and, eleven days later, Jim Bethard was examined by thirty-five year old Delta surgeon Richard Boatman. Boatman had graduated from a seminary, worked at manual labor, and taught in county schools. He took his first lectures at Chicago's Rush Medical College in 1881 but was unable to continue and

¹⁵⁹⁵ William is buried in Fairview Cemetery, Earlville, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #147286840.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Alonzo is buried in Wood National Cemetery, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Find-a-Grave Memorial #2903857.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Malsch, *Indianola* (State House Press, Austin, 1988). Erik Larson, *Isaac's Storm* (Vintage Books, 1999).

¹⁵⁹⁸ *History of Clayton County* (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

began practicing in Delta.¹⁵⁹⁹ He had been the Bethard family doctor for more than three years when he confirmed the scars on Jim's legs were from longstanding sores that would not respond to treatment but were also getting no worse. Boatman had treated Jim for conjunctivitis and noted a scar on the left eyeball which frequently became inflamed and caused Jim to refrain from manual labor until the inflammation abated. Boatman also noted that *"he is strictly a temperate man, neither has he any bad habits. I think the soldier to have been disabled at least one half from manual labor, and further think him justly entitled to a pension."*

Another doctor, J. D. Hamilton, had also treated Jim for sore eyes and blood problems and a witness from Washington County testified that, from September 1868 to November 1873, he and Jim had lived only three-fourths of a mile apart. They were friends and neighbors, farmers who saw each other two or three times a week, frequently exchanged work and visited back and forth with their families. During the entire period, Jim had periodically been disabled with inflamed eyes and sores on his hands, ankles and feet. He could perform only half the work of an ordinary able-bodied man and *"the heating of the Blood consequent upon severe labor seemed to cause the breaking out of sores to the extent that he was frequently incapacitated entirely for labor."* The Surgeon General's records had nothing that substantiated Jim's claim, but the Adjutant General confirmed that two of his witnesses, David Drummond and James Rice, had been at Vicksburg and Spring Hill during the relevant time periods as they had testified.

"Old Blizzards" Loring had faced the Federals at Champion's Hill and General Sherman during the Atlanta Campaign, but moved north after the war. On Sherman's recommendation he had served ten years with the Khedive of Egypt, dined with Sherman during his 1872 world tour and visited the pyramids with Grant in 1878 before returning to the U.S. a year later. Successful on the lecture circuit and in the promotion of Florida railroads, he died of pneumonia in New York on December 30th, was cremated and buried. The following March his ashes were returned to his home in St. Augustine and buried after a procession of Union and Confederate veterans marching *"two and two, arm in arm."* He had never married.¹⁶⁰⁰

1887

In 1887 Arthur Conan Doyle wrote *A Study in Scarlet*, the first of his many Sherlock Holmes stories, William Wood joined the John A. Logan Post of the G.A.R. in Denison and Southern general Joe Johnston, *"whose hand-grip at eighty years of age was like that of a college athlete,"* worked as Commissioner of Railroads for President Cleveland. Sam Merrill *"was granted a pension of over eight hundred dollars a year on account of wounds received in the Civil war. This money he donated to support three beds for disabled soldiers in a hospital at Des Moines."*¹⁶⁰¹

Andrew Hannah had ruptured his right side when thrown by a Missouri mule but resumed work as a stone mason and brick layer after the war. While doing a job for the Moline Wagon Company in Illinois, he *"had sum prety large stone to lift,"* ruptured his left side, was forced to wear a double truss and gave up stone work in favor of the less physical brick laying. On January 4th, Henry Potter, who had once swapped guard duty with Jim, requested a pension due to ague, fever and chronic diarrhea contracted in the service. According to one of his witnesses, Henry was in feeble health, unable to perform manual labor and reliant on county aid for necessities of life. He was forty-four years old.

On May 18th, Pearl Ingalls passed away in Kansas. After a thirty-four-year career in the ministry, advocating temperance, raising over \$85,000 on behalf of orphans and briefly serving as editor and publisher of the *Iowa State Tribune*, he was survived by his wife, Mary.¹⁶⁰² On the 31st, Robert Grosvenor was living in Nebraska when he signed an affidavit for Jim Bethard. Grosvenor had worked in the hospital when the regiment returned from its round trip to Jackson after the surrender of Vicksburg and recalled that Jim had shown up:

"to be treated for sores on his hands and lower extremities which seemed to be aggravated by heat and rapid marching. In Sept or Oct 1864 he was treated at or near Brashear City La. for same trouble, and also on the

1599

Benjamin F. Sbambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits of the Progressive Men of Iowa*, Vol. II, Page 112 (Conaway & Shaw, Des Moines, 1899).

¹⁶⁰⁰ William Wing Loring is buried in Loring Park, St. Augustine, Florida. Find-a-Grave Memorial #4534.

1601

John Brown Jr. & James Brown, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside County*, Volume III (The Western Historical Association 1922).

¹⁶⁰² Pearl is buried in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #30326068.

march in April 1865 from Ft Morgan to Spanish Fort Ala. At Spring Hill, a few weeks later, we went into camp without tents (in fact, not much of anything) and affiant helped make a bed of dry leaves, brush & c. to make him comfortable, cautioning him at the time about getting cold, as his face and eyes were much swollen and think his hands and feet were also."

In July, Jim's father-in-law, Joel Rice, seventy-five years old, retired and still living in Sigourney, signed an affidavit in a shaky hand and swore that:

"James Beathard character is good perfectly temperate in all things know bad habits atol James Bethard was a farmer til a bout 1873 then he had to give up farming entirely on the account of scrofula in his hands head and eyes I have seen or heard from him every week and the most of the time lived rite by him there has never bin a year that he has not ben laid up from two to 8 week scrofula he is entirely laid up now."

On September 15th and 16th, with more than 160 in attendance, the regiment held its third reunion, this one in Manchester where members recalled their experiences, posed for pictures and remembered those who were gone. As reported in *The Manchester Press*:

"To these men, now grown old, most of them with gray locks and furrowed cheeks, the real reunion was not in the speeches, or the banquet, or the festivities of the occasion. It was in the silent clasp of the hand, in the glistening eye, in the memory of those days of hardships and danger, and in the feeling of friendship and brotherhood which this meeting intensified and increased."

Feeling a "grave injustice" had been done to their Colonel by an article in the newspaper and in the 1878 History of Delaware County, attendees passed a resolution that was, at their request, reported in *The Manchester Press*.¹⁶⁰³

In its issue of September 14, the Democrat gave an extended account of the operations of the regiment, while in service, copied from the "History of Delaware County." In that history, as first printed, grave injustice was done to Col. Merrill for his conduct in the engagement at Black River Bridge, an injustice afterward corrected. In some way, the Democrat overlooked this correction, and published the first statement, and to set the matter right, the following resolutions were adopted, with a request that they be printed in the Manchester and Dubuque papers:

Whereas, There was a brief history of the Twenty-first Iowa regiment, volunteer infantry published in the "History of Delaware County," that reflected on the courage and efficiency of our Colonel Samuel Merrill.

Resolved, That we the members of the Twenty-first regiment, in reunion assembled, do most emphatically stamp such representations of our gallant colonel as false, and that we hold Col. Samuel Merrill in the highest esteem for his bravery and efficiency while commanding our regiment.

C. W. Dunlap, lieutenant colonel, commanding the charge on Black river bridge, May 17, 1863, in his official report says:

"Col. Samuel Merrill, commanding the regiment in the first part of the charge with bravery and devotion, fell severely wounded while gallantly leading the regiment against the enemy."

C. W. Dunlap, Lieut. Col. Com. Regt.

G. Cooley, Lieut. Co. D

Jas. Hill, Chap. Twenty-first Regt.

*John Dubois, Sgt. Maj. Twenty-first Regt.,
Committee*

1603

The erroneous account is in a footnote in the portion of this narrative discussing the May 17, 1863, assault.

Manchester, county seat of Delaware County, was no doubt viewed as an appropriate site for the subject resolution since it was here that Salue G. Van Anda, a resident of nearby Delhi, had enrolled in the regiment twenty-five years earlier, and it was in Manchester that Van Anda had pursued a postwar legal career before being hospitalized. While it can't be proven, one could suspect Van Anda's recognized hard feelings toward Merrill may have led to the serious errors in the article since nowhere else is there a reference to Merrill claiming to be sick and it is well-documented that Merrill had given the order to "Charge!" and led the assault until being very seriously wounded during the charge.

Among those present at the reunion were chaplain James Hill and surgeons William Orr and Hiram Hunt. Thirteen members of Company B were there including David Drummond, Abe Treadwell, Brad Talcott, Charlie Robbins, Myron Knight and "old man" William Warner who was twelve days short of his sixty-ninth birthday but Jim Bethard was not present. Also not present was local resident Salue Van Anda. Suffering from syphilis, he was a paretic and still confined in the hospital for the insane in Independence.

Three months later, at age fifty-four, John Marmaduke, who had engaged the regiment at Hartville almost twenty-five years earlier, died of pneumonia in Jefferson City, Missouri. The son of a former Governor, Marmaduke was also serving as governor at the time of his death.¹⁶⁰⁴

1888

Jack the Ripper terrorized London in 1888, Hollywood was organized as a non-drinking town in California, Proctor & Gamble advertized their new soap as "99 and 44/100 percent pure" and veterans complained.

"Under the absurd ruling of the red tape of the Pension Office, the neglected and destitute ex-soldier still makes application to his comrade to recall and affirm by affidavit the reality of a colic or contusion he labored under in a forced march, or a wound received in battle where one man's life was of no more consequence than that of the scorpion trodden under foot in the delirious and tumultuous charge."¹⁶⁰⁵

On January 1st, the Hatfields and McCoys were shooting it out in the hills of Appalachia when hospital patient Salue Van Anda died in Independence. At times he had been "troublesome" or "demented" but other times talked "quite rationally." He had been treated with malt, chloral punch, oil and glycerine tonic; he had attacked one patient and been injured by another; he had his ups and downs and problems with alcohol, but his death was attributed to paresis caused by syphilis. "His faults are buried with him, his good qualities only are remembered," said the *Manchester Press* when reporting on his burial in the city's Oakland Cemetery.¹⁶⁰⁶

In February, another doctor supported Jim Bethard's pension application and remembered that Jim had talked to him:

"some time in 1865 I think in the threshing season (September or Oct) and complained of painful swellings of his hand and also of runing sore & on examining them I concluded that it was from an impure condition of his blood & on further questioning him found he had been vaccinated while in the army & that he had been ... in a similar way ever since I then prescribed for him & he got better but after awhile returned again as before."

In March, in the town of Ollie southeast of Sigourney, D. M. Storm, a thirty-five year old carpenter, wrote of his acquaintance with Jim. They had known each other for almost fifteen years and had visited in each others' homes. Jim, he said, was frequently sick and disabled and both Jim and Cal had told him the problems were service-related. Jim had tried returning to farming after the war but could do no hard work and told a friend he had to give it up since he could not afford to "heat up his blood." Horace Watrous, then living in the Washington Territory, also testified. He had lived about half a mile from Jim for more than six years after the war, had seen him several times a week and knew he was disabled with blood poisoning and weak or inflamed eyes. "He was frequently afflicted with ugly blue looking sores on hands and feet seeming to be brought on by severe exercize or labor One or both his eyes were frequently inflamed."

Sam Merrill, after retiring from public life in Iowa, had moved to California where, on March 6th, his wife, Elizabeth, died in Colton.¹⁶⁰⁷ On August 2d, Philip Sheridan completed his memoirs and three days later died at age

¹⁶⁰⁴ He is buried in Woodland Cemetery, Jefferson City, Missouri. Find-a-Grave Memorial #11024.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *Iowa Historical Record* (State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1890), Volume IV, Page 87.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Salue is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Manchester, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #35832366.

¹⁶⁰⁷

Elizabeth's body was returned to Iowa where she was buried in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines. When Sam Merrill died, her remains were placed in the tomb with him. Find-a-Grave Memorial #146721059.

fifty-seven in Massachusetts. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery¹⁶⁰⁸ across the Potomac from the capital where captured and surrendered Confederate flags had been stored since war's end. In 1888 President Cleveland suggested they be returned to the South but, to many Union widows and veterans, the proposal seemed a slap in the face, their opposition defeated his proposal and, in November, he lost his election bid to Benjamin Harrison.

On December 6th, George Fisher died in an Omaha hospital. He had outlived two wives and was survived by four children, all under sixteen.¹⁶⁰⁹

1889

In 1889 an estimated 300 Sioux were killed by soldiers at Wounded Knee and Congress passed an "Act for the relief of certain volunteers and regular soldiers of the late war and the war with Mexico" providing that desertion on the records of the Adjutant General could be expunged if it "shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of War" that the person had returned to his command within a reasonable time, absented himself while suffering from wounds, injuries or disease contracted in the line of duty, or reenlisted within four months of deserting.¹⁶¹⁰

Meanwhile, testifying on Jim's behalf, Dr. H. M. Shaffer said he had treated Jim for two years while practicing medicine in Batavia, confirmed Jim's eye problems, sores and varicose veins and felt the problems were incurable since "he had his sistem filed up with Blood Poison." On February 11th, Jim Rice's wife gave birth to a son and Jim Bethard asked that documents already on file with the pension office be accepted to show his condition. He was having trouble getting medical evidence for the period from 1867 to 1875 since, he explained, he had:

"made several removes during that period treating myself most of the time according to advice of Dr Hinkly of Clermont Iowa; consulted several physicians, however, during the time, and took casual treatment from three or four, whose whereabouts I do not know; and with whom my acquaintance was so slight that I do not think it probable that their memory of my case would be sufficient to enable them to make affidavits in regard to it."

Twenty-seven years earlier Jim had been anxious to shoot some "secesh" but he and Virginia rebel Abel Hankins had become good friends after the war and it was Abel Hankins, now a Justice of the Peace, who witnessed Jim's signature on the pension application. Before long Jim would ride over to Sigourney to make the requisite visit to a Board of Surgeons and the Board would confirm bluish scars all over his body, especially on his ankles, together with varicose veins, swollen feet and legs, and a small scar on his left eye.

Families throughout the country had lost friends and relatives in the war, many in places unknown from causes unspecified. Many were buried far from home, in unknown graves, some with markers and many without. On February 14th, Jacob Loes, brother of Nicholas who had died of disease twenty-five years earlier, wrote to Iowa's Adjutant General trying to find his brother "buried down south" and the "number of grave if found."¹⁶¹¹

Myron Knight was still in Clayton County, farming and troubled by chronic diarrhea. He considered himself partially disabled and received support from Charles Reeves (his nurse at Vicksburg) and Abram Treadwell (his pre-war friend, wartime bunkmate and postwar neighbor). On March 23d, President Harrison announced that "unassigned lands" in the west would be opened for homesteading and a month later Oklahoma's great land rush began as 50,000 people raced for new homesteads although a few "Sooners" had snuck in early.

On September 3d and 4th, the regiment held another reunion, its fourth, this time in Strawberry Point, and men recalled "when in the vigor and strength of our young manhood we stood in the forefront to defend our beloved country against the assaults of her enemies" and learned "of the 'passing over' to the other shore of some we hoped to see again on this side." A sheet of "War Songs" was distributed to help veterans and friends remember the words for "On, On, On the Boys Came Marching," "The Red, White and Blue," "O, Wrap the Flag Around Me, Boys," "America," "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "Glory! Glory! Hallelujah," and "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!" Presented "for private distribution by request of comrades" was a paperback souvenir with an address by William Crooke, a

¹⁶⁰⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #949.

¹⁶⁰⁹ The site of George's burial has not been found.

¹⁶¹⁰ U.S. Statutes at Large, XXV, Chapter 390.

¹⁶¹¹ Nicholas is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #54874912.

former resident "*in this beautiful town,*" who spoke of the battles at Hartville, Port Gibson and the Big Black and recalled "*Old Bob*" who had stayed with him the following year. Another veteran noted that:

"only those who have attended a gathering of old soldiers and witnessed the greetings of comrades who have been long separated and have seen the step quicken and the eyes brighten with the clasp of hands, yes more, the loving embrace as one and another recognize the familiar lines in the faces now growing old, can appreciate why we love to meet with those who were our friends and comrades in the days when we 'wore the blue' and fought for our 'National Integrity and Unity'."

A week later, September 10, 1889, Cal died at only forty-eight years of age. She was buried on sloping ground in West (now Pleasant Grove) Cemetery in Sigourney.¹⁶¹² Edith and Belle were ten and thirteen when their mother died and still living at home where they would be cared for by their father, older sisters Nellie and Gertrude and grandmother Sarah Rice.

In November the country added four more states when North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington joined the Union and, on December 6th, Jefferson Davis died in New Orleans after a brief illness. He was eighty-one.¹⁶¹³

1890

In 1890, Army and Navy played the first of the military academies' rivalry football games and women's suffrage took a big step forward when two groups, one led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the other by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, merged to create the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Wyoming became the first state to approve women's suffrage, New York conducted the country's first execution by electrocution and forty-year-old salesman King Camp Gillette was asked by his employer, a bottle cap company, to devise a new product. He did and the disposable safety razor was born.

On June 25th and 26th the Soldiers' Orphans' Home had a reunion in Cedar Falls. Attending from Philadelphia was Annie Wittenmeyer who "*told of her memory of 27 years ago when she stood in a hospital by the wounded and dying men who imploringly asked 'Oh, what will become of my children?'* She assured the men that their children would be cared for. That is when the thought of a home first came to her."¹⁶¹⁴

In Mississippi, the Daniell mansion "*Windsor*" that had been passed by the federals at the start of their Vicksburg campaign, burned to the ground leaving its twenty-three Corinthian columns standing in an eerie wilderness. Jim's pension was \$4.00 a month effective February 5, 1886, when his application was received and increased to \$6.00 on July 31, 1889, payable quarterly but, at fifty-two years of age, he felt it was disproportionate to amounts paid to other pensioners with similar disabilities. He had heart problems, dropsy and sciatic rheumatism, all of which he attributed to blood poisoning in the military. He hired J. W. Morris of Washington, D.C., as his attorney but an increase was denied.

The government now had eighteen pension agencies throughout the country that were responsible for maintaining rolls of pensioners, disbursing benefits and reporting to Washington when pensioners were dropped or moved.¹⁶¹⁵ Like others, Jonathan Foster sought an increase but did "*not believe he can get justice before the Board at Dubuque.*" At Jonathan's request, he was examined in McGregor, muscles in his injured arm were "*soft and flabby*" when compared with his good arm and he was approved for the increase.

In February, Jim Rice joined the G.A.R. in Dows. The state now had 435 Posts with a membership of 20,324, but this would be its peak as membership started a steady decline.¹⁶¹⁶

In May, Thomas McNary's widow, Exceen, died in Fort Dodge twenty-eight years after her husband's death in

¹⁶¹² Find-a-Grave Memorial #45826685.

¹⁶¹³

Jefferson was initially buried in Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, Louisiana, but in 1893 was reburied at his widow's request in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia. Find-a-Grave Memorial #260.

¹⁶¹⁴ Cedar Falls Gazette (June 27, 1890).

¹⁶¹⁵

The cities included Augusta, Chicago, Columbus, Concord, Des Moines, Knoxville, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Topeka, and Washington D.C.

¹⁶¹⁶ Jacob A. Swisher, The Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936).

Missouri¹⁶¹⁷ and, in Aberdeen, South Dakota, Eli Frankeberger's doctors confirmed his progressive scurvy. Eli's gums were swollen and bleeding and his three remaining teeth were loose. Although not yet fifty, he could no longer eat solid food and had to "*cut his victuals very fine before partaking of them.*" On May 29th Joe Johnston unveiled a statue of Robert E. Lee in Richmond. Among the thousands of shouting, weeping, veterans in attendance were Confederate officers Fitzhugh Lee, James Longstreet, John B. Gordon, Wade Hampton, Jubal Early and Joe Wheeler.

In July, Ira Homan requested a pension for piles, rheumatism and heart trouble and George Goodman sought one for rheumatism, "*partickularly my left knee left arm and back.*" He was supported by David Drummond and regarded as a "*poor man*" who could only do the work of half an able-bodied man.

In mid-August, the G.A.R. held a national encampment in Boston. President Harrison arrived on a "*snow-white cruiser*" to the booming of cannon. Clara Barton was present and declined to speak but Annie Wittenmyer who had cared for so many of the wartime sick and disabled spoke of the great work of the Woman's Relief Corps. Benjamin Butler spoke controversially, Ohio Congressman McKinley differed with him and seventy year old William Sherman, acknowledging his nickname of "*Old Billy,*" said he was "*almost the last of the Mohicans*" as he spoke of loyalty, charity, fraternity and patriotism. Veterans listened intently as the latest pension act, only two months old, was explained, they marched in a grand parade and they enjoyed a clambake, a giant camp-fire and a naval exhibition with a "*wonderful little torpedo boat.*" It was, they said, the best encampment ever and for many, including Sherman, it would be their last.

Betsey and George Purdy, parents of six more children, moved from Iowa to Minnesota to Colorado and finally to Visalia, California, where George suffered from a bad back. From there they moved into the western foothills of the Sierra Nevadas and settled in Kaweah where George worked as a farmer.

Milo Dalton had died of chronic diarrhea at Vicksburg and now, twenty-seven years later, his mother asked for a pension. She had no income except a small amount her husband earned from manual labor and she was approved at \$12.00 per month. On the 27th of August, Jonathan Foster was working as a carpenter on a railroad bridge near St. Paul when a tie broke. He fell twenty-three feet, broke his right leg and injured his spine.

It had been eight years since William Robbins' widow had requested a pension but the bureau finally agreed "*the life of a soldier is capable of inducing disease of the heart without prior cause*" and there was abundant evidence to show her husband's death was service-related. On October 30th a certificate was issued granting Nancy \$8.00 per month and in November, still on crutches from his railroad injury, Jonathan Foster slipped on his back steps, fell and rebroke his right leg.

1891

In 1891 New Orleans erected a Liberty Monument to commemorate the uprising of 1874 and the only history of the 21st Iowa Infantry was published in Wisconsin.¹⁶¹⁸ Compiled by insurance agent George Crooke, partially from personal observations during his sixteen and one-half months with the regiment and partially from letters, diaries and remembrances of others, it chronicled, with some errors, the regiment's service and provided a record of its members. Included were a letter from Surgeon William Orr who had supported many postwar pension applications and was now in poor health himself and a report from the regiment's popular chaplain, James Hill. Sixty-eight-year-old Hill recognized a "*sympathy and love that exists between old soldiers, that welds them together and cannot easily be broken.*"¹⁶¹⁹

William Logsdon died in Kansas on January 31st, the day after his daughter's fourteenth birthday. William was survived by his wife, daughter and two sons (aged seven and ten). His military stone in Frankfort Cemetery

¹⁶¹⁷ The site of Exceen's burial has not been found.

¹⁶¹⁸

George Crooke, The Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry (King, Fowle & Co., Milwaukee, 1891). Much was based on his personal knowledge but, for the 17.2 months he was absent from the regiment (including all of the Vicksburg Campaign and the regiment's service in Texas), he was dependent on other resources which may account for some of the errors in the book.

¹⁶¹⁹

In 1889 William Crooke's address in the souvenir paperback distributed at the Strawberry Point reunion had been published by Pettibone, Wells & Co. in Chicago where William was then living.

In 1891 the hardback narrative compiled by his brother, George Crooke, was published by King, Fowle & Co. in Milwaukee where he was living and working as an insurance agent. It included, and expanded on, what had been distributed in 1889. The errors that exist primarily occurred during the time he was absent from the regiment.

erroneously gives his name as “*William Logston.*”¹⁶²⁰

William Tecumseh Sherman died on February 14th in New York. He had been a popular speaker in retirement and was buried beside his wife and nine year old son (“*the Little Sergeant*” who had died during the war) and not far from the grave of Dred Scott.¹⁶²¹ Sherman’s son, Rev. Thomas Ewing Sherman, conducted the service and a bugler from the 7th Cavalry blew taps. Pallbearers included Union Generals Grenville Dodge, Oliver Howard, John Schofield and Dan Sickles and Confederate General Joe Johnston, Sherman’s rebel adversary in Mississippi. Despite the cold and rain, Johnston stood bare-headed. “*If I were in his place,*” he said, “*and he were standing here in mine, he would not put on his hat.*”¹⁶²² Johnston caught cold, it worsened and on March 21st he died at age eighty-four.¹⁶²³

On February 19, 1891, Edwin Sparks, who had lost four fingers due to an accidental wound while the regiment was in Missouri, died in Vancouver, Washington. He is buried in the city’s Old Vancouver City Cemetery.¹⁶²⁴ On the 25th, fifty-three-year-old Jim Bethard was examined by doctors who felt his left eye, with which he could barely distinguish light from dark, was probably injured as he had claimed and confirmed his scars, sciatica and severe leg pain. In general, his appearance reflected “*poor health.*”

In June George Dunn was hauling wood in British Columbia when an axle broke on his wagon and he was trapped underneath and suffered a severe rupture. Nelson Reynolds was living in Luverne, Minnesota, and suffering from kidney problems when his back gave out. He could no longer do manual labor, frequently needed help standing up and was “*extremely tender over both kidneys and along entire spinal column and also over liver & spleen and each groin.*” On July 8th, Cal’s brother Robert was examined by surgeons who found his heart action “*exceedingly weak and confused; the muscular action of the heart is seriously impaired*” and, on July 29th, Andrew “A.Y.” McDonald died, a year after resigning as President of the A. Y. McDonald Manufacturing Company, a company he founded in 1856, incorporated in 1888 and still doing business in Dubuque.¹⁶²⁵

In August, in McGregor, Clayton County’s veterans held their sixth reunion and on September 9th twenty-nine years to the day from when they were mustered into service, veterans of the state’s 21st Infantry convened in Mason City for their fifth reunion. Souvenir ribbons depicting the flag and stacked muskets holding a knapsack with a G.A.R. emblem recognized their service as “*Survivors of Hartsville, Mo., Port Gibson, Miss., Champion Hill, Black River Bridge, Vicksburg, Jackson, Spanish Fort, and Blakely, Ala.*” The ribbons were worn with metal ladder badges depicting each man’s company as the aging veterans spent two days reminiscing before returning to their homes.

In October, the twenty-third annual meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee was held in Chicago and, at the urging of General Grenville Dodge, resolved that their former leader, “*Uncle Billy*” Sherman, be remembered by construction of a suitable memorial in Washington D.C. Congress had already appropriated \$50,000 each for statues of Hancock, Logan and Sheridan and it seemed only right that a similar amount be allocated for Sherman. Congress agreed, more would be appropriated later and the impressive statue by Carl Rohl-Smith now sits near the White House depicting the General “*on the happiest day of his life*” as he rode in the Grand Review of 1865.¹⁶²⁶

On December 18th, L. W. Colby, with the office of the Attorney General, wrote to Dabney Maury, “*I present you herewith the Confederate flag, which was taken April 12, 1865, at Mobile, Ala., on the surrender of that city to the Federal troops.*” Accepting it “*with very great pleasure,*” Maury transferred the flag to the Governor of Alabama and replied to Colby, “*When we fight again, General, it will be side by side.*”

1892

¹⁶²⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #102247622.

¹⁶²¹ William Sherman is buried in Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri. Find-a-Grave Memorial #951.

¹⁶²² Craig L. Symonds, Joseph E. Johnston p.380 (W.W. Norton & Company (1992).

¹⁶²³

Joseph Johnston is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland. Find-a-Grave Memorial #4846. Some claim the death was not due to pneumonia contracted while marching at the funeral, a claim partially supported by his death certificate which confirmed a final illness of three weeks but did not mention pneumonia. He is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland.

¹⁶²⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #41538745.

¹⁶²⁵ A.Y. is buried in the city’s Linwood Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #115593361.

¹⁶²⁶ Rohl-Smith also sculpted Des Moines’ *Soldiers and Sailors’ Monument*.

In 1892 Andrew Borden and his wife were murdered in Fall River, Massachusetts, a crime of which Andrew's daughter Lizzie was later acquitted. Connecticut candymaker George Smith put candy on a stick and called it a "Lollypop" after a popular racehorse, and the G.A.R.'s national encampment included a week of festivities on the ellipse in Washington.¹⁶²⁷ Former President Rutherford Hayes and Generals Oliver Howard, Dan Sickles and William Rosecrans were among more than 80,000 Union veterans who attended, but *The Evening Star* noted the obvious when it reported that "year by year the number of those able to respond in body at a muster fast decreases."

On March 12th, seventy-nine year old Joel Rice died at his home in Sigourney. Two days later he was buried next to Cal in Pleasant Grove Cemetery.¹⁶²⁸ Joel had been an active member of the Methodist Episcopal Church "and was not afraid to express his opinion on questions that came before the people."

Abe Treadwell requested a pension after years of trouble with varicose veins for which he now wore a rubber stocking, Charles Morse was recommended for a pension due to the effects of typhoid fever contracted in the service and on June 7th Homer Plessy was arrested on an East Louisiana train. Homer was one-eighth Negro, a Creole born free in 1862. Protected, he thought, by postwar amendments to the Constitution, Homer had purposely sat in a "white's only" coach in violation of Louisiana's 1890 Separate Car Act that required "equal but separate" accommodations. In four years, the U.S. Supreme Court would uphold his conviction. The states, it said, could forcibly segregate their residents.¹⁶²⁹ On July 9th Jim was examined by an oculist. The doctor confirmed the old eye problems but found no new ones and Jim's two year old request for an increase was rejected on the ground that the amount he was already receiving adequately covered his disabilities. To prevail, he would need more evidence.

On October 5th, the Dalton gang made its infamous raid on Coffeyville, Kansas, and two days later Company G's Dan Donahue died in Omaha, Nebraska.¹⁶³⁰ He was buried in the city's Forest Lawn Cemetery. His wife, Adeline, would die in 1928 and be buried next to Dan.

On October 17th, Jerry Maloney died in New York's Soldiers' & Sailors' Home in Bath. For twenty-eight years he had suffered severely from the effects of the chronic diarrhea for which he had been hospitalized in Memphis during the war. He was buried in Bath National Cemetery.¹⁶³¹

In November, William "Pudge" Heffelfinger became the country's first professional football player when he was paid \$500 by the Allegheny Athletic Club to play in a game against the Pittsburgh Athletic Club and Othmar Kapler was delivering mail for the federal government. He and Barbara had "lived together happy" for more than twenty-seven years but, he said, while getting out of a buggy he "slipped and fell striking my elbow of right arm on the frozen ground and breaking the same."

On November 28th, giving his address as Fremont, Jim Bethard visited Dr. Boatman who found a heart murmur, varicose veins and swelling in his legs. For nine years he had treated Jim for heart problems, kidney trouble and a blood disorder caused by the impure smallpox vaccine Jim had received during the war. The doctor had also "frequently lanced the cervical glands of the neck" due to numerous abscesses. When Boatman first met Jim, he had found large scars on Jim's legs reflective of attacks years previously. His supporting affidavit now confirmed that the "soldier always has claimed that he contracted blood poison during the rebellion, which has led to his present physical condition, said blood poison being due to vaccination, which is very plausible. Soldier has had to abandon all manual labor necessitating the over heating of his system, or the exertion of his body as in stooping, and excessive walking. I believe the extent of disability would compare at least to the loss of one leg."

Persevering with his claim, Jim secured affidavits from Delta residents Moses Whistler and J. L. Smith that were sworn to before Justice of the Peace Hankins. According to Whistler, "for the past eighteen years or more he has done what he could to support his family at harnessmaking in Ioka, Delta, muscatine and whatcheer, the disability has amounted to a financial failure." Smith testified that "I engaged him to work at out door work under my supervision for the C.R.I and P. Railrode Co but the sores and ulser on his body resulting from a disordered condition of the blood compeled him to call for his time in a few weeks and seek employment to maintain his family at light in dore work since that time he has been working at the harness business in Muskateen Delta and Whatcheer."

¹⁶²⁷ *Time* magazine commented on the lollypop (09/14/98).

¹⁶²⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #168791939.

¹⁶²⁹ Plessy v Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

¹⁶³⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #37067096.

¹⁶³¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #945299.

In 1893, William Monlux, his right leg atrophied and half the size of his left leg due to the wound received at Vicksburg, was elected as a Clayton County supervisor and, in January, Benjamin Butler died in Washington D.C. at age seventy-four after a career in politics and an unsuccessful bid for the presidency.¹⁶³² In February, Richard Wright entered the soldiers' home in Hot Springs, South Dakota. He had been unable to work for several years due to rheumatism, the effects of his frozen feet and a "*general breaking up of his constitution.*" Friends helped but he needed public assistance to survive.

On the 16th, Alvin Merriam was approved for a pension. Those who knew him agreed he was "*very deserving and a physical wreck.*" On February 20th, Confederate General Beauregard died, thirty two years after firing on Fort Sumter. He was buried in New Orleans' Metairie Cemetery.¹⁶³³

On March 15th, James Hill was awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor with the accompanying citation indicating he had "*by skillful and brave management captured three of the enemy's pickets*" thirty years earlier at Edwards Station. Sixty-eight year old Confederate Kirby Smith died of pneumonia on March 28th.¹⁶³⁴ He had become sick earlier in the month, visited briefly with his daughter in Vicksburg and eight days before his death had returned to the University of the South where he had taught mathematics and botany.

Jim's attorney forwarded new evidence to the Bureau of Pensions and asked that the "*rejected claim be reopened upon the evidence filed which bears directly upon the cause of rejection, and that I be advised as to the decision when reached*" but on April 27th the Bureau ruled against him. A claim "*cannot be reopened,*" they said, "*unless testimony is filed within ninety days from the date of the mailing of the notice of rejection*" and Jim would have to start over. His attorney appealed. He was aware of no such ninety day rule, had filed his evidence ninety-four days after the rejection, asked that the claim be reopened and referred to the testimony of Boatman, Whistler and Smith.

In May, twenty-eight years after he fled from Richmond, Jefferson Davis returned. His body was moved from New Orleans and reinterred on Memorial Day in Hollywood Cemetery, a cemetery containing the remains of two U.S. Presidents, six Virginia Governors, twenty-two Southern Generals and more than 18,000 Confederate enlisted men. On his final journey he was honored by thousands, many throwing rose petals as his rail car headed north.

On the 22nd, George Van Leuven of Lime Springs, Iowa, once credited as being the most successful pension attorney in Iowa, was arrested and accused of pension fraud. Before long he would be convicted on thirty-seven counts and sentenced to Anamosa Prison. He had represented several members of the 21st Infantry. Some were deposed but none were implicated in Van Leuven's schemes.

On June 9th, three floors of Ford's Theater collapsed. Twenty-two were killed, sixty-eight were injured and the decaying building was converted from government offices to a storage facility.¹⁶³⁵ On July 18th, William Stone, former Colonel of the 22d Infantry who had served as a postwar Governor of Iowa and as a partner with the Knoxville law firm of Stone & Ayres, died of Bright's disease.¹⁶³⁶ John Walker, commander of the Texas division that fought the Federals west of the Mississippi, passed away on the 20th.¹⁶³⁷

Throughout the summer of 1893 Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition, a six month extravaganza attended by twenty-seven million visitors, featuring exotic dancer "*Little Egypt*" and introducing F. W. Rueckheim's concoction of peanuts, popcorn and molasses although it would be several years before a salesman reportedly said, "*that's a crackerjack.*" Milton Hershey was fascinated by German machinery for making milk chocolate, bought the equipment and formed a chocolate company. Farmers still using horses, hand-pumped water and kerosene lamps saw

¹⁶³² He is buried in the Hildreth Family Cemetery, Lowell, Massachusetts. Find-a-Grave Memorial #13120.

¹⁶³³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #4417.

¹⁶³⁴ Edmund Kirby Smith is buried in University of the South Cemetery, Sewanee, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #8829.

¹⁶³⁵

In 1954 President Eisenhower signed legislation allocating funds for restoration and on January 30, 1968 the theater reopened with a production of *John Brown's Body* after being unused for almost 103 years.

¹⁶³⁶

His illness was named for English doctor, Richard Bright but is now known as the kidney ailment *nephritis*. Colonel Stone is buried in Graceland Cemetery, Knoxville, Tennessee. Find-a-Grave Memorial #5996354.

¹⁶³⁷

He is buried in the Stonewall Confederates Cemetery now a portion of Mount Hebron Cemetery, Winchester, Virginia. Find-a-Grave Memorial #10678.

electric stoves, steam engines, generators, turbines, the first fiberglass, the first American souvenir postcards, the first zipper and the first demonstration of long-distance telephone service, and rode on the world's first ferris wheel. Designed by thirty-three year old architect and bridge builder George Ferris, it stood 264 feet high, weighed 2,000 tons and could carry 2,160 riders at a time. The Exposition awarded a blue ribbon to Pabst Beer, it was visited by "Aunt Jemima" and Buffalo Bill performed his Wild West Show. Called the White City in recognition of its shining white buildings, Negroes were excluded from even the most menial jobs and provided with eating and restroom facilities only in the Haiti Building. Women were also exiled to their own building, a facility that would not have existed at all without the efforts of Susan B. Anthony and other feminists.

In August, William Lyons and his son worked together on their family farm. Walking next to a hay wagon, William stopped to adjust a drive chain on the loader when his son "*seen the chain catch his right hand and drawing his fingers in the sprocket wheel under the chain mashing his two middle fingers up to the second joint.*" William had a finger on his left hand amputated at the Big Black and now, thirty years later, suffered a debilitating injury to his right hand.

On August 23d, Jim Bethard's second daughter, twenty-two year old Sarah Gertrude, married William Henry Blakely, a twenty-eight year old teacher from Iowa City and, that fall, George Goodman was riding in a buggy with three others near Waukon when a dog ran out from brush by the side of the road. The horses lunged, the buggy was drawn into a chuckhole and George was thrown to the ground. He landed hard, hurt his head and dislocated his shoulder when one of the others fell on top of him.

1894

In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus was convicted of treason and sent to Devil's Island, Jacob Coxey of Ohio led Coxey's Army of the unemployed on Washington, Mississippi adopted a new flag (a flag with the bars from the Stars and Bars and a field incorporating the better known battle flag) and Company D held a reunion in Strawberry Point. Only fourteen attended.

On February 6th, George Parker was granted a pension, fourteen years after applying. The entire war had been fought in one-third the time but George's age had to be verified since he had lied to enlist,¹⁶³⁸ medical records for the regiment could not be found and military surgeons were no longer available to verify his suffering. With testimony from Charles Lane of Company C, Aristides Scott from Company H, Leonard Barnes who had been George's mess mate in Louisiana, Hiram Libby who had been a fellow prisoner in Texas and Newman Preston who had been George's bunk mate in Missouri and fought with him at Hartville, the Pension Office finally agreed he had earned \$4.00 a month.

On February 14th, Benjamin Kubelsky (future comedian Jack Benny) was born in Chicago and, on April 4th, Cal's cousin Eli Frankeberger was examined in Faulkton, South Dakota. He could no longer breathe out of the right side of his nose and the left nostril was impaired. He had lost all but one of his teeth and his weight was down to 124 pounds. On April 27th, William Crooke died of heart disease at his home in Illinois. He had left the military due to religious convictions, worked as Clayton County's Recorder of Deeds and in 1876 moved to Chicago where he worked in the insurance business. He was buried in Oak Forest (now Bronswood) Cemetery, Oak Brook, Illinois.¹⁶³⁹ In 1925, his widow, Sarah (Updegraff) Cooke, was buried next to him.

In May, the Secretary of the Interior agreed the ninety-day rule was not applicable to Jim's claim and told the Commissioner to examine the case on its merits. A month later Jim met with a medical Board in Sigourney that again confirmed eye damage, body scars, varicose veins and edema but found no evidence of back pain. At 5'8" and 168 pounds, he was considered well-nourished. Muscles were firm and solid but Jim apparently did not prolong his visit. The next day, June 14th, sixty miles away in Nichols, Iowa, he was married to Elizabeth Frances Kile by William McCorkle, Minister of the Gospel. Jim was fifty-six and Elizabeth about thirty-seven.

On August 4th, Frank Aldrich, who enlisted in Company B when he was eighteen years old, was living in South Dakota when he tried to stop a runaway team pulling a loaded wagon. Clinging to the reins, he was run over twice, his head struck a post and he was unconscious when found. Comatose for four days, he suffered serious injuries from which he would never fully recover.

The regimental banners that Jim, Frank and other soldiers returned to Iowa had been stored in the old state arsenal

¹⁶³⁸ On the Muster-in Roll he was listed as being 18 years old although he was only fifteen.

¹⁶³⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #117707688.

since the end of the war but were finally removed. On August 10th, Battle Flag Day, aging veterans gathered in Des Moines. Streets were lavishly decorated and lanterns were hung at the statehouse. Large crowds, respectfully quiet, lined the streets, too moved to cheer, while five thousand men walked slowly behind 138 faded banners for the last time as the banners were moved from the arsenal and down Locust Street for display in hermetically sealed glass cases in the state capitol. Among the banners carried that day was the banner of the 21st Infantry "*inscribed: 'Port Gibson, Champion Hills, Black River Bridge, Huntsville, Vicksburg, Jackson.'*" The effects of thirty year old battles were clearly evident in the bullet-riddled blood-stained flags and in the men, many armless, legless or otherwise handicapped, who honored them.¹⁶⁴⁰

On September 1st, eighty year old wartime Governor Sam Kirkwood died in Iowa City and seventy-eight year old Nathaniel Banks died in Massachusetts. Kirkwood was buried in Iowa City's Oakland Cemetery¹⁶⁴¹ while Banks, who had pursued a postwar career in the U.S. House of Representatives, was buried in Waltham's Grove Hill Cemetery.¹⁶⁴² On September 6th, the cornerstone was laid in Des Moines for a Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in "*tribute to the courage, patriotism and distinguished service*" of Iowans who had fought in the war. Conceived by veterans and brought to fruition by a commission that included Governor Kirkwood, the monument would be completed in three years, depict real soldiers who had fought for the North and then begin its own fall into disrepair. On the 12th and 13th the regiment held its sixth reunion, this one at Rock Rapids and, near the end of the month, Company G's initial Captain, Willard Benton, was living and working in McGregor when he belatedly - more than thirty-one years belatedly - received a government check for \$108.03. When he resigned from the military on May 26, 1863, Willard had only been paid through the end of February, but the government had finally paid the balance due.

In December, Eli Frankeberger, fifty-three, was quizzed by a pension examiner. How long had he lived in Rock Grove? "*Oh - I can't say how long I continued living there that's so long ago.*" When had he been treated for scurvy? "*See here: that is just the darndest thing to think back that far.*" On the 19th, the Examiner reported his findings. Eli, he said, "*appears to be a man of but little intelligence, poor memory and in rather poor physical condition. He impressed me as being honest and candid and seems to bear that representation in the community*" and, he added, Eli's wife, Louisa, also had a "*candid and deliberate manner.*"

1895

In 1895, Adolph Arnold and Ignaz Schwinn started a Chicago bicycle company, General Grant's son, Ulysses Jr., bought a San Diego hotel, John and Will Kellogg manufactured a flaked wheat cereal for patients in their Battle Creek sanitarium and Jabez Rogers died in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. He had suffered from chronic diarrhea for thirty-two years and "*at times he was reduced so low that he could not help himself out of bed or otherwise.*" An hour's work put "*Jabe*" on his back for weeks. He "*had no mind or will to do anything even had he the strength to do anything, and should he start to do anything he would forget what it was and consequently nothing*" was done. Jabe is buried Copp Cemetery, Anson, Wisconsin.¹⁶⁴³

James Thompson of the 21st's Company D and now a Rock Rapids attorney, was elected Department Commander of Iowa's G.A.R. and the national encampment was held in Chicago. Welcoming veterans, the windy city's Souvenir Sporting Guide listed "*four theaters and 28 houses of prostitution*" including the house of Elsie Livingston who promised her visitors would be "*royally entertained.*"

In February, Eli Frankeberger sought pension help from Benjamin Bradshaw, former surgeon of his 46th Illinois. Bradshaw agreed there had been scurvy in the regiment and clearly remembered treating Eli's broken nose. The owner of a store where Eli used to trade recalled that Eli could not get rid of a persistent cough "*considerable of a skeleton he was,*" "*was almost toothless*" and "*could pull almost all his teeth out with his fingers.*" He agreed with Aaron that Eli was a "*very ambitious*" and "*stout able bodied*" man before the war but could no longer do a full day's work.

Bessie, third oldest of the Bethard girls, married nineteen year old Walter Grovier on February 12th. Walter was a farmer, a native Hawkeye and also living in Delta. It was the first marriage for each but they would soon be divorced

¹⁶⁴⁰

Battle Flag Day, August 10, 1894 (F. R. Conaway, State Printer, Des Moines, 1896). The reference to "*Huntsville*" should have read "*Hartville.*"

¹⁶⁴¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #7503624.

¹⁶⁴² Find-a-Grave Memorial #18558.

¹⁶⁴³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #92874828.

and Bessie would marry Rob Fisher of Stanhope.

On April 1st, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that “*Ex-Gov. Merrill and Mrs. Mary S. Greenwood, both of Los Angeles, were married by Rev. Dr. Hutchins, at the residence of the bride, Sunday afternoon, March 31. They will be home to their friends Tuesdays, after June 1, at No. 200 North Mott street, Boyle Heights.*”

Memorial Day had become a day to recognize and remember the country’s veterans and they were frequently asked to participate in parades and other ceremonies. Jim was fifty-seven when he delivered a Memorial Day speech in Delta:

OUR FLAG

With the succession of moving and strongly contrasting events that compose the history of a nation's life, the National Flag is so closely associated, as to become in men's mind the emblem and visible presence of the Nation, personified. It floats tranquilly over the turning points of battles which determine the Nation's existence, crowning its triumphs, gracing its festivities, draping its halls of legislation and justice, drooping in its defeats, and shrouding the dead bodies of its heroes. If, like a mirror, the flag could reflect the scenes it has beheld, if it could reflect the voices it has heard, it would reproduce the history of the past and the prowess of individuals in endless detail. It could describe such scenes as the inauguration of presidents from Washington down to Cleveland, and the opening of hostilities of the late war at Fort Sumter, and all the battles of the late war besides thousands of other scenes that tried men's souls in those stirring times from '61 to '65.

As we are met today in consequence of the memorable scenes of those stirring times - met to pay a tribute of respect to the dead, and to sympathize with those who mourn the loss of friends whose lives were sacrificed in that awful struggle for supremacy and the perpetuity of the Stars and Stripes, it seems eminently fitting and proper to talk about "Our Flag."

During the War of the Rebellion the seceding states had a number of distinctive flags. Early in 1861, however, her congress decided upon what was called the Stars and Bars. It was composed of three broad horizontal bars, the two outer ones red, and the middle one, white, with a blue union containing nine stars in a circle. This is the flag that was hoisted in defiance to the Stars and Stripes by a mistaken and deluded people, and floated for a time over the so called Confederate States of America. But the best thing we can say of this flag is that both it and the Southern Confederacy are a thing of the past, and that the Stars and Stripes now float, and have for the last 30 years floated, with undisputed right over all the territory of the United States without the loss of a single star. And the land over which it floats may now be truly called "The land of the free and the home of the Brave," instead of the home of the master and slave as it really was before the war.

It is common to estimate a thing according to what it cost. Young friends, did you ever take a thought as to what our flag has cost? Without saying anything about what it cost to establish in the first place, let us take a glance at one item of the cost of maintaining it. It is estimated that in the late war 100,000 men were slain in battle, and five times as many more died of wounds and disease. Think what a wail went up from 600,000 families mourning their dead. Can it be possible there could be any object worthy such a sacrifice? Yet this is only one item of what our flag, of which you are about to take charge, has cost. Let us hope that no more such fearful sacrifices will ever need to be made, for the known loyalty of a free and intelligent people to their flag makes it respected. I am glad to know that a national holiday has been set apart called Flag Day designed for the inculcation of a spirit of loyalty to the flag in the hearts of children.¹⁶⁴⁴ This is a move in the right direction, and should be punctually observed by all loyal people who would hand the blessings of liberty and peace down to the future generations.

I am also glad to know of the order of Sons of Veterans. It is a great satisfaction to believe that when the last veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic has answered the final roll-call, and passed to the mystic realms of the unknown, the Stars and Stripes will continue to wave over a numerous and powerful

1644

The movement to have a special day to honor the flag evolved over a period of many years with many organizations having held celebrations on June 14th for several years, but it was not until 1916 that President Wilson established “Flag Day” by proclamation and 1949 when President Truman signed an act of Congress creating a “National Flag Day.”

*organization of as brave and patriotic young men as ever drew the sword or shouldered a musket in his country's defense. We have great reason to feel grateful also, for the W.R.C. composed as it is of the loyal women of the land, for besides the aid they are extending to the sick and unfortunate veterans, it is to them we must look for the molding of the characters of the coming men and the future destiny of the Nation.*¹⁶⁴⁵

Jim's cousin, Mary Jane Farnum, about whom he had written to Cal, died in June¹⁶⁴⁶ and the regiment's fifty-two-year-old William Johns died in July while living in Aurelia, Iowa. He is buried in the town's Pleasant Hill Cemetery. In 1923, his widow, Ellen (Welch) Johns would be buried next to him.¹⁶⁴⁷

Manchester resident Cornelius Scott continued to suffer from the heel injury and bone bruise sustained near Mississippi Springs during the Vicksburg campaign. Instead of getting better, it had gradually gotten worse, doctors could do nothing and on August 7th his foot was amputated. Subsequently, working in the construction business with an older brother, John Scott, who had lost the use of one leg while fighting with the 121st New York, Cornelius would point out that the brothers still had two good legs between them.

On October 5th, after four girls, Jim greeted a son when Elizabeth gave birth to James Dale Bethard.

1896

In 1896, the Sons of Confederate Veterans was organized with J.E.B. Stuart Jr. as its first commander and a Medal of Honor was issued to Orion Howe who, as a wounded fourteen year old, had carried a vital message to Sherman thirty-three years earlier.¹⁶⁴⁸

On August 15th, after suffering for years from emphysema and chronic diarrhea, Brad Talcott died.¹⁶⁴⁹ Mary requested a pension and fifty-seven year old Jacob Kephart also applied. He was in "*destitute circumstances*" and suffering from chronic diarrhea, hearing problems and impaired mental faculties.

1897

In January, Jim became a grandfather for the second time when Sarah Gertrude gave birth in Livermore to her first child who promptly notified Jim, his second wife Elizabeth and seventeen year old Edith of her birth:

Jan. 25, 1897

Dear Grandpa & Grandma and Aunt Edith:

I'm a pretty young girl to write a letter but I'm not very small for I weigh nine pounds. Papa and momma and a lot of funny people here said I'm awful fat and plump and pretty and what everybody says must be true. My eyes are blue but I cannot tell what color my hair is till there is more of it. I came here at 12:15 o'clock this morning and slept most of the time so that I haven't become very well acquainted yet. Momma is quite sick but is going to be well soon. She was awful sick from four o'clock in the afternoon till midnight. With oceans of love for you all and my Uncle Dale, I am

Your second granddaughter, Violet Blakely

On January 30th, A .J. "Whiskey" Smith died at his St. Louis home at eighty-three years of age. He was buried in the city's Bellefontaine Cemetery.¹⁶⁵⁰ On February 10th "*All the News That's Fit to Print*" appeared for the first time

¹⁶⁴⁵

The Woman's Relief Corps had been organized in 1883 with forty-two members but grew rapidly to over 100,000, raised funds and opened a home "*for army nurses, for the widows of soldiers, for the broken-down old veteran with his wife*" in the belief that "*it was not right that the soldiers should go to the Soldiers' Home and the wife should go to the poor house.*"

¹⁶⁴⁶

Mary Jane (Bethard) Farnum is buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Williamsburg, Kansas. Find-a-Grave Memorial #49966659.

¹⁶⁴⁷

Find-a-Grave Memorial #93898805.

¹⁶⁴⁸

Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph & Defeat* (Savas Publishing Company Mason City, Iowa, 1999), page.12.

¹⁶⁴⁹

Brad is buried in Wadena Cemetery, Wadena, Iowa, where a G.A.R. insignia stands next to his stone. Find-a-Grave Memorial #55188381.

¹⁶⁵⁰

Find-a-Grave Memorial #18502.

in the *New York Times* and three days later Jo Shelby died of pneumonia on his farm in Adrian, Missouri. He had returned from Mexico soon after Maximilian's death thirty years earlier and spent his final years working as a farmer.¹⁶⁵¹

Grant's tomb was dedicated in New York on April 27th after five years of construction and a \$600,000 fund-raising campaign headed by Richard Greener, the first Negro graduate of Harvard University. Despite cold and wind, 3,000,000 people lined the streets to watch a parade that started at Madison Square Garden and included 60,000 soldiers, 25,000 veterans and 10,000 civilians. Dignitaries included the president, members of the cabinet, governors, senators and representatives. Also attending were Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce and Buffalo Bill Cody both riding "*in their colorful costumes.*"¹⁶⁵² Grant preferred a burial at West Point, but Julia could not be buried there with him so he requested New York, Galena or St. Louis with New York selected since Julia lived there. Now, twelve years after his death, she was present to hear dedicatory remarks by President McKinley. In five more years she would join her husband.

Arnold Allen's mother died on May 23rd. Arnold had enlisted at eighteen so he could better support his mother, brother and sister but, as the war came to an end, had been the last member of the regiment to be killed in battle.¹⁶⁵³ On June 12th, Karl Elsener patented a multi-purpose knife that would soon gain fame as a "*Swiss army knife.*" Boston's subway, the first in North America, opened in September and the regiment held its seventh reunion, this one in Manchester, while Jim's brother, sixty-two year old Jonathan Bethard, was living in Kansas but ill in health. The adjutant general's office could find no record of his capture or of the disabilities he had endured as a member of the 10th Illinois infantry. By November he was suffering from heart palpitations, a nervous disability and shortness of breath, all combined with continuing diarrhea, and witnesses confirmed he "*only sleeps about half to two thirds of the night. is troubled with lame back. and kidneys affected hearing and eye sight also affected.*"

1898

Ferdinand von Zeppelin founded an airship company in 1898 and, on February 4th, David Drummond died in Dubuque after a three year battle with paralysis. For the past nineteen years he had worked with fellow Glaswegian and former comrade Andrew McDonald at the A. Y. McDonald Mfg. Co. in Dubuque. During the war, David had rushed home to be with Margaret, his dying wife. "*I desire to see my wife once more - I desire to provide for the future of my children,*" he said. Now he was buried next to her in McGregor's Pleasant Grove Cemetery.¹⁶⁵⁴

On the 25th, the *Maine* blew up and sank in Havana's harbor with a loss of 260 men. A Board of Inquiry blamed a mine, William Randolph Hearst and other journalists argued for war, ninety percent of women polled in ten cities favored war and Civil War guerrilla Frank James offered to head a company of cowboys. President McKinley, who had risen from private to brevet major in the Civil War, declared war against Spain and called for volunteers. The volunteers came but, again, arms were in short supply and many carried "*old Springfield carbines left over from the Civil War.*"¹⁶⁵⁵ American Consul and Civil War veteran Fitzhugh Lee was recalled and, on May 1st, George Dewey who had served with Farragut at Port Hudson would fight a three hour battle in Manila Bay.¹⁶⁵⁶

William Rosecrans, after being relieved as minister to Mexico by President Grant, had moved to California, engaged in mining and railroad interests and been elected to Congress. On March 11th, Rosecrans died of "*pneumonia, following an attack of nervous prostration*" at his "*ranch home on the line of the Redondo Railway*" near Los Angeles.¹⁶⁵⁷ After lying in state at city hall, a high mass celebrated by the Bishop of the Diocese and a funeral "*of a military character with civic organizations participating,*" Rosecrans' body was entombed temporarily at Rosedale

¹⁶⁵¹ He is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri. Find-a-Grave Memorial #8197.

¹⁶⁵² Stanley P. Hirshson, Grenville M. Dodge p. 229 (Indiana University Press 1967).

¹⁶⁵³ Elizabeth Allen is buried in Highview Cemetery, Epworth, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #85653211.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #144677230.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Tebbel, America's Great Patriotic War with Spain (Marshal Jones Company, Manchester Center, VT; 1996), page 139.

¹⁶⁵⁶

Those who felt the explosion was accidental were silenced, but a 1976 Navy inquiry found the probable cause was a fire in a coal bunker that had reached nearby ammunition.

¹⁶⁵⁷ *Los Angeles Daily Times*, page 8 (March 12, 1898).

Cemetery before going east for burial in Arlington National Cemetery.¹⁶⁵⁸

Throughout the war, Jim Bethard had struggled with the spelling of John Grutche's name and for years it had caused confusion and delays in the Bureau of Pensions, delays important to a man with fourteen children. John finally explained, "*until I was discharged from the army I spelled my name G-r-u-t-c-h-e-k but ever since my discharge I have spelled my name K-r-u-c-h-e-k except in my signature to pension papers when I have used the former spelling.*"

Amanda Parker, Leroy's widow, died in Strawberry Point in June,¹⁶⁵⁹ Henry Farnum appeared "*feeble*" when he saw a medical board in August and Eli Frankeberger's wife, Louisa, was admitted to South Dakota's State Hospital in Yankton.

1899

After Henry Howard's 1863 death from wounds received during the assault at the Big Black and his father's death a few months later, his mother's finances had grown worse. Her income was negligible and her land produced only nine bushels of very poor wheat, ten bushels of corn and enough hay to winter only one cow. Her two surviving sons had seen their own crops fail two years in a row but friends pleaded her case with the Pension Office and payments previously canceled were resumed at \$17.00 per month. On February 6, 1899, she died.¹⁶⁶⁰

Also dying in 1899 was Philander Drake. After issuance of the patent for improvement of splint-planes, Philander had moved to South Dakota and become active in the Grand Army of the Republic. He was living in the Soldiers' Home at Hot Springs when he died at seventy-six years of age. He is buried in the State Veterans' Home Cemetery.¹⁶⁶¹

Thirty-three years earlier, Iowa regiments had a major role during the Vicksburg campaign and in 1895 its veterans had begun a new campaign, one to establish a commemorative park. With the support of countless veterans, politicians and other supporters, their efforts were successful and on February 21, 1899, President McKinley signed legislation creating a Vicksburg National Military Park.

*"To the indefatigable efforts of Capt. J. F. Merry, formerly of the 21st Iowa, more than to any other person, are we indebted for the establishment of the park. He was untiring and persistent in his efforts, laying railroads, congressmen, legislators, and men of affairs, under constant tribute, till it was truthfully said of him - 'What he proposes, that he performs.'"*¹⁶⁶²

Named as the park's first commissioners were two from the North and one from the South - James Everest of the 13th Illinois, William Rigby of the 24th Iowa and Stephen Dill Lee who had faced Jim and other Hawkeyes at the railroad redoubt. Lee was named chairman, the first former Confederate to head a U.S. Military Park, and worked hard to develop a site with "*dignity and quality*" but other duties and his failing health and that of his wife would hinder his participation and it was Rigby who moved to Vicksburg to spearhead the preservation effort.

One of Vicksburg's many casualties was David Greaves who had become more and more disabled from his wounds and now walked with a cane. In March he contracted pneumonia but delayed seeing a doctor and on the 17th he died at his home in Hot Springs, Arkansas. His widow applied for his accrued pension and started the long process of convincing the government she was who she said she was.¹⁶⁶³

On April 28th, Jim again became a grandfather when Sarah Gertrude gave birth in Livermore, Iowa, to her second and last child, William Roy Blakely, and on June 7th Carry Nation gained instant notoriety as she waged a fight for prohibition by wrecking havoc on saloons in Kiowa, Kansas.

¹⁶⁵⁸ *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, page 1 (March 13, 1898). Find-a-Grave Memorial #2726.

¹⁶⁵⁹

Amanda had remarried after Leroy's death. She is buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery, Strawberry Point, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #61507110.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Aseneth Howard is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, Port Byron, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #107500501.

¹⁶⁶¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #21935711.

¹⁶⁶²

Col. James K. Polk Thompson, *Iowa at Vicksburg and the Vicksburg National Military Park*. The Annals of Iowa, Volume Five, Third Series (Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines (1901-1903), page 274.

¹⁶⁶³ David is buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Hot Springs, Arkansas. Find-a-Grave Memorial #117388502.

George Luck, an ambulance driver when captured at Port Gibson thirty-six years earlier, was living in Dubuque and suffering from rheumatism and partial deafness. While working as a plasterer on St. Luke's Church, he fell and severely sprained his already rheumatic right ankle. Two or three years earlier, Sam Merrill had also been injured in a Los Angeles trolley car accident. The car was in motion when he stepped through an open door in the floor, was dragged "*some distance*" and "*was severely bruised and sustained a nervous shock.*"¹⁶⁶⁴ He gave the bulk of his \$300,000 net worth to his son and daughter, retained enough to live comfortably with Mary and in May wrote to his sister:

"My mind runs back forty years and quickly takes in the incidents of an eventful life. Indeed we have lived longer and seen more than many generations before us. We should be glad to live another generation, to see the outcome of the world, in the onward rush of science, the creation of new power, and its application. We positively believe God is moving and moulding the hearts and minds of men to a higher life. Today thousands of acres of precious flowers are mingled with tears from sorrowing hearts over precious loved ones. Tis a wondering sight.

I took a large bunch of blooming sweet peas to the grave of one of my Captains of the 21st Iowa. The dear boys are scattered in many of the states of the Union. They are precious to me whatever their station in life, or their conduct - drunk or sober - they are beloved by their old Colonel, and I feel just like hugging them. A majority of them have passed 'To the Beyond.'

We rejoice in the onward march of the Anglo-Saxon blood. The doors are opening wide for active work - 'Onward Christian Soldier' is the watchword, God Almighty is in command - no stragglers or cowards wanted. Pardon my long scribbling. I get filled up and have to talk or something might happen."

Colonel Merrill suffered a stroke and after a week of semi-consciousness died on August 31, 1899. A son, Charles, had pre-deceased him but Merrill was survived by his daughter Hattie (wife of Dr. John W. Craig of Los Angeles) and her three children (Charles, Allen and Elizabeth) and a son, Jere Hill Merrill who was "*a staunch Republican and a ready worker for public betterment of all kinds.*" Funeral services were "*impressive in the extreme*" as residents paid their respects to an "*upright citizen and intrepid soldier,*" a man who many years earlier had shown "*true grit.*" Seventy-five members of the G.A.R. led a procession that included fifes and muffled drums. Pall bearers from the First Congregational Church walked ahead of honorary pall bearers including the Governor of California, four ex-Governors, the Mayor of Los Angeles and other dignitaries. Family and friends rode in carriages as they moved from the funeral home to the church but Hattie was "*utterly prostrated by her father's death*" and unable to attend. In a church lavishly decorated with roses, carnations, palm fronds and ivy, a minister spoke eloquently and paid tribute to veterans and "*the grand old soldier in the coffin*" and mourners wept as Merrill's grandchildren placed a mat of white carnations with "*Grandpa*" in blue flowers.

The next morning the coffin was put on a train and Merrill's son accompanied his father's body to Des Moines where the remains laid in state in the corridor of the Governor's office on the morning of the 8th. That afternoon, a procession of carriages carried the Governor, Secretary of State and other current and former politicians and friends to Plymouth Congregational Church where "*a flag of the Twenty-first regiment, and the sword of Governor Merrill*" lay on the bier and white roses, asters, gladiolus and other ferns and cut flowers decorated the pulpit. He was laid to rest in the family vault in Woodland Cemetery.¹⁶⁶⁵ Five days later the regiment's aging veterans mourned their colonel's death at their eighth reunion where veterans were given "*Welcome Comrades*" pins bearing a flag draped over the words "*Camp Franklin, 8th Reunion, 21st Iowa Inf. Vol., Sept. 13 and 14, 1899, Dubuque, IA.*" In his Chaplain's report prepared for the regiment's narrative history eight years earlier, James Hill had written:

¹⁶⁶⁴ In subsequent litigation, a court would award him \$2,000.00.

¹⁶⁶⁵

Samuel Merrill is buried in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #15103300. He had "*early became impressed with the great possibilities of Southern California, and he began acquiring interests in this section of the state about 1886. He invested heavily at the beginning of the great real estate boom, and realized handsomely on some of his investments, though on the whole his plans did not materialize. No less than three towns owe their inception to developments instituted by him and his associates. These towns are Riverside, South Riverside, now known as Corona, and Rialto.*" Merrill "*was president of the California Loan & Trust Company until it went out of business in 1894. He organized and built the Southern California Motor Road, connecting San Bernardino with Riverside but later his controlling interests were sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company.*" John Brown Jr. & James Brown, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside County*, Volume III (The Western Historical Association 1922).

"In the providence of God it was my privilege to be the chaplain of the Twenty-first Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry, for two years. I am not unmindful of the uniform kindness shown me during the whole period of my office and labors with them in the service of our country. Nor shall I ever forget the noble dead, many of whom I consigned to their resting place. And, as I am, by the course of years, reaching the last roll-call, I feel that it was the greatest honor of my life to have been the messenger of Christ to them, and to have borne the Celestial Amnesty to the patriotic comrades who composed our late regiment."

The regiment's eighth reunion was held in Dubuque on the 13th and 14th of September and, on the 24th of that month, James Hill died in Cascade at seventy-six years of age.¹⁶⁶⁶

On October 17th, George Croke, the regiment's biographer, died after a week of suffering with ptomaine poisoning.¹⁶⁶⁷ He was survived by Jane and their only child, Maria.

Edwin Parker, a fifteen-year-old boy who said he was eighteen when he was enrolled by Charles Heath, had been "present" on every bimonthly muster roll, participated in every battle and assault and siege in which the regiment participated, and was sick only five days during the entire war. After the war he moved to Sioux City and in 1867 married Heath's sister, Nellie. In 1869, two of his ribs were broken "by being dragged between horse and cow and the saddle turning foot caught in stirrup." On August 3, 1899, Edwin was working as a house mover when he fell down stairs, broke his neck and died.¹⁶⁶⁸

1900

Pat Burns became ill on Christmas and on New Year's Day 1900 died at his home, 678 West Erie Street, Chicago, leaving \$35 insurance for his wife.¹⁶⁶⁹ A few days later, signing with an "X," Ellen requested a pension and, on the 11th, Dabney Maury, the regiment's foe at Spanish Fort, died in Illinois after a postwar career that included formation and chairmanship of the Southern Historical Society and four years as United States minister to Columbia.¹⁶⁷⁰

It was the first year of a new century, conservationists were gaining in their efforts to save the country's 1000 wild bison, James Longley's widow passed away and Freud published his "Interpretation of Dreams" and theories on psychoanalysis. Fifty-eight-year-old George Goodman had suffered from rheumatism after the war and walked with a limp that was growing worse - he "stumbles very frequently and cannot lift any considerable weight without flinching." He had a large hydrocele and had been forced to give up bricklaying.

Mary Greaves was approved for a pension in March after convincing the government that David had owned forty acres of "wild and unoccupied land" five miles from Hot Springs but she had, at best, a small dower interest and her home was in her son's name. On March 24th, William Wood died in Dow City. William and his wife had lived north of town for many years before buying a hotel and moving into the city. They and their daughters ran the hotel until 1895 when it was destroyed by fire.¹⁶⁷¹

On May 17, 1900, L. Frank Baum's book, "The Wonderful World of Oz," was published and, in June, Eli Frankeberger was examined by doctors in Aberdeen, South Dakota, where Baum and his wife had lived for two years before moving to Chicago. In the opinion of Eli's doctors, "this man is older in appearance than he is in years."¹⁶⁷² Eli could no longer breathe through the right side of his nose, his gums were bare to the bone and muscles in his left arm were atrophied.

In July seventy-two year old Andrew Lawrence, the soldier who had always kept his gun "in splendid order," was

¹⁶⁶⁶ James is buried in Cascade Memorial Cemetery, Cascade, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #7658349.

¹⁶⁶⁷ George is buried in Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Find-a-Grave Memorial #114922048.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Edwin is buried in Dakota City Cemetery, Dakota City, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #8233049.

¹⁶⁶⁹

An unsigned City of Chicago death certificate in his pension file with the National Archives and Records administration says Pat was buried "in Calvary Cemetery, by Hursen Bros., Undertakers."

¹⁶⁷⁰

Dabney is buried in the Confederate Cemetery, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Find-a-Grave Memorial #11027.

¹⁶⁷¹ William is buried in Dow City Cemetery, Dow City, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #25583188.

¹⁶⁷² Report of Board of Surgeons, June 6, 1900.

examined by surgeons who felt he was "old and tottering, extremely feeble - sits entirely oblivious to his surroundings." John McClernand who had led the 13th Corps during most of the Vicksburg campaign passed away on September 20th¹⁶⁷³ and Company B's Corodon Hewitt died on December 13th. Corodon died in Lamont after suffering for thirty-seven years from rheumatism and wounds received at Port Gibson that caused him to walk with a limp. Only 5' 9½" tall, his weight had mushroomed to 300 pounds as he tried to earn a living by light farmwork and day labor often receiving provisions, and once a heifer, in pay.¹⁶⁷⁴

Politically, Republicans renominated Civil War veteran William McKinley with Spanish-American war veteran Theodore Roosevelt as his running mate. Their platform calling for strong antitrust policies and construction of a canal in Panama led them to victory.

1901

In 1901 the country's first public escalator was installed, the first Nobel prizes were awarded, sixty-one year old John Green married Harriet Parson, sixty-four year old James Smith, formerly of Company C and an "old soldier" according to his son was planning to homestead in Oklahoma and, on March 21st, Charles Heath died. Five years earlier he and Marion had moved to Denver where Charles worked as a mining promoter before becoming ill with cancer.¹⁶⁷⁵ Dying from pneumonia was Barna Phelps, one of the organizers of Company B. He passed away in Chatsworth, Iowa.¹⁶⁷⁶

On January 31, 1901, Sarah Carter, deserted by Joseph eight years earlier, assumed she was a widow and applied for a pension. When her claim was denied, she was surprised to learn Joseph, using the alias of Richard Clark, was alive and well in California and, as Joseph Carter, was receiving his own pension based on the accidental gunshot wound incurred when the regiment was held out of action during the Battle of Champion Hill.

On July 17th the last of the Bethard girls was married when twenty-one year old Edith married Henry Hervey, a twenty-five year old teacher from South English. On July 18th, sixty-one year old Herbert Hallock, one of her father's comrades in Company B, was killed when thrown from a wagon in Riverside, California, where he was "taking care of the place of his son, W. M. Hallock, the well-known printer." Herbert is buried in San Jacinto Valley Cemetery, San Jacinto, California.¹⁶⁷⁷

In August, veterans held another reunion. A red, white and blue ribbon bearing the words "Ninth Reunion, 21st Iowa Infantry Vol., Clarksville, Ia., Aug. 28-29, 1891" hung from metal pins depicting two blue-clad soldiers, one having lost a leg, greeting each other.

On September 6th, President McKinley was shot. Eight days later he died. His assassin, Leon Czolgosz, was tried in nine hours, found guilty in thirty-four minutes and went to the electric chair on October 29th. The new President was Theodore Roosevelt who invited Negro author Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House and thereby, said the *Memphis Scimitar*, committed "the most damnable outrage ever perpetrated by any citizen of the United States."

1902

In 1902 Carry Nation continued her crusade against "demon rum", a railroad supply depot in southern Nevada built its first hotel, a thirty room affair under a canvas roof (casinos would come later) and the Franklin Hotel was built in Strawberry Point.

In 1892 Othmar Kapler was a mailman carrying mail from Conover to Spillville when, while stepping out of a buggy, he fell "striking my elbow of right arm on the frozen ground and breaking the cap of same." Now, ten years later and sixty-two years old, he slipped on an icy sidewalk, fell and broke "my hip of left leg very severely." On February 26th, Tim Hayes, a "strictly temperate" man who had been in Boulder, Colorado, about six months, died of uremia leaving ten acres, a residence and a forty acre Minnesota farm to his wife, Laura. A few days later his body

¹⁶⁷³ John McClernand is buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #20752.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Corodon Hewitt is buried in Campton Cemetery, Lamont, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #96551411.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Charles Heath is buried in Dakota City Cemetery, Dakota City, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #8232773.

¹⁶⁷⁶

Barney "Barna" Phelps is buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery, Strawberry Point, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #61521717.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #58465584.

was returned to Minnesota for burial in Good Thunder's Lyra Cemetery. In 1926, Laura would be interred with him.

In May the Secretary of War allotted \$3,000 to help preserve Vicksburg's Shirley house, one of many wartime structures still standing, and widower Charles Voorhees was living in Albion, Nebraska, and still fighting for a pension twelve years after applying. Recalling his months of imprisonment after being captured near Green Lake, he felt "*there is a big injustice somewhere*" as he watched "*a string of men that are well off in this world's goods line up to sign papers that draw them eight to twenty-five dollars a month, many of them in the service hardly long enough to learn the manual of arms.*" He had spent "*three long years in the ranks, and not in the hospital, besides rotting six months in a prison pen.*" He had contracted scurvy and malaria, had seen his weight drop to ninety-six pounds and, by the time of his discharge, had detected "*ringing in my ears and head noises.*" For years he had used an ear trumpet to cope with hearing problems, but now the hearing was gone in both ears, he could no longer work at engineering and, he said, "*I occupy the very humble position of janitor at the Court House.*"¹⁶⁷⁸ Understandably, Charles was a bitter man.

John Martin was living in Whittemore when he died on September 16th. Thirty-nine years earlier his wife had written to the Governor. John, she said, was "*consumed*" and she and her children needed him at home. He wasn't discharged, but had been transferred to an Invalid Corps, recovered his health and moved to Kossuth County after the war.¹⁶⁷⁹ In October, John Grutcek, "*strictly temperate and a teetotlar*"¹⁶⁸⁰ for the past thirty-six years, moved to Waitsburg, Washington. In November George Burge died in Joplin, Missouri, where he had worked as a miner.¹⁶⁸¹

1903

In 1903 Henry Ford organized a motor company, a monument was dedicated to General William Sherman in Washington, D.C., work began on Washington's Union Station, The Natural Food Co. marketed biscuits "baked by electricity" and named them Triscuits, and Company D's George Wiltse was appointed Postmaster in Montezuma.

James Thompson died on January 15th at fifty-nine years of age and was buried in Riverview Cemetery, Rock Rapids, Iowa.¹⁶⁸² Almost forty years earlier, he and his brother had helped carry their colonel from the battlefield at the Big Black River. Postwar, he had been appointed a Colonel in the Iowa National Guard and was one of the first to advocate for a national park in Vicksburg and an appropriation to erect a monument honoring Iowa's veterans.

On the 21st, James Williams, Confederate defender of Spanish Fort, died at age sixty-five. His postwar career had included work as a railroad clerk, bookkeeper, clerk with Mobile's Probate Court, and thirty years with the Raphael Semmes Camp of the United Confederate Veterans. He is buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama.¹⁶⁸³

The regiment held another reunion, this one in Hartford on June 10th and 11th, and in September William Monlux died after suffering forty years from the leg shattered at Vicksburg. Walking on crutches, muscles and tendons destroyed, two thirds of the tibia missing and his right leg half the size of his left, William had never been able to return to farming but was serving on the Elkader council at the time of his death. He is buried in Wagner Township Cemetery, Saint Olaf, Iowa.¹⁶⁸⁴

Seymour and Prudence Chipman were living in Corvallis, Oregon, when, on August 14, 1903, they celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary. Seymour greeted friends at the door with a "*hearty handshake*" while sixty-eight-year-old Prudence, still active with the Women's Relief Corps, was "*as active and light of heart as a girl of sixteen.*"¹⁶⁸⁵ Seymour's comrades sixty-seven-year-old George Luck died on September 24th and seventy-eight-year-old John J. Carpenter on November 10th.¹⁶⁸⁶

¹⁶⁷⁸ Letter from Charles Voorhees to Commissioner of Pensions, July 10, 1902.

¹⁶⁷⁹ He is buried in Plainview Cemetery, Whittemore, Iowa, as is Mary Jane, his second wife.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Affidavit of John Grutcek, July 25, 1900.

¹⁶⁸¹ George is buried Maple Park Cemetery, Springfield, Missouri. Find-a-Grave Memorial #60653649.

¹⁶⁸² Find-a-Grave Memorial #89947693.

¹⁶⁸³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #19041170.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #51465791.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Portrait and Biographical record of the Willamette Valley Oregon (1903).

¹⁶⁸⁶

George is buried in Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque, County. Find-a-Grave Memorial #83674886. John is buried in Ross Cemetery, Clayton County, Find-a-Grave Memorial #16779376.

On December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the Wright brothers demonstrated the first airplane flights

1904

During the 1890s, several fine homes had been built in Rialto, California and “among these was a \$15,000 home built by Samuel L. Merrill,” but the “beautiful home of Ex-Governor Merrill burned to the ground” in 1904.¹⁶⁸⁷

Nelson Reynolds' pension claim was already in its twelfth year and, in January, he told the bureau “he is a poor man” no longer able to earn a living from manual labor and badly in need of money.

In February, William Matson, who had joined the regiment as a sixteen-year-old drummer, died in Browning, Montana, and was survived by his wife, Mary, who continued her employment at Browning's Indian School.¹⁶⁸⁸ In March, Eli Frankeberger was one of ten men standing in a wagon when horses pulled it over a bump, Eli fell to the ground and one of the wheels ran over his arm. In April, Abram Treadwell and Horace Poole requested pensions. Abe was seventy-one, retired from farming and feeling the “infirmities of age.” Horace was sixty-seven, recently retired after twenty years as head of Poole, Gilliam & Co. and subsequent service as Chief Deputy U.S. Marshal in the Northern District of Iowa, and was now working as an office deputy.

Effective April 28th, Jim Bethard, partially unable to earn a living by manual labor, saw his pension increased to \$8.00 per month. In May, Company D held another reunion. Ten years earlier fourteen had attended. Now there were seven.

William Lyons died in Nebraska on July 25th,¹⁶⁸⁹ Lydia Van Anda was remarried in August to a former surgeon in the 24th Infantry and Dorlisca Still sought a pension, thirty-eight years after the disappearance of her husband. She and her in-laws had tried to find him but all inquiries indicated he “had gone and left no trace.” Believing him dead, Dorlisca remarried, her second husband died and she then discovered Ebenezer was alive, using his first name of George, “married” to his second post-Dorlisca wife and collecting a pension in Lawler. Witnesses were plentiful and remembered him as “too lazy to provide for his family,” “given to idleness most of the time,” “neither industrious nor truthful,” “after another woman,” “untrue to his wife,” “other women occupying his attention,” “a drinking man,” “lazy and shiftless” and “wholly to blame.” Rosetta was only twelve when her father left but clearly remembered he “was untrue to my mother. I remember very well a Swede woman which father brought to our house acted very freely with him in a way that she ought not.” When Dorlisca objected, Ebenezer would “not only abuse mother by his talk but he would strike.” Even when they were together Dorlisca “had to work out for other people to support the family” and she was now “absolutely destitute,” wholly dependent on her children, and living with a second daughter in Lincoln, Nebraska. Dorlisca's request was quickly approved and she would receive half of Ebenezer's pension until her death in 1906.

On December 8th, Andrew Lawrence who always kept “his gun in splendid order” died of heart disease at his home near Ewing, Nebraska,¹⁶⁹⁰ and a week later Seymour Chipman died in Oregon.¹⁶⁹¹ Also dying during the year was Company D's Ed Snedigar, a “veteran of the war who dropped dead while at his work in Fayette county.”¹⁶⁹²

1905

In 1905 Einstein announced a theory of relativity, Coca-Cola was advertised as a “harmless temperance beverage” that “relieves brain fag” and “stimulates delightfully” and Confederate flags were returned to the South. Sixty-seven-year-old former Quartermaster Charles Morse (“one of Grinnell's best-known and wealthiest citizens”)

1687

Martha G. Stoebe, A History of Rialto (Rialto Unified School District, Bicentennial Edition, 1976).

¹⁶⁸⁸ The site of William's burial has not been found.

¹⁶⁸⁹ William is buried in Parkview Cemetery, Hastings, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #58099089.

¹⁶⁹⁰ The site of his burial has not been found.

¹⁶⁹¹

Seymour and his wife consistently spelled his name as “Seymour” but he is buried in Crystal Lake Cemetery, Corvallis, Oregon, as “Seymore.” Find-a-Grave Memorial #24000344.

¹⁶⁹²

History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916). Burt is buried in Long Grove Cemetery, Maynard, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #62260857.

died on April 9th, Surgeon Dwight Chase died in Salina, Kansas at eighty-five years of age and Nelson Reynolds signed an affidavit supporting the pension claim of Andrew Lawrence's widow.¹⁶⁹³

Sixty-one-year-old Sterling Mather, Cal's cousin who had served in the 9th Iowa, had been ill for some time and suffered from a stroke. In June he visited a doctor who felt Sterling's right eye was so bad he could not "*distinguish a man from a woman over ten yards in good daylight*" and due to weakness in his back and shoulders could no longer stand erect without pain. "*Although Capt. Mather has been a proficient miller also competent engineer & farmer he is not now able to follow any of these vocations,*" said his doctors.

The regiment's eleventh reunion was held in Manchester on June 13th and 14th and among those who passed away in 1905 was Willard Benton "*whose life was one of great adventure. He came to McGregor in 1856 and was Captain of Company G, Twenty-first Iowa, post master of McGregor and sheriff for six years, being elected in 1873. His life included adventures in the mines of California, in Australia and South America, including a ship wreck off San Francisco.*"¹⁶⁹⁴ Willard was buried in McGregor's Pleasant Grove Cemetery¹⁶⁹⁵ with his wife, Anna Maria, who had died eleven years earlier.

On September 30th, Jim's brother, Jonathan Bethard who had served in Illinois' 10th Infantry, died in a soldier's home in Leavenworth, Kansas,¹⁶⁹⁶ and in November Jim requested another pension increase. His declaration was notarized by his Southern friend, Able Hankins, the request was approved and payments were increased to \$10.00. New generations knew little of the sufferings, hardships and sacrifices of the aging veterans and G.A.R. membership was falling rapidly, but reunions were still held and "*now and again one of these old veterans might still be heard to say:*"

Come, dear old comrade, you and I
Will steal an hour from days gone by,
The shining days when life was new,
And all was bright with morning dew,
The soldier days of long ago,
When you were Bill and I was Joe.

The chaffing young folks stare, and say
"See those old buffers, bent and gray,
They talk like fellows in their teens!
Mad, poor old boys! That's what it means,"
And shake their heads; they little know
The throbbing hearts of Bill and Joe!¹⁶⁹⁷

1906

In 1906 James Adams lost his house to fire, Charles Voorhees was granted a \$6.00 pension sixteen years after applying, Perry Dewey died in Nebraska,¹⁶⁹⁸ Vinnie Ream Hoxie sculpted a statue of Samuel Kirkwood that now stands in Statuary Hall in the nation's Capitol¹⁶⁹⁹ and *The Clayton Co. Journal* on March 2nd had a joke for the day:

1693

Charles Morse is buried in Hazelwood Cemetery, Grinnell, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #42548513. Dwight Chase is buried in Delphos Cemetery, Delphos. Find-a-Grave Memorial #9920281.

¹⁶⁹⁴ History of Clayton County (Robert O. Law Company, Chicago, 1916).

¹⁶⁹⁵ Find-a-Grave Memorial #117834738.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Jonathan is buried in Jackson Cemetery, New Albany, Kansas. Find-a-Grave Memorial #193900622.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Jacob A. Swisher, The Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936).

¹⁶⁹⁸ Perry is buried in Butte Cemetery, Butte, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #37963918.

¹⁶⁹⁹

Ardently supported by Gen. William T. Sherman, her earlier works included a bronze statue of Admiral David Farragut that stands in Washington's Farragut Square and a marble statue of President Abraham Lincoln that stands in the Capitol. Kathryn Allamong Jacob, *Vinnie Ream*. Smithsonian magazine (August, 2000).

Wife: Which is the quickest way to send a message? Telephone or telegraph?
Husband: Tell a woman.

A San Francisco earthquake and fire killed 500 on April 18th and Cal's mother, Sarah Marshall Rice, died in August and was buried next to Joel and Cal in Sigourney's Pleasant Grove Cemetery.¹⁷⁰⁰ After her husband's death fourteen years earlier, Sarah had moved to Delta and for the last thirteen years had lived with her grand-daughter Ella, Jim's "little jade." On September 22d sixty-seven-year-old James Chiles died of typhoid in Sioux Falls and on November 17th George Brownell died at his home in Kansas after almost forty-four years of suffering from the rheumatism contracted near Hartville.¹⁷⁰¹

1907

Benjamin Odell died in January. The scurvy contracted at Morganza had long since claimed his teeth, his legs were badly scarred and painful, and he could only do one-third the work of a healthy man. The war had also been hard on George Moser. George died in Dubuque on February 19th. For almost forty-four years he had lived with a musket ball embedded somewhere in his right thigh or, the doctors said, possibly in the hip. He is buried in Dubuque's Linwood Cemetery.¹⁷⁰²

Other veterans continued to monitor pension laws through the G.A.R., the media and word of mouth and seek increases when authorized. On February 21st, Jim signed a declaration pursuant to an act approved two weeks earlier. The new law provided for an increase to \$12.00 per month for all veterans who had reached sixty-two years of age and, effective February 25th when his declaration was received, Jim was approved for the increase.

Brad Talcott's widow passed away in February and David Watkins died in March. Badly crippled, he had suffered with joints painfully swollen by rheumatism contracted at Salem. He was buried in Conger Cemetery, Plainville, Kansas.¹⁷⁰³ Also dying in March was Sam Merrill's second wife, Elizabeth, who died in Colton, California on the 8th. Her body was returned to Des Moines where she was buried in Woodland Cemetery.

On April 6th, John Presho died in McGregor at age sixty-four and was survived by his widow, Celena, now sixty-three. He was buried in the city's Pleasant Grove Cemetery¹⁷⁰⁴ where a daughter and two of his sons had already been buried.

On the 10th, Iowa's Thirty-Second General Assembly adopted an act "*providing for the compilation of a roster of Iowa soldiers, sailors and marines in the war with Mexico and the War of the Rebellion, the Spanish-American and Philippine wars, including military service in the Spirit Lake expedition, and other service against the Indians.*" Funds were appropriated, a Roster Board was formed and the painstaking process of compiling the rosters and regimental histories from hand written, often hard to read, military records began.

On May 11th, Dubuque saw the passing of an "old veteran" when Company A's Albert Curtis died at seventy-six years of age¹⁷⁰⁵ and, on the 26th, after a two week bout with pneumonia, sixty-five year old George Goodman died in Waukon after a postwar career as a bricklayer. Four days later his obituary appeared in a local paper that advertised men's spring suits from \$10 to \$20. There were less expensive suits, but George couldn't afford them. He had died penniless and funeral expenses were paid by the county. His widow took in sewing, applied for a pension and lived first with a daughter in Chicago and then with another daughter in Inglewood, California, where she would die in 1947.¹⁷⁰⁶

Company I's Lloyd Spear had been wounded during the May22nd assault at Vicksburg but secured a postwar medical degree from the University of Michigan. After practicing law in Shirley, Illinois, for twenty-six years he died

¹⁷⁰⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #9613692.

¹⁷⁰¹

James is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Find-a-Grave Memorial #44337740. George is buried in Maud Cemetery, Cunningham, Kansas. Find-a-Grave Memorial #11654980. The diary he kept is held by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹⁷⁰² Find-a-Grave Memorial #83721641.

¹⁷⁰³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #52417947.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #117837614.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Albert is buried in Hickory Grove Cemetery, Emeline, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #14953054.

¹⁷⁰⁶ George is in Oakland Cemetery, Waukon, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #126738584.

on June 1, 1907. He is buried in Scogin Hill Cemetery, Bloomington, Illinois.¹⁷⁰⁷ That same month the regiment's twelfth reunion was held, this one in Sac City on the 26th and 27th.

At sixty-one-years of age, Eli Frankeberger, another of Cal's cousins and living in Rock Grove, Illinois, was already fed up with the entire pension process. No more would he "*go all over the state*" for required medical exams. If they wanted to examine him, he said, they could go to his house!

The Barber family had moved to Nebraska in 1888 and now lived in Luella where William continued his dialogue with the Bureau of Pensions and the Bureau wrote to let him know his pension would be raised to \$10.

A new act provided for an increase to \$15 for veterans who were seventy years of age without any need to show a service-related disability. On his seventieth birthday, October 11, 1907, Jim signed a declaration seeking the increase and three days later it was granted.

On December 10th, Mary Champion passed away in Mississippi. She had out-lived her husband by thirty-nine years and worked hard to educate their children and preserve their historically significant farm where the largest battle of the Vicksburg Campaign had been fought.

On the 13th, John DuBois, a sergeant in Company H, died in Manchester. He was buried in the city's Oakland Cemetery.¹⁷⁰⁸

1908

In 1908, Ford produced its first Model T, General Motors was formed, heavy rains caused flooding in McGregor and the First National Bank urged customers to pay bills by check to let the public know "*there's more checks where this came from.*" In baseball, composer Albert Von Tilzer and lyricist Jack Norworth wrote *Take Me Out to the Ball Game*.

In 1863, William Hall had been seriously wounded at Jackson when a musket ball smashed into his right leg. After the war lived in Iowa for three years before moving to Kansas. Working first as a farmer and then as a printer, he got around with the help of a crutch but was severely handicapped by constant pain, a stiff ankle and a leg increasingly weakened as slivers of bone severed nerves and blood vessels while slowly working their way to the surface.

On January 5th, William Boynton died in Winthrop at age sixty-four. Among many who attended his funeral were his brother-in-law, Myron Knight with whom he had served more than forty years earlier and Charles Boynton, the uncle who had cared for Will after the death of Will's parents. Friends gathered at the Winthrop depot to pay their respects as Will's body was carried on board one of the cars of the Illinois Central Railroad for transport to Strawberry Point and burial in the city's cemetery.¹⁷⁰⁹

On January 8th, Cal's cousin, Sterling Mather, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died at his daughter's home in Woodland, California. He was buried in Woodland Cemetery.¹⁷¹⁰

Dr. Orr died at his son's house in Boston on April 2nd¹⁷¹¹ and, said Myron Knight, those who were able to travel gathered in Vicksburg for a reunion. It was also in Vicksburg that seventy-one-year-old Stephen Dill Lee died on May 28th only six days after giving a speech at the military park before the survivors of Michael Lawler's brigade. Lee had pursued a successful postwar career as a Mississippi farmer, state legislator and, from 1880 to 1899, as the first president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi, a college now known as Mississippi State. He passed away in the home of William Rigby, the Northern soldier from Iowa.

On October 22d, Mike Lawler's widow was dropped from the pension rolls due to her death, on the 23d Myron Knight's wife died at age sixty-six and on the 29th William Crooke's widow requested a pension. Now sixty-nine, her application was supported by her brother, Thomas Updegraff, and approved at \$12.00 per month.

Jim's sister, Nancy, and her husband, Robert Mooney, were living in Kansas where Robert Mooney was the proprietor of the New Albany rolling mills. On November 2d Nancy wrote to Jim's daughter, Sarah Gertrude, in Fort

¹⁷⁰⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #11212687.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #5641979.

¹⁷⁰⁹ William Boynton is buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery, Strawberry Point, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #151225690.

¹⁷¹⁰ John Sterling Mather is buried in Woodland Cemetery, Woodland, California. Find-a-Grave Memorial #87537899.

¹⁷¹¹

William Orr's body was returned to Iowa where he was buried in Ottumwa Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #13147687.

Dodge and commented on seventy-one-year-old Jim, her sister Libbie and her daughter Nellie.

*New Albany Kas
Nov 2 1908*

My Dear Niece

*I have just returned from Delta where I visited nearly three weeks had a delightful time there was one thing among all the pleasures that made me sad and that was when I looked in the face of my brother and your father what a change since I last saw him now stooped and his face and eyes bore marks of disease and suffering and yet he is cheerful says the future is all right with him but we know that the spiritual eyes of his understanding has never been opened but I will never cease praying for him he is not nearly so unreasonable as he used to be. Libbie is really worse than he is Nellie said she and you had talked of coming to see us and I hope you will before long we should like to entertain some of our city relatives should like very much to receive a letter from you kindest regards to your husband and children your aunt
N. E. Mooney*

In his continuing pension battle, William Barber enlisted the help of his old comrade Nelson Reynolds. Nelson had helped carry William from the battlefield forty-four years earlier and they had shared a case of the measles in Missouri. Still friends, Nelson had often seen William's flattened musket ball and he was living in Minnesota on November 1st when he described William's injury and added that William "*was an intimate friend of mine and I had a very keen sympathy for him during his suffering as he lay on the field of battle nearly if not quite three days after he was wounded.*"

1909

Robert Peary and his Negro assistant, Matthew Hensen, reached the North Pole in 1909 and Robert Stroud committed a murder in Alaska for which he would be imprisoned for life and known as the "*Birdman of Alcatraz.*"¹⁷¹²

On January 15th a truly "*old man Warner*" died in Arlington, Iowa, at age ninety. William was buried northeast of town in Taylorville Cemetery.¹⁷¹³ In February Jonathan Bethard's widow requested a pension from her new home in Oklahoma and, in March, Nancy wrote to Sarah Gertrude and again mentioned Jim:

*New Albany, Kas
March 25, 1909*

My Dear niece

Yours of the 9th inst was very gladly received and devoured with much interest I thought it a beautiful epistle full of loving interest and thought and intelligence such as your aunt loves so much to receive from her blood kin I have always tried to keep up the correspondence with your father my dear bro and thought the rest of you could hear from him but you are so far away from him I was so sorry I didn't get to see you when I was at Delta last Oct your father and I talked over old times seemed like we never could get through Dear old soul he was not so well the last time I heard from him I am anxious to hear now no he is nothing like as unreasonable as he used to be but how I should rejoice to know he had embraced that faith in the living Christ....

On April 16th, Alexander Voorhees, "*a fine old gentleman who seems the soul of honor,*" was totally deaf when he died in Chicago at eighty-five years of age. He was interred in Elmwood Cemetery and Mausoleum, River Grove.¹⁷¹⁴ On May 20th, Calvin Harback died in Schaller, Iowa, at age seventy-eight.¹⁷¹⁵ His widow, Elivra Harback, would move to Texas to live with their daughter, Hattie.¹⁷¹⁶

¹⁷¹² The name was misleading since Stroud had no birds at Alacatraz.

¹⁷¹³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #126627050.

¹⁷¹⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #129392267.

¹⁷¹⁵ Calvin is buried in Schaller Cemetery, Schaller, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #50352069.

¹⁷¹⁶

Federal records on file with the National Archives and Records Administration indicate Elvira was buried in the Orden der Hermann's Soehne

On May 30th, a National Conference on the Negro convened forty-four years after the end of the war. It would lead to formation of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Eli Frankeberger had told the Pension Bureau he was seventy years old and entitled to an increased pension, but that did not correlate with information he had given earlier, proof was requested and a typically feisty Eli replied, "*it seems to me that a soldier that served over 5 years is not beleaved. I canot furnish any record only the Bible that my Parents had they had all our names down & Father rote mine in my Bible when I left to go in the army and I have it yet it was January 28 - 1839 that is all I can tell they both died before I came home if you have to have any more I will have to let it go that way for I will not swar to any thing I dont no.*" The Bureau asked Eli to let a Magistrate review his Bible to confirm his birth date but, said Eli, "*our Bible I heard was given to a nice and I cant find her I took it of my fathers Bible when I was home on vetern furlow & I no it is rite.*"

In June the regiment held a reunion in *Edgewood* where veterans received a white ribbon with crossed flags and a metal ear of corn at the top with the word "IOWA." This was its "*14th Biennial Reunion.*"

In August Henry Potter was admitted to a soldiers' home in Los Angeles and on November 15th Frank Aldrich died in South Dakota fifteen years after the debilitating accident had rendered him deaf in one ear, hard of hearing in another and blind in one eye. He was buried in Forest City's Gettysburg Cemetery.¹⁷¹⁷

1910

Jim Bethard's sister, Nancy Bethard Mooney wrote to her niece, Jim's daughter Sarah Gertrude that her uncle Henry Sager, his wife and his family had gone west with Dr. Whitman. On February 24th, Nancy Bethard Mooney wrote from her home in New Albany, Kansas, to Jim Bethard's daughter, Sarah Gertrude:¹⁷¹⁸

My dear little niece I am going to make an effort now to answer your beautiful and kind letter received in due time & that seemed like such a marvel that you should accidentally meet in a society of ladies with the topic of the lesson being on the Whitman and Sager massacre how I should have enjoyed such a privilege I am afraid I should have wanted to talk to much myself on that familliar subject well I guess I will have to tell you something more about it I have failed so far in getting any of my folks very much interested in the story they are inclined to laugh at me for taking so much interest.

I don't know exactly the year but not far from 1840 a colony was raised in Indiana by Dr. Whitman and my uncle Henry Sager & wife and family went with them or started to the far north west while crossing the sandy plains my aunt my Grandmother's sister gave birth to a little girl baby then died just one week from the day of her death uncle died also leaving 7 children orphans 2 boys and 5 girls Dr Whitman and wife adopted them and went on through their journey they treated the children kindly named the little one born on the way Henry Etta Naomi the father's name being Henry and the mother's Naomi she took both their names. Now I am telling this from memory I was a child when I heard it talked much but I can't tell just how long it was but judge it was about 3 years after they settled near what is now Walla Walla Dr Whitman preaching to the Indians and also doctoring them that the Indians broke in on them and killed every man and boy Whitman and wife and our two cousins John and Francis were among the killed they took the women and girls prisoners and one of the girls died in their hands the rest we get the most of from history the book you spoke of history of their lives I have never gotten the last time they spoke of it it was not quite complete yet but said they would send me as soon as ready I have a book however they sent me containing a good deal of information I will send you and a letter or two so you can get what you can from them and send them back I prize them highly when I hunted those people up I didn't expect to find any of them living . . . their children I wrote to a Mason in Walla Walla the answer came from one of the Professors of the Whitman college so when I finally got a letter from the cousin herself she told me there were three of them still living I will send you their addresses I have not heard from them for a good while last April when I went to look for treatment I had a letter saying she was going to move to another part of the city of Spokane but she said at present to direct as I had so in my sickness I failed to write to her until a few days ago I wrote I am going to write to one of the others too the one in Portland Or she was named for my grandmother Elizabeth grandmother's father

Cemetery, El Campo, Texas. The O.D.H.S. cemetery was renamed Garden of Memories Cemetery in 1953.

¹⁷¹⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #21313724.

¹⁷¹⁸ Sarah Gertrude (Bethard) Blakely, was born March 8, 1869 and would now be forty years old.

was a baptist minister came from Virginia to Ohio the Whitmans were methodist also the cousins are accept one she is a spiritualist.¹⁷¹⁹

I used to do a good deal of work in the home mission society I was president of it a good while sent a good many boxes of goods to missionaries in the south I like the foreign mission work to but I have not been able to do any thing in it much lately and dont know anything much about their subjects or . . . but you may tell those mission ladies that your auntie is a baptist from away back but have no prejudice to other denominations love every christian Well I am going to have to quit writing I am nearly played out and I have had all kinds of company since I commenced I feel that I have only hit a few of the high places but will try to put you where you can find out more if you care to. I sending under separate cover the Whitman college quarterly a letter and one of your cousin Leonard South's church papers I like to read them right well. your uncle and I are just about as we have been for some time just able to be about the rest are all well write when you can you are very busy as ever your loving aunt Mrs S E Mooney"

Joseph Carter died on May 14th in a Yountville, California, home for veterans and was buried in the Veterans Memorial Grove Cemetery.¹⁷²⁰ Catherine had learned of his "Clark" alias years earlier when he resurrected a pension originally issued under the name "Carter" and she then ran into Henry Spangler, an old comrade from Company G, who also said her husband had served under the Carter name. Joseph had told Catherine he was divorced in Iowa and gave her a story about the switch to Clark. She believed it and they had lived together as husband and wife until 1895 when they separated (due, said Catherine to his drinking problem and inability to support her), she moved in with a sister in Illinois and he stayed in California. They wrote often and she traveled west to see him when he was "on his death bed, for me to rest assured that my name was CLARK, and that his right name was CLARK." Unfortunately for Catherine, when she submitted a pension claim as the widow of "Richard C. Clark, nee Joseph L. Carter, deceased," it was discovered that he was still married to Sarah when he purported to marry Catharine. Sarah's 1891 widow's claim had been denied since her husband was living and now Catherine's widow's claim was denied since she had never been legally married.

¹⁷¹⁹ Also see Honoré Willsie Morrow, *Child Pioneer*. The Reader's Digest, page 6 (1940).

¹⁷²⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #52981743.

On October 15th Ulysses Grant, Jr., opened the Grant Hotel in San Diego, a hotel that in later years would host Presidents Harding and Kennedy, columnist Walter Winchell and actor Clark Gable.¹⁷²¹ Later that month, the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* was played at the funeral of its author, Julia Ward Howe, who had died on the 17th¹⁷²² and, on December 2nd, Eugene Carr, the regiment's division commander at Vicksburg, died in Washington D.C. He had retired in 1893 and become interested in the National Geographic Society after a postwar career as "*perhaps the most famous and experienced Indian fighter.*" He was buried at West Point and even the renowned artist Frederic Remington would say that Carr would rather have been "*a colonel of cavalry than Czar of Russia.*"¹⁷²³

1911

In 1911 Norman Rockwell was a seventeen year old art student, Iving Berlin wrote *Alexander's Ragtime Band* and a commission was formed to finalize plans for a Washington memorial to Abraham Lincoln.

On June 1st, John Merry who had served seven months with the 21st Infantry before being discharged for disability retired from the Illinois Central Railroad. During his thirty years with the railroad he had risen from Excursion Agent to Assistant General Passenger Agent. Described as a man of a "*warm, jolly disposition*" who was "*gregarious, popular and, above all, friendly,*" he was widely known as "*Mr. Illinois Central.*"

On July 5th, seventy-four year old Alvin Merriam died in Smith Center, Kansas. He was buried north of town in Fairview Cemetery.¹⁷²⁴ On September 1st, seventy year old Othmar Kapler died in Spillville where he was buried in St. Wenceslaus Cemetery.¹⁷²⁵

On September 19th and 20th, the regiment held another reunion, its fifteenth. Sixty-two veterans, some with wives and other family members, gathered in Central City. The "*death roll*" of twenty-nine comrades who had died in the past two years was read, heads were bowed and there was silence as sixty-seven year old John Merry, who could "*sing like a Sankey in a Methodist camp meeting,*"¹⁷²⁶ sang *Nearer My God to Thee*. A letter from Henry Dyer, recovering from recent surgery and unable to attend, was read. "*I wish,*" he said, "*I could throw my arms around all of your necks, and hold you close to my heart and tell you personally how much I love you.*" Strong bonds had been formed during those three long years and Henry was proud they had been "*part of the grand army of men who helped to save the union from destruction and to liberate four million of beings from slavery.*" Songs were sung, martial music was played by a local band and, as always, men greeted each other and reminisced. Among nine from Company B who attended were Myron Knight, Henry Potter and the "*two Jims*" - Jim Bethard from Delta and his brother-in-law, Jim Rice, from Dows.

On October 19th, Jane Crooke, widow of George, was living at 329 Farwell Avenue, Milwaukee, when she died twelve years after her husband. She was buried near George in Forest Home Cemetery.¹⁷²⁷

On December 11th, the hard luck and accident prone Jonathan Foster, seventy-three years old and already hampered by an arm broken in the war, a broken leg and spinal injury sustained in St. Paul, and a leg rebroken at his home which had then healed improperly, was injured again when he "*was struck by an engine*" and rendered semi-unconscious for a week.

1912

A cookie called an Oreo Biscuit was first marketed in 1912, the first successful parachute jump from an airplane took place over Jefferson Barracks and prizes were added to Cracker Jack. Arizona became the country's forty-eighth state and, with Wisconsin and Kansas, granted women the right to vote.

On April 7th, John Jones, Company G, died in Colesburg on April 7th and was buried in Brown Cemetery.¹⁷²⁸ In

¹⁷²¹ *San Diego Union-Tribune* (03/13/01).

¹⁷²² Julia is buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Find-a-Grave Memorial #515.

¹⁷²³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #5885775.

¹⁷²⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #103347726.

¹⁷²⁵ Find-a-Grave Memorial #21320668.

¹⁷²⁶

H. Roger Grant, Editor, *Iowa Railroads. The Essays of Frank P. Donovan, Jr.* (University of Iowa Press, 2000), page 115, referencing the *Ottumwa Daily Courier*. Ira Sankey was a well-known gospel singer.

¹⁷²⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #114922150.

¹⁷²⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #31823736.

the South, Iowa veteran John Lacey spoke at Shiloh on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle in which so many died. National parks are created, he said:

"to commemorate the full and complete reconciliation that has come upon the participants in our Civil War.... Comrades, on this historic field you did your duty well a half century ago. Undiscouraged by defeat the lesson was learned that a battle is not fought in one day; that a defeat may be turned into victory.... It is the flag of the united country that daily floats over this national battlefield park from sunrise to sunset, and with one accord we hope that it may float there forever."

Clara Barton died at her home near Washington on April 12th,¹⁷²⁹ the unsinkable *Titanic* hit an iceberg in the North Atlantic on the 14th and Boston's Fenway Park opened for baseball on the 20th. In May a new pension act went into effect. Veterans seventy years of age who had served at least two and one-half years would receive an age-based pension of \$24.00 per month. Two weeks later Jim requested the increase and, on July 13th, wrote to his grandson, Roy Blakely, thirteen year old son of Sarah Gertrude. In pencil, with a shaky hand, Jim took time, as other veterans did, to remember the "*good men*," many of whom had been his friends, many of whom had died to preserve their country:

Delta Iowa

July 13 - 1912

Mr Roy Blakely

Ft Dodge Iowa

My Dear grand-son. I was pleased and proud to get a letter from you, to think that you were thoughtful enough of your old grand-pa to write him a letter, and such a well composed letter for a boy of your age. I am glad to know you had a good time the 4 and I hope you understand why we celebrate the 4 of July the day on which was signed the greatest document in this world the document that made the united states of America a free and independent nation It was then our flag was born and has since been sealed with the blood of hundreds of thousands of as good men as the world ever produced. So you went swimming well that was one of my favorite sports when a boy. There was nothing that I enjoyed better in the way of sports than swimming and skating. The bicycle came too late for me. Well we shall look for you all down soon, and will try to make it as pleasant for you a possible

Your grand-father

James Bethard

Henry Dyer died in Mason City on July 24th¹⁷³⁰ and on August 8th, only twenty-six days after writing to his grandson, Jim Bethard passed away at his home in Delta. He was buried the following day on a small hill in Garrett Cemetery on the north side of town.¹⁷³¹ Next to his grave, only a few feet from the nearest cornfield, is a metal "*G.A.R. 1861 - 1865*" marker and a plain, standard issue, military stone.

JAS. BETHARD

CO. B.

21 IA. INF.

No large monuments. No plaques. No dates. It says so little of the man and his life. Jim was buried alone, miles down the road from Cal and her parents in Sigourney, far from his "*little Jade*," removed from his brother, sisters and parents and all others who meant so much to him. Like many before him and after him, it seems he deserves more - a date of birth, a date of death, a fitting epitaph, something to tell the world about "*Jas. Bethard*" and others like him, men who cared and fought and suffered entire lifetimes for their country. Years previously, Jim and Abel Hankins had made a pact and, by the time Jim's obituary was printed, their agreement had been fulfilled:

A few years ago A. Hankins, who was a confederate soldier, asked James Bethard if he would see that a

¹⁷²⁹ Clara is buried in North Cemetery, Oxford, Massachusetts. Find-a-Grave Memorial #63.

¹⁷³⁰ Henry is buried in Elmwood Saint Joseph Cemetery, Mason City, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #5546816.

¹⁷³¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #99359111.

flag was placed over his grave when he died. Mr. Bethard said he would provided Mr. Hankins would perform a like service for him should he survive him, and so the pact was formed. After Mr. Bethard's death last week, Mr. Hankins accompanied by C. F. Kendall, went to the grave yard where the wearer of the grey placed the flag on the northern soldier's grave.

James Bethard was born October 11, 1837 at Marysville, Ohio, and died August 8, 1912, age 74 years, 9 months, and 27 days. His father's name was Alexander Bethard and his mother's name was Diana Clark. After the death of his mother he came to Clayton county, Iowa at the age of 19 years. He was married to Caroline F. Rice January 27, 1859, who died September 10, 1889. To this union the following children were born: May Bell, who died in infancy; Nellie C. Dunn, of Delta; Gertrude Blakely, of Ft. Dodge; Bessie Belle Grovier, of Delta; Edith Maude Hervey of Thornburg.

On June 14, 1894 he was married to Elizabeth Kile. Of this marriage was born James Dale Bethard. He leaves to mourn his departure his wife, five children, one sister and a host of relatives and friends.

Mr. Bethard's Military Record

Enlisted in Co. B, 21st Iowa Infantry. Mustered into service at Dubuque August 18, 1862. Mustered out of service July 15, 1865. Engaged with his company in the following battles: Port Gibson, Champion Hill, Sieges of Vicksburg, Jackson, Spanish Fort and Blakeley, and Mobile.¹⁷³²

During the service he was promoted to position of corporal, but declined to leave the ranks of a private. He was a charter member of Will Ellis Post G.A.R. He served as adjutant during the entire existence of the Post.

In his Memorial Day speech seventeen years earlier, Jim told his audience the flag had served as a shroud for the bodies of its heroes. In a very real sense, Jim and thousands like him had been the heroes of the war and Able Hankins had placed the flag on the grave of one of those men.

Jim's last pension payment had been made six weeks before his death and Elizabeth requested payment of the accrued balance with a cover letter from Ed Berman of The Peoples Savings Bank in Delta who said Elizabeth was "*in need of all the accrued pension that her husband was entitled to as she has nothing only a small home worth about \$1000.*" In response, the Bureau requested proof of Jim's death, his marriage to Elizabeth and the details of prior marriages, all to be corroborated by two credible witnesses. The long pension process had begun.

On September 6th, German-born Joseph Baule, Company C, who had sustained a rupture in Texas, died in Dubuque.¹⁷³³

On September 9th, many of the veterans convened at Dubuque's finest hotel, the Julien House, on the fiftieth anniversary of the regiment's muster. John Merry, who had joined Company K as an eighteen year old, was president of the Regimental Association, Horace Poole, the adjutant who put on "*regular Houston style,*" was vice-president, and Merrit Harmon, a sergeant from Company K, was Secretary. "*Fifty years, comrades, is a long time,*" they said. "*That any of us are here to celebrate this semi-centennial is marvelous.*"¹⁷³⁴ For two days they exchanged greetings, reminisced, visited the "*river where we boarded the 'Henry Clay' in 1862*" and took a steamer ride with members of the G.A.R., the Relief Corps, the Grand Army Ladies and the Sons of Veterans of Dubuque. The next morning they took automobiles "*to the site of old Camp Franklin*" and had a banquet at the Dubuque Club "*interspersed with appropriate music followed by short talks, and the usual goodbyes*" before adjourning in time to catch the 4:00 p.m. train west. On the 16th, Irishman John Leehey recalled, "*it was fifty years ago today my old regiment left Dubuque on the steamer Henry Clay for the South. It was raining in Dubuque then & it is raining here today.*"

On September 20th, John Grutchek died in Pullman, Washington, at age seventy-five.¹⁷³⁵ Forty-seven years earlier

¹⁷³²

The obituary was in obvious error regarding Jim's service record. The writer may have received his information from the *Company Descriptive Book* which also indicated, erroneously, that Jim had been in the battles at Port Gibson and Champion Hill.

¹⁷³³

Henry Joseph Baule is buried in Mount Calvary Cemetery. Find-a-Grave Memorial #155385190. His wife, Mary (Michael) Baule, would die on March 23, 1923, and be buried near him. Cemetery stones say merely "Mother" and "Father." A separate stone for Joseph says he was born in 1840, an erroneous date that was nevertheless consistent with his age shown in many documents. When applying for an age-based pension he secured a birth certificate written in German and later translated that indicates he was born May 25, 1838.

¹⁷³⁴

Circular promoting the reunion.

¹⁷³⁵

Find-a-Grave Memorial #15033337. While in the military he spelled his name "Grutchek" but after the war spelled it "Kruchek."

he had joked about having surprised Caroline Bethard in a blackberry patch.

Catherine Boynton was a pensioner and her brother, Myron Knight, cared for her certificate but, when they visited in November, it was "*burned in the heating stove by mistake*" while paper hangers were burning paper.

Robert Strane died on December 9th and was buried in Zwingle's Bethel Cemetery and on December 27th eighty-year-old Maria Story died in Epworth. More than forty-nine years earlier, her husband, Solomon, had been killed during the assault at Vicksburg. Left with six young children, aged ten to three weeks, Maria never remarried but, "*with the heroism of the war widows of that day, successfully accomplished the task of rearing these fatherless children.*"¹⁷³⁶

1913

A national income tax was authorized with ratification of the 16th Amendment, Henry Ford debuted an assembly line for the production of the Model T, Woodrow Wilson became President and on January 7th Ira Chapman died in Wisconsin. Ira was buried in Thorp's East Cemetery.¹⁷³⁷ When Ella applied for a widow's pension she learned that, in a previous filing for his own pension, Ira had advised the pension office of a prior marriage that he said ended in an Iowa divorce. Unable to substantiate the divorce, Ella was denied a widow's pension.

The Barber family had moved to California where a Pasadena surgeon testified that William's right leg was almost an inch shorter, and the right thigh was much smaller, than the left. William had saved his souvenir and the doctor confirmed the musket ball was "*a large one.*" The scars were deep, the muscles were atrophied, William was in constant pain and could walk only a short distance at a time but, incredibly, the Bureau ruled that sixty-nine year old William was not manually disabled and his request for an increase was again denied.

On June 9th, Charles Burge died in Missouri, eleven years after his brother¹⁷³⁸ and, on August 9th, John Grutcek's widow died in Pullman less than nine months after the death of her husband. Charles was buried in Bevier's East Oakwood Cemetery while Mary was buried in Pullman's Odd Fellows Cemetery under the name Kruczek, the spelling used by John after his discharge.

By September, Elizabeth Bethard felt she had sent all the documentation needed for a pension and wrote to the Bureau, "*Now what further evidence do you want? can give still further evidence if necessary. It seems to me I should have all that was due him at his death. I am in great need of it at this time and if it is evidence of his marriage to me you certainly have it. Why withhold it longer. I am justly entitled to it as everyone knows. I hope this may receive your immediate attention.*" The process continued; more letters were exchanged; more affidavits were submitted. On November 26th, the Bureau finally approved the request Jim made before his death for an increase to \$24.00 effective from May 24th to the date of his death.

On December 21st, George Parker passed away and was survived by his wife of forty-two years and his two sons. He is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Sac City, Iowa.¹⁷³⁹

1914

By 1914 the foxtrot became America's favorite dance, construction began on the Lincoln Memorial and G.A.R. membership had shrunk for its peak of 409,000 in 1890 to fewer than 180,000 and losses were continuing at more than 12,000 per year.

On March 27th, Hiram Libby died in Minnesota where he's buried in Lakewood Cemetery, Minneapolis.¹⁷⁴⁰ In May, Company D's Eber Golder was serving as Post Commander of the George C. Meade Post 16 of the G.A.R. in Anaconda, Montana, when he traveled to Missoula to attend the department's 30th annual encampment.

On June 28th, Austrian Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by Serbian teenager Gavrilo Princip. Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia came to Serbia's aid. France mobilized. Germany declared war on Russia and France and invaded Belgium. Britain came to the aid of Belgium. Turkey sided with Austria and Germany. Another war had begun.

¹⁷³⁶ Obituary of her daughter, Eliza Annabel (Story) Taubman who died April 22, 1929, in Sioux City, Iowa.

¹⁷³⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #120315831.

¹⁷³⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #90852386.

¹⁷³⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #50282196.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #126014894.

On July 21st, a private bill was introduced in Congress. Ultimately passed, it required that the Secretary of the Interior place on the pension roll "*the name of Lydia B. Lanning, former widow of Salue G. Van Anda, late lieutenant colonel Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$12.00 per month.*"

On August 28th, Abel Hankins died at his home in Delta at seventy years of age:

"Last Sunday afternoon we attended the funeral of Abel Hankins in Delta and we could not help but observe that even though we may have had a shock upon civilization by conditions in Europe there was a bright and shining example that patriotism is not dead in this country. We saw there a former member of the southern confederacy, a soldier of the army of Virginia his native state, laid to his last resting place with all the honors of the G.A.R. post of the town of Delta could bestow. During the fifty years of his residence in Delta Abe Hankins demonstrated to everyone, that even though he may have been wrong in following the flag of his state, he was a splendid citizen and an exemplary christian gentleman. Fifty years had made friends of all men and his body was placed in its last resting place by those who best knew all of the conditions surrounding that great conflict. It was an act that proves to all of us that patriotism and love exist.

*Mr. Hankins was born in Virginia, served in the Confederate army and after the war came to Iowa where he resided until the time of his death. Here he raised his family all of whom are grown to manhood and womanhood in this his adopted state. For forty years Mr. Hankins served as justice of the peace for Warren Township and Delta. There are few attorneys in this county who have not practiced in the court of Squire Hankins. He was a man highly respected by all who knew him and his funeral which was held in the M. E. church Sunday was very largely attended. For 27 years Mr. Hankins was a member of that church and the minister said in his sermon that regardless of the weather that pew over yonder was always occupied by Mr. Hankins. The family and the community will mourn the loss of a good husband father and citizen."*¹⁷⁴¹

On August 14th, seventy-two year old Duane Grannis, one of the ambulance drivers captured at Port Gibson, died at his home in Lovelock, Nevada, where he is buried in what is now known as the Big Meadow Cemetery. On September 3rd, *The Manchester Press* announced the next reunion and told readers:

It would be worth going to Waterloo to see those two old coffee coolers, "Rast" Smith and "Clem" Dunton, get together and swap war yarns. They won't have with them at this reunion, however, their old comrade, Hiram Field, who has answered the last roll call. In just a few years there will be no Twenty-first Iowa, save in memory and the grateful recollection of a new generation.

On the 17th and 18th, sixty-one were present for the reunion although, said the *Press*, many of the "boys" were "*unable to come because of age or disability.*" Clem Dunton was there and pointed out to John Merry that, fifty-two years earlier they had shared a tent with three friends from Delaware City, all three of whom had lost their lives during the war.

On December 17th, seventy-two-year-old Willis E. Brown of Company H died in Eugene, Oregon, where he's buried in the Masonic Cemetery.

1915

Ragtime was the dance craze of 1915 and on, January 19th, Abe Treadwell died in Strawberry Point. Private services at home were followed by a larger service led by the G.A.R. at the Congregational Church and attended by other "*old soldiers.*" Pall-bearers included his longtime friends Myron Knight, Christian Maxson and James Hicks, all veterans of Company B, and Abe was eulogized - "*As a friend, he was a true one. As a husband and father, he was affectionate and kind. In his counsel and instruction to his children he reached the high ground of Christian character. One lesson they have never forgotten, 'Always draw your furrows straight and keep your corners square.'*" He was buried in Strawberry Point Cemetery.¹⁷⁴²

1741

Copies of newspaper obituaries were received from a California descendant of Mr. Hankins together with a photo of the Hankins Harness Shop. Abel is buried in Bethel Cemetery, Delta, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #44478103.

¹⁷⁴² Find-a-Grave Memorial #168014229.

On May 27th, Cal's cousin, Eli Frankeberger, died. He was seventy-four years old and passed away at his brother's home in Rock Grove.¹⁷⁴³ Aaron and his daughter, Pearl, had "*borded him for Five Dollars per week & did his washing and patching*" but Aaron was a "*poor man*" and unable to pay his brother's funeral expenses. On the eighteenth and nineteenth of August, surviving veterans of the regiment held a reunion in Greene, Iowa.

On December 18th, Lewis Eno died in McGregor. Lewis was eight-eight years old and passed away just ten months after his wife's death had ended their sixty-two year marriage. Lewis and Eliza are buried in McGregor's Pleasant Grove Cemetery.¹⁷⁴⁴

More deaths followed and by year's end the number of veterans in the state was down to 13,059 of whom 1,453 were eighty or older.

1916

In 1916 a Stutz Bearcat broke the transcontinental driving record by covering the distance from San Diego to New York in only eleven days and 7.5 hours. Horace Poole died in February and Jonathan Foster in March, both in Dubuque where they're buried in Linwood Cemetery.¹⁷⁴⁵ John Green died on May 8th after a year's battle with arterial sclerosis. He is buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery, Norfolk, Nebraska.¹⁷⁴⁶

On Memorial Day a soldiers' monument was dedicated in McGregor and in July the Elisha Boardman Post of the G.A.R., formed thirty-three years earlier, but its membership now depleted, was disbanded.

On September 26th, eighty-two year old George Purdy, who lost his wife and a daughter during the war, died in Kaweah where he was buried on a hillside in Three Rivers Cemetery.¹⁷⁴⁷ Company B's Theophilus Girard died in Greenfield, Iowa, on October 12th, eight months after he and Mary celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary. All eight of their children attended his funeral and remembered him as "*Dad Girard*," a man "*full of sunshine, good cheer, witticisms and jokes*," a man who was a "*cure for the blues*." Theo was buried in Greenfield Cemetery.¹⁷⁴⁸

William Barber had seen his monthly pension increased to \$21.50 and he and his wife of forty-nine years, were living in Long Beach when William died on December 9, 1916, at age seventy-three. He was survived by Izora and their three youngest children and was buried in the old Sunnyside Cemetery near other veterans who had moved west.¹⁷⁴⁹

Elizabeth Bethard received Jim's accrued pension and applied for her own and, in October, Jim Rice signed an affidavit on her behalf. In an uncertain hand, he swore to his lifelong friendship with Jim, to Jim's marriage to Cal and to Jim's death. Elizabeth's claim was approved in December.

1917

Lenin led a coup in Russia in 1917. John Merry died in Manchester on January 30th and was buried in Oakland Cemetery¹⁷⁵⁰ and on March 15th Sam Chapman, one of the Beaver Creek prisoners, died in Iowa's Marshalltown Soldiers Home. He was buried in the home's cemetery.¹⁷⁵¹

On April 2, 1917, thirty-six-year-old Jeanette Rankin, a Montana Republican, became the first female member of Congress when she took the oath of office. Having run on a platform of "*equal suffrage, prohibition and child care*," she was applauded when she walked into the House chamber for the first time.

On June 17th Julia Russell, Enos' widow, requested a pension. She had remarried and moved to Minnesota but her second husband also died and Enos, she said, had been "*killed in battle near Memphis*." When records revealed he was intoxicated and killed while resisting the Provost Guard her claim was denied.

¹⁷⁴³ Eli is buried in Chapel Hill Memorial Gardens, Freeport, Illinois. Find-a-Grave Memorial #200917441.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #27749344. His name is shown as both Louis and Lewis in government records.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Horace Poole is at Find-a-Grave Memorial #89631588. Jonathan Foster is at Find-a-Grave Memorial #126287223.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Find-a-Grave Memorial #59777999.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #23333658.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #64946620.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #6889758.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #35716807.

¹⁷⁵¹ Sam is buried in the Iowa Veterans Home Cemetery, Marshalltown, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #38959917.

By mid-year there were still 329,226 veterans on the federal pension rolls, 38,190 due to general debility and 291,036 due to age and length of service. Upset that his own payments had not been increased despite numerous requests, Nelson Reynolds, now a resident of Luverne, Minnesota, wrote to the bureau on August 14th pleading that he was "*greatly in need of the increase.*" A week later it was granted at \$30.00 a month.

In August members of the regiment attended a reunion in Colesburg, Iowa and, effective October 6, 1917, almost five years after Ira's death, Ella Chapman was approved for a widow's pension. He had told Ella, and the pension office, that he and his second wife had divorced. No evidence of the divorce could be found but Ella was able to prove that under Iowa law she and Ira had established a common law marriage upon which a pension could be based. From October 16th to the 17th, a National Memorial Reunion and Peace Jubilee was held in Vicksburg. Among those in attendance were "*216 soldiers on the Iowa train and their average age was seventy-six years and two months.*"¹⁷⁵²

1918

On February 10, 1918, Samuel Collins died. He was buried in Highview Cemetery, Epworth.¹⁷⁵³ On March 18th, Minnie and John Rogman celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary, and, a month later, Henry Potter, frustrated at not getting a pension increase, wrote from his home in Wisconsin, "*now what do you want do you want me to prove my rite to a pension I done that years ago if I was entitled to a pension of 24 dollars a month Nov 12 1912 I am entitled to 30 a month Dec 12 1917 now what you going to do a bout it I cannot furnish public church nor family record nor I would not if I could.*" After giving as much information as possible Henry closed - "*that's the whole dam family please give me something easier next time.*"

Congress passed a private bill authorizing \$40.00 for Robert Rice but, already entitled to that amount, he elected to be paid pursuant to the general law rather than the private bill. Iowa legislators debated pensions for the surviving veterans of the Frontier Guards of 1858 and 1859 and on November 11th hostilities in World War I, the war that would "*end all wars,*" came to a close.

1919

In 1919 the pop-up toaster was invented, the prohibition amendment was ratified and the Henry Howard Post of the G.A.R. was disbanded in Strawberry Point. The post was gone but its Woman's Relief Corps would continue to decorate graves of Civil War veterans with American flags.

Thomas Simons spent the winter with his brother in Leavenworth, Washington. He returned to Delhi on March 24th, but on the way contracted a severe cold that turned to pneumonia. He died at his home on April 3rd and is buried in Evergreen Cemetery, Delhi.¹⁷⁵⁴

On May 20th Jim Bethard's boyhood friend, seventy-nine year old James Tanner, died in Delta where he had retired ten years earlier. He was remembered by friends as one who "*was a good neighbor and in a quiet way lived to do good.*"¹⁷⁵⁵ Jim Bethard's wartime bunkmate and his wife's brother, Jim Rice, was eighty when he died in Dows, Iowa, on August 14th. He is buried in the city's Fairview Cemetery.¹⁷⁵⁶ In Oregon, on November 21st, seventy-seven year old William Dickinson died after suffering for years from arteriosclerosis. His body was cremated.

1920

In 1920, Eskimo Pies were invented by Christian Nelson (a teacher in Onawa, Iowa), the "*flapper*" look became the new rage, prohibition started on January 17th and, eight days later, fifty-six years after his capture in Texas, Charles Voorhees died of nephritis at the Battle Mountain Sanitarium, a home for disabled volunteers in Hot Springs, South Dakota.¹⁷⁵⁷ Seventy-five years old, he had not remarried after his wife's death in 1896 but had fought a sixteen

¹⁷⁵² W. W. Gist, *The Ages of the Soldiers in the Civil War*. The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (July 1918), page 391.

¹⁷⁵³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #85671251.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #74158074.

¹⁷⁵⁵

James Tanner is buried in Garret Cemetery, Delta, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #115512401. A short distance away is the grave of Jim Bethard.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Find-a-Grave Memorial #146751984.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Charles is buried in Rose Hill Cemetery, Albion, Nebraska. Find-a-Grave Memorial #139721414.

year battle with the Pension Bureau and lived part of the time with his daughter, Jennie Gradon, in Albion.

Ebenezer Still died on January 26th¹⁷⁵⁸ and his “widow” requested a pension. Katherine’s request seemed routine but Ebenezer was still married to Dorlisca when he “married” Mary Hendershott in 1868. Then, when Mary died, he had “married” Katherine Smith but that marriage also had not been legal and Katherine’s request for a pension was denied.

On March 29th, North McGregor was renamed Marquette. With a population of 850, it had the largest railroad terminus in Iowa, employing more than 400 in its rail yard.

Myron Knight was seventy-eight when he died in Strawberry Point on April 5th. He is buried near many of his comrades in Strawberry Point Cemetery.¹⁷⁵⁹

On May 13th, Missouri’s *Wright County Republican* reported that Company K’s seventy-seven-year-old John Lees had visited Hartville.

A VETERAN OF ‘63 VISITS THE SCENE OF HIS FIRST BATTLE

John Lee [sic] of Columbus, Kansas was in Hartville, Tuesday, having come to re-visit for the first time in 59 years the scene of his first engagement in battle, which occurred on Jan. 11, 1863, and is locally called the battle of Hartville. Mr. Lee related the following incidents concerning the engagement.

On the 8th day of January 1863, the 21st Iowa Infantry, the 99th Illinois Infantry, a battalion of the 3rd Missouri Cavalry and 2 guns of another battery were ordered from Houston Mo. to Springfield, to reenforce the army there. Mr. Lee belonged to the 21st Iowa and was familiar only with his company. They were commanded by Col. Samuel Merrill. Colonel C. W. Dunlap was Lieutenant Colonel. January 10th they marched into Hartville on the Houston road and stopped for dinner on the street just east of the square, not being aware of any other forces in the vicinity. A picket the border until January. 1917. He was placed on all roads into town Three leads of dressed pork were stopped by the picket on the Mansfield road and en questioning it was found the pork had been sent into Hartville for General Marmaduke who was in command of the confederate forces. The picket told the drivers he would take them to headquarters and brought them into town, turning them over to the Federal forces who appreciated the added ration of fresh pork to their somewhat stale hardtack and bacon. After dinner the army again took up the march going west along the school house ridge about 8 miles to Woods Fork, where they camped for the night.

At 2 o’clock a.m. Sunday morning January 11, reveille was sounded and the boys in blue arose and breakfasted on hardtack with the remains of the fresh pork, and took up the march toward Springfield. A mile south of the Union forces General Marmaduke and his army was camped, neither camp having been aware up to this time of the close proximity of the other army. The bugles warned the Confederate army that the Federal forces were near it was later learned. The 3rd Missouri took a number of captives.

Marmaduke then retreated along what was called the ridge road and took up position on the Steel Hill, just east of Hartville, locating his batteries along the bluff.

From the captives the Federal commander found out the movements of General Marmaduke and his forces and they likewise retreated to Hartville taking up their position on the hill where the school house now stands, just west of town. Before the Federal forces had their guns placed the Confederates opened fire. The first shot hit the bluff and rolled along the ground, the companies opening up and the ball passing between the lines. The second shot exploded a fragment striking Col. Dunlap who held a sword in his hand and pierced the hand, severing his fingers. A hot battle waged for hours beginning at 9:00 in the morning and lasting until 9:30 in the evening Before the days close both armies had advanced until it was an almost hand to hand struggle in the village streets. Col. Porter of the Confederate army advanced his company in front of the old court house and almost as soon as he gained the position, was shot from his beautiful white horse, falling into the dust of the street. Immediately he was carried to the rear but died on the battle field. Col. McDonald attempted to take up a like position and met a like fate. The confederates took a cannon up stairs in the court house to fire down into the Union ranks but Col. Merrill, being apprised of the fact, opened fire on the court house. The first shot went thru, killing men on the other side of the building, wrecking the cannon there placed and tearing a hole in the roof. Neither army seems to have been aware of the number of men against them and about the same time began retreating. General Marmaduke and his forces moved east, the 99th Missouri retreated by the way of

¹⁷⁵⁸ George Ebenezer Still is buried in North Cemetery, Lawler, Iowa. Find-a-Grave Memorial #168053948.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #18765343.

Lebanon. The 21st Iowa, the last to leave the battle field came down into town with a flag of truce, finding nobody here as General Marmaduke had also retreated. After being here about an hour rode into town also under a flag of truce.

The wounded were cared for and the dead buried. The 21st men marched after their comrades toward Lebanon. Of the 21, 7 men were wounded and 1 killed.

It is tradition that Marmaduke before starting on his retreat, ran his cannons over the bluff into the river bed where they lie buried in sand. Also it is said that dead men and horses were thickly strewn over the valley from the fallen rebel forces. - Hartville Republican.

Cal's brother, Robert Rice, had served with the state's 9th Cavalry and after the war worked as a stockbroker while suffering from "*cancer of the face.*" On May 23d he died at seventy-six years of age. Buried in Pleasant Grove Cemetery, Sigourney, Iowa, he was survived by four of his five children and by eleven grandchildren.¹⁷⁶⁰

Writing in an uncertain hand on June 5th, seventy-six year old John Rogman requested an increase in his pension. He was still troubled by the double inguinal hernia caused by his injury at Vicksburg, his mind was slipping and he needed constant care. His doctor argued that John "*has always been a hard worker and is honest*" but unless attended would remove his truss and clothing and not attend to the wants of nature.

On August 26th, the 19th Amendment was signed into law and women were granted the right to vote, fifty years after the 15th Amendment had granted the right to black men and seventy-two years after the New York convention of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton adopted a Declaration of Sentiments.

In the west, the commandant of the Oregon State Soldiers' Home reported on October 1st that membership of the home had decreased during the last two years "*due in large part to the passing away of those veterans of the Civil War*" who were eligible for its benefits.¹⁷⁶¹ One of the 130 still in residence was Henry Spangler who had served in the regiment's Company G.

1921

In 1921 actor Fatty Arbuckle was acquitted of charges of rape and murder, "*I'd walk a mile for a Camel*" became a new cigarette slogan and, on New Year's Day, Andrew Hannah, who had suffered a rupture when thrown from a mule in Missouri and been captured in Alabama, died in Detroit where his son, Edwin, also lived. Edwin accompanied his father's body when it was taken by train to Moline. Andrew was buried in Chippiannock Cemetery on Rock Island where his wife, Mary, had been buried in 1918.¹⁷⁶²

On March 4th, Frank Fairburn, an attorney in Fonda, wrote to advise the Bureau of Pensions that eighty-one-year-old Jacob Kephart of Company C:

*"was on the 28th day of February, 1921 found dead in his house in Calhoun Co., Iowa. He lived alone in a shack on some Government land in Calhoun County, Iowa, and had nothing but a dog, two cats and a few silver dollars in his pocket when he died. He was buried in Cedar Cemetery, Fonda, Iowa by the local G.A.R. Post, which is now composed of only four or five veterans. The Post is not financially able, nor are its members, to pay for the cemetery lot and funeral expenses of their comrade."*¹⁷⁶³

Cyrus Craig, Company G, was serving as mayor of Colesburg when he died at home on April 17, 1921. He is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Colesburg, Iowa.¹⁷⁶⁴

George Dunn had moved into an Iowa soldier's home in 1907 and then transferred to the Washington Soldiers Home in Orting while his wife, Ellen, lived with one of their sons and then a daughter. George died on July 26th at age eighty-five.¹⁷⁶⁵

¹⁷⁶⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #9613691.

¹⁷⁶¹ Fourth Biennial Report of the Oregon State Board of Control (State Printing Department, 1920), page 231.

¹⁷⁶² Find-a-Grave Memorial #174957737.

¹⁷⁶³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #160698561. A copy of the letters in Jacob's pension file with the National Archives & Records Administration.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #47107784.

¹⁷⁶⁵ George is buried in Washington Soldiers Home Cemetery, Orting, Washington. Find-a-Grave Memorial #5550859.

On September 14th, Margaret Gorman Cahill became the country's first Miss America and, on the morning of October 4th, George Pilkington, "*engaged in the business of Furniture and Undertaking*," was called to the home of William Robbins' widow and found that Nancy had died during the night.¹⁷⁶⁶

1922

In 1922 explorers led by Howard Carter discovered the tomb of King Tutankhamun in Egypt's Valley of the Kings and, on January 31st, James Adams died in Kansas. He was preceded in death by his two brothers, Willard who died in 1906 and Asher who died in 1919. Willard is buried in Luana Cemetery, Luana, while Asher and William are buried in Osage Cemetery, Osage, Kansas.¹⁷⁶⁷

John Rogman passed away on May 13th after suffering from paralysis and was buried in Pleasant View Cemetery, Orchard, Nebraska.¹⁷⁶⁸ Minnie requested a pension and a supportive deputy noted that "*German Lutherans are not noted for loose morals*." On May 30th, the Lincoln Memorial was dedicated in Washington, Lincoln's son Robert attended and Chief Justice Taft remarked that;

"here on the banks of the Potomac, the boundary between the two sections, whose conflict made the burden, passion and triumph of [Lincoln's] life, it is peculiarly appropriate that [the Memorial] should stand. Visible in its distant beauty from the Capitol, whose great dome typified the Union which he saved, seen in all its grandeur from Arlington, where lie the Nation's honored dead who fell in the conflict, Union and Confederate alike. . . ."

Judson Hamilton, the regiment's initial Quartermaster, died in California on August 25th. He was buried in the Odd Fellows Cemetery in Hollister where his wife, Martha, was buried four years earlier.¹⁷⁶⁹

Eighty-two year old Cornelius Scott, "*one of the dwindling band of Union army veterans in this county*," died in Manchester on November 24th. For almost sixty years he had suffered from the stone bruise suffered in Mississippi. For twenty-seven of those years, after the amputation, he used a prosthesis that creaked when he walked and caused pain in the stump of his leg. Cornelius was buried in Oakland Cemetery, Manchester, Iowa.¹⁷⁷⁰

1923

Yankee Stadium was built in 1923, the first "*sound-on-film*" motion picture was shown in April and, in Georgia, work began on a Stone Mountain sculpture to honor Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, the same year the mountain's owner granted an easement to the Ku Klux Klan to hold rallies.

1924

In 1924 Philip Morris introduced Marlboro as a woman's cigarette that was "*Mild as May*," Macy's held its first Thanksgiving Day Parade, Tijuana chef Caesar Cardini (or one of his employees) created the Caesar salad, and Mary and Nelson Reynolds moved to California.

James and Sarah Logsdon had their only child, Loretta, in 1868, Sarah died two years later and James remained a widower. On January 20th he died at Loretta's home in Colorado. He was buried in Prairie Queen Cemetery in Baca County.¹⁷⁷¹

Charlie Robbins passed away in Osborne on April 3d at age eighty-seven. He is buried in the same Mederville

¹⁷⁶⁶ Nancy Ann (Scovel) Robbins, like her husband, is buried in Edgewood Cemetery, Edgewood, Iowa. Memorial #5760934.
¹⁷⁶⁷

Find-a-Grave Memorial #31209145 (Asher Adams). Find-a-Grave Memorial #31209212 (James Adams). Find-a-Grave Memorial #175476502 (Willard Adams).

¹⁷⁶⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #133670991.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #114745584.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #35819672.

¹⁷⁷¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #9016733.

Cemetery, Elkader, where his wife, Hannah, had been buried eleven years earlier.¹⁷⁷²

At seventy-nine years of age Aaron Frankeberger, Cal's cousin, needed constant care from his daughter and, in September, was examined by a Board of Surgeons. Although suffering for years from lumbago, catarrh of the stomach, bladder problems, deafness, poor eyesight and dizzy spells that caused him to fall, he was never one to complain and even his doctors noted "*the board considers applicant in a more depressed and weak condition than he really considers himself.*"

1925

In 1925 Lon Chaney starred in *The Phantom of the Opera*, the Charleston was the latest dance rage, science teacher John Scopes was convicted of teaching evolution in a Tennessee high school and twenty-one year old Lou Gehrig played in a baseball game and started a streak that would not end for another fourteen years or be surpassed for another seventy. Sylvester Sperring, who had served in Company A before being transferred to Company F when the early enlistees were mustered out, was eighty-five years old when he died on May 13, 1925. He was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery, Thompson, Iowa.¹⁷⁷³

William Appleton, formerly a Corporal in Company B, died in June. He was buried in Colesburg's Brown Cemetery.¹⁷⁷⁴

Marion E. Griffin, a 2d Sergeant in Company F, died on October 14th, four days after his eighty-first birthday. Having enlisted as an eighteen-year-old from Dubuque, he was now remembered as a "*wealthy pioneer*" in Clay County who had established a private banking business in 1869 and owned "*several thousands of acres*" of farm lands including "*the famous Griffin Ranch.*" He was buried in Riverside Cemetery, Spencer, Iowa.¹⁷⁷⁵

1926

Scotsman John Logie Baird demonstrated a television system in 1926, Robert Goddard demonstrated the practicality of rockets, Herbert Sellner invented an amusement park ride he called Tilt-a-Wheel and Erik "*Houdini*" Weisz died of peritonitis.

At eighty-four years of age, William Brady, a veteran from the 21st's Company C, spent the summer completing work on a Lincoln Memorial Cabin on the Delaware County fairgrounds, a cabin he envisioned as a reminder of the conditions from which President Lincoln had risen to the presidency. William had, said a news article announcing its July 4th dedication, served under General Grant at Vicksburg where "*he learned to fight it out to the goal he had fixed.*" Five months later, his project complete, William died. He is buried in Manchester's Oakland Cemetery.

George Hess died at a soldier's home in Los Angeles on November 16th. After being wounded at the Big Black sixty-three years earlier, he had experienced constant pain and weakness in his left hip and, in later years, was able to walk only with the aid of a cane. He is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery, St. Louis.

1927

In 1927 Al Jolson performed in *The Jazz Singer*, Charles Lindbergh flew the Atlantic and, after a career as a tool makers, Albert Knight died in Cleveland where his body was cremated.

1928

In 1928 Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin, Amelia Earhart became the first woman to fly across the Atlantic, Herbert Hoover was elected president and a bust of Iowa's wartime Governor, Samuel Kirkwood, was erected at Vicksburg.

George Purdy had lost his wife, Julia, and one of his daughters while he was serving in Missouri in 1863. Betsey,

¹⁷⁷² Find-a-Grave Memorial #18383348.

¹⁷⁷³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #61787665.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #129470595.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Find-a-Grave Memorial #152532854.

his second wife, died on January 31st and was buried next to George in the Three Rivers Cemetery¹⁷⁷⁶ and, on April 20th, Felix Robertson, the last of the Confederate generals, passed away at his home in Waco, Texas.

Company B's Charles Reeves had gone west after the war and spent thirty-eight years working as a barber in Wallace, Washington. While there, he acquired an interest in an Idaho lead and silver mine that let him live comfortably for the rest of his life. On May 20th, after the death of his wife and six of their fifteen children, Charles died in Spokane where he was buried in Riverside Memorial Park.¹⁷⁷⁷

1929

1929 saw a St. Valentine's Day massacre in Chicago, a Teapot Dome Scandal in Washington, a stock market crash in New York and the debut of Popeye the Sailor Man in comic strips. On June 14th, Roger McCoy passed away in Craig, Missouri at eighty-one years of age. After being mustered in at West Plains as a seventeen year old drummer, he had served five months with the regiment before being discharged for illness, but had then recovered sufficiently to join the 12th Missouri Cavalry and serve another twenty-six months before his final discharge in 1866. Roger is buried in Craig's Tharp Cemetery.¹⁷⁷⁸

On October 1st, the cornerstone of Keokuk's old Estes House, all that was left of the wartime hospital, was placed in the nearby National Cemetery as a memorial to former patients who rested there. Eighty-seven year old John Baade was in failing health at his home in Farmersburg. He needed constant care from his daughter, Mathilda (*"it is at all times necessary for me to feed him and to take off and put on his garments,* she said). Enoch Anderson, husband of John's daughter Leona, asked the Commissioner to expedite John's request for a pension increase. *"By the time you get through investigate,"* he said, *"he will be dead. What good will he have then of the disability pension."* The government said it was investigating and asked for a doctor's affidavit. On November 2d John died. He is buried in Monona Cemetery.¹⁷⁷⁹

On November 3rd, Company B's George Crop died in Monticello, Iowa. He was buried in the city's Oakwood Cemetery next to his wife, Tryphena, who had died in 1907.¹⁷⁸⁰

1930

Martin Baal of Company B died on April 12, 1930. Unable to return to his pre-war occupation of farming due to the amputation of his right foot after being wounded at the Big Black River, Martin had worked as a cigar maker in Dubuque where he is buried in Linwood Cemetery.¹⁷⁸¹

Company D's George Wiltse, who had been slightly wounded at Vicksburg, passed away on July 13th in Montezuma, Iowa, where he had served eighteen years as Postmaster. George is buried in the Masonic IOOF Cemetery in Montezuma. His obituary says *"his death leaves but one member of old Co. D alive - Henry Firman of Dundee."*¹⁷⁸²

1931

In 1931 the Empire State Building opened in New York, completion of Hoover Dam was delayed when striking workers demanded a \$5.00 minimum daily wage, Nevada legalized gambling and Al Capone was convicted of tax evasion.

Henry Porter who had joined the regiment as a new recruit worked in the hardware business and served as a Clerk, Assessor and Justice of the Peace after the war. He died on March 21, 1931, and was buried in Mount Clark Cemetery, Central City.¹⁷⁸³

On July 1st, William Earle Dunn was called to his sister's house in Omaha, to the bedside of his sixty-nine-year-

¹⁷⁷⁶ Find-a-Grave Memorial #23767540.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Find-a-Grave Memorial #93055156.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #45132170.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #35324614.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #114781492.

¹⁷⁸¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #83144843.

¹⁷⁸² Find-a-Grave Memorial #87093990.

¹⁷⁸³ Find-a-Grave Memorials #41777164.

old mother, Nellie Charity Bethard Dunn. The next morning Ella, Jim's "little jade" whom he had dreamed about during the war and whose "nubby" photograph he had enjoyed while serving at Vicksburg, died. After three strokes she had suffered from paralysis. Her body was shipped to Iowa and she is buried in Conner Cemetery, Sigourney.¹⁷⁸⁴

1932

Charles Lindbergh, Jr., was kidnaped on March 1, 1932. His picture appeared on the cover of the May 2, 1932, issue of *Time* magazine, the same date that Jack Benny made his first professional radio appearance. On May 12th, the body of "the Lindbergh baby" was found. In June, an automobile bridge connecting Prairie du Chien and Marquette was dedicated replacing the three car ferries - *Wanamingo*, *Lorese* and *Rob Roy*. At the time, it was the only suspension bridge crossing the Mississippi River.

On July 12th Nelson Reynolds and his family were living in Arcadia, California, when Mary requested pension forms so she could help her husband and reflected on their long life together. "Surely" she said:

"the World is all O.K. and beautiful is it not? But age comes finding myself 83 years . . . I married said veteran in 1868 - 64 years came. Was 18. Long, long road, was it not? Children in heaven, save one in Honolulu."

Nelson's pension was increased to \$100.00 in August and, on November 28th, ninety year old Henry Potter died in Missouri after living with his daughter for the previous six months. He was buried in Reeds Cemetery in Jasper County.¹⁷⁸⁵

1933

Ratification of the 21st Amendment ended prohibition in 1933, Adolph Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and Adelbert Ames died in Florida at age ninety-eight. Ames had married a daughter of Benjamin Butler and fought at First Manassas, Malvern Hill, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Petersburg and Fort Fisher and was the last surviving full-rank General on either side of the war. On May 24th Sam Byers, a postwar diplomat, a poet, an author quoted frequently in this narrative and the last surviving member of General Sherman's staff, passed away at age ninety-four.

1934

On May 23d Bonnie & Clyde were killed in a police shootout.

On July 3d, Nelson Reynolds who, seventy-one years earlier, had helped carry a wounded William Barber from between the lines at Vicksburg, was penniless when he was admitted to the Sawtelle National Soldiers Hospital in West Los Angeles. Nelson was incapacitated, hospital care was essential, he was confined to bed, mentally incompetent and suffering from cancer. On September 20th he died and two days later was buried in San Gabriel Cemetery. Personal effects included a pair of glasses, a purse, a hair brush, a razor, a pair of slippers and a packet of letters.¹⁷⁸⁶

1935

In 1935, Bruno Hauptmann was convicted of the Lindbergh kidnaping and membership in the G.A.R. was down "to about 6,000, and deaths were occurring at the rate of 130 per month." In Iowa, membership was scarcely 200. Twelve of the remaining posts were reduced to a single member but sixty-two men attended that year's convention in Waterloo.

*A handful of old men, walking down the village street,
In word brushed uniforms, their gray heads high;
A faded flag above them, one drum to lift their feet -*

¹⁷⁸⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #110555828.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Find-a-Grave Memorial #75494376.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Find-a-Grave Memorial #9622809.

*Look again, O heart of mine, and see what passes by.*¹⁷⁸⁷

On February 16th, suffering from arteriosclerosis at ninety-one, William R. Hall passed away at the Veterans Administration home in Kansas City. William had suffered a leg wound during the July 1863 pursuit of General Johnston to Jackson and was one of the men who enlisted in the 49th Indiana Heavy Artillery after being released from New Orleans' Convalescent Camp without being discharged from the 21st Iowa Infantry and was then returned to his proper regiment. He is buried in Bonner Springs Cemetery, Bonner Springs, Kansas.¹⁷⁸⁸

On August 8th, Izora Barber died in Omaha. Her son, a local dentist, arranged for his mother's remains to be returned to Long Beach for burial next to her husband.

On August 15th, Will Rogers and Wiley Post died in a plane crash in Alaska and, in October, George Gershwin debuted an opera called *Porgy and Bess*.

1936

Boulder Dam was completed in 1936, Lucky Luciano was convicted of prostitution conspiracy and Margaret Mitchell published *Gone With the Wind*. Her somewhat controversial novel took place during the Civil War but there were few veterans left to read it.

1937

On March 31, 1937, Elizabeth Bethard moved to Kenmore Avenue in Chicago and on May 28th San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge was opened to traffic.

On August 4, 1937, Erastus "Rast" Smith died in Central City at ninety-five years of age. He was buried beside his wife in Delhi's Evergreen Cemetery.¹⁷⁸⁹

1938

Cal's cousin Aaron Frankeberger was "*not much behind*" Eli when it came to wildness and continued to impress not only his doctors but also a VA pension examiner. Aaron was living with his daughter near Freeport, Illinois, when an examiner visited and noted that, despite his frailties, Aaron still "*reads, writes, signs our checks*" and transacts all his own business. He was well dressed, clean and neat with no signs of mental disorder. As others had noted earlier, the examiner felt "*the veteran was an interesting old gentleman to talk to, he carried on a general conversation in a normal manner.*" On March 9th, at ninety-two years of age, Aaron passed away after suffering several months from chronic nephritis. He was buried in Rock Grove's Union Cemetery.¹⁷⁹⁰

On May 7, 1838, one day after his ninety-ninth birthday, Company H's Allen Scott died in Burrton, Kansas, where he had lived for the previous thirty-two years and worked as a farmer and railroad engineer, reportedly sometimes shooting buffalo from a train's engine. Allen is buried in Burrton Cemetery.¹⁷⁹¹

1943

On May 21, 1843, ninety-four-year-old James Henry Firman died. Although his age was listed as eighteen, he was only sixteen when he enlisted on June 24, 1865, while the regiment was already in Baton Rouge waiting to be mustered out of service. On July 12th, he had been transferred to the 34th/38th Consolidated Infantry. Henry is buried in the Iowa Veterans Home Cemetery in Marshalltown.¹⁷⁹²

1944

On May 22, 1944, at 12:15pm, Elizabeth (Kale) Bethard, Jim's second wife, died at approximately eighty-seven

¹⁷⁸⁷ Jacob A. Swisher, *The Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic* (State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936).

¹⁷⁸⁸ Find-a-Grave Memorial #8818772.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #120426165.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Find-a-Grave Memorial #50148751.

¹⁷⁹¹ Find-a-Grave Memorial #19848285.

¹⁷⁹² Find-a-Grave Memorial #39154107.

years of age. She had moved to Racine Avenue in Chicago the previous April and her son, Dale, wrote to the VA, advised them of his mother's death and asked for repayment of her medical and burial expenses. The Director of Dependents Claims Service responded and, reflective of problems Elizabeth had encountered with her pension during her life, the Bureau's letter to her son started "*Dear Madam.*" The expenses, they said, could possibly be paid from her accrued benefits, providing Form 601 were completed and filed with bills and a copy of the public record of death properly certified and sealed, and further providing that this be done no later than one year from the date of death. The claim was not pursued. On June 2d, Nelson Reynolds' widow, Mary Ann, the fifteen-year-old he had stopped to see on the way home from the war, died at age ninety-four. She was buried with Nelson in San Gabriel Cemetery. Four days later Allied forces invaded Normandy in the largest amphibious landing since General Grant's army crossed to Bruinsburg eighty-one years earlier.

1945

Simon Buckner had served the Confederacy well, but the Union continued, as did war. It did not end with the first world war and did not end with the second. In 1945 Buckner's son, Simon Jr., a Lieutenant General with the U.S. Army, was killed on Okinawa.

On October 14th, Jim's daughter, Sarah Gertrude (Bethard) Blakely, died in Los Angeles. Her body was returned to Iowa where she is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Fort Dodge.¹⁷⁹³ Information for the coroner was provided by her daughter Violet who, sadly, knew little of her grandparents and indicated only that Jim Bethard and "*Unk. Rice*" had been born somewhere in the United States.

1946

Federal forces evacuated Jefferson Barracks in 1946 after 120 years of continuous use. Part of the facility was taken over by the Missouri National Guard and part was transformed into an historical park. Wooden barracks were removed, but several stone buildings remained. Its national cemetery continues to grow but gravestones for Civil War dead, including Alfred Hall, the first member of Company B to die, and eighteen of his comrades from the 21st Iowa, are breaking and falling and rapidly fading as more and more names are lost forever.

1949

On September 20, 1949, James Patterson Marlin, became the last Civil War veteran to die in Iowa. Born in Scotland, he had served with the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery and passed away in Sutherland at age 101.

Two months later, on November 20th, the Grand Army of the Republic held its final encampment. Only six veterans were present, aged 100 to 108, but its memory has been preserved by the metal G.A.R. markers standing by the graves of thousands of veterans in thousands of cemeteries throughout a country they helped to keep united.

1977

On May 31, 1977, James Dale Bethard, son of Jim Bethard and his second wife (Elizabeth Kile), died in Syracuse, New York. He was buried in White Chapel Memory Gardens, DeWitt, New York.¹⁷⁹⁴

2003

On January 17, 2003, Gertrude Janeway, the last known widow of a Union veteran, died. In 1927, she was eighteen years old when she married eighty-one year old John Janeway, an officer in the 14th Illinois Cavalry. She is buried in New Corinth Cemetery, Blaine, Tennessee.

2008

On August 17, 2008, Maudie Hopkins, the last known widow of a Confederate veteran died in Lexa, Arkansas, at

¹⁷⁹³ Find-a-Grave Memorial #26543833.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Find-a-Grave Memorial #128535747.

ninety-three years of age. She was nineteen years old when she married eighty-six year old William M. Cantrell who had served in the Virginia infantry. Maudie is buried in Sunset Memorial Park, Walnut Corner, Arkansas.

CASUALTIES

The following casualties have been verified from military and pension records.

Wagon Train at Beaver Creek
(November 24, 1862)

Since the teamsters driving the supply wagons from Rolls to Hartville, and their guards, were hand-picked from different companies, the casualties are not indicative of the number involved from any one company.

<u>Killed in action</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal)</u>	<u>Captured & Paroled</u>
D George W. Chapman	A Philip D. Wood G Cyrus M. Henderson	D John J. Robinson D Enos M. Russell H Nelson F. Simpson	A Samuel B. Chapman A Lewis McCrary B Robert James Poole B William Orval Wood D John W. Lowe D John J. Robinson D Francis B. Ruff F George C. Luck G Patrick Burns H Nelson F. Simpson K Arnold F. Horton K Leverett F. Stone K Jacob Van Antwerp

Battle of Hartville
(January 11, 1863)

On January 11, 1863, members of the regiment fought a one-day battle at Hartville, Missouri. Included were approximately 25 volunteers from each company, an officer from each company, Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap and Colonel Merrill. The disproportionate number of casualties in Company K indicates that they have been in the most precarious position on the Union line.

<u>Killed in action</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal)</u>	<u>Captured</u>
B Carl Possehl H Charles Ira Carlton K Harrison Hefner	C William Jones	Cornelius W. Dunlap C John H. Alexander C Richard Cook? C John W. Miller D Samuel Wallace Moore I Jacob Hoops K Freeman Fear K David Hiner K Adam Lukesinger K George Simons K Erastus Smith K Henry B. Stone K Ward White	C Charles Kellogg

Crossing the Mississippi River
(04/30/1863)

<u>Killed in Action</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal)</u>	<u>Captured</u>
		B Cordon Hewitt (foot)	

Battle of Port Gibson

(May 1, 1863)

<u>Killed in Action</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal)</u>	<u>Captured</u>
	E Charles Roehl	Samuel Merrill	C James Russell
	F William Comstock	Cornelius Dunlap	D Duane Grannis
	H John Van Kuran	A Charles E. George	F George C. Luck
		A Jacob Moss	I John Loes
		D Richard Cunningham	
		F Levi Benton	
		F Luther B. Jordan	
		F John Leehey	
		F Cyrus McLane	
		F James K. Peters	
		F Aaron Benjamin Story	
		F Benjamin Strane	
		G Edward Murray	

Captured:

On May 2, 1863 the left wing of the regiment “returned to Port Gibson to assist in paroling prisoners. At this time a cavalry detachment of the enemy captured the ambulance train, and four men of the 21st Iowa were taken prisoner.” George Crooke, The Twenty-First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, page 62.

Also see Edwin Cole Bearss, The Vicksburg Campaign (Morningside House Inc., Dayton, Ohio, 1986), Volume II, page 448, referencing diary of Ira W. Hunt in files of Vicksburg National Military Park; OR, Series I, Volume 24, Part 2, Page 133; and Hass, The Diary of Henry Clay Warmouth, Part 2 (April 28, 1863 - May 26, 1863), Page 67.

George Crooke indicates they were captured May 2, 1863. Regimental records show four men captured but indicate John Loes was captured April 30, 1863 on picket, James Russell was captured May 2, 1863 while an ambulance driver, and Duane Grannis and George C. Luck were both captured May 4, 1863 when they were ambulance drivers.

Big Black River Bridge

(May 17, 1863)

<u>Killed in Action (7)</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal) (18)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal) (40)</u>	
D Sam'l Wallace Moore A	George Stearns	Samuel Merrill	both thighs/hips
E George Boxleiter,	B William H. Alloway	A Levatus Fuller	loss of index finger (discharged)
E August Kessler	B Henry Howard	A Michael Madden	
E John Frank Muth	C Richard C. Cook	B Henry G. Carrier	arm and chest
H William Kenyon	C Robert Fern	B Henry Chiles	left thigh; treated
I Henry W. Britton	E Frederick Bauer	B William W. Lyons	left hand; finger amputated
K William Haslam	E Anthony Gehrig	B David J. Maxson	severe
	E John Dietrich	C John Clements	
	E Henry Racy	C Benjamin C. Cox	
	F Cyrus McLane	C George L. Fisher	right leg
	G George W. Dean	C Sylvester A. Haven	
	H Horace B. Duel	D John W. Stahl	slight
	H Charles C. Moore	E Martin Baal	right foot (amputated)
	I John Q. Angell	E George Henry Hess	rear of hip (severe)
	I Edward F. Sweet	E Bernhard Kirst	
	K Addison E. Hopson	E Andrew Y. McDonaldright	arm above elbow (ball embed)
	K Reese Merrick	F Frederick W. Baker	
	K Edwin Myres (Myers)	F Isaac M. Heughs	right hand (shot off at wrist)
		F Cyrus McLane	leg
		F James H. Russell	right arm
		F James Stephenson	
		G Francis Palmer	
		G Andrew Wick	
		G James W. Brown	
		G Dan Donahue	foot
		G Gilbert Gulbranson	

G	William	right wrist; left leg
H	Willie E. Brown	
H	David D. Griffith	right hip joint
I	Henry Barr	
I	Daniel E. Fuller	
I	John F. Horner	
I	Henry Price	
I	Elon Rafferty	slight
I	Henry Smith	
K	Nathan G. Carpenter	
K	John A. Dalrymple	
K	Henry Hiner	
K	Jacob B. Miller	
K	Allen L. Wilson	

Assault at Vicksburg
(May 22, 1863)

<u>Killed in Action (23)</u>	<u>Wounded (fatal)(12)</u>	<u>Wounded (non-fatal) (48)</u>	
Cornelius Dunlap	D Augustus A. Renwick	Salve G. Van Anda	
A Wallace McMaster	E David W. Preston	A Allen Adams	
C Lemuel Bowman	E Joseph Schoepf	A William O. Breeden	
C James Garth	F Charles E. Corey	A William M. Buel	
C Thomas Lockey	H Chas. O. C. Anderson	A William H. Collins	
C John W. Miller	I Samuel Bates	A John M. Hensley	
C Richard J. Raw	I Curtis Dean	A J. L. Wheeler	
C George Simpson	I James Dick	A Philip Winterstein	
D Thomas Grayson	I Greenberry Halfill	C William Axford	
D Thomas Hays	I George Patterson	C Henry Beadell	
D William Hood	K Arnold Horton	C Edwin H. Burke	
D Jacob Stemgrimson	K William A. Roberts	C George W. Darrow	
E Deitrich Knoebil		C James Dawson	
F Solomon Story		C Jesse M. Harrison	
F John Strane		C Andrew D. Kline	
G			William W. Farrand
G William H. Griffith		D	
H Henry Cassell			
I George W. Anderson			
I John Engall			
I Martin Heitchew			
I George McFadden		G William Barber	
K Francis Harrington Hefner			

Mobile Campaign

C Arnold Allen03/29/65killed in action