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# The Elkhart County Guards : Company G, 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry

Eugene D. Watkins

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THE ELKHART COUNTY GUARDS:  
COMPANY G, 19<sup>TH</sup> INDIANA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

By

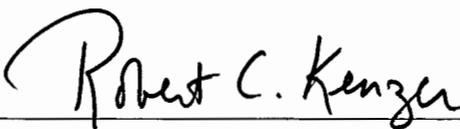
EUGENE D. WATKINS

M.A., University of Richmond, 1999

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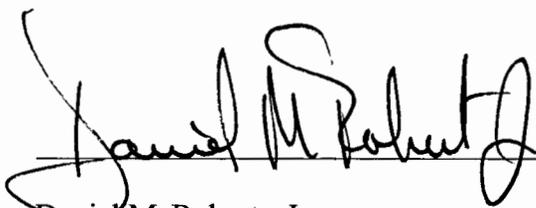
In July 1861, 101 farm boys and shopkeepers left northern Indiana to do their part to save the Union. These men, who formed Company G, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Infantry, served with distinction in the famed Iron Brigade. They received their baptism of fire at Brawner's Farm in August 1862. They served for four years, suffering on such battlefields as Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. Twenty-five soldiers never returned home as they died during their service. The rest scattered across the country, living out their lives struggling with disabling illnesses and wounds. This study provides a micro-history focusing on a small group of men. It looks at the Civil War from the bottom up, revealing the experiences of the men who actually fought and died in the war. So many Civil War publications look only at generals or armies and lose sight of the common soldiers. This thesis particularly emphasizes how the unit's command politics shifted from a democratic selection process to one based more on merit.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor



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THE ELKHART COUNTY GUARDS  
COMPANY G, 19<sup>TH</sup> INDIANA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

By

EUGENE D. WATKINS

B.A., Millikin University, 1997

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the University of Richmond

in Candidacy

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: THE PRE-WAR LIVES	4
CHAPTER 2: THE WAR BEGINS	14
CHAPTER 3: THE WAR INTENSIFIES	36
CHAPTER 4: THE TURNING POINT	60
CHAPTER 5: THE FINAL YEARS	79
CHAPTER 6: THE POST-WAR LIVES	97
CONCLUSION	129
APPENDIX	134
BIBLIOGRAPHY	135

## INTRODUCTION

Loud cheers were frequently given when some particular regiment or brigade passed by. Especially when, while resting on the roadside..., the 1<sup>st</sup> corps came along with the 'full moon' on its banners, and as the great Western or Iron Brigade passed, looking like giants with their tall black hats, they were greeted with hearty cheers... And giants they were, in action... I look back and see that famed body of troops marching up that long muddy hill unmindful of the pouring rain, but full of life and spirit, with steady step, filling the entire roadway, their big black hats and feathers conspicuous...<sup>1</sup>

The unit so described, the Iron Brigade, also known as the Western or Black Hat Brigade, included the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin regiments; the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana regiment, and, in late 1862, the 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan. The Iron Brigade served with distinction. Their reputation was gained on such bloody fields as Brawner's Farm and Antietam where casualties nearly obliterated the unit's effectiveness. The Iron Brigade was set apart by its distinctive uniforms of long, dark blue frock coats, white gaiters, and large, black Hardee hats. The coats and gaiters wore out and many times were not replaced. The Hardee hats became a symbol of the unit and were worn throughout the war. A third reason for its special reputation was that the brigade, at least up through Gettysburg, was an all-western organization serving in the Eastern Theatre.

The focus of this study is the Elkhart County Guards, Company G of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry. The 19<sup>th</sup> sent ten companies off to war, most hailing from central or eastern Indiana counties. Company G was recruited in northern Indiana from Elkhart County and the surrounding area. Throughout the course of the war, 114 men served in the ranks of Company G. A total of 101 men enlisted in the company at the

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<sup>1</sup>Alan T. Nolan, The Iron Brigade: A Military History (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 219.

start of the war and were mustered into federal service on 29 July 1861. Thirteen other recruits enlisted from 1862-1864.

In looking at Company G this study is unique because it provides a micro-history focusing on the experiences of a small group of western men thrown into the Eastern Theatre of the Civil War. Whereas many studies of the Civil War investigate armies and army commanders, this thesis discusses the formation of a unit from the bottom up through the eyes of the men who actually fought. Not only is a micro-history of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana explored, but this study also looks at the famed Iron Brigade from the bottom up, revealing the experiences of some of the men behind that unit's reputation.

In addition to describing every day life and the trials of combat for these enlisted men, this study illustrates the rivalries and politics surrounding the election of officers at the company level. The shift from the democratic ways the men selected their officers early in the war to the more autocratic form of promotion based on merit or necessity rather than popularity can be seen as well.

This thesis does not stop with the ending of hostilities in 1865. The long-term impact of the war upon the survivors' lives is looked at, revealing the suffering that stayed with them until they died.

In order to capture the essence of the Elkhart County Guards, it is necessary to look at a number of different sources. The 1860 federal census revealed how the men lived before the war. Such information as real estate and personal estate holdings, the size of or lack of families, age, state of birth, and occupations all appear on the census. Compiled Military Service Records, letters, newspapers, and regimental reports (as

appearing in The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies) contributed to the illumination of the soldiers' lives during the war. Post-war information was obtained from the pension files of the surviving ex-soldiers.

Secondary sources are important too, especially Alan D. Gaff's regimental history of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana, On Many a Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade. Gaff provides a wealth of first-hand accounts and his bibliography is extremely helpful in tracking down primary material. Craig Dunn's Iron Men, Iron Will: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment of the Iron Brigade contains helpful casualty lists, muster rolls, and some first-hand accounts from Company G.

Iron Brigade histories allow for a broader look at the war, events, and other units associated with the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. The Iron Brigade: A Military History by Alan Nolan is the most famous. Nolan skillfully traces the history of the unit and sets the context for the more focused regimental histories. Readers of this thesis, because of its narrow focus, will find Nolan's study extremely helpful in tracing movements and following the larger picture of the war.

These three studies differ from this thesis in the following respects. Nolan and Dunn stress the brigade and regimental level histories of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. In focusing on these broader subjects the individual soldiers are lost. They are quoted, but seldom is the reader told what became of them. Dunn summed up the post-war lives of a handful of men from the entire regiment, while Nolan did not even make it to the end of the war, stopping with the decimation of the brigade at Gettysburg. Gaff's book is similar to this

study in that he wrote about the experiences of Company B, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana throughout the war. Unfortunately he did not cover their post-war lives and we get no feel for the impact of the war upon those men.

Numerous battle histories have been written about the actions the Hoosiers were involved in, as well, and they help piece together events described in period letters and newspapers. In addition, photographs of several of the men discussed in this study appear in Alan Gaff's, Craig Dunn's, and Alan Nolan's books. Maps may be found in these studies as well, and in The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War put together by George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE PRE-WAR YEARS

In 1861 the residents of the northern Indiana counties of Elkhart, Lagrange, Noble, DeKalb, Steuben and Delaware sent 114 of their relatives, neighbors, and friends off to war. These recruits became members of the Elkhart County Guards, officially known as Company G, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry. Before leaving home these men led ordinary lives on the rough semi-frontier of Indiana. The following 37 officers and soldiers served with the unit during the war. These were the only men, of the 114, about which any information could be found. These men probably led lives similar to the 77 soldiers about which no information is available.

John R. Clark, the man responsible for the formation of the Elkhart County Guards, was a 28-year-old hotelkeeper. Clark was a tinsmith by trade but ran an Elkhart hotel called Clark House. From at least 1859 until he left for war in 1861, advertisements for his establishment appeared in the Goshen Democrat. The advertisements did not reappear until after Clark returned home in late 1862. Apparently his family which consisted of his wife Nancy and three sons, survived by other means. The New York native held only \$300 in personal estate, which raises the probability that he did not own Clark House.<sup>1</sup>

John W. Shafer was born in Sparta, New York in 1835. In 1858 he graduated from school and began practicing law in Worcester, New York. The next year, Shafer

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<sup>1</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives; 1860 Manuscript Census, Elkhart County, Schedule 1.

moved to Elkhart, Indiana and there began a law practice and married Helen Baldwin. He does not appear on the 1860 census.<sup>2</sup>

Conn McGuire toiled as a laborer to make a living for his wife and daughter. He held a meager \$25 in personal estate. Possibly the 27-year-old Irishman joined the army to earn money for his family.<sup>3</sup>

Born in 1839 in Virginia, Arthur Defrance lived with his mother Melissa and stepfather David Shrock. Perhaps Defrance worked in Shrock's boot and shoe store, although on his muster roll he listed his occupation as a molder.<sup>4</sup>

Twenty-two year-old George Kulp, standing at 5' 9 ½" tall with gray eyes, dark complexion and hair, worked for and lived with a farmer named Daniel Sites as a carpenter.<sup>5</sup>

A native Buckeye, 26-year-old William L. Balch resided and worked as clerk in O. A. Prescott's hardware store.<sup>6</sup>

Edward Stone, at age 22, still lived with his farmer father and nine siblings. The young Pennsylvania native hired himself out as a farm laborer.<sup>7</sup>

Julius Waldschmidt worked for Frederick Procot in Goshen as a cooper. Waldschmidt moved to America from Presen, Germany and, by 1860, at the age of 24,

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<sup>2</sup>William Thomas Venner, Hoosiers' Honor: The Iron Brigade's 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regiment (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1998) 283-284.

<sup>3</sup>1860 Manuscript Census, Elkhart County, Schedule 1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; Spelled "Culp" in the 1860 Elkhart Census.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

was living in Indiana. Apparently he arrived in the United States as a young age because he was very fluent in English, judging by the letters he sent home to the Goshen Democrat. In addition, the young man was described by an Indianapolis war correspondent as being “cultivated and refined.”<sup>8</sup>

Frederick Wise, later described by an Indianapolis war correspondent as “open-hearted,” was a 28-year-old Pennsylvania-born blacksmith.<sup>9</sup> Wise resided in Elkhart County, possibly in the small town of Goshen, where he rented his place of dwelling. He worked for wagon maker William Shilling. Wise’s lack of property, personal estate, and family probably contributed to his enlistment.<sup>10</sup>

Young Charles Billings quite possibly was a blacksmith as well. Billings, age 16, and his 13 year-old sister lived with Solomon Wilson’s family. It is unclear why the Billings siblings had moved to Elkhart County, Indiana from New York. Perhaps Billings was learning the blacksmith trade under Wilson.<sup>11</sup>

William Fisher, born in New York in 1827, upon moving to Concord Township in Elkhart County worked as a livery clerk. Fisher held neither real nor personal estate and had no family. Apparently musically-inclined, upon his enlistment with Company G he became a musician.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.; Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 2.

<sup>10</sup>1860 Manuscript Census, Elkhart County, Schedule 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Adjutant General’s Report as cited by Craig Dunn.

Christian Wolfli was born in Wortenburg, Germany sometime between 1826 and 1830. He lived in Elkhart County and worked for Frederick Rose, a contractor, as a mason.<sup>13</sup>

Joseph Smoker employed another future recruit named Joseph Snyder as a farm laborer. The Ohio native was born about 1840.<sup>14</sup>

Seventeen-year-old Perry Rowe lived with his relatives, Marble and Jamie Rowe in Washington Township. Perry probably helped out on the family farm. The Rowes lived comfortably with \$3,000 in real estate and \$800 in personal estate.<sup>15</sup>

Adam Juday, born in 1842, worked on his family's farm outside the small town of Benton. Juday lived with his Virginia-born parents, John and Susanna, and his seven brothers. The family had a comfortable existence, with John holding \$2,200 in personal estate and another \$7,000 in real estate.<sup>16</sup>

DeKalb County sent a number of soldiers off to war with the Elkhart County Guards. John Keller, an Ohio native born in 1838, worked for a merchant, R. J. Lent. Two of Lent's other employees enlisted with Keller. Twenty-five-year-old Lewis Eller was born in Ohio and worked as carpenter.<sup>17</sup> James Rigby, a 22-year-old immigrant from

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<sup>13</sup>1860 Manuscript Census, Elkhart County, Schedule 1; Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid; Adjutant General's Report as cited by Dunn.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>1860 Manuscript Census, DeKalb County, Schedule 1.

Ohio, was employed as a laborer by Lent, but he listed his occupation on muster rolls as a butcher.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Altenburg was an ostler (holster), born in Ohio in 1838. He worked for Jamis Griswold, a liveryman.<sup>19</sup>

Joseph Lent, born in Oswego, New York in 1831, supported his small family as a drayman. The Lent family, consisting of his wife Alice and their three-month-old son, held only \$30 in personal estate.<sup>20</sup>

C. S. Hare employed future recruit Ellison T. Campbell, a 22-year-old epileptic from New York, as a shoemaker.<sup>21</sup>

George H. Rodamer worked along side his father, William, a shoemaker. The Rodamers came west from Pennsylvania apparently living in Ohio a short time where George was born in 1843, the second of seven children. The family held \$900 worth of real estate and \$250 in personal estate.<sup>22</sup>

At the age of 24, Daniel Chilcoat was still living at home with his 52-year-old mother and siblings. Chilcoat made a living farming with his brothers on their DeKalb County farm. Strangely the Ohio native's family held no personal or real estate.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Books, National Archives.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.; Pension File for John M. F. Spitler.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

Nineteen-year-old, Hoosier born, Oscar C. Bates worked for Lanslot Ingman as a farm laborer/carpenter.<sup>23</sup>

John Grey, born in New York seventeen years earlier, lived with and worked for A. Campbell as a farm hand.<sup>24</sup>

Amazingly, at age 21, Charles Baxter held \$300 in real estate. He worked as a printer in Waterloo City in DeKalb County for newspaper editor Timothy Y. Dickinson of the Waterloo Press. Baxter was not married in 1860 and, having moved to Indiana from Ohio, had no immediate family support. Most likely he was romancing Dickinson's sister, Mary, whom he would marry three years later.<sup>25</sup>

George A. Critchet lived at home with his parents, Benjamin and Sarah, in DeKalb County, where the family settled after moving from Ohio. Benjamin, listed on the 1860 census as a farmer, held \$700 in real estate and \$100 in personal estate. George was born sometime between 1838 and 1840 and, by 1860, apparently taught school.<sup>26</sup>

Nineteen-year-old Joseph Camp was employed as carpenter.<sup>27</sup> Camp resided with his parents, Thomas and Ruth, and his two younger sisters. His father was born in New York, but he and his mother and sister Sarah were from Ohio. The youngest sister was

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>John Martin Smith, DeKalb County 1837-1987 Vol. I, A. (DeKalb Sesquicentennial, Inc., Auburn, Indiana, 1990); Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>27</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

born in Indiana in 1857. Joseph's father held \$2,000 in real estate and only \$765 in personal estate.

Curtis Davis, born in 1838, worked on the family farm.<sup>28</sup> His family consisted of his parents, William and Martha, and his three sisters. William held \$500 in real estate and \$150 in personal estate.<sup>29</sup>

DeKalb County sent a number of other men to war in 1861. However, since none of them could be located on the 1860 census, only a minimal amount of information could be obtained. Johnston D. Curd was a 29-year-old lawyer from Logan County, Ohio. Benjamin Turner was born in Allen County, Indiana in 1842 and was employed as a gunsmith, while 18-year-old Ithamar Hague worked as a farmer in his native DeKalb County.<sup>30</sup>

Noble County sent recruits off with Company G too. Marshall Ingraham, at 17 in 1860, lived with his father and mother, Nathan and Sarah. Marshall hired himself out as a farm laborer. His father was a carpenter by trade and held \$800 in real estate and \$250 in personal estate.<sup>31</sup>

Henry L. Busz was born on 1 February 1838 and still lived with his 50-year-old mother, Catherine, two unmarried siblings, and his married sister and her husband. The

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<sup>28</sup> Listed as "Curt" on the 1860 DeKalb County Census.

<sup>29</sup> 1860 Manuscript Census, Elkhart County, Schedule 1; 1860 Manuscript Census, DeKalb County, Schedule 1.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> 1860 Manuscript Census, Noble County, Schedule 1.

family was fairly well off with Catherine holding \$3,000 in real estate and \$400 in personal estate. Busz was employed as a farm laborer.<sup>32</sup>

Born in 1837 in Knox County, Ohio, Samuel S. Bonar was a mason by trade like his father, William, with whom he still lived. Besides his father and mother, Samuel had four siblings. William held \$400 in real estate and the same in personal estate.

Nineteen-year-old William H. Marks was a teamster from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. He lived with and worked for a cooper named Benjamin Frasier.

When he enlisted, Daniel Nepper kept an interesting secret from the United States government. The muster roll in the regimental books stated Nepper, like the rest of his family, was born in Ohio. The 1860 census revealed that the 21-year-old farm laborer was actually born in Virginia along with his sister, Melissa. Nepper lived at home with his 60-year-old mother, Elizabeth and six siblings. Elizabeth held \$300 in real estate and \$200 in personal estate.

Welshman James Evans was a 30-year-old tailor. Upon his arrival in America, he married an Ohio girl named Lucinda, and together raised two young children. Evans held only \$400 in personal estate in 1860.<sup>33</sup>

Steuben and Delaware Counties sent men as well. Seventeen-year-old Edward Smith earned a living on a farm in Steuben County, as did Henry Smith, a Hoosier native born in 1843.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>34</sup>Pension File for Edward Smith; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

George Thompson appeared twice on the Delaware County 1860 Census. He worked for and lived part-time with George Buany, a neighboring farmer, as a farm hand and the rest of the time the 23-year-old Hoosier lived with his own family.

The members of the company came from a wide range of occupations, age groups, birth places, and financial means. Their average age was 23.6 years and ranged from the oldest John Frey, a 46-year-old Swiss, to about 18. Some of the men more than likely were younger than 18. Charles Billings, for example, was only 16 years of age on the 1860 census.<sup>35</sup>

Only 31 of the original 101 officers and men were farmers. The majority of men were employed in such city-related occupations as laborers, teamsters, tailors, shoemakers, clerks, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, firefighters, and butchers. In addition, a handful of recruits held other less common types of jobs such as lawyers, printers, sailors, teachers, and physicians. Oddly enough, the majority of the soldiers in this western unit fit the stereotypical southern description of “yankee” city dwellers.<sup>36</sup>

The vast majority of Company G soldiers were not natives of Indiana. Only 20 of the 101 officers and men who enlisted in July 1861 were actually born in Indiana. The rest came from many different areas. Thirty-nine hailed from Ohio and 19 from Pennsylvania and New York. Virginia, Maryland, Vermont, and Tennessee were all represented by one soldier each. Twelve of the Indiana recruits were immigrants from

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<sup>35</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

Germany, England, Ireland, Canada, Switzerland, and Denmark. In addition, a handful of the men listed no place of birth.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER 2 THE WAR BEGINS

In April 1861 when word arrived in northern Indiana that Fort Sumter had been fired upon and been compelled to surrender, John R. Clark, the Elkhart hotel operator, almost immediately began recruiting an infantry company in response to the crisis. On 15 May 1861 the following advertisement appeared in the Goshen Democrat:

FOR THE WAR-JOHN R. CLARK advertises for volunteers for the regular service, three years. Names will be taken at the office of Lowry & Johnson on Thursday, tomorrow. Roll up the names as you can not enlist under a more whole-souled commander than Capt. Clark.<sup>1</sup>

Clark worried that his company would not see any action because the quota for Indiana had been filled. Governor Oliver Morton's original call for only six three-month regiments had filled quickly. The governor, wanting to cash in on the eagerness of men to enlist, ordered the formation of six more one-year regiments. These regiments were soon filled with recruits as well.

In order to secure an active position for his company, Clark wrote to General Nathaniel Lyon in Missouri on 23 May. He requested that Lyon enroll his company in the army forming in Missouri. Lyon replied three days later that Missouri was already receiving more offers than it could handle and therefore had no need for Clark and the Elkhart County Guards.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Goshen Democrat, May 15, 1861, 3.

<sup>2</sup>Goshen Democrat, June 5, 1861, 3.

All was not lost for the northern Indiana recruits because in mid-June Solomon Meredith received a commission as a colonel from Governor Oliver Morton and was ordered to recruit a three-year regiment, designated the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry. Clark quickly secured his company a position in this regiment.

Sixty men gathered in the city of Elkhart under Clark's supervision.<sup>3</sup> It seems Clark was well thought of by the community. The Goshen Democrat claimed, "Captain CLARK is in every way competent and deserving, and will undoubtedly feel such interest and take such pride in his company that few other men would."<sup>4</sup> Clark, another article stated, "is well qualified for the position he occupies, and that his company will find him a brave leader and a warm faithful friend" and noted that he raised the company "at great expense and labor" to himself.<sup>5</sup>

The enlisted men of the Elkhart County Guards received their share of praise as well. The Goshen Democrat observed,

We are personally acquainted with many of the members of Mr. CLARK's company, and can say with the greatest assurance that when it comes to meeting the rebels, there will be no flinching on their part from the contest.<sup>6</sup>

The State Sentinel was reported by the Goshen Democrat as declaring that the members of the Elkhart County Guards were "as stalwart fellows as yet have appeared upon our

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<sup>3</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 3, 1861, 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>5</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 17, 1861, 3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 3.

streets.”<sup>7</sup> The Sentinel continued by asserting that “there will be no other company raised in Indiana which will be more efficient, and which will confer more credit upon the State.”<sup>8</sup>

The Elkhart County Guards was not exclusively an Elkhart County company. Men arrived from such counties as Noble, Delaware, Lagrange, DeKalb, and Steuben. Lagrange County even sent its own company, the Lagrange County Guards, to join Clark’s men.

This mixture of men from different counties led to some rivalry. One example of conflict occurred over a flag. Before the Elkhart County Guards left for Indianapolis the residents of Goshen had presented them with a flag. By the time the men reached Indianapolis the flag had become quite a point of friction within the company. Both the Lagrange and Elkhart members claimed the right to carry the flag. The dispute became such a problem that Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt wrote home and asked the residents of Goshen to settle it. Their verdict has been lost in the shadows of history.<sup>9</sup>

The DeKalb County recruits had an interesting story as well. The men gathered in the small town of Waterloo in preparation for departure to join Clark and the rest of the company. On 10 July the people of the area gathered together to bid them goodbye as the men boarded the 3:50 PM train for Indianapolis. An old cannon had been procured to fire three salutes for the departing volunteers. The gun had been fired twice and reloaded

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>9</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 3.

a third time for discharge as the train pulled out of the station. John H. Shoemaker volunteered to fire the last round when others declined because the gun had been loaded to within a few inches of the muzzle with green leather shavings and deemed unsafe to fire. As the train began to move, Shoemaker applied the match. “The result was a terrific explosion, bursting the cannon into a million pieces and scattering the fragments of iron in all directions, over houses and tree tops and carrying some pieces as far as eighty rods.” Amazingly only Shoemaker was killed when a chunk of iron penetrated his side and snapped his spinal cord.<sup>10</sup>

On the night of 2 July the Elkhart County Guards left Elkhart and headed for Indianapolis by train to join the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. The company arrived at Camp Morton on the morning of 3 July with only 30 men.<sup>11</sup> Men continued to trickle in for the rest of the month, with a detachment of nine more soldiers leaving Elkhart on 7 July to join the company.<sup>12</sup>

Nineteen-year-old Adam Juday ran away from home on 14 July to join the Elkhart County Guards. Juday summed up his reason for going to war in a letter left for his family.

I must go now, for I feel I can wait no longer. Who would not fight for his country? For one, I love it so much that I am willing to fight and risk my life to preserve the country that our forefathers bought at such great sacrifices.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>John Martin Smith, DeKalb County, 1837-1987 Vol. I, B (Auburn, Indiana: DeKalb Sesquicentennial, Inc., 1990), 1055.

<sup>11</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 17, 1861, 3.

<sup>12</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 10, 1861, 2. These nine included F.A. Wise, John Quig, Julius Waldschmidt, Frederick Meyer, John Silkworth, Arthur DeFrance, Henry H. Dorsey, James McGuire, John Grey.

<sup>13</sup>Goshen Times, August 1, 1861, 3.

Juday walked from his home in Benton to Goshen. Finding no place to enlist, he proceeded by foot to Elkhart, nineteen miles away. There he met Private John Shafer and enlisted in the Elkhart County Guards. The next day, Monday the 15<sup>th</sup>, he and several others took the train to Indianapolis and joined the rest of the company.<sup>14</sup>

On 17 July Sergeant Waldschmidt wrote, “The boys are all, without exception, well satisfied and ready any day to march, and fight for their country, to aid in crushing the rebellion and saving this government from destruction.”<sup>15</sup> Judging by this comment and Juday’s patriotic prose, it can be assumed that the members of the Elkhart County Guards had enlisted to preserve the Union. No mention was made of the destruction of slavery, only calls, as Juday put it, to “remember your Country and that star-spangled banner that has waved so long over this ‘land of the free home of the brave.’”<sup>16</sup>

Men continued to arrive and fill the vacancies in the company so that by 19 or 20 July the Guards were at full strength. On 29 July the Elkhart County Guards were sworn into Federal service and officially became Company G, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry. Once sworn into Federal service, Clark’s men received their first government-issued supplies. The quartermaster issued such items as wool blankets, coffeepots, camp kettles, frying pans, tin plates, tin cups, tin pans, knives, forks, and spoons.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the men received gray woolen uniforms along with arms and accoutrements. While

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<sup>14</sup>Goshen Times, September 5, 1861, 2.

<sup>15</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 3.

<sup>16</sup>Goshen Times, September 5, 1861, 2.

<sup>17</sup>Alan D. Gaff, On Many a Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 11. Hereinafter cited as Gaff.

encamped at Camp Morton the recruits obtained a basic knowledge of company drill. The men drilled daily near the Bates House to the sound of fifes and drums. Not all the men were found fit for service. Cyrus C. Walter, Henry E. Elliot, and Cyrus F. Bugby all received discharges for disability on 1 August.<sup>18</sup>

The company continued to receive praise. The Indianapolis correspondent for the Goshen Democrat called Captain Clark “brave and noble-hearted” and claimed the company was “the pride of Col. MEREDITH.”<sup>19</sup> He continued by writing that the company was “a happy set of fellows, and a company which will do honor to the county by which they are designated.”<sup>20</sup> The soldiers apparently were well satisfied with Captain Clark and Colonel Meredith. Sergeant Waldschmidt called Meredith “a gentleman and a soldier, always on hand to help, and satisfy the wishes of his regiment” and wrote that Clark “always does his best for his company.”<sup>21</sup>

The Hoosiers remained at Camp Morton until 5 August at which time they were loaded onto a train and sent east. The men were in very high spirits because it was rumored they had been chosen to act as President Abraham Lincoln’s bodyguard.<sup>22</sup> But, it seems that not all the men were thrilled with the prospect of being in the military. Two soldiers, George A. Crichton and Joseph Camp, deserted on 30 July.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>19</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 2.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid, 2.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, 3.

<sup>22</sup>Goshen Democrat, August 7, 1861, 3.

<sup>23</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

The green soldiers immensely enjoyed the trip to Washington City. Along the route at every stop the local inhabitants showered the men with food and clothing. There was some anxiety among the troops about traveling through Baltimore because of the earlier riots against Federal troops. Fortunately, everything remained quiet when the 19<sup>th</sup> arrived in Baltimore.<sup>24</sup>

Upon their arrival in Washington on 8 August, the Hoosiers were housed in a large warehouse type barracks called the “Soldier’s Rest.” The next day the men moved to a campsite on Kalorama Heights and joined Brigadier General Rufus King’s brigade. King’s Brigade consisted of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin, 2<sup>nd</sup> New York Fire Zouaves, and the 79<sup>th</sup> New York Highlanders. While encamped on Kalorama Heights, the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana received additional training to prepare for service across the Potomac in Virginia.

The men enjoyed themselves in their camps outside Washington. “We are as a general thing healthy and enjoy camp-life exceedingly well,” observed Private Adam Juday on 28 August.<sup>25</sup> Living everyday in expectation of marching orders, they tended to become very excited at the prospect of advancing. Juday described one such scene, which occurred on the evening of the 27 August:

Such a time as followed I never heard of—all the officers were engaged in getting their boys ready, and all the boys were engaged in getting their “duds” in order—some filling their canteens, and some rolling up their blankets—some getting their cartridges, and some yelling and shouting and leaping for joy.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Craig L. Dunn, Iron Men, Iron Will: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment of the Iron Brigade (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995), 8.; Gaff, 32-34.

<sup>25</sup>Goshen Times, September 5, 1861, 2.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 2.

When order was finally restored to the company, no further instructions came and the men were told to stand down. Such incidents only furthered the men's anxiety to get involved in the war.

The Indiana soldiers continued to make a good impression upon others even in the Washington defenses. Juday claimed that the men had gained "the honor of being called the 'bloody Hoosiers'."<sup>27</sup> On 27 August General King reviewed the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. Private Juday recorded that the General announced that "although we were not as well drilled as some of his Brigade, he thought we were fighting boys, and as we were all stout and hearty looking fellows he had great confidence in us."<sup>28</sup>

The unit's naivete was pervasive. Private Juday, for example, wrote the following description of how the Hoosiers intended to win the war:

We intend to do as they did in the old revolutionary times—march up to them till we see the 'whites of their eyes,' then shoot down the front rank and 'charge bayonet' on the rear, then it will all be over and we can return to our homes rejoicing.<sup>29</sup>

All was not going well within company politics though.<sup>30</sup> John Shafer had enlisted as a private because he had been forced to return home from Indianapolis to be with an ill family member and thus missed receiving a commission.<sup>31</sup> Upon his return to

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>30</sup>The election of company officers was to be left up to the men, but frequently voting was merely a formality because the men responsible for organizing the unit or a governor's appointee already held the position. Usually the men were allowed the most freedom in choosing lieutenants but as can be seen with Company G this was a hard fought struggle.

<sup>31</sup>Goshen Times, March 12, 1863, 1.

camp he discovered Leonard Yaryan had become the First Lieutenant and Johnston D. Curd was the Second Lieutenant on appointment from Governor Morton. Yaryan's father, a prominent Indiana lawyer and friend of Governor Morton, apparently pulled some strings to have his son commissioned. According to his father, Yaryan was "getting along very well in his company, and applying himself closely on the subject of drill." In addition he had ambitious dreams, his father continued, writing that Leonard "says he will fight his way up in the army or die in the effort."<sup>32</sup>

In the mean time the men of the company elected Private John Shafer as First Lieutenant and First Sergeant Charles K. Baxter as Second Lieutenant. Governor Morton's appointees refused to resign and continued to receive their lieutenants' pay while Shafer and Baxter received private and sergeant pay respectively.

In a letter written to the Goshen Democrat on 6 September, Shafer lashed out at Yaryan, Curd, and the Governor:

We are the men who have the honor of being the Lieutenants of the company by the unanimous voice of the members there of, but Gov. Morton's Lieutenants still have the pleasure of drawing the pay, while the company's Lieutenants do the work.<sup>33</sup>

In frustration, Shafer wrote Governor Morton stating, "I would choose the 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenancy in Co. "G" in this Regiment to any other military position" but that "my friend Lee Yaryan intends to hold it until he can get some position which would suite him

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<sup>32</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, August 18, 1861, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>33</sup>Goshen Democrat, September 13, 1861, 2.

better.” Shafer went on by claiming Yaryan had promised to give up the lieutenancy in less than twenty days after the arrival of the regiment in Washington, but had not. Shafer added, “Now will you secure me the position I ask?”<sup>34</sup>

Shafer continued his attacks on Yaryan and Curd in the papers. On 27 September he wrote a scathing commentary:

The boys all consider him [Yaryan] a great coward physically, and they know him to be a great moral coward, or he would have resigned his commission when requested so to do by 75 members of the company at Camp Morton.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, according to Shafer, Captain Clark considered himself (Shafer) and Orderly Sergeant Baxter the real lieutenants. He also stated that he and Baxter consoled themselves with the knowledge “that there is a day of reckoning for Gov. Morton.”<sup>36</sup>

Captain Clark became involved in the dispute in support of Shafer. Writing to Governor Morton, he claimed that Shafer had always been his choice for the position. In another letter he wrote:

John is a good officer, a fine drilling master, and it is but justice to him to say that I owe much to him for my success in placing my company upon so favorable a footing as it now is.<sup>37</sup>

Still the struggle continued with Colonel Meredith turning on Shafer reporting that he “has been behaving badly left Camp without my permission and stayed in Washington

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<sup>34</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, September 11, 1861, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>35</sup>Goshen Democrat, October 9, 1861, 2.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>37</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, October 12, 1861, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives; Goshen Democrat, November 6, 1861, 2.

three days and in fact is not a man that I can trust.” Instead, Meredith asked the Governor that Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt be promoted to First Lieutenant and finished the letter with, “I cannot be bothered with Shafer any longer.”<sup>38</sup> What made the situation even more awkward for Shafer was the fact that both Colonel Meredith and Governor Morton had ordered him to assume the rank of First Lieutenant on 27 October, with Yaryan still being recognized by that rank as well. Shafer’s commission was dated 22 November. To make matters worse, on 16 December Yaryan left the company, being listed “absent without leave” on the morning reports.<sup>39</sup>

The matter for Shafer was finally settled on 24 January 1862 when Yaryan resigned and moved to the 58<sup>th</sup> Indiana.<sup>40</sup> As for Charles Baxter and Johnston Curd, the power struggle continued until 1 April 1862 when Curd resigned. Baxter received his commission on 7 April.<sup>41</sup>

Company G remained on Kalorama Heights until the evening of 3 September. At 10 o’clock that night when orders arrived to march the regiment assembled in the street in 15 minutes and was soon on the road toward Georgetown. The Hoosiers joined the rest of King’s Brigade and proceeded to Chain Bridge about eight miles away. According to Lieutenant John Shafer, it took the men two-and-half hours to make the march.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, January 3, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>39</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, December 27, 1861 and January 5, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>40</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, February 18, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives; Adjutant General’s Report as cited in Dunn’s appendix.

<sup>41</sup>Adjutant General’s Report as cited in Dunn’s appendix.

<sup>42</sup>Goshen Democrat, October 9, 1861, 2.

Once the troops reached Chain Bridge they constructed a fortification crowned with three 40-pound guns to protect the bridge. The men then rolled up in their blankets and tried to get some sleep before morning. The next morning a quick breakfast was allowed before the men were marched across the bridge and entered Virginia. The column advanced one and a half miles beyond the bridge and camped at Camp Advance with General Smith's Brigade.<sup>43</sup> The men spent their time at Camp Advance finishing the construction of Forts Marcy and Ethan Allen, part of the Washington defense line.

Lieutenant Shafer commented on the situation at Camp Advance: "Here we are now about 7000 soldiers and not a single tent."<sup>44</sup> In another letter he reported, "For the first ten days we were without tents and many without blankets; the hardiest of us stood the wind and weather, but many took sick by reason of that unnecessary exposure."<sup>45</sup>

Disease spread quickly through the new recruits, becoming a constant threat from August to December 1861. According to Fox's Regimental Losses in the American Civil War (1861-1865), eleven soldiers in Company G died from disease or accidents between September and December 1861. The first loss came on 6 September when Private George H. Rodarmer died. Three days later Private Daniel V. Ward drowned in the Potomac River.<sup>46</sup> September 15 saw the deaths of Corporal Zephaniah B. Irnhoff and Private William E. Bethel. Corporal George B. Campbell died on the 24<sup>th</sup> and was buried

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>45</sup>Goshen Democrat, October 9, 1861, 2.

<sup>46</sup>Gaff, 58.

in the Military Cemetery in Washington.<sup>47</sup> Private Franklin S. Kelley breathed his last on 12 October. Four days later Sergeant John L. Keller succumbed to disease. October 24 saw the passing of Private William G. Fisher. Judging by the decline in the death rate, the soldiers' health improved very little in October. Private James W. Lloyd became the only soldier from Company G to die in November on the 25<sup>th</sup>. He was sent to the hospital on Kalorama Heights after being stricken with measles. When his condition improved, Lloyd moved to the Indiana Hospital in the Patent Office. Unfortunately, while interned there he took a turn for the worst and died.<sup>48</sup> Lloyd was not the last member of Company G to die of disease. On 18 December, Milo George passed away as well. Christmas Day saw Arthur Defrance draw his last breath. Defrance was sent to the Patent Office Hospital on 3 October with pulmonary consumption contracted from exposure to the elements. Defrance was discharged in November. Being too sick to return home, he lingered in the hospital until his death on the 25 December.<sup>49</sup>

By 3 September, 157 men and officers from the 19<sup>th</sup> appeared on the sick list. At least some of those were members of Company G. Adam Juday, when describing the preparations of the company for its aborted march on 27 August, commented that "the sick were getting ready also." In his letter of 6 September First Lieutenant Shafer stated that "the health of Co. G is comparatively good, there being but three or four on the sick list."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Muster Rolls, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>48</sup>Gaff, 74-75.

<sup>49</sup>Pension File for Arthur Defrance.

<sup>50</sup>Goshen Times, September 5, 1861, 2; Goshen Democrat, September 13, 1861, 2.

Among the sick was Private Henry E. Altenburg, who contracted diarrhea in mid-September. Private Ellison T. Campbell recalled, Altenburg “became afflicted with diarrhea caused as I believe from bad food old spoiled meat & other food supplies with which he & his said regiment were furnished.” Altenburg remained in camp several weeks after contracting the disease until he became so ill he was sent to a hospital in Georgetown. He stayed in the hospital until 1 December 1861 when he returned to camp. But, according to Campbell, Altenburg was “still afflicted in a mild form. . .from his said disease but wholly [sic] unfit to rejoin his command.” Altenburg continued to serve, but was frequently unfit for duty.<sup>51</sup>

Private Edward Smith also spent time in the Patent Office Hospital in November/December 1861, though his affliction was unrecorded.<sup>52</sup> Private George W. Thompson was interned at the Patent Office Hospital 16-19 September with typhoid fever. While recovering from the fever Thompson contracted varioloid, a mild form of smallpox occurring in previously-vaccinated people. He remained in the hospital until 12 October when he rejoined Company G.<sup>53</sup> Private Adam Juday was stricken with typhoid on 15 September and hospitalized in Washington City until 27 October.<sup>54</sup> Private Henry D. Gaylord also was reported sick and absent in the Patent Office Hospital during September/October 1861. His illness was not recorded.<sup>55</sup> Private Carson L. Andrews was

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<sup>51</sup>Pension File for Henry E. Altenburg.

<sup>52</sup>Pension File for Edward Smith.

<sup>53</sup>Pension File for George W. Thompson.

<sup>54</sup>Hospital Records for Adam Juday.

<sup>55</sup>Pension File for Henry D. Gaylord.

hospitalized on 17 September with fever. He had recovered by 1 November and returned to the company.<sup>56</sup> Private James Adams spent September to December 1861 in the Patent Office Hospital and Edward A. Stone was hospitalized there in October with fever. The nature of Adams's ailment did not appear in his records.<sup>57</sup>

Private Joseph Snyder became ill with disease of the lungs sometime in September. He was held in the Patent Office Hospital until 13 December 1861 when he received his discharge. Snyder later told the pension board that his "sickness [was] caused by exposure. . . while working on Fort Reno in the Summer of 1861—Since which time I cough constantly from Lung Disease and I also have a tickling in the throat."<sup>58</sup>

Private Lewis Eller was another victim of disease. During the march to Chain Bridge, he was afflicted with varicose veins in his left leg. Not long after this injury, Eller contracted typhoid fever and was sent to the Patent Office Hospital. He remained there for six weeks. Upon his return to duty he relapsed and was sent back to the hospital where he languished for an additional four weeks. It seems the fever affected his lungs and he suffered from its effects for the duration of his service.<sup>59</sup>

The troops' ill health was the result of poor sanitation and hygiene. Latrines were not dug deep enough or properly covered and many times were placed upstream so that the soldiers' drinking water was affected. Soldiers threw garbage in the company streets and camps were constructed near mosquito infested swamps. Much of the time food was

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<sup>56</sup>Pension File for Carson L. Andrews.

<sup>57</sup>Service Record and Pension File for James Adams; Pension File for Edward A. Stone.

<sup>58</sup>Pension File for Joseph Snyder.

<sup>59</sup>Pension File for Lewis Eller.

in a terrible condition when issued and then improperly prepared. It was no wonder that illness raged through the camps. Disability brought about the discharge of more of Company G's members. Privates John Silkworth and Abraham Moose left the service on 27 November, followed by Corporal James W. Evans on 13 December. Private Cyrus J. Bartlett returned home on 10 January 1862.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the poor sanitation and hygiene another factor could not complicated company life. During the Confederate withdrawal from Kalorama Heights, large quantities of arsenic were deliberately dumped in the wells and springs. Twenty-four-year-old Daniel Kulp received arsenic poisoning on 7 August 1861 after drinking from a spring near the camp. He was treated first at the regimental hospital and than sent into Washington to the Patent Office Hospital. The young man remained hospitalized until October when he was sent back to the front. Kulp's shattered health never really improved as he spent much of the winter on the sick list. In March 1862 he returned to the General Hospital in Washington where he remained until mid-summer. Private Kulp rejoined Company G near Fredericksburg, but in a short time he was sent back to the hospital where he remained until his discharge on 26 December 1862.

Privates Caleb W. McMeans and Henry L. Busz were poisoned as well. Years later Busz described what happened:

McMeans with many others of the regiment, including myself, were in the habit of drinking water taken from that Spring. Many of the men, including McMeans and myself, were taken violently ill and it created such excitement that the Surgeon examined and analysed [sic] the water of said Spring and pronounced the water poisoned with arsenic.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Henry L. Busz, Deposition for Caleb W. McMeans's pension file, 1891.

Both men became ill in August 1861. McMeans was stricken so badly that the right half of his face was paralyzed. He received his discharge in December 1861. Busz was discharged in November suffering from a variety of debilitating illnesses. Private William Marks was not affected by the water, but commented, “The day after McMeans drank the water that made him sick, the Surgeons examined the water in the Spring where McMeans had filled his canteen, and announced that Arsenic had been put in the Spring.”<sup>62</sup>

McMeans and Busz were among the first poisoned. Busz had been performing guard duty near the effected water source and had filled his canteen. Apparently the surgeon acted quickly enough and the majority of the men were saved.

Despite struggles with disease and the boredom the regiment had its first taste of conflict. On the morning of the 4 September, Company G and half the regiment were sent on a scouting mission to drive off about 200 rebel cavalry stationed nearby. Lieutenant Shafer, reporting on the “action,” declared, “We succeeded in dislodging them, but fortunately for them, they discovered our approach, and took bravely to their heels keeping beyond range of our muskets.”<sup>63</sup> That night it began to rain, and fearing an attack, the regiment slept on their arms in the open in a line of battle. The landscape was very uneven and the line was formed over a ravine so the center lay in the valley and the wings upon the banks. Fortunately, the night remained quiet.

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<sup>62</sup>William H. Marks, Deposition for Caleb W. McMeans’s pension file.

<sup>63</sup>Goshen Democrat, September 13, 1861, 2.

Upon their return to camp the men returned to work on entrenchments. Company G received its first taste of picket duty as well. The Hoosiers continued to dig fortifications into the early winter months. Their construction work was not without its dangers. In October two men, Privates John Cleland and Warren Whitney, both received serious injuries. Whitney fell from the parapet of Fort Bunker while helping with the construction and broke his left shoulder and injured the left side of his body. Private Whitney was sent to the Patent Office Hospital where he was treated by Surgeon J. B. Buckley. In his weakened condition the young man contracted diarrhea. Private Whitney recovered, caught typhoid in March 1862, and was discharged in April.

Around the 12 October Private Cleland injured his back while engaged in moving ordnance stores for the guns mounted in Fort Craig. Cleland had that very day been released from the hospital where he had been since 1 September stricken with a fever. He was treated first by Orderly Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt and then approached Captain Clark with his complaint of a severe back injury. Clark sent Private Cleland to the Patent Office Hospital. Apparently he remained with his company until February 1862 when he was struck with typhoid. He suffered until March and finally received a discharge in April.<sup>64</sup>

On 11 September five companies of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana (A, D, F, H, and I) marched to the small village of Lewinsville, Virginia on a reconnaissance mission. A minor skirmish took place and several of the Hoosiers were killed or wounded.

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<sup>64</sup>Pension Files for Warren Whitney and John Cleland.

On 25 September Company G was involved in a skirmish with the rebels while participating in another foraging expedition near Lewinsville. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana, 33<sup>rd</sup> and 79<sup>th</sup> New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> Vermont, 1<sup>st</sup> California and the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin marched toward Lewinsville. When within two miles of town, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vermont, 79<sup>th</sup> New York and 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana were sent out in front to form a three-mile long skirmish line. The men advanced slowly expecting at any moment to collide with the reported 30,000 Confederates stationed around the town. As the skirmishers approached within one mile of Lewinsville, a group of Confederate infantry and cavalry were spotted in the town. Griffin's battery was brought up and deployed and after a few shots the rebels fled. The Federal troops occupied the town and watched small detachments of rebel cavalry milling about on the hills around Lewinsville.

Company G and their comrades remained in a defensive position until 4:00 PM while the area was looted of 50 tons of hay, 200 sheep, 100 head of cattle, several horses, and eight prisoners.<sup>65</sup> The Union infantry pulled out of town and as Company G neared Griffin's battery about one mile from town the Confederates opened fire with artillery. Company G quickly dropped to the ground in front of Griffin's battery. The Confederate shots either passed over their heads or fell short, two rounds hitting 20 feet in front of the company and bouncing past the prone men.<sup>66</sup> Private Humphreys wrote, "The first few rounds from the enemy fell short, and did no harm, further than to cover us with dirt and

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<sup>65</sup>Goshen Democrat, October 9, 1861, 2.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 2.

cause us to bow our heads very politely.”<sup>67</sup> Griffin’s battery shattered the rebel guns in about ten minutes and the Federals continued their withdrawal.

Company G participated in another reconnaissance expedition on 28 September, this time towards Falls Church. The men expected a fight, but the Confederates promptly withdrew at the sight of the Federals. The Hoosiers returned to within a few miles of their own encampment and were posted as pickets. The soldiers, according to Phraortes Humphreys, spent an uncomfortable night: “We stood the entire night without a blanket, and as the weather was quite cold, we all suffered considerably.”<sup>68</sup> The next morning the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was sent back across the Potomac for a period of rest and relaxation. On 30 September 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was brigaded with the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin regiments under King’s command. The groundwork for the famed Iron Brigade had been laid.

The boys of Company G so far were having a good time. Humphreys wrote, “We enjoy ourselves in camp very well; but when marching it is not so agreeable, especially when it rains,” which, according to him, it did every other day.<sup>69</sup> Humphreys even found time for a little poetry to sum up the situation:

They march us round through wet and dry,  
To tunes more loud than charming;  
But lugging knapsack, box and gun,  
Is better work than farming.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 2.

The time spent between October 1861 and August 1862 in the vicinity of Fort Craig was uneventful. Captain Clark described the condition of the men in a letter on 26 October: “We are well supplied with all the substantials. The troops are well clothed, fully equipped, and under an admirable state of discipline.”<sup>71</sup> The men were in a high state of morale as well with what Clark termed “The utmost confidence” in General George McClellan.<sup>72</sup> Apparently Company G had impressed Colonel Meredith because the men were placed in the advance of every move made by the regiment.<sup>73</sup>

The men had drill, guard duty, and continued construction of earthworks. Occasional reconnaissance missions into the Virginia countryside helped break the monotony of camp life. On 20 November the army was massed between Bailey’s Crossroads and Monsen’s Hill, according to Private Adam Juday, and reviewed by President Lincoln and General McClellan. Juday estimated “there was about one hundred thousand soldiers here and the number of civilians was large.”<sup>74</sup> In addition, the men of Company G received new 1861 Springfield rifles of which Juday wrote, “It is the best gun in the field...I can just take a cesher [rebel] every pop.”<sup>75</sup>

In December a brief flurry of excitement occurred when Baxter’s Philadelphia Zouaves attacked the 1<sup>st</sup> California in the mistaken belief the Californians were rebels. Before identities were established the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was rushed to the field in support of

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<sup>71</sup>Goshen Democrat, November 6, 1861, 2.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>74</sup>Letter written by Adam Juday to his brother, November 21, 1861.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

the Zouaves. One of the few casualties, Private Abijah Crabtree of Company G, unfortunately stepped in a ditch and broke his ankle. Crabtree remained in the hospital until March 1862. As the army prepared to move out in March, Crabtree, along with thousands of other sick and injured soldiers, was discharged.<sup>76</sup> December 31 saw another member of the company take his leave. Private Perry Rowe was detached for service with Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery under the command of Captain John Gibbon.<sup>77</sup> Both Gibbon and the battery would play major rolls in the lives of Company G's volunteers as the war progressed.

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<sup>76</sup>Pension File for Abijah R. Crabtree.

<sup>77</sup>Pension File for Perry Rowe.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE WAR INTENSIFIES

At 5:00 AM on 10 March the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana marched out of Fort Craig heading for Fairfax Courthouse. The Hoosiers camped one mile west of the courthouse for about five days. According to Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt, the men were issued dog tents which “are rather small but will do for a soldier as he is satisfied with anything he gets.”<sup>1</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> three new recruits, George J. Flanagan, William O’Conner, and Nathan Stanley, arrived for the company. Three days later the soldiers returned within three miles of Alexandria. The next day the tired soldiers marched into Fort Craig. Two days later the men returned to Alexandria. Here the regiment remained until April. Julius Waldschmidt wrote home explaining the movements: “The regiment has been as far as Centerville, but was called back a few days since to Alexandria for the purpose of joining an expedition to go South.”<sup>2</sup> This expedition marked the beginning of General George McClellan’s Penninsula Campaign.

The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana had been attached to General Irwin McDowell’s division along with 30 to 40 other regiments.<sup>3</sup> The Elkhart County Guards were encamped near the Fairfax Seminary about four miles from Alexandria. The weather was pleasant during the day, but very cold at night. The men had to put up with three or four rainy days scattered between 18 and 27 March while sleeping on the ground in their tiny tents. They not only had rain and cold to complain about, but additionally had not been paid in three months.

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<sup>1</sup>Goshen Democrat, April 9, 1862, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2.

The Hoosiers remained in camps near Alexandria waiting for steamers to take them south to join the major push up the Peninsula toward Richmond. On 4 April it became clear that McDowell was not going to join the rest of the Army of the Potomac when the 19<sup>th</sup> marched via Fairfax Courthouse back to within two miles of Bristoe Station (in route to Manassas) arriving on 7 April.

By 10 April the regiment was encamped on Broad River, a tributary of the Occoquan River, waiting for a railroad bridge to be constructed so that the men could be moved by rail. Recent rains had caused streams and rivers to swell to such a degree that marching became impossible and transportation by rail a necessity. The men of Company G were in fine spirits as 82 were fit for duty by this time.<sup>4</sup> On 12 April the Swamp Hogs moved to Catlett's Station. Nine days later the tents were struck and the soldiers marched to Falmouth. As the regiment approached Falmouth it was reported that the Confederates had decided to make a stand there and burn the bridge across the Rappahannock River in case the Federals defeated them. As the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana watched a New York cavalry regiment (which Waldschmidt quickly pointed out in a letter contained two companies from Indiana) drove the rebels away and secured the bridge. The Hoosiers camped near Falmouth until 25 or 26 April, at which time they left for a camp along Potomac Creek arriving there on the 27<sup>th</sup>. While stationed there the men were put to work rebuilding railroad bridges destroyed by the Confederates for the Aquia Creek and Fredericksburg Railroad.

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<sup>4</sup>Goshen Democrat, April 23, 1862, 1.

As the war picked up momentum, the 19<sup>th</sup> appeared to be left behind. While General George McClellan moved the Army of the Potomac up the Peninsula toward Richmond, the Hoosiers under General Irwin McDowell remained behind to protect Washington. The first week of May saw the Western Brigade crossing the Rappahannock River to Fredericksburg as part of an advance to move re-enforcements closer to McClellan. McDowell received specific instructions from Washington not to proceed any further south than Fredericksburg. General Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson was on the move in the Shenandoah Valley and the Lincoln administration feared he would strike at Washington City. By 9 May Company G was camped “in a beautiful pine grove near the Rappahannock river, and directly opposite Fredericksburg” according to Private Humphreys.<sup>5</sup> The men expected to march daily in advance to capture Richmond. The bridge across the Rappahannock had been burned by the Confederates, but a pontoon bridge was constructed to allow the Federals to advance. The strenuous marching took its toll on the men and on 15 May George Dennis received a discharge for disability.<sup>6</sup>

Additional personnel shifts rapidly ensued. Private William L. Balch left the Company on 30 April after being transferred to Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery.<sup>7</sup> In late April or early May Private George Warner moved from Company G to Captain Jacobs’s Company D. Why he was transferred is unclear, but it is probable that Captain Clark was not unhappy with this

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<sup>5</sup>Elkhart Review, May 24, 1862, 3.

<sup>6</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>7</sup>Pension File for William L. Balch.

arrangement. According to Private Humphreys, after his transfer, Warner was arrested for leaving his post while on guard duty. Warner apparently was not happy with his punishment and deserted on 12 June.<sup>8</sup> Warner's arrest possibly marked the arrival of a new stricter, disciplinarian as brigade commander, John Gibbon.

During their maneuvers across northern Virginia, the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and its companion regiments, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin, served under Colonel Lysander Cutler of the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin. General Rufus King, the brigade's first commander, had been promoted to a divisional command and Cutler had temporarily replaced him.<sup>9</sup> Cutler was replaced early in May by General John Gibbon, a regular army officer who had served in the artillery on the frontier. A tough officer, the North Carolinian transformed the western units into what would be known as the Iron Brigade by issuing distinctive uniforms and giving the men the training that would make them a legend.

Apparently morale began to suffer because around 2 June Private William O'Conner deserted. The 21-year-old Hoosier was one of the latecomers to the Elkhart County Guards, being mustered in on 12 March 1862. Captain Clark was not about to let O'Conner's escape be an easy one. Ads were run in the Goshen Democrat giving a full description of the young man and his probable whereabouts in Elkhart County. What became of O'Conner is uncertain.<sup>10</sup> The situation did not improve much as July began. Fredericksburg was described as an "out-of- the-way hole" and the boys in the company

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<sup>8</sup>Elkhart Review, May 24, 1862, 3; 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>9</sup>Goshen Democrat, April 23, 1862, 1.

<sup>10</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 16, 1862, 2.

were becoming more and more “anxious to take a ‘hand in’” the fighting according to the Elkhart Review.<sup>11</sup> Illness possibly returned to plague the men because on 5 July Private Henry Swift received a discharge for disability.<sup>12</sup>

On 4 August 1862 the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and its Wisconsin comrades marched from Fredericksburg to wreck the Virginia Central Railroad. The 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin, a cavalry regiment, and Gerrish’s battery were sent down the Spotsylvania Courthouse Road. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin along with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Indiana Cavalry and Monroe’s battery marched on the Telegraph Road. When the Telegraph Road column neared the town of Thornburg, about 15 miles from Fredericksburg, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Indiana Cavalry (scouting ahead of the infantry column) was attacked by the rebels. After a brief skirmish the rebels withdrew and the Federals “heard nothing more of them until [the] next day” according to Sergeant Waldschmidt. The day was incredibly hot and Brigadier General Gibbon reported leaving “many of the infantry completely prostrated, so that I was unable to proceed farther in the afternoon, as I intended.”<sup>13</sup>

The next day the Confederates did not attack the advancing column, but rather preyed upon the wagon train of sick and injured soldiers returning to camp. The men had been sent back to Hatch’s Brigade, which was supporting Gibbon, and Hatch had ordered the invalids back to Fredericksburg. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana lost 33 men as prisoners and

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<sup>11</sup>Elkhart Review, July 19, 1862, 3.

<sup>12</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regimental Descriptive Book, National Archives.

<sup>13</sup>The Civil War CD-ROM: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Carmel: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1996), Series I—Vol. 16, ar16 122. Hereafter referred to as OR. The “ar16 122” is the code for Volume 16, page 122 used by this CD-ROM. I have included Volume number as well as the coded entry in all the footnotes.

Company G counted seven among those unfortunate souls. Darius Hagle, Ralph Coats, John Gray, John M. Shirts, William H. Fry, Nathan Stanley, and Henry Smith all were sent south to spend a brief amount of time in Belle Isle Prison in Richmond before being exchanged.<sup>14</sup> Shirts suffered severely from scurvy during his internment. So affected was the young man, that he was partially paralyzed for a time after his exchange on 14 September 1862.<sup>15</sup> Varicose veins in Private William H. Fry's left leg made it difficult for him to march. He caught a ride back to camp in a wagon and was captured by the Confederates. Fry was exchanged on 14 September 1862 as well.<sup>16</sup> All 33 men were exchanged in September and returned to duty in October 1862.<sup>17</sup>

While the sick and injured were being captured by General J. E. B. Stuart's Confederate cavalry, Gibbon continued his advance. But after covering only seven miles, he discovered that Stuart and, "a larger force than my own" was closing in on the Westerners.<sup>18</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and its comrades were withdrawn back toward Hatch's supporting brigade. The men were positioned astride the Spotsylvania Courthouse Road covering the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin's retreat from its successfully accomplished rail wrecking expedition.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Goshen Democrat, August 27, 1861, 2.

<sup>15</sup>Pension File for John M. Shirts.

<sup>16</sup>Pension File for William H. Fry.

<sup>17</sup>Gaff, 193.

<sup>18</sup>OR, Series I—Vol. 16, ar16 122.

<sup>19</sup>Elkhart Review August 23, 1862, 2; *Ibid*, 123.

The boys of Company G returned to their camps and remained in them across the river from Fredericksburg until 7 August. The Western Brigade under Gibbon served in General Rufus King's First Division of General Irwin McDowell's Third Corps. General John Pope was given command of the newly-formed Army of Virginia. The men of Company G took a liking to him immediately because "we know he will fight," wrote Lieutenant John Shafer. On the other hand General McDowell, "caused doubts to arise in the minds of many respecting his fighting qualifications" continued Shafer.<sup>20</sup>

Pope's army pursued General Stonewall Jackson's Confederate Corps through northern Virginia where it had been raiding. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana left Fredericksburg on 7 August and arrived on the Cedar Mountain battlefield on the 12<sup>th</sup>, two days after Jackson won his victory there. Along the route of the march "sad havoc is made among the poultry, sheep, and swine," reported Lieutenant Shafer.<sup>21</sup> The company took casualties from the hot weather. Private Edward Stone went down from heat during the march. It is possible no hospitals were available because the men were on the march or that the hospitals nearby were still overcrowded with wounded from the recent battle. Whatever the reason, the Hoosiers took care of their own, as Stone later explained that he was "Treated for Said Trouble at the Regt. I was never Taken to a Hospital for anything."<sup>22</sup>

For the first time the Hoosiers witnessed the aftermath of a large battle. "A hard fight it must have been judging from the many graves visible and many dead are found

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 2; The men's confidence in Pope came from his victories in the Western Theatre along the Mississippi River. McDowell had lost favor among the men every since his defeat at First Bull Run.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>22</sup>Pension File for Edward A. Stone.

daily, unburied, yet,” Sergeant Waldschmidt wrote. “It seems that the rebels don’t take much pains to bury their dead, as many of them are hardly covered.”<sup>23</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana received burial detail while camped on the battlefield. Rumors were rampant among the Federal troops, as they dug graves, spread by Jackson’s “deserters.” Waldschmidt reported that he heard Jackson commanded 140,000 Confederate soldiers.<sup>24</sup>

It did not take Pope long to realize that his army was in trouble. General Robert E. Lee had decided that McClellan was no longer a threat to Richmond and that by reinforcing Jackson he had a good chance to destroy Pope’s Army of Virginia before the Federals could be re-enforced. The Federal army raced toward the Rappahannock River, hoping to place the river between themselves and the rebels. Lieutenant Shafer expressed shocked with the withdrawal: “I was overwhelmed with astonishment, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, when the fact became known that it was a military necessity for the Union army to fall back.”<sup>25</sup> Shafer continued, “We had been led to suppose that the Union army then and there congregated was sufficiently strong to meet any opposition.”<sup>26</sup> Pope’s feeling of safety was short-lived. Jackson’s army exchanged artillery fire with the Federals until 23 August. On that day the Army of the Potomac burned the railroad across the river and retreated to Warrenton.

On the night of the 23 August General Jeb Stuart’s cavalry overran the Federal baggage train near Catlett Station. Much of the train was destroyed or looted and,

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<sup>23</sup>Goshen Democrat, August 27, 1862, 2.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>25</sup>Elkhart Review, September 13, 1862, 2.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 2.

according to Shafer, the guards scattered like sheep. Amazingly, the Western Brigade's baggage train was one of the few saved. Under the capable command of Company G's Second Lieutenant Charles K. Baxter, the 23-year-old printer from Waterloo, the westerners repulsed three separate charges during the night.<sup>27</sup>

The reason for Pope's withdrawal was Jackson's sweep around the Federal army's right flank on the 26 and 27 August. Pope decided to pursue Jackson and destroy him before Lee could come to his aid. The Federal army began to march for Manassas Junction where Jackson had last been sighted destroying the supply depot. On 27 August the Hoosiers of Company G marched toward the village of Gainesville, west of Manassas, arriving there on the morning of the 28<sup>th</sup>.

At noon on the 28 August the tired Westerners arrived in the village of Groveton where they relaxed until about sunset. General Rufus King's division moved out from Groveton and headed toward Centerville along the Centerville Pike. Brigadier General John Hatch's First Brigade led the way followed by Gibbon and the westerners. Brigadier General Abner Doubleday's Second Brigade advanced next and the Third Brigade under Brigadier General Marsena Patrick brought up the rear. Hatch's men scoured the surrounding countryside as the column advanced along the pike looking for rebels. As Hatch's soldiers disappeared into the distance, the Western Brigade arrived on the section of pike bordering the land of John Brawner.

The slow moving column was suddenly hit with rebel artillery fire. Gibbon saw the Confederate guns deploying and quickly ordered Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 2.

into position. The Westerners laid down in the road taking cover along the high embankment. Gibbon ordered the 2<sup>nd</sup> Wisconsin forward in an attempt to capture the rebel guns, but the Badgers ran head on into the Confederate infantry hidden behind the guns. As the rifle fire became a terrible roar, Gibbon quickly ordered the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana forward to support their embattled Wisconsin comrades. The Hoosiers were deployed on the extreme left of the line. The men charged into the Brawner farmyard and took cover behind an old split rail fence. Seeing that his left flank was in danger, Gibbon spent most of the battle on that part of the field. He later reported that “the musket fire became very warm” around the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana.<sup>28</sup>

Company G played a significant role in the combat by protecting the regiment’s open flank from severe Confederate artillery fire. Commanding one of Jackson’s batteries, Captain John Pelham swung two guns around and began firing upon the 19<sup>th</sup>’s open left flank. The two left flank companies, B and G, were detached under the command of Captain William Dudley, to deal with the threat. The skirmishers quickly forced Pelham to pull his guns out by firing a volley at 50 yards and then keeping up a hot fire upon the gunners. In the company, Captain John Clark wrote, “Each man seemed eager to meet the foe, unflinching they stood to a man the terrible cross-fire which the regiment was subjected to.”<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant Shafer moved up and down the line

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<sup>28</sup>OR, Series I—Vol. 16, ar16 377.

<sup>29</sup>Elkhart Review, October 25, 1862, 2.

“encouraging the men to do their duty,” according Clark.<sup>30</sup> The men became so involved in their fire fight with the Confederate artillery pieces that they neglected to notice three Virginia infantry regiments advancing into the gap between themselves and the rest of the regiment. At the last moment Gibbon took command and ordered the 19<sup>th</sup> to fall back ten yards to a rail fence and cover the skirmishers’ withdrawal. Next, Gibbon, on foot, personally led the dangerously exposed skirmishers back to the regiment as the rebel charge was repulsed.<sup>31</sup>

The fighting was close and brutal. Lieutenant Shafer placed the range at less than 80 yards, while Gibbon claimed it could not have been “more than 75 yards apart.”<sup>32</sup> The Lieutenant also reported that all three distinct charges made upon the 19<sup>th</sup> were repulsed.<sup>33</sup> Shafer wrote how “the musketry opened and continued with unabated fury for one hour and twenty minutes, when it became so dark that we could not see each other.”<sup>34</sup> When darkness finally fell the firing tapered off and then ended. The green soldiers in the company stood the fire well. Sergeants Julius Waldschmidt and Oscar Bates both received praise from Captain Clark for the superb handling of the men. Corporals Eli Starnes, Henry E. Altenburg, and James Adams also were praised by the Captain for their excellent service.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>31</sup>Alan D. Gaff, Brave Men’s Tears: The Iron Brigade at Brawner Farm (Dayton: Morningside House, Inc., 1988), 79-80.

<sup>32</sup>Elkhart Review, September 13, 1862, 2; OR, Series I—Vol. 16, ar16 377.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>35</sup>Elkhart Review, October 25, 1862, 2.

Many men in the company fell under the terrible fire. The 19<sup>th</sup> listed 220 casualties out of the 423 taken into action.<sup>36</sup> The Company, which entered the fight with 39 men, saw 17 fall.<sup>37</sup> Private Samuel Altman was killed outright and Theodore F. Carter died on 22 September 1862 from his wounds. Three of the company's five sergeants were wounded: Julius Waldschmidt, Samuel Bonar, and Frederick Wise. Apparently Waldschmidt was not seriously wounded because he appeared on muster returns immediately following the engagement. In addition, no mention of a wound is made anywhere in his pension file. Both Sergeants Bonar and Wise, on the other hand, were terribly wounded. Bonar was shot through the left breast. The bullet broke two ribs, passed under his sternum and lodged in his right arm near the shoulder. Bonar was left on the field for dead and he even appeared in casualty reports as killed. Amazingly, he survived the wound and a brief stint of time in southern captivity, which most likely meant he lay exposed to the weather on the battlefield. The paroled sergeant languished in a Federal hospital until December at which time he received his discharge.<sup>38</sup> Sergeant Wise received a rifle ball through the right side of his chest. It struck the lower part of his sternum and exited his chest in the middle of his ninth rib. In addition, he was hit in the right elbow, according to Sergeant Waldschmidt. Wise lay on the field for nine days before receiving a Confederate parole. Upon his recovery by Federal troops, the sergeant was sent to Emory Hospital in Washington City. Wise remained there until November

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<sup>36</sup>David Stevenson, Indiana's Roll of Honor Vol. I (Indianapolis: A. D. Straight, 1864-1866), 357.

<sup>37</sup>Elkhart Review, October 24, 1862, 2.

<sup>38</sup>Pension For Samuel S. Bonar.

when he was transferred to the Navy School Hospital through January 1863. He was then sent to Camp Parole in Annapolis, Maryland where he was interned for four weeks. Wise then returned to Company G at the front. He was soon hospitalized at Lincoln Hospital in Washington due to his wounds. He remained there until July 1863 at which time he joined the Veteran Reserve Corps.<sup>39</sup>

The only other non-commissioned officer wounded in the battle was Corporal James Adams. The Corporal was wounded twice during the bloodbath, but refused to leave the field. Captain Clark wrote that Adams “fought nobly until ordered to the rear by myself.”<sup>40</sup> Adams fell into Confederate hands and was held until 11 November 1862 when he was paroled. He apparently had enough of the army because he deserted from Camp Parole some time in November or early December. He either returned on his own or was arrested and brought back because he appeared again upon the January/February 1863 muster returns as present.<sup>41</sup>

Nine privates were wounded as well: William Smith, Marshall Ingraham, Isaac Andrews, Carson L. Andrews, Francis M. Sams, S. W. Hester, and William Busesel, Henry D. Gaylord, and Phraortes Humphreys. Gaylord had sustained another injury prior to the battle. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana had been involved in minor skirmishing with the rebels for several days before the battle at Brawner’s Farm. During one of these encounters Gaylord and his comrades had been involved in constructing field works. According to

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<sup>39</sup>Pension File for Frederick A. Wise.

<sup>40</sup>Elkhart Review, October 25, 1862, 2.

<sup>41</sup>Service Record for James Adams.

Private Daniel Chilcoat, the men of the company “were building them out of logs and timber” and during the construction Gaylord received a hernia on the left side of his body. Private Edward Smith reported that “He [Gaylord] was so badly injured [sic] that he couldn’t keep up with the regiment but sometime during the night he would come up to the regiment while stopping.” Thus Gaylord caught up with his company on 28 August, just as it was going into action. Gaylord hobbled along with the advancing Hoosiers and was shot twice in the right leg, once in the thigh and once in his ankle. Apparently Gaylord was left behind by his retreating comrades and remained on the field until 2 September when he was paroled by the rebels. He was interned in a hospital (possibly at Camp Parole) until 8 January 1863 when he was discharged for disability. Gaylord carried the bullet in his right thigh for the rest of his life.<sup>42</sup>

Private Phraortes Humphreys had a terrifying experience. Humphreys’s hat had sustained a bullet hole as the line advanced toward the Brawner farm buildings, but he remained unharmed until later in the engagement. He wrote, “I was knocked down by a shell striking my gun, bruising me badly and for awhile rendering me insensible.”<sup>43</sup> The battered soldier spent an unnerving night on the field.

I lay upon the battle-field all night surrounded by the dead and dying, and though I am accustomed to scenes of suffering and misery, I earnestly pray that I may never have to endure such another night of horror. The shrieks and groans of the wounded were truly horrible.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Pension File for Henry D. Gaylord.

<sup>43</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 1.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

The next morning Humphreys was captured by members of the Louisiana Tigers who treated him well, except for one drunken captain who cursed at him for being a “Yankee.” With the Tigers’ help Humphreys was soon on his feet and being led to a make shift prisoner holding area near the front lines. The Battle of Second Bull Run was well under way and Humphreys and a handful of other Federal prisoners were left under the supervision of three guards while the rest of the rebels formed a battle line. The Confederates stole Humphreys’s haversack, rubber blanket, and tent half, but did not actually search his person. About noon a regiment of Pennsylvania infantry assaulted a rebel battery setup near the Federal prisoners. When the Confederate guards became frightened and fled, Humphreys made good his escape.<sup>45</sup>

The Western Brigade withdrew under the cover of darkness, and as Phraortes Humphreys put it, “before overwhelming numbers.”<sup>46</sup> King pulled his division away from Jackson and retreated to Manassas Junction. King’s men joined General Fitz-John Porter’s corps at Manassas and camped there for the remainder of the night. The next day, 29 August, the westerners moved toward the plains of Manassas where McDowell had been so badly defeated in July 1861. Westerners did not become involved in the fighting until the 30<sup>th</sup>.

By 30 August, Pope, under the impression that the Confederates had been defeated and were in full retreat up the Warrenton Turnpike, ordered a full pursuit. The Black Hats were formed in two lines and advanced into the woods on the right side of the

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 1.

turnpike in support of Patrick's Brigade. General Porter (whose corps the westerners had been assigned to) ordered Gibbon to stretch his line into one long, line instead of two. The Black Hats moved forward with the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin on the far right, the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana held the center and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin consolidated on the left. John Gibbon described the advance: "Fire was soon opened by the enemy, and the fight continued actively until we were ordered to retire, which we did slowly and in good order."<sup>47</sup> The woods were very thick and the brigade became separated.

There was confusion set concerning the order to withdraw and all the regiments except the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin broke contact. Once out of the woods the Westerners reformed and supported Battery B in repulsing a rebel assault on the brigade's left and center. Gibbon wrote how "It [the brigade] behaved here with its usual gallantry, although subjected to a severe cross-fire of both infantry and artillery, and successfully beat back the advance of the enemy."<sup>48</sup> General McDowell ordered the Black Hats to cover the army's retreat from the field and thus they became the last unit to retire from Bull Run. Despite the punishing fire poured upon the Hoosiers by the rebels, Company G's only casualty was a wound to the company musician George W. Kreighbaum.<sup>49</sup>

The Hoosiers expressed their disdain at the poor performance of eastern troops. The west's superiority is obvious in a letter written by Lieutenant John Shafer:

There was no necessity of being beaten in that battle, had the Eastern troops done their duty—Whole regiments of New York and Pennsylvania troops broke and ran like sheep. Had the Eastern troops stood nobly to the work, like good

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<sup>47</sup>OR, Series I—Volume 16, ar16 377.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Elkhart Review, September 13, 1862, 2.

soldiers, our defeat would have proven a glorious victory. 'Tis true that thousands of stragglers were halted by the guard placed in rear for that purpose, but none were found belonging to our brigade.<sup>50</sup>

Shafer's letter is rife with sectional rivalry. He blatantly attacks the eastern troops and, in addition, rather than pointing out that there were no stragglers from his company or his regiment, he wrote "our brigade," meaning "western troops." A sense of attachment to the brigade is obvious here as well. Shafer bitterly commented that no mention was made of the western brigade's participation in the battles by eastern newspapers. He claimed that "It is enough for us to know that we did our whole duty."<sup>51</sup> Shafer did continue by asserting that the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana "received the plaudits of all who witnessed their deeds on that memorable day."<sup>52</sup> Obviously there was more to the war than North opposing South.

The defeated Army of the Potomac withdrew to the safety of the Washington defenses, fighting the bloody little battle of Chantilly on 2 September. The westerners spent the night in a line of battle listening to and watching the distant artillery and rifle while being drenched in a thunderstorm. The Black Hats encamped on Upton's Hill about six miles outside of Washington. In addition to the men who fell in combat, Company G lost another man. Private Claus Young was transferred to Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery.<sup>53</sup> The men were dispirited and, according to Shafer, "Gen. Pope, in the estimation of the army, has proven a failure. He has advertised more than he could

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>53</sup>Pension File for John M. F. Spittler, from a deposition by Claus Young.

perform.”<sup>54</sup> When George McClellan resumed command of the army Shafer wrote that, “His return to the command of the entire army inspires it with confidence.”<sup>55</sup>

The Federal army did not have long to lick its wounds around Washington. The Army of Northern Virginia was on the move once again, this time into Maryland. There was time for some minor reorganization. Gibbon’s Brigade was reassigned to General Joseph Hooker’s First Corps. In addition, General John Hatch took command of the westerners’ Division. On 6 September about 10:00 PM orders arrived for the westerners to move out. The army marched through Washington slowly finally coming to a halt with the Black Hats camping in the street in front of the White House. President Lincoln carried water to the exhausted men all night.<sup>56</sup> The soldiers were in high spirits and felt McClellan would not lead them wrong. The army marched toward Frederick where it was rumored the rebel army was congregated. Lieutenant John Shafer described the citizens’ reactions to the advancing Union army.

The tediousness of the march was in a great measure allayed by the true union sentiment manifested by all the citizens on the route. We found the stars and stripes floating from nearly every house top, little children, young ladies, old men, and women were found at nearly every house door or yard gate to join in a word of good cheer on our way. How great the contrast between Maryland and Virginia.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Elkhart Review, September 13, 1862, 2.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>56</sup> Lance J. Herdegen, The Men Stood Like Iron: How the Iron Brigade Won Its Name (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 136. Hereafter cited as Herdegen.

<sup>57</sup>Elkhart Review, October 4, 1862, 1.

The men of Company G and their comrades passed through the villages of Brookfield, Triadelphia, Lisbon, and New Market before arriving in Frederick on 13 September. That same day the men saw McClellan for the first time since his return from the Peninsula when he rode past their marching column. "I assure you the demonstration of enthusiasm and joy were unbounded," wrote Shafer of the soldier's reception of McClellan.<sup>58</sup> The following day the Company passed through Middletown and attacked the Confederate army on South Mountain. Brigadier General Alfred H. Colquitt's Confederate Brigade blocked the Federal advance through Turner's Gap. Gibbon's men were deployed across the National Road and ordered to push up it and take the Gap. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana formed a battle line on the extreme left of the brigade to the left of the road.

Once again it was about sundown when the westerners moved forward into battle. As soon as the Federal infantry came within range the Confederate artillery opened fire, dropping shells upon the Black Hats as they struggled up the steep incline. Rebel rifle tore into the advancing Federals from a house and its outbuildings. Colonel Meredith ordered up a section of Battery B and the gunners dropped two shells into the upper story of the house routing its rebel defenders. The Hoosiers continued to drive the Confederates up the mountainside. According to Meredith, "The fire became general on both sides. The Nineteenth gave a shout, and pressed for-ward---continued a steady step forward, cheering all the time."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>59</sup>OR, Series I—Vol. XIX/1, ar27 250.

Lieutenant Shafer scrambled forth with Company G as the men fanned out into a skirmish line to cover the regiment's left flank. Shafer quickly reported back to Colonel Meredith that the rebels were concealed behind a stone wall. Meredith ordered Company G to wheel to the left, and move by the right flank in order to outflank the Confederate position. Private Adam Juday described what happened next: "Co. G came 'round on their flank and giving them a cross fire and at the same time the Regiment moving on them behind the stone wall, forced them so hard we took 14 prisoners."<sup>60</sup> Shafer wrote that "accompanied by the *inimitable Hoosier yell*," the company overran the rebel position behind the stone wall and captured one captain, a first lieutenant, one sergeant and nine privates.<sup>61</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> caught the remaining Confederates in a crossfire and helped its Wisconsin comrades drive them from behind the rest of the wall. By 9:00 PM the flashes of rifles died away and the westerners held their positions just shy of the Gap with bayonets because ammunition was gone. Company G sustained no casualties while the entire regiment lost nine killed, 37 wounded and seven missing.<sup>62</sup>

From South Mountain the Hoosiers pursued Lee's army to Sharpsburg, Maryland. The men crossed Antietam Creek near Keedysville at a ford, prepared by the Pioneer Corps, on the afternoon of 16 September. The westerners finally arrived outside Sharpsburg after dark and were massed in reserve of the front line, sleeping on their arms. At dawn on the 17<sup>th</sup>, Gibbon's men were sent forward as the advance. Company G

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<sup>60</sup>Goshen Times, October 2, 1862, 2.

<sup>61</sup>Elkhart Review, October 4, 1862, 1.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 1; Goshen Times, October 2, 1862, 2; OR, Series I—Vol. XIX/1, ar27 250.

went into action under the command of First Lieutenant John Shafer because both Captain Clark and Second Lieutenant Baxter were ill possibly affected with the rheumatism that would plague the pair for the rest of their lives.<sup>63</sup> Gibbon pushed the 6<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Wisconsin regiments into a cornfield east of the Hagerstown Turnpike. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and the 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin followed in a supporting role. As the two Badger regiments thrashed their way through the corn, Gibbon spotted a force of Confederates threatening his right flank west of the Turnpike. Quickly he ordered two of Battery B's guns and the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin to drive the rebels away. Company B was ordered out as skirmishers making Company G the 19<sup>th</sup>'s left flank company and the link between the Hoosiers and the 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin. The Indiana soldiers advanced into the West Woods until the right half of the line completely cleared the trees all the while light skirmishing occurred between the rebels and the Westerners.

While the Hoosiers skirmished west of the Turnpike, the Badgers east of the Pike were taking a beating. Colonel Meredith was ill, placing Lieutenant Colonel Alois O. Bachman in command. Bachman saw the rebels pushing back the Wisconsin regiments and making a move to seize the remaining two sections of Battery B firing from a position "at the straw-stacks near the stone house hospital" according to Captain William Dudley.<sup>64</sup> The Company B was recalled from skirmish duty and Bachman ordered the regiment to change front on the tenth company in order to face the regiment east to flank the advancing rebels. The Hoosiers poured rifle fire into the flank of the Confederate

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<sup>63</sup>Goshen Times, October 2, 1862, 2; Elkhart Review, October 4, 1862, 1.

<sup>64</sup>OR, Series I—Vol. XIX/1, ar27 251.

infantry passing through the cornfield. The Confederate assault gave way and retreated back across the trampled corn, abandoning a battery on the brow of a slight hill at the far end of the field. The 19<sup>th</sup> scaled the two sturdy, five-foot high fences on each side of the Turnpike, which caused much disorder in the ranks. As the men scrambled over the second fence and struggled to reform, a rebel volley ripped through the line. The Hoosiers swept across the field and arrived at the brow of the hill where they were met with a severe fire from the rebels hidden behind it. Lieutenant Colonel Bachman was fatally wounded and, according to Shafer, “our flag was shot down seven times” in the course of the “splendid bayonet charge” made by the men.<sup>65</sup> Private Humphreys described the battle in a different light.

For about one hour I never saw such rapid discharges of artillery; the air seemed full of shells and solid shot, and the loss was terrible. The roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the shouts of the soldiery mingled with the shrieks of the wounded was truly terrible, and it looked to me as though, H—I had given a holiday and turned loose its inhabitants upon the upper world.<sup>66</sup>

Private Adam Juday, hit with a spent ball in the shoulder, wrote how “it did not hurt me much.”<sup>67</sup> The Hoosiers were forced to retreat back across the body blanketed, smoke enshrouded cornfield until they reached the pike where they reformed. The men were suddenly hit with an enfilading fire from Confederate troops advancing through the West Woods. Under this fire the regiment was withdrawn back to its original position west of

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<sup>65</sup>Elkhart Review, October 4, 1862, 1.

<sup>66</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 1.

<sup>67</sup>Goshen Times, October 2, 1862, 2.

the pike where it remained until relieved by a regiment from General Patrick's Brigade. The men then marched a short distance to the rear and camped in an open field.

Casualties were high: eight men killed, 70 wounded and 26 missing in the entire regiment. Only three commissioned officers remained to lead the regiment, one of them being Lieutenant Shafer.<sup>68</sup> Company G lost no men killed, but six were wounded. Corporals Clinton Hogue, Eli Starnes and Silas Upham received wounds as did Privates William Morgan and Edward A. Stone. Young Private James Knight, fatally wounded, died on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. According to Phraortes Humphreys, "S. S. Upham and E. Starns. . .are among the missing in the battle of the 17<sup>th</sup>. Several others were wounded, some of them dangerously."<sup>69</sup>

Corporal Hogue was shot through the left hand during the struggle. The ball passed between the third and fourth fingers, glanced inward off the bone of the third finger and exited his hand between the second and third fingers. The wound caused much stiffness in his hand and prevented him from ever fully closing it. Hogue was evacuated to the "Brick Church Hospital" in Keedysville, Maryland according to Lieutenant Charles Baxter because the wound completely disabled the Corporal. Hogue was then sent to Emory General Hospital in Washington and remained there until 15 November. On the 16<sup>th</sup> he was transferred to a hospital in Annapolis and was interned there until he returned to duty on 24 January 1863.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Goshen Times, March 12, 1863, 1.

<sup>69</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 1.

<sup>70</sup>Pension File for Clinton Hogue.

Private Edward Stone was still suffering from the heat stroke he had received on the march to Cedar Mountain back in August. During the fighting around the Turnpike Stone was shot through the left ankle. According to the wounded soldier, he was tended to by a “Volunteer Surgeon” in the field at the Divisional Hospital. Once removed from the field, Stone was sent to Number 3 General Hospital in Frederick on 1 October. Pretty used up by late 1862 or early 1863, Stone was transferred to the Convalescent Corps. He remained with this unit until his discharge in February 1863.<sup>71</sup>

Private Humphreys described the state of the regiment in a letter to the Goshen Times: “Our regiment has been terribly cut up, and there is but few of us left.”<sup>72</sup> Some reports placed the entire regiment at less than 100 men by the end of September; Lieutenant Shafer stated 175 answered muster call after Antietam.<sup>73</sup> Company G fielded a mere 15 men out of the 39 taken into action at Brawner Farm back in August. Claus Young, one of the members of Company G, transferred to Battery B, was wounded as well.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Pension File for Edward A. Stone.

<sup>72</sup>Goshen Times October 16, 1862, 1.

<sup>73</sup>Goshen Democrat, October 15, 1862, 2; Elkhart Review, October 4, 1862, 1.

<sup>74</sup>Alan T. Nolan and Sharon Eggleston Vipond, Giants in Their Tall Black Hats: Essays on the Iron Brigade (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998) Silas Fenton Chapter 9 “The Iron Brigade Battery,” 158. Hereinafter cited as Nolan and Vipond.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE TURNING POINT

For several weeks the Hoosiers remained on the Antietam battlefield burying the dead. Private Humphreys reported burying about 3,500 Confederates “and to one unaccustomed to such scenes, the sight would be appalling.”<sup>1</sup> Humphreys commented on the President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation as well.

The President’s Proclamation in regard to the slaves of rebels is hailed here with delight, by all sensible persons. We are tired of protecting rebel property and would take delight in confiscating it whenever found, and in whatever shape.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that many of the men of Company G were not interested in freeing slaves for the slaves’ sake, but instead only as a way to deprive Southerners of their property.

Humphreys also commented on the rumors circulating about McClellan’s replacement as commander of the army.

There is not a soldier along the line of the Potomac but almost worships McClellan, and if he should be removed through the influence of those who differ with him politically, the consequences will be most disastrous to the cause of the Union.<sup>3</sup>

The men were unhappy and dispirited. “There is not a soldier here but feels that the prospects of our country are dark and gloomy, and it makes my heart ache to see them sitting around, dejected and gloomy,” continued Humphreys.<sup>4</sup> A feeling of resentment

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<sup>1</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 1.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

toward the men finding faults with McClellan but not doing their part to fight also began to appear among the troops.<sup>5</sup>

The westerners remained camped on the battlefield near the Dunker Church participating in the clean up of the area until early October. On 2 October the men moved their camp about one mile from Sharpsburg to a position on the Potomac River. That same day President Lincoln reviewed the army on the battlefield. He was extremely touched by the battered appearance of the Iron Brigade.<sup>6</sup> The men's uniforms were tattered and many were missing pieces of equipment. In addition, shoes were in great demand. The 9<sup>th</sup> brought the addition of a new regiment to the Iron Brigade. The 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan, commanded by Colonel Henry A. Morrow, arrived to fill up the Brigade's depleted ranks. The Brigade's veterans met with stony silence the Wolverines when asked to cheer for the new regiment. The 24<sup>th</sup> would have to earn its place in the Iron Brigade. In addition, General Abner Doubleday took command of the Westerners' division and General John Reynolds was promoted to command of the First Corps.

Lieutenant Shafer remained a part of Elkhart County's election campaigning despite being away at war. In a letter written to the Elkhart Review on 5 September, Shafer, a Democrat, expressed support for Republican William Mitchell the candidate for Congress. The Review, a Republican paper, quickly snatched up the brief comment and published it on 11 October claiming, "This is the language of Lieut. J. W. Shafer, and came from his heart" and therefore "Let him [Mitchell] be returned by a vote that will

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>6</sup>Rufus Dawes, Service with the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1996), 100. Hereinafter cited as Dawes.

rejoice his heart.” Apparently even while away at war, Shafer held quite a bit of prominence in Elkhart County.<sup>7</sup>

On 7 October McClellan wrote a letter praising the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana to Governor Morton.

The career of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana has been such as to add still higher lustre to the reputation of your State. I have watched this Regiment, with its Wisconsin comrades, under the hottest fire and in the most dangerous position, and I am glad to say there is no better regiment in this or any other army.<sup>8</sup>

Despite McClellan’s obvious popularity among the Hoosiers, he was fast losing ground in the struggle to remain in control of the army. McClellan, after much urging from Lincoln, finally began a pursuit of Lee’s army. But soon the President had enough of McClellan’s uninspired campaign and in early November replaced him with General Ambrose Burnside.

A new general was not the only command change taking place. Captain John Clark had been angling for a promotion since late October. With the loss of so many officers at Antietam, vacancies appeared in great numbers. Clark had written Governor Morton asking to be remembered when promotions were handed out.<sup>9</sup> Ironically Clark chaired the meeting on 30 October of officers that selected Samuel Williams, Colonel, William Dudley, Lieutenant Colonel, and Alonzo Makepeace, Major. Being the senior

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<sup>7</sup>Goshen Times, September 18, 1862, 2; Elkhart Review, October 11, 1862, 2.

<sup>8</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 2; Elkhart Review, October 18, 1862, 2.

<sup>9</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, October 25, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

captain of the regiment, Clark was angered at being passed over for a higher command.<sup>10</sup> It seems that Clark, a Democrat, also felt that the slight was politically-motivated. The Goshen Democrat ran a small article telling of his resignation and claiming, “His [Clark] resignation was necessitated by the partiality of his treatment by the appointing power, his political principals proving an effectual bar to promotion.”<sup>11</sup>

Clark and two or three other officers rejected the selections for regimental command and all threatened resignation. In early November, Clark went ahead and tendered his resignation. All of this opposition came as a surprise to Major Makepeace.<sup>12</sup> On 8 December Captain John Clark resigned and returned to Indiana. Curiously, Private Adam Juday wrote home that the men were glad to see him leave because “The boys never liked him.” Nevertheless, the Goshen Democrat claimed Clark resigned “carrying with him the regret of his superior officers and men.”<sup>13</sup>

Colonel Williams quickly recommended First Lieutenant Shafer as Clark’s replacement on the 16<sup>th</sup> December. Shafer was not officially commissioned until 1 January 1863.<sup>14</sup> The men were well satisfied with Shafer as captain. Adam Juday wrote, “He is a gentleman and never fails to do his duty as an officer. . . Never have I seen an

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<sup>10</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, October 30, 1862 and November 5, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>11</sup>Goshen Democrat, January 7, 1863, 3.

<sup>12</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, November 10, 1862, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>13</sup> Letter written by Adam Juday to his parents, December 16, 1862, Paul and Karen Juday Collection, Osceola, Indiana. Hereafter cited as Juday Letters; Goshen Democrat, January 7, 1863.

<sup>14</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, December 16, 1862 and January 1, 1863, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

officer perform his duties so well as did Capt. Shafer.”<sup>15</sup> Company G’s change in command was completed on 9 January with Second Lieutenant Charles Baxter assuming Shafer’s vacated rank and First Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt becoming Second Lieutenant (although apparently Waldschmidt did not receive his commission until February).<sup>16</sup> Waldschmidt was greatly admired by the men of the company. “There is no better soldier in the army. His gentlemanly deportment and ability richly merits him the position,” wrote Private Silas Upham.<sup>17</sup>

While the turmoil over company and army command raged, the men prepared themselves for yet another titanic military struggle. On 31 October the Westerners left their camps near Bakersville, Maryland and advanced back into Virginia. The Brigade participated in the pursuit of Lee’s army through Snicker’s Gap until 7 November when a snowstorm brought a halt to the marching near Warrenton, Virginia. That same day Burnside took command of the Army of the Potomac to the dismay of the men. By the 9<sup>th</sup> the men were out of food and the 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan spent the day chanting “Bread! Bread!” But the men did not have long to grumble about short rations. They were soon on the move again bivouacking near the headwaters of Aquia Creek on 20 November. Ten days later the Westerners camped near Brook Station, Virginia as the army angled

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<sup>15</sup>Goshen Times, March 12, 1863, 1.

<sup>16</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, January 16, 1863, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives; *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>17</sup>Elkhart Review, January 24, 1863, 2.

for a confrontation with the rebels. The men remained camped near Brook Station until 9 December when they began their march toward Fredericksburg.<sup>18</sup>

The men crossed the Rappahannock River on 12 December about 2:00 PM and marched south along the river. Company G was most likely advanced into the battle under the command of Second Lieutenant Charles K. Baxter as First Lieutenant John Shafer was Acting Assistant Adjutant General on General Meredith's staff. As the Westerners moved along the river's edge they had been ordered to close *en masse* by division and began receiving rebel artillery fire from their western flank. Private Adam Juday described how "the Rebs soon began to shell us with little effect." The Iron Brigade advanced two miles along the river under this artillery fire until they reached the Bernard Farm where they camped for the night.<sup>19</sup>

The men of Company G were up two hours before sunrise in preparation for the days fighting. The brigade pushed further south along the river with the new 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan forming the front rank with the Badgers and Hoosiers supporting them. The Westerners advanced about a half a mile until brought to a halt by a ravine. Suddenly Confederate artillery opened fire on the Federals but the heavy fog prevented any injuries. The men scrambled across the ravine reformed their lines and watched as Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> US Artillery shelled the woods in front of them, clearing Confederates from the position. The brigade swarmed forward with the 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan and 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin forming the front rank and the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and 2<sup>nd</sup> Wisconsin in the second

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<sup>18</sup>Dawes, 101-108; Alan T. Nolan, The Iron Brigade: A Military History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 177. Hereinafter cited as Nolan.

<sup>19</sup>OR, Series I—Vol. XXI, ar31 475-76; Juday Letters, December 16, 1862.

line. The 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin supported the entire brigade. The 24<sup>th</sup> swept forward in its eagerness to prove itself and overran the rebel earthworks taking prisoners and capturing a number of horses. Adam Juday summed up the action in one sentence: “We succeeded in driving them on the left.” The line moved forward until the left was within three-fourths of a mile of the Massaponax River, but soon changed position to form a line running parallel to the Bowling Green Road.<sup>20</sup>

The Iron Brigade came under heavy artillery fire as the day wore on. According to General Meredith, it was at this time that the brigade sustained its heaviest losses. Late in the afternoon a large force of Confederate cavalry appeared opposite the Black Hats with the apparent intent to make a mass assault. But, according to Meredith, upon “discovering the disposition of our troops, withdrew, as there was serious doubts of success in that quarter.” Adam Juday described the day in a letter home: “Gen. Franklin’s Grand Division had all crossed the river and had a hard fight in the center. On the left was nothing but shelling and hard skirmishing.”<sup>21</sup>

Meredith, who failed to follow orders, late on 13 December was relieved of command, and Colonel Lysander Cutler of the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin took control of the Iron Brigade. The men were formed in a line diagonal to the Bowling Green Road and once again the 19<sup>th</sup> made up the rear rank. From 14-16 December the men were involved in constant skirmishing and sniping. “During both days and nights a sharp fire was kept up between our skirmishers and those of the enemy, and at intervals a brisk cannonade from

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid, ar31 476; Juday Letters, December 16, 1862.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

the enemy's batteries" reported Colonel Cutler. At dark on 16 December the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was ordered out on to the picket line about half a mile in front of the army. About 9:00 PM the rest of the Black Hats received orders to form and prepare for a withdrawal, but Cutler was ordered not to inform his pickets for fear the rebels might discover the retreat. At 11:00 PM the Iron Brigade pulled out and recrossed the river two miles to the north. Unwilling to leave his Hoosier comrades behind, Cutler gained permission from General John Reynolds, the I Corps' commander, to save his pickets.<sup>22</sup> Apparently Company G had been lucky enough to be chosen as one of the five reserve companies and had not actually been out on the fringes of the picket line. Adam Juday described what happened when the order to withdraw arrived at 3:00 AM

Col. Williams immediately called in the pickets and employed one company as skirmishers, and fell back and the Rebel Pickets following at our heels. And as we got to the bridge, we waited for our skirmishers. And when they came up, the rebels began to fire on us, but we got across alright.<sup>23</sup>

It seems that Company G and the other reformed companies "got across alright," but the skirmish-company did not arrive at the pontoon bridge until after it had been cut loose. The men were forced to cross the river on skiffs but not one soldier was lost.<sup>24</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana received much praise, including from Adam Juday:

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid, ar31 478; Juday Letters, December 16, 1862.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>OR Series I—Vol. XXI, ar31 479.

Narrow escape of the old 19<sup>th</sup> and Good Luck to the Old 19<sup>th</sup> who never was whipped and fought so bravely through several hard battles. The 19<sup>th</sup> is yet as good as any Regt. in the field.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, the regiment was mentioned in high regard in the official brigade reports.

Oddly enough, in his after action report General Solomon Meredith had nothing but praise for John Shafer. “First Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant General Shafer was prompt and active in the discharge of his duties, and has been recommended to the Governor of Indiana for promotion to a captaincy” wrote Meredith.<sup>26</sup> Private Silas Upham commented on Shafer’s detached duty as well:

Captain Shafer is now acting Asst. Adgt. Gen. on General Meredith’s staff, we should be pleased to have the Captain with the company, he’s a bully officer, but without his aid I suppose it would be a hard matter for Uncle Sol. To run the machine.<sup>27</sup>

“All is quiet along the Rappahannock,” wrote Private Upham after the battle.<sup>28</sup> A period of calm settled over the two armies. The weather was perfect, no snow and very little rain since the middle of November. The left wing of the Federal army pulled back, placing the extreme left flank on the Potomac River. The right wing still held the north bank of the Rappahannock including the city of Falmouth, “from which place the rebel camps and fortifications are plainly visible” Upham continued. Pickets from the two

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<sup>25</sup>Juday Letters, December 16, 1862.

<sup>26</sup>OR Series I—Vol. XXI [S# 31] ar31 477.

<sup>27</sup>Elkhart Review, January 24, 1863, 2.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid, 2.

armies got along well in their positions along the river. “[They] appear to have entered into an agreement not to shoot at each other, so no shooting is done by either party, but frequent, friendly conversations are carried on between them,” reported Private Upham. Upham claimed that Lee’s army appeared very diminished which validated claims (for him at least) that Lee had dispatched reinforcements west.<sup>29</sup>

The men remained camped near Fredericksburg until 20 January 1863. At midnight the Iron Brigade was set into motion and camped outside Falmouth later that night. Rain had begun to fall on the evening of the 20<sup>th</sup> and, as the men began to march the next day, mud became a constant enemy. Burnside’s infamous Mud March was under way. By 1:00 PM a halt was ordered because the roads had become impassable. The Hoosiers remained in the field until 23 January, at which time they were ordered back to Belle Plain arriving there after a ten-hour march.<sup>30</sup> Thus ended Burnside’s command of the Army of Potomac.

The soldiers of Company G remained camped near Belle Plain until 28 April. General Joseph Hooker’s appointment as commander of the Army of the Potomac improved conditions for the war weary men. “The health of the Troops is very good, and they appear to be in good spirits,” wrote Adam Juday on 26 February.<sup>31</sup> It had been a rough winter with much snow and rain and, with the recent defeat, “Peace Democrats” had begun preying on soldiers and the northern population. Calls to end the war at

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid, 2.

<sup>30</sup>David Stevenson, Indiana’s Roll of Honor Vol. I (Indianapolis: A. D. Streight, 1864) 369-70.

<sup>31</sup>Goshen Times, March 12, 1863, 1.

whatever cost and to undermine the military effort were prevalent. Juday made a heart felt call to Indiana's Democrats in a letter:

Come friend Democrats don't let your passions rise above your Country. As the saying is, the darkest hour is before day now friends if this is the case, just keep cool and in a few days, weeks or months it will again appear light. All we ask is your hearty support remembering that one life is more precious than all the treasure. Give your earnest support to the Government and all will be right.<sup>32</sup>

Juday also pointed out that only the hand full of Democrats in the unit were unhappy with the situation.

Company G had been used up by February. Only 42 men remained on the roster out of 82 and of those only 15 were in camp ready for duty. Despite these terrific losses Juday wrote, "This little company has a good reputation; it never fails to do its duty in time of battle."<sup>33</sup> Some of the men were returning from the hospital. One veteran, Sergeant Frederick Wise, had been severely wounded at Brawner's Farm. But, according to Juday, "[he] will not be able for duty."<sup>34</sup> Not all the men were in good spirits though. Sometime in March, Private John M. Shirts deserted. He remained at large until May when he was arrested and held until June when he returned to the Company.<sup>35</sup>

While Juday claimed, "I am perfectly safe in saying we have the best, Officers in the Regiment," his view was not held by the high command.<sup>36</sup> On 8 March Captain

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid, 1.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid, 1.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, 1.

<sup>35</sup>Pension File for John M. Shirts.

<sup>36</sup>Goshen Times, March 12, 1863, 1.

Shafer was dismissed from the service by the order of a General Court Martial.<sup>37</sup> Shafer had gone to Washington City on 6 February without bothering to get anyone's permission and remained there until the 9<sup>th</sup> when he returned to duty. Apparently he "borrowed" an order addressed to Captain William Orr commanding Orr to proceed to Washington for three days to purchase company books. Orr had not wanted to make the trip, and so Shafer unofficially went. During the trial, Shafer's fellow officers' memories failed them as to how exactly Shafer went to the capital. Subsequently, he could only be found guilty of absence without leave and the charge of misappropriating orders was dropped. The court ordered Shafer out of the service without loss of pay.<sup>38</sup>

Shafer returned home soon after his dismissal and curiously enough the Elkhart Review commented, "Capt. J. W. Shafer has been visiting his family for a brief period." There was no mention of his disgrace. Shafer took the opportunity to vote the Union ticket and show his support for the Lincoln administration, "to the chagrin of his former political friends," reported the Review.<sup>39</sup> But Shafer was far from happy about his dismissal. His fellow officers all signed a letter asking for his return and the court officials themselves recommended clemency from General Hooker.<sup>40</sup> Shafer obtained President Lincoln's support and on 3 April Lincoln recommended Shafer be reinstated. By 8 April the Court's decision had been overturned and "he [Shafer] can be

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<sup>37</sup>19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, April 8, 1863, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>38</sup>Military Court Martial Records, case number MM6, National Archives.

<sup>39</sup>Elkhart Review, April 11, 1863, 3.

<sup>40</sup>Military Court Martial Records, case number MM6, National Archives.

recommissioned if your Excellency so desires” wrote the Adjutant General’s Office to Governor Morton. Unfortunately, by 21 April Shafer still had not received his commission and wrote a letter to the Morton administration in Indiana stating, “I am somewhat fearful that my Commission may not reach here before the coming battle and without the Commission I cannot take command of my Company. I am in fact a Civilian until I am mustered.” Shafer finally received his commission on 25 April.<sup>41</sup>

Shafer received his commission none too soon, for three days later the army was on the move. As the main body of the Army of the Potomac became bogged down in the Wilderness around Chancellorsville, the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and its Western comrades were dispatched to fight against the Confederates still in the Fredericksburg area. A crossing was forced at Fitzhugh’s Crossing at 9:00 AM on 28 April. The Hoosiers were deployed under the crest of a slight ridge along the Rappahannock where they were protected from the rebel fire raining down on the bridge builders. Construction of the bridge was brought to a halt by the Confederate fire and the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin and 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan were sent across in boats to drive away the rebel defenders. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana remained behind pouring fire support into the Confederates. The Hoosiers followed their comrades across the river and slept on their arms all night in driving rain. On 30 April the men spent the day constructing earthworks to protect themselves against shellfire. They remained in such a position until 2 May when they re-crossed the river and moved to support the rest of the army in the struggle around Chancellorsville. The Hoosiers held their position on the Gordonsville and Fredericksburg Pike until 6 May when they crossed the river once

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<sup>41</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence, April 21, 1863, Commission on Public Records, Indiana State Archives; Adjutant General’s Report as cited by Dunn’s Appendix, 318.

again. By 7 May the 19<sup>th</sup> was camped near Hartwood Church and the Chancellorsville campaign had ended in failure. The regiment lost one man killed and three wounded, none of them being from Company G.<sup>42</sup>

In early June 1863 General Robert E. Lee's second invasion of the North began. As Lee moved north, the Army of the Potomac shadowed him to the East shielding Washington City. The two armies slowly plodded north throughout the month of June. By 28 June the Federal I Corps was camped near Middletown, Maryland, leading the advance of the army. On that day General George Gordon Meade replaced Hooker and began concentrating the army. The Iron Brigade had been designated First Brigade of the First Division of the First Corps and in that position lead the advance with General Lysander Cutler's Second Brigade. Fighting erupted northwest of the town Gettysburg on 1 July between foraging Confederates and John Buford's Federal Cavalry Division. The Iron Brigade was camped about five miles south of the field and was rushed forward to support the cavalry and Cutler's Second Brigade.

The Westerners advanced across the fields east of Herbst's Woods in a staggered line. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Wisconsin went in first followed by the 7<sup>th</sup> moving in on its left, next the 19<sup>th</sup> and finally the 24<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin. As the Hoosiers swept forward the 26 men in Company G were one man short. Corporal Conn McGuire had become so lame during the march north that he had been ordered by Captain Shafer to remain in the rear. But upon hearing the roar of rifles at the front, McGuire hobbled along after the company.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>OR Series I—Vol. XXV/1, ar39 269-270.

<sup>43</sup>Elkhart Review, July 25, 1863, 3.

The brigade charge slammed into General James Archer's Confederate brigade among the trees and drove them back across Willoughby Run.

The 19<sup>th</sup> was ordered to trade places in line with the 24<sup>th</sup> Michigan placing them (the 19<sup>th</sup>) on the left flank of the brigade. As the afternoon wore on the fortunes of war turned on the Federal First and Eleventh Corps and the Confederates began to drive them back. At about 3:00 PM the Confederates pressed forward again. The 19<sup>th</sup> was out flanked on the left and subjected to a severe crossfire, which finally forced them to withdraw east toward Seminary Ridge. One hundred and twenty dead and wounded men blanketed the ground before the regiment pulled back.<sup>44</sup> The men stood in the low ground between McPherson's Ridge and Seminary Ridge until outflanked on both sides. The Hoosiers reformed again behind a rail fence, but were finally forced out from behind it. Colonel Williams reported that by then the regiment had been "reduced to a mere squad."<sup>45</sup> The men reformed again, but were overwhelmed by superior numbers. They retired to a rail barricade near the Seminary and there poured destructive fire into their pursuers. Williams reported that "Here was made out our last and hopeless stand."<sup>46</sup> The Iron Brigade was the last unit withdrawn giving and taking horrendous casualties. They were nearly surrounded when finally ordered back to Cemetery Hill east of town. Williams reported that the men from different units became so intermingled at the barricade that he could not reform the regiment and "we retired, each to care for himself,

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<sup>44</sup> Alan D. Gaff, "HERE WAS MADE OUT OUR LAST AND HOPELESS STAND': The "Lost" Gettysburg Reports of the Nineteenth Indiana." *Gettysburg Magazine*. 1 (Winter 1990): 25-31.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 2.

through town.”<sup>47</sup> Even so Williams watched many of the men disobey the order to retreat and “after having started to the rear, returned again to the barricade to pay the enemy one more compliment.”<sup>48</sup> The regiment reformed on Cemetery Hill and held a position between that hill and Culp’s Hill for the rest of the battle. The men were not engaged except for enduring nearly constant artillery fire.

The Hoosiers sustained severe casualties while holding the left flank. By the end of the day the regiment counted 210 killed, wounded, and missing soldiers out of 288 officers and men.<sup>49</sup> Company G fielded ten survivors out of its original 26. Corporal McGuire, the lame soldier who limped along behind his advancing comrades, was hit just below the right knee and had to have the limb amputated on 2 July.<sup>50</sup> A shell fragment struck Sergeant Adam Juday on the left side of his head, paralyzing the left side of his body. As Juday lay on the field, he was approached by a rebel soldier who asked him where he was hit. Juday told him and asked the soldier to pour some water on the wound, which he did. The Confederate confided in Juday that “war is a desperate thing and he was tired of it and hoped it would soon end, not caring on what terms.” That rebel moved on and the next Confederate who approached the wounded sergeant robbed him of everything but the clothes he was wearing. Juday then struggled to a field hospital where he remained until 4 July. He witnessed the Confederate skirmishers left to cover the

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid, 2.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.,3.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid, 2.

<sup>50</sup>Elkhart Review, July 25, 1863, 3; Pension File for Conn McGuire.

retreating Army of Northern Virginia being captured near the hospital on the 4<sup>th</sup>. The sergeant described the scene: “many wounded in the hospital began to cheer and soon found themselves among friends, which supplied them with bread, coffee and all kinds of diets.” Juday was sent to Baltimore and then transferred to a hospital in Germantown where he remained recovering until early April 1864.<sup>51</sup>

Private Silas S. Upham was the only member of Company G to die. The private was shot three times during the course of the day, the last bullet passing through his lungs. He languished in the hospital until 11 July before expiring.<sup>52</sup> When Captain Shafer received a wound in his right arm he left the field. He returned home to recover from his wound and remained in Indiana until 21 September. His trip home was not as restful as he had hoped. While visiting friends near Wolf Lake, Indiana he contracted typhoid and was bedridden for some time, although the newspaper reported, “His illness we believe is not regarded as dangerous”.<sup>53</sup>

Corporal George H. Kulp was shot through the right arm near the shoulder causing paralysis of the arm. On 2 July he fell into Confederate hands, but was paroled the same day. Kulp remained in a hospital in Washington until 18 August 1863 when he was sent home on a 40-day furlough. He returned to Washington on 27 September 1863 and remained in the hospital until 18 December when he returned to duty as a Corporal in

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<sup>51</sup>Juday Letters, 1863, Letter written to his parents, first page missing no date; Elkhart Review, August 29, 1863, 2; Goshen Times, August 27, 1863, 2.

<sup>52</sup>Elkhart Review, July 25, 1863, 3; Adjutant General’s Report as cited by Dunn, 333.

<sup>53</sup>Elkhart Review, September 22, 1863, 3.

the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Invalid Corps. He remained with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion until 2 May 1864, when he received a discharge due to disability from his wound.<sup>54</sup>

Private Carson L. Andrews received a slight wound in his hip.<sup>55</sup> Private Ellison T. Campbell was shot in the hand and remained in the hospital until his discharge on 22 August 1864 and Private Henry Smith was wounded in the thigh.<sup>56</sup> A rebel shot struck Private William H. Fry in the left hand carrying away his forefinger and part of the hand making it difficult use it. Fry returned to duty sometime in September 1863, but was continually hospitalized due to his wound. Finally, in July 1864, he received a discharge.<sup>57</sup>

The Company had a number of men taken prisoner by the Confederates. Sergeants Oscar C. Bates and Eli Starnes were both captured. Sergeant John H. Criswell was slightly wounded and captured as well. He was confined in Richmond, Virginia until his parole at City Point, Virginia on 6 August 1863. He remained at Camp Parole, Maryland from 8 August until 4 October 1863 when he returned to the Company.<sup>58</sup> Private Enoch T. Neal fell into Confederate hands, as did Curtis Davis and James Adams. The Confederates imprisoned Davis in Richmond from 21 July until 6 August when he was paroled at City Point, Virginia. Davis was sent to Camp Parole, Maryland on 24

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<sup>54</sup>Pension File for George H. Kulp.

<sup>55</sup>Pension File for Carson L. Andrews; Goshen Times, August 27, 1863, 2; Elkhart Review, August 29, 1863, 2.

<sup>56</sup>Goshen Times, August 27, 1863, 2; Elkhart Review, August 29, 1863 2; Pension File for John M. F. Spittler.

<sup>57</sup>Pension File for William H. Fry; *Ibid*, 2; *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>58</sup>Pension File for John H. Criswell; *Ibid*, 2; *Ibid*, 2.

September and remained there until returned to duty on 4 October 1863.<sup>59</sup> Neal was not gone long enough to appear as missing on any of the muster reports and Adams did not return to duty from his imprisonment until February 1864.<sup>60</sup> Private Benjamin Turner was captured as well, but was illegally paroled according to his pension file and returned to the Company near Westchester, Pennsylvania on 10 August 1863.<sup>61</sup>

Oddly enough, a soldier who had not been an official member of the Company since November/December 1861 appeared on Company G's casualty list. Private Perry Rowe had been detached for service with Battery B, 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery in 1861. On 1 July, while serving one of the guns for the battery, he was struck above the knee in his right leg. The leg was amputated on 3 July 1863 and he remained in the hospital until November 1863, when he was discharged.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Pension File for Curtis Davis.

<sup>60</sup>Pension Files for Enoch T. Neal and James Adams, Service Record for James Adams; Goshen Times, August 27, 1863, 2; Elkhart Review, August 29, 1863, 2.

<sup>61</sup>Pension File for Benjamin Turner.

<sup>62</sup>Pension File for Perry Rowe; Goshen Times, August 27, 1863, 2; Elkhart Review, August 29, 1863, 2.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Eugene Watkins earned a Bachelor's Degree in history from Millikin University in Decatur, Illinois. He has studied history in England, the Bahamas, and Mexico. He was an essayist and article compiler for The Bahamas Index and Yearbook: 1996. He has an avid interest in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America, specifically the Civil War. Watkins is a Civil War reenactor, and since the writing of this thesis has reactivated Company G. He currently lives in Syracuse, Indiana.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE FINAL YEARS

On 5 July the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana pulled out of its entrenchments on Culp's Hill and began the pursuit of the retreating Army of Northern Virginia. On 18 July the battered veterans crossed the Potomac River at Berlin and camped that night at Waterford, Virginia. The next day the army continued south toward the Rappahannock River. It did not take Meade and Lee long to realize a period of rest was badly needed for the armies, so both commanders camped their troops along the Rappahannock, Meade to the north and Lee to the south. The Hoosiers camped near Rappahannock Station on 1 August.<sup>1</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana remained camped at Rappahannock Station until mid-September performing picket duty and building entrenchments. In September Meade suddenly ordered an advance to seize Culpeper, Virginia. Lee retreated and the Federals advanced as far as the Rapidan River. The 19<sup>th</sup> camped at Pony Mountain and then moved to Morton's Ford remaining there until about 10 October. On that date the Federals retreated back across the Rappahannock when Lee advanced around their flank. The men camped near Centerville and found their dead still unburied on the Brawner's Farm battlefield. General Lysander Cutler, now commander of the Iron Brigade, sent details to bury these men. The army was soon moving again and by 10 November was back along the Rapidan. As November drew to a close, the Mine Run Campaign commenced in earnest, but nothing really came of it. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was not involved in any of the skirmishes related to the campaign. By 24 December the Hoosiers were stationed near

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<sup>1</sup>Stevenson, 380-81.

Culpeper Court House where they constructed winter quarters.<sup>2</sup> Several new recruits were added to the Company's depleted ranks during December. Private John A. Burns was mustered in on 4 December, Moses Smith on the 6<sup>th</sup>, Warren Fisk the next day, and finally Warren's brother, Elias "Pat" Fisk, on 26 December.<sup>3</sup>

The question of re-enlistment was raised as 1863 drew to a close and the veterans' tours of duty ended. Captain Shafer went to work on Company G attempting to get the men to re-enlist. His efforts were rewarded when all 22 veterans signed on for another three years. According to the Elkhart Review, Company G was the first company to re-enlist and, when it did, the rest followed suit. The Company arrived home on 19 January on a 30-day furlough.<sup>4</sup> The men were met with "an enthusiastic reception at Indianapolis," according to the Goshen Times, and Governor Morton gave them a welcome home speech.<sup>5</sup> The Company recruited while at home as well. In the Goshen Times an add appeared offering \$302 for raw recruits and \$402 for veterans. Lieutenant Julius Waldschmidt, "looking 'every inch a soldier,'" according to the Goshen Times, set up a recruiting office in Blake's Law Office in Goshen.<sup>6</sup> Five more recruits were added and mustered in between 7 January and 20 April 1864: Samuel S. Shirts, Alvin D. Serry, Benjamin J. Snow, Michael Shirts, and Joseph B. Warrick.<sup>7</sup> The new recruits were

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<sup>2</sup>David Stevenson, Indiana's Roll of Honor Vol. II (Indianapolis: A. D. Streight, 1866) 583-584. Hereinafter cited as Stevenson II.

<sup>3</sup>Adjutant General's Report as cited by Dunn, 333.

<sup>4</sup>Elkhart Review, January 23, 1864, 2.

<sup>5</sup>Goshen Times, January 21, 1864, 3.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid*, 3; Goshen Times, February 4, 1864, 3.

<sup>7</sup>Adjutant General's Report as cited by Dunn, 333.

forced to deal with camp diseases as the veterans had in 1861. Private Warren Fisk contracted typhoid in March and suffered from it until 22 April. He received a 30-day furlough to recuperate and soon returned to duty.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the new recruits, Company G received several old comrades. William L. Balch returned from service with Battery B on 31 December and in January Claus Young, another artilleryman, rejoined the unit as well.<sup>9</sup>

With the coming of Spring a new campaign season opened and General Ulysses S. Grant took over all command of the Federal armies. Because of its tremendous losses at Gettysburg the First Corps was disbanded and consolidated with the Fifth Corps under Major General Gouverneur K. Warren. The Iron Brigade was increased in strength with the addition of the 7<sup>th</sup> Indiana and the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion New York Sharpshooters, all under the command of General Lyander Cutler. At noon on 3 May 1864 the Westerners began their march south into the Wilderness. Before the regiment had left Culpeper Station on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Sergeant Adam Juday sat down and wrote a friend at home that, "There are all indications of a forward movement in a few days, and all kinds of rumors afloat, but none reliable. The Army was never in better spirits than it is at present."<sup>10</sup> Juday was one of the wounded veterans returned to the front. Gone were his early romantic and patriotic views of war:

Although I have a great deal of pain from the effects of my wound, But as I have now 3 months to serve, I will do the best as I can. But that will be my inspiration

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<sup>8</sup>Pension File for Warren Fisk.

<sup>9</sup>Pension File for William L. Balch; Pension File for John M. F. Spittler

<sup>10</sup>Juday letters, May 3, 1864.

as I have some hard marching to do, and will not at all be surprised of some hard fighting.<sup>11</sup>

The march continued on 4 May with men bivouacking near the Wilderness Tavern. Early the next morning the men were up and on the move heading for Parker's Store. Lee had become aware of Grant and Meade's advance around his flank. In response General Richard Ewell's Confederate Corps was dug in along the western edge of a large field known as Saunder's Field, blocking the Federal march. The Union soldiers pitched into Ewell's men furiously. The Iron Brigade moved through the dense growth at the southern edge of Saunder's Field and smashed through the Confederate lines driving the rebels back. The Westerners captured 289 prisoners and three battle-flags.<sup>12</sup> The Confederates were driven back in furious fighting until the Iron Brigade realized it had been flanked on both sides and was in danger of being surrounded. The Westerners fought their way to safety losing heavily but managing to bring off their prisoners as well. Unfortunately, the muzzle flashes from thousands of rifles set the forest ablaze. Many of the Iron Brigades wounded and dead burned. For the rest of the day the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and its comrades supported the Second Corps.<sup>13</sup>

On 6 May the fighting continued and the Iron Brigade was bloodied again. This time they were involved in Hancock's Second Corps assault upon A. P. Hill's Confederate Third Corps. Hill's men were shattered by the advancing Federals. The

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid, May 3, 1864.

<sup>12</sup>OR Series I—Vol. XXXVI/1, ar67 610-611.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid, 611.

Western Brigade drove the rebels as far as the Orange Turnpike before they were struck completely by surprise by James Longstreet's attacking Confederate First Corps. Except for the Iron Brigade, it was the Union soldiers' turn to flee. The Brigade was brought off the field still as a disciplined body of troops.<sup>14</sup> The men sat out the last day of the battle, 7 May, cleaning weapons and holding their rifle pits.

Casualties were heavy once again in Company G with twelve men killed, wounded and missing out of 32 taken into action.<sup>15</sup> Two days after writing home, Sergeant Juday was shot dead in the fierce fighting. His body was never recovered and it is believed that it was cremated in the fires that swept through the area. Corporal Amos G. Haskins and Private Ralph Coats were both killed. More than likely Private John A. Burns, one of the December 1863 recruits, was killed, but the records are not clear. The final listing on his muster card stated he was missing in action at the Wilderness. Several casualty reports sent home to the newspapers list him as killed. He probably was killed and his body burned in the fires.<sup>16</sup>

Lieutenant Julius Waldschmidt was shot through the left arm and returned home for about a month before rejoining the Company in early June.<sup>17</sup> Private Isaac Andrews was shot in the left hand.<sup>18</sup> Private Elias "Pat" Fisk received a wound in his left leg.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid, 611; Nolan and Vipond, Sharon Eggleston Vipond, Chapter 8, "A New Kind of Murder," 135-138.

<sup>15</sup>Goshen Democrat, May 18, 1864, 3; Goshen Times, May 19, 1864, 2; Venner, 475, footnote 32.

<sup>16</sup>Elkhart Review, June 18, 1864, 3; Muster Rolls, Indiana State Archives.

<sup>17</sup>Goshen Democrat, May 18, 1864, 3; Goshen Democrat, June 1, 1864, 3; Pension File for John M. F. Spitzer.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

The ball passed through his leg below the knee fracturing the bone and causing a running sore that discharged pieces of bone. Fisk was sent first to the Regimental Hospital and than evacuated to the General Hospital in Washington. Fisk recovered enough to return to his unit.<sup>19</sup>

Private John M. Shirts received a wound in his left hand that injured his index finger and caused the amputation of the third finger at the joint. He was evacuated from the field hospital on 12 May to the General Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia where he remained until August 1864.<sup>20</sup> Sergeant Oscar C. Bates described how Private Samuel S. Shirts “was struck in the left eye by the limb of a tree which had been struck by a ball, and had fallen violently.” Apparently Shirts remained with the Company until 24 May when he was admitted to Kalorama General Hospital with small pox. In the end Shirts lost the sight in his left eye and his right was damaged by the small pox. He was given a furlough on 1 October from which he returned on 15 October. On 9 February 1865 he was transferred to a hospital in Philadelphia where he remained until his discharge on 17 May 1865.<sup>21</sup>

Corporal John M. F. Spitler was hit in the right foot on 5 May. According to Lieutenant Waldschmidt, he and Spitler went together to the field hospital after being wounded. Spitler related the following account:

In May 1864 when I received my wound I was captured. The rebels took me to a sort of Field Hospital in the woods, but did nothing for me. I made my escape in about 20 days, and with four others got to the Potomac at Aqua Creek Landing.

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<sup>19</sup>Pension File for Elias P. Fisk.

<sup>20</sup>Pension File for John M. Shirts.

<sup>21</sup>Pension File for Samuel S. Shirts.

We got out into the Channel on a raft, and were picked up by a boat and were taken to Washington, D. C.<sup>22</sup>

Spitler remained in Washington for about five days before being sent to a hospital in Indianapolis. He returned to Company G on 12 August 1864.<sup>23</sup> Sergeant Ithamar Hague was wounded on 5 May as well and fell near Spitler. The two soldiers lay within Confederate lines until the night of 13 May, when “I left him there” wrote Hague. Hague returned to the Company and served until 18 February 1865 when apparently his wound bothered him so much he was transferred to Company B, 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps with which he served until 14 July 1865.<sup>24</sup> Sergeant Oscar C. Bates received a wound the following day during the assault upon A. P. Hill and the Iron Brigade’s subsequent repulse by Longstreet. He recovered and went back to the front as well. In the confusion of the fighting Private Benjamin Turner was taken prisoner, but managed to escape and rejoin Company G’s survivors.<sup>25</sup>

On 8 May the Hoosiers joined the advance toward Spotsylvania Court House. That same day the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana participated in the first of eight assaults upon Confederate positions on Laurel Hill that would take place over the next few days.<sup>26</sup> After a bloody little fight on the densely wooded slopes of the hill, the Westerners constructed earthworks in the valley facing Laurel Hill. The next day was relatively quiet except for

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<sup>22</sup>Pension File for John M. F. Spitler.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Pension File for Benjamin Turner.

<sup>26</sup>Elkhart Review May 21, 1864, 3.

lively skirmishing on the picket lines. Fighting continued with unabated fury on 10 May with the 19<sup>th</sup> making assaults on the Confederate positions. Captain John Shafer was Company G's only casualty being so afflicted with sunstroke that he had to be carried from the field and spend four days in the hospital.<sup>27</sup>

More assaults were made on 12 May and the Iron Brigade was pinned down within 30 yards of the Confederate lines until about midnight. The fighting was hellish, some of the men remembering firing nearly 300 rounds.<sup>28</sup> Company G's only casualty was Private George W. Thompson, who received a slight gunshot wound to his hand.<sup>29</sup> The confusion of the battle is illustrated by the fact that as late as 5 June Thompson was still listed as killed in action.<sup>30</sup> Following the excitement of Laurel Hill was a period of relative calm lasting from 13 May until 20 May as the armies maneuvered and skirmished. Captain Shafer's only comment on the brutal fighting was that "Everything is going satisfactorily to Gens. Grant and Meade. No great mistakes have been made, and we are actually crowding the enemy toward Richmond."<sup>31</sup>

On 21 May the Westerners pulled out of their positions around Spotsylvania Court House and moved to Guiney's Station. The men camped at Thornburg's Mill on the Po River the next day. On 23 May the Iron Brigade (with the rest of its Division) was ordered to cross the North Anna River near Jericho Mills and hold the bridgehead

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid, 3.

<sup>28</sup>Gaff, 350.

<sup>29</sup>Pension File for George W. Thompson.

<sup>30</sup>Elkhart Review, June 18, 1864, 3.

<sup>31</sup>Elkhart Review, May 21, 1864, 3.

until the rest of the Fifth Corps arrived. The men were in middle of preparing supper when suddenly A. P. Hill's Confederate infantry swarmed out of the woods and hit the surprised Federals. The Hoosiers and their comrades put up a brief fight, but were overwhelmed and fled to the rear in confusion. Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana rallied with the 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin and some sharpshooters behind three batteries of artillery. This make shift line threw back the rebel assault. The fighting continued for three more days. The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and 6<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin remained south of the river facing the Confederates the rest of the brigade was withdrawn across the river.<sup>32</sup> One man was killed and seven wounded in the regiment during the fighting.<sup>33</sup> Company G lost two men, as Sergeant Eli Starnes and Private Benjamin Turner were both taken prisoner.

Starnes was first sent to Richmond until 31 May, when he was transferred to Andersonville. He remained there until 7 October 1864. When he was moved to Florence, South Carolina until his parole in Charleston on 16 December 1864. A fellow prisoner at Andersonville, Henry Grooms, described Starnes's ordeal:

When I first made his acquaintance [sic] in said Prison he was Apparently a Sound able Bodied man free from disease. After a time. . .he Contracted Scurvy and his system became diseased generally and from want of Proper [sic] food starvation Privations of Every Kind and general Lack of almost Everything to sustain Life and Health. His System and Health Broke down Entirely. His Limbs became Swolen [sic] and Black. Also his Legs became Drawn up and apparently Dead. When One pressed the flesh with the finger and made a Dent or Depression. . .Say in the morning the Depression would Stay there all day. He became so Emaciated as to be a Skeleton and became almost Entirely Helpless.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Dawes, 275-278.

<sup>33</sup>Gaff, 354.

<sup>34</sup>Pension File for Eli Starnes.

Upon his release in December, Starnes received a 30-day furlough and returned to Indiana where he stayed until ordered to Camp Chase, Ohio arriving there 20 February 1865.<sup>35</sup>

Private Benjamin Turner fared a little better. He was confined at Libby Prison in Richmond from 25 –31 May at which time he was sent to Andersonville. Rheumatism became Turner's disability. George Banner, a member of Company A, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana, befriended Turner when he arrived at Andersonville. Turner's first complaints of rheumatism began while in Georgia, but the disease became increasingly worse after the prisoners were transferred to Charleston, South Carolina in September 1864. Banner remembered what happened:

B. Turner was getting worse and I had to help him in walking, he complained continually of having the rheumatism and could not get about without the assistance of a stick or some one to help him, and a great part of the time he was down. The rheumatism seemed to be in his legs.<sup>36</sup>

Turner and Banner were transferred to Florence, South Carolina in November where they remained until their parole in late January or early February 1865. The freed men made their way on foot to the Federal lines at Wilmington, North Carolina. Banner wrote that Turner "had to hobble along with a cane" during this "march" to freedom. They reached Federal lines on 1 March and were admitted to Hospital Division Number 2 in Annapolis, Maryland eight days later. On 18 March Turner was given a 30-day furlough and

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Pension File for Benjamin Turner.

returned to Camp Chase, Ohio on 16 April where he remained until mustered out on 28 June 1865.<sup>37</sup>

On 25 May the Army of the Potomac was on the move again heading several miles down the North Anna. Strong rebel entrenchments were soon discovered. Fairly heavy skirmishing took place as well and the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana lost several men. Private William L. Balch nearly became one of the casualties. While on the skirmish line with Private Daniel Divelbess and Captain Shafer, Balch was hit with a minie ball that penetrated his blanket roll and his clothing striking him hard in the pit of stomach causing a nasty bruise and swelling but otherwise leaving the shaken soldier uninjured.<sup>38</sup>

On May 26 the Fifth Corps headed south again and finally halted on the 28<sup>th</sup> near Bethesda Church. While fighting raged around Cold Harbor, the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and their comrades endured heavy artillery fire and sniping. Company G lost two men to this fire on 3 June. Private Lewis Eller was huddled behind the breastworks when an artillery shot shattered a tree overhead. The debris rained down on the Company and Eller received blows to the right side of his head, neck and shoulder. Bones were fractured and he was partially paralyzed on his right side. Eller was carried from the field and received a discharge on 28 July 1864 due to his wound.<sup>39</sup>

Private Curtis Davis received a head wound possibly in the same burst that Eller did. According to a deposition in Davis's pension file, "During the battle a limb of a tree

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Pension File for William L. Balch.

<sup>39</sup>Pension File for Lewis Eller.

cut off by a cannon ball fell on his head causing severe wound in his head.” He was carried to a field hospital nearby and later evacuated to the Soldier’s Rest Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia. Davis remained there until 9 August when he returned to the front.<sup>40</sup>

Two days after losing Eller and Davis, the men were moved away from the front line and camped along the Chickahominy River. Captain John Shafer took time to write a letter to his wife part of which was published in the Elkhart Review. Shafer listed casualties and concluded with “My loss is heavier in proportion to my numbers than any other company.”<sup>41</sup> The Hoosiers remained in this position until 13 June when they were started on their way to Petersburg. By 17 June the Iron Brigade was entrenched within 600 yards of the Confederate earthworks around the city.<sup>42</sup> The next day the men were sent forward in bloody assault against the well-entrenched rebels. According to Corporal James Adams the men were forced to cross a deep railroad cut, part of the Richmond to City Point Line, with banks twenty feet deep.<sup>43</sup> Company G advanced as skirmishers moving ahead of the charging columns “under a severe fire from the enemy” according to Captain Shafer.<sup>44</sup> Corporal Adams reported “the charge was repulsed reformed and charged over the Weldon R.R. where I received my gun shot wound.”<sup>45</sup> Many men were

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<sup>40</sup>Pension File for Curtis Davis.

<sup>41</sup>Elkhart Review, June 18, 1864, 3.

<sup>42</sup>Gaff, 361.

<sup>43</sup>Pension File for James Adams.

<sup>44</sup>Pension File for Carson L. Andrews.

<sup>45</sup>Pension File for James Adams.

trapped in a ravine in front of the Confederate parapet and remained pinned to the ground until dark. The survivors who managed to pull back dug in and continued to drive off rebel counterattacks until nightfall. Company G suffered heavy casualties. Privates James Rigby and Daniel Divelbess both died in the assault. Corporal Carson Andrews's left hand was smashed rendering his first three fingers useless. He received a furlough from 1-15 November and upon his return rejoined the Company.<sup>46</sup>

Sergeant Clinton Hogue fared no better. A rebel bullet penetrated his right leg below the knee carrying away several large chunks of bone. Hogue was carried from the battlefield and taken to the Divisional Hospital where he remained until 22 June. Amazingly the limb was saved and he transferred to City Point, Virginia. He remained there only about three days when he was sent to David's Island Hospital in New York where he stayed until 1 December. Hogue returned to duty on 21 April 1865.<sup>47</sup>

Corporal James Adams was shot through the left arm just above the elbow and sustained a hernia. Adams later described how he received his hernia:

The banks on either side of said cut are all of twenty feet and in sliding down the bank my toe caught when within a few feet of the bottom & I made a desperate effort to save my head striking on the ties I observed then I had sprained myself in left groin but advanced without saying anything.<sup>48</sup>

Two hours later Adams's arm was shattered. The bone was fractured and gangrene soon began eating the muscles and flesh of the arm leaving it distorted and crooked. The wound would not heal leaving a gaping, running sore. Adams was evacuated to City

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<sup>46</sup>Pension File for Carson L. Andrews.

<sup>47</sup>Pension File for Clinton Hogue.

<sup>48</sup>Pension File for James Adams.

Point, Virginia and then to David's Island, New York where he remained until his discharge on 20 February 1865.<sup>49</sup>

Another assault followed on the 19<sup>th</sup>, but it was repulsed by the Confederates with heavy loss as well. The Hoosiers remained in this position until the end of July digging trenches and laying low. Not all the men avoided injury. Private William L. Balch had cheated death before when a rifle ball bruised his stomach on 25 May. Now exactly one month later, Balch's luck ran out. While performing picket duty a rebel bullet struck him in the left arm between his shoulder and elbow. The bone was terribly shattered and the surgeon amputated his arm near the shoulder in the field hospital. Balch was sent to the Soldier's Rest Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia where he stayed until 25 September. On that date he received a furlough until about 1 November when he was transferred to the Cleveland Ohio Hospital. Balch remained there until his discharge on 2 December 1864.<sup>50</sup>

By 1 July three officers and eleven enlisted men remained in the ranks of Company G. The entire regiment fielded a mere 164 officers and men. The Hoosiers remained in the trenches in front of Petersburg during the month of July. On 28 July the enlistments for the soldiers who had not re-enlisted ran out. Many took this opportunity to go home.

On 31 July the men were moved from the trenches to the extreme left of the Federal Army where they remained until 14 August. The Company lost its Second

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Pension File for William L. Balch.

Lieutenant, Julius Waldschmidt, during that time. Waldschmidt, who had been suffering from rheumatism since the Chancellorsville Campaign, finally could take it no longer. On 13 August he resigned his commission and returned home.<sup>51</sup>

On 18 August the Hoosiers moved to Yellow House (or Globe Tavern) along the Petersburg & Weldon Railroad. They spent the day skirmishing while the rest of the Fifth Corps repulsed Lee's attempts to retake the railroad. That afternoon the Westerners filled a hole in the front line and entrenched. The next day, at dawn, the Iron Brigade, fielding only 760 men, received orders to fill a gap that had appeared between the Fifth Corps and Ninth Corps. Brigadier General Edward Bragg (now commanding the Iron Brigade) had his men entrench at a cross roads about 100 yards behind the picket line. At 7:00 AM orders arrived sending Bragg and his men forward to find the Ninth Corps picket line. The men pushed forward into the dense underbrush of the heavily wooded area in the midst of pounding thunderstorm. Unfortunately for the Westerners, General William Mahone's Confederate division unleashed a terrible attack upon their thin line, snapping it like a twig. The left part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was overrun and lost heavily in prisoners the rest (most likely containing the handful of men in Company G) fell back with the 7<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin fighting hard and taking 45 prisoners and took shelter in the Second Corps's earthworks.<sup>52</sup>

By evening only 170 men remained in the brigade. It appears Company G's one casualty was Private Edward Smith. According to Warren Fisk, "in [the] battle of

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<sup>51</sup>Pension File for Julius Waldschmidt.

<sup>52</sup>OR—Series I—Vol. XLII/1, ar87 534-536.

Weldon Railroad near Yellow Tavern, Virginia with rebel infantry said Private Edward Smith was injured in [the] right leg causing varicose [sic] veins and was ordered to the field hospital.”<sup>53</sup> While commenting on Smith’s injury Corporal Curtis Davis also gave a compelling description of the terrain and the retreat,

That said soldier [Smith] while in retreat with his company and regiment and in line of duty, by reason of fallen brush and timber and uneven ground, over which the company was compelled to retreat with rapid movement was injured [sic] in the lower limbs from over exertia [sic].<sup>54</sup>

A detail of the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was discovered by General Samuel Crawford resting in the muddy road behind the front line. Crawford ordered the Lieutenant in charge to move the men back into line. The fighting finally died away and the men were moved to a new position near the Yellow House on 20 August. There they constructed strong earthworks and awaited the Confederates next move. The rebels continued their attack the next day, but were easily repulsed by the bedraggled Iron Brigade with heavy losses.<sup>55</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana had been pretty well used up by September. On the 6<sup>th</sup> 32 veterans and 83 recruits were added to the Hoosiers’ ranks. More enlistments soon expired and by late September only 82 men remained with the regiment. First Lieutenant Charles K. Baxter left the company on 8 September suffering from rheumatism picked up after Antietam.<sup>56</sup> On 23 September 1864 Special Orders No. 317 officially consolidated the 7<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana with the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana. Unhappily, the Hoosiers obeyed orders and

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<sup>53</sup>Pension File for Edward Smith.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>OR—Series I—Vol. XLII/1, ar87 492-493; 536.

<sup>56</sup>Pension File for Charles K. Baxter.

on 13 October left their Wisconsin comrades and on 18 October they officially lost their identity to the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana.

Captain John Shafer of Company G took command of Company E, 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana and the rest of Company G was folded into Company C, 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana serving under Oscar C. Bates, Company G's First Sergeant, first as a Lieutenant and then as Captain. Because of the surplus of commissioned and non-commissioned officers from the 19<sup>th</sup>, many took advantage, resigned and returned to Indiana including Corporal John M. F. Spitler, Sergeant John H. Criswell, and Corporal Curtis Davis.<sup>57</sup>

In late October the men were involved in a move on the Boydton Plank Road near Hatcher's Run. It was here that Company G's final casualty occurred. During the course of the struggle, the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana was involved in a counterattack and Private Warren Fisk was struck in the right eye by buckshot from a Confederate musket. Fisk was evacuated and remained hospitalized in Philadelphia until March 1865 when he was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, 105<sup>th</sup> Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion. Fisk received his discharge on 13 September 1865.

The veterans of Company G finished the war with the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana, although they did not appear to enjoy this consolidation. After Hatcher's Run many men deserted and returned to their Wisconsin comrades' regiments until forced back to the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana at bayonet point by the provost guard.<sup>58</sup> In late February or early March 1865 Corporal Eli Starnes rejoined his comrades. But, according to Second Lieutenant George Bunch, "he

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<sup>57</sup>Pension Files for John M. F. Spitler, John H. Criswell, and Curtis Davis.

<sup>58</sup>Gaff, 388.

was suffering greatly with Chronic Dearrhoea [sic], was a mere Skeleton and unable to do any active duty.” Even so Starnes served until his discharge in July 1865.<sup>59</sup>

Late March saw the opening of the final assaults on Petersburg. Captain Shafer also assumed command of the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana when Lieutenant Colonel Albert S. Andrews was wounded. The Hoosiers were involved in these last assaults on Petersburg and Richmond. The men were also in the forefront of the pursuit of Lee to Appomattox making up the advanced skirmish line that harassed the retreating Army of Northern Virginia. The veterans of the 19<sup>th</sup> remained at the front until two days before Lee’s surrender. On 9 April 1865 Lee surrendered and brought the fighting to a close in Virginia. The survivors of Company G made their way home and the majority of them were discharged on 12 July 1865 in Jeffersonville, Indiana.

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<sup>59</sup>Pension File for Eli Starnes.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE POST-WAR LIVES

A look at the post-war lives of a few of the veterans of Company G not only finishes some of their personal stories, but reveals the true horrors of the Civil War and the lengthy process that soldiers endured to obtain government support for their shattered bodies. Fifty-four of the 89 surviving officers and men in Company G applied for and received Federal pensions.<sup>1</sup>

The soldiers of the company began receiving pensions anywhere from 1863 to 1890. Amazingly enough, despite wounds and chronic bouts with disease, at least four devoted veterans re-enlisted in other regiments besides the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana, when their original enlistments expired. One soldier was drafted despite being discharged for a disabling disease that he had contracted during his first term of service. After their discharges, the veterans scattered from California to New York. Many could not work at all, but those who did took up any number of occupations from farming to the postal service.

Eleven of the men documented required disability pensions because of gunshot wounds received during the war. Corporal George Kulp, one such veteran, before the war worked as a carpenter for a farmer named Daniel Sites. Unfortunately for Kulp, on 1 July 1863, he took a ball through the fleshy part of his right arm which severed the radial ulner nerves. This wound resulted in the permanent paralysis of his hand and the contraction of one of his fingers onto his palm, making his right hand useless. Obviously

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, only 39 of these files could be located by the National Archives.

this was quite a blow for a carpenter. Kulp was discharged from the army on 2 May 1864 and immediately began receiving eight-dollars per month. Upon his return to Indiana, Kulp settled in Wakarusa in Elkhart County. On 6 June 1866 his pension increased to \$15 a month. Kulp had little over a year left to live, though, dying on 21 August 1867 from consumption contracted in Philadelphia while serving in the Invalid Corps during the winter of 1863/64. John Kulp, George's father, carried on a running struggle with the government for years after George's death attempting to claim his son's pension. The outcome of his efforts was not recorded in George's file.<sup>2</sup>

Edward A. Stone suffered from a gunshot wound to his left leg and heart trouble. Stone never fully recovered from the long march north to Antietam during which he was struck down by heat. At Antietam he received the wound to his leg and in February 1863 he was discharged. He returned to Indiana where he married Amelia Calkins in May 1864 and together they would raise three children.

Stone first applied for a pension due to his heart condition in March 1863 and then again in July 1864. Apparently he was deemed healthy enough to fight again by September 1864, when he was drafted and sent to fight with the 29<sup>th</sup> Indiana until June 1865. Dr. S. Stough examined Stone when he returned home in 1865 and reported that his heart condition was a result of the extreme pressures put on him in combat. His leg wound combined with lung and heart trouble made it very difficult for the veteran to do any manual labor. It appears that not until the 1880s did Stone finally obtain a pension.

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<sup>2</sup>Pension File for George Kulp.

He struggled on receiving periodic increases in his pension and by 1920 he was paid \$50 per month.<sup>3</sup>

Frederick Wise, another member of the Elkhart County Guards, was severely wounded. At Brawner's Farm in August 1862 a rebel bullet struck Wise in the right side of his chest, damaging his lung and exiting near his right shoulder. He did not return to duty until January 1863, but still being affected by the wound, he was hospitalized in April 1863. He was finally transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps in July 1863.

Discharged in 1865, Wise returned to Indiana and began applying for a pension because of his inability to do manual labor. By 1870 he was receiving eight-dollars per month. For an unexplained reason this pension ceased in 1880 because he stopped collecting his money. Perhaps Wise had died.<sup>4</sup>

Private Elias P. Fisk suffered from his leg wound inflicted in the Wilderness. His wound led to his discharge 12 July 1864. The bone in his left leg fractured when hit by a ball and never fully healed. As late as 1879 it still discharged pieces of bone. Rheumatism in the left arm and shoulder also plagued the disabled veteran.

Fisk married Elizabeth Fowler on 1 December 1863, fourteen days before he enlisted. Upon his discharge, Fisk lived in DeKalb County, Indiana until 1869 when he and his wife moved to Bay City, Michigan. He supported his family as a laborer, but unfortunately his injury eventually made it impossible for him to work. His family was poor to begin with and with the loss of Fisk's income they were nearly destitute.

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<sup>3</sup>Pension File for Edward A. Stone.

<sup>4</sup>Pension File for Frederick Wise.

Fisk originally applied for a pension in September 1874 and began receiving four-dollars per month in 1875. The aging warrior continued to receive periodic increases in his pension starting in 1876 with eight dollars per month. In 1879 Fisk's pension increased by two dollars and by 1884 stood at \$16 per month. By the time Fisk died on 10 November 1907 he was being paid \$30 per month and owned property worth \$300 in Portsmouth, Michigan.<sup>5</sup>

Elias Fisk's brother, Warren, also received a pension for his head wound. Warren was injured by a gunshot wound in the head near Petersburg, which cost him his right eye and injured his left eye. He obtained his discharge on 13 September 1865 and immediately began collecting a four-dollar per month pension.

In addition to his head wound, Warren Fisk suffered from dyspepsia brought on by a bout with typhoid fever while in the army. He returned to Waterloo City in DeKalb County, Indiana for a time, but eventually moved to Pleasant Lake in Steuben County. Fisk never married and because of his near blindness was completely unable to do manual labor.

The battered veteran received an increase in his pension in 1873 when it was doubled. The Federal government periodically increased his assistance so that by 1887 it reached \$17 per month. Fisk's final increase came in June 1918 when his pension totaled \$30 per month. He did not enjoy this final installment long because he died on 22 August 1918.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Pension File for Elias P. Fisk.

<sup>6</sup>Pension File for Warren Fisk.

For years Sergeant Samuel S. Bonar suffered from a nasty chest wound received at Brawner's Farm. The bullet had fractured his ribs and caused inflammation of his lungs. Bonar received his discharge on 30 December 1862 and immediately began collecting an \$8 per month pension. In 1869 the crippled veteran applied for an increase because his health had started to fail and was awarded \$15 per month. His lungs were terribly affected by the injury making it impossible for him to work and extremely difficult to walk long distances.

Bonar married a young lady named Phoebe, but apparently the couple had no children. Upon his return to Indiana, he ran for Auditor of Noble County on the Democratic ticket with the support of his old company captain, John Clark. Clark had nothing but praise for the battle-scarred sergeant. In an address before the Democratic convention Clark stated, "Mr. Bonar is not only abundantly capable to fill the office of Auditor, but he is honest, brave and patriotic."<sup>7</sup> Despite his run for office, Bonar was unable to work at all, and eventually he took up residence in Hamlet, Indiana in Starke County.

In 1872 Bonar received a pension increase of three dollars and by 1883 he collected \$24 per month. Unfortunately, the injured veteran never received anymore than \$24. He died on 6 May 1907.<sup>8</sup>

Private John M. Shirts lost the third finger of his left hand due to a gunshot wound received in the Wilderness. In addition, Shirts had suffered partial paralysis due to

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<sup>7</sup>Goshen Democrat, September 30, 1863, 2.

<sup>8</sup>Pension File for Samuel S. Bonar.

malnutrition during his time spent in Belle Isle Prison in Richmond, Virginia in the late summer of 1862. Shirts received his discharge on 12 July 1865 and made his way home to DeKalb County, Indiana. The maimed veteran was allowed a two-dollar per month pension for his missing finger.

Shirts moved to Michigan sometime in the 1870s and on 28 June 1877 married Mary E. Connor. The couple raised two children and Shirts supported his family by farming. His pension never increased before his death on the 15 January 1882.<sup>9</sup>

Another gunshot victim, First Sergeant Clinton Hogue, was shot in the left hand at Antietam and in the right leg at Petersburg. He obtained his final discharge on 12 July 1865 in Jeffersonville, Indiana and then moved to Missouri. He lived there until 1870 at which time he moved to Barnes, Kansas. In 1866 he took a trip back to his home state of Ohio and on 14 February married Lucy C. Strong at Cayahoga Falls. The couple raised twelve children. Hogue apparently earned a living as a harness maker.

Beginning in 1872, Sergeant Hogue collected a six-dollar per month pension. By 1883 it had increased a mere two dollars. Fortunately, by 1914 he had been approved for a \$30 per month pension. Hogue's date of death was not included in his pension file, but the last date mentioned was for an increase of ten dollars in 1918. He probably died sometime around that date.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Pension File for John M. Shirts.

<sup>10</sup>Pension File for Clinton Hogue.

Private William H. Fry suffered from a wound to his left hand received at Gettysburg. Fry remained in the service until his discharge on 6 August 1864. The maimed soldier returned home to Waterloo City, Indiana, but, in 1865, he moved to Iona, Michigan where he resided until 1866. In April 1866 the veteran married Rebecca A. Barnhart and together they raised six children. The Frys next lived in Crystal, Michigan four years and then in Sheridan two more. By 1920 he was living in Mecosta, Michigan. Fry made his living in stave making, lumbering, and gardening.

Fry suffered from his missing fingers and varicose veins in his legs. The varicose veins became such a problem in his later years that he was forced to bandage his legs and walking was very difficult. He began receiving \$2.66 per month in 1864 and this was increased to six-dollars in 1866. By 1884 Fry's pension had increased to \$14 where it remained for six years. While any additional increases were not recorded, considering that Fry lived until 24 February 1930 it is very possible his pension was raised.<sup>11</sup>

Confederate forces inflicted a gunshot wound to Corporal James Adams's left arm outside Petersburg on 18 June 1864. Adams received a hernia at the same time when he fell down a railroad embankment. The corporal was discharged on 20 February 1865 and returned to his wife and child in Ohio. Adams had married Lucy A. Fitzcharles on 29 February 1864 and their first child, Mary, was born in January 1865. Over the next 20 years the couple had seven more children.

Adams was pensioned at six-dollars per month from the date of his discharge. His wound caused permanent damage to his arm. Gangrene forced the doctors to remove

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<sup>11</sup>Pension File for William H. Fry.

bone, muscle, and flesh, which caused the limb to heal crooked. In 1868 the wound tore open and remained an open, seeping sore for the next two years. In addition, his hernia required him to wear a truss to keep it in place. Adams also suffered from his extended prison terms in Confederate camps, never fully recovering his health.

The battered veteran had been a carpenter before the war, but his wounds made it nearly impossible to perform manual labor. Adams moved to Abilene, Kansas and later to Denver, Colorado, all the time carrying on a dispute for more money from the government. Apparently the crippled soldier never received more than \$14 per month and he passed away on 21 October 1905.<sup>12</sup>

Carson L. Andrews received a gunshot wound to his left hand on 18 June 1864, which resulted in the loss of several fingers. In addition, the soldier suffered from heart disease caused by the stress of long marches and intense combat. Andrews had trouble breathing and had to be propped up at night to sleep.

Private Andrews was discharged on 24 May 1865 and moved to Roseville, Illinois. On 20 April 1867 the wounded veteran married Mary E. Boyd in Burlington, Iowa. The couple raised five children over the next seventeen years. Andrews's days of moving around were not at an end. The family moved to Shenandoah, Iowa, Bladen, Nebraska, Lone Oak, Oklahoma, and Southwash City, Missouri. All the while the aging warrior tried to support his family as a farmer, but his disabilities greatly hindered him.

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<sup>12</sup>Pension File for James Adams.

At the time of his discharge Andrews was given a six-dollar per month pension, which in 1881 was raised to eight-dollars. By 1915 Andrews's pension had increased to \$30 per month. He died on 22 January 1924 leaving \$150 worth of property behind.<sup>13</sup>

Another victim of rifle fire, Private Henry D. Gaylord, was shot twice through the right leg on 28 August 1862. Gaylord also suffered from a left inguinal hernia received while building earthworks near the Brawner Farm battlefield. Gaylord obtained a discharge but, in November 1863, he re-enlisted in the 74<sup>th</sup> Indiana Infantry, in which he served until 7 June 1865.

Gaylord returned to Indiana after his final discharge and took up farming. On 23 September 1868 the injured soldier married Lenora Jackson in DeKalb County, Indiana. The couple raised one daughter named Edna. The veteran apparently had fond memories of Virginia because he moved his family to Berkley in Norfolk County, Virginia.

Private Gaylord first received a pension in March 1863 at eight-dollars per month. In 1869 his pension was reduced to \$5.33 and by 1873 the pension dropped to two-dollars. The Bureau of Pensions pointed out that the payment of pension money to him while he was enlisted in the 74<sup>th</sup> Indiana was unlawful. His re-enlistment probably played a role in the reduction of his pension. Not until 1891 did his pension increase to ten-dollars per month starting from November 1885. Finally, in 1907, the aged veteran's rate increased to \$12. On 4 December 1928 Gaylord was approved for a \$72 per month pension, which he never was able to enjoy because he died on the last day of the year.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Pension File for Carson L. Andrews.

<sup>14</sup>Pension File for Henry D. Gaylord.

Corporal John M. F. Spitler received a gunshot wound to his right foot on 5 May 1864 during the Battle of the Wilderness. Spitler also suffered from chronic diarrhea, rheumatism and asthma. The corporal was discharged on 19 October 1864 near Petersburg.

Spitler returned to Indiana and resided in Fort Wayne until January 1883 at which time he moved to Dimondale, Michigan where he remained. On 9 October 1866 Spitler married Mary C. Shultz in Allen County, Indiana. The couple raised at least one son, William.

Spitler had much difficulty in performing manual labor. His wife explained to the pension board how:

He has been sick a good deal of the time with Diarrhea Reheumatism [sic] and heart troubles he has had Reheumatism [sic] ever since I knew him he is sick most of the time now has. . .spells of his stomach that he can not partake of any food for days he is very much troubled now with heart trouble. . .I have known him to drop down at times that I thought him dead. . .especially so when getting exhausted trying to do difficult Chores such as splitting wood, drawing water from the well or trying to look after stock.<sup>15</sup>

While living in Indiana, Spitler did work for the railroad as a brakeman in the late 1860s. But his bad health forced him to quit and return to farming. In his deposition, Spitler's son, William, stated, "He could not work much – I did most of the heavy work and he did the 'chores'."<sup>16</sup> Spitler also suffered from kind of skin disorder he claimed was brought on by the dirt and lice that had covered his body while in the military. According to his brother, Oscar, "his skin was rough. It wouldn't peel off but all over his body was kind

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<sup>15</sup>Mary C. Spitler, Deposition regarding John M. F. Spitler's pension, 1907.

<sup>16</sup>William B. Spitler, Deposition regarding John M. F. Spitler's pension, 1895.

of scaly and the gums of his teeth were bad, and my sister [would] make fun of him [saying] he looked like an alligator or something.”<sup>17</sup>

The wounded veteran began receiving a pension in 1878 starting from 20 October 1864 at a rate of two dollars per month. By 1890 Spitler was paid \$12 and by 1912 his pension reached \$25. Two years before he died the aged veteran’s pension was increased by five dollars. John M. F. Spitler breathed his last on 15 July 1919.<sup>18</sup>

Three of the pensioners discussed in this study took wounds that resulted in amputations. Conn McGuire lost his right leg at Gettysburg. He remained in the hospital until his discharge in June 1864, at which time he began collecting a pension. The pension began at eight-dollars per month and in 1869 was increased to \$15, which he collected until his death on 7 February 1870.<sup>19</sup>

Perry Rowe lost the lower part of his left leg at Gettysburg and was discharged 9 November 1863. He returned to Indiana where he immediately began receiving an eight-dollar per month pension. Due to the infection and tenderness of Rowe’s wound, he was unable to wear an artificial limb and was forced to move around on crutches. In May 1864 he married Lydia Weed and over the next 20 years they raised six children. Around 1880 the family moved to Kansas. Rowe received periodic increases in his pension so

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<sup>17</sup>Oscar Spitler, Deposition regarding John M. F. Spitler’s pension, November 12, 1895.

<sup>18</sup>Pension File for John M. F. Spitler.

<sup>19</sup>Pension File for Conn McGuire.

that by 1903 it had reached \$55 a month. He collected his money until his death on 10 May 1913.<sup>20</sup>

The last amputee appearing in this study was Private William L. Balch. The rebels first inflicted a wound upon Balch in May 1864 when he was hit in the chest on the skirmish line near the North Anna River. Fortunately his blanket roll absorbed most of the force, but Balch suffered from chest pains and heart trouble believed to have been caused by the wound. On 24 June 1864 outside Petersburg Private Balch was hit again, this time in the left arm. The bullet shattered the bone and the arm was amputated just below the shoulder to prevent gangrene.

Balch received his discharge and eight-dollar pension in December 1864 and returned to Indiana. On 22 December 1867 the disabled veteran married Susan Davis in Waterloo, Indiana, but the couple never had any children. Balch suffered a great deal from his wounds and his neighbors reported that he spent much of his time confined to bed. The closeness of the amputation to his shoulder made it impossible for Balch to wear the artificial arm sent to him by the government. He successfully petitioned the government numerous times for an increase in his pension and between 1864 and 1885 his pension increased from eight-dollars to \$30 per month. By 1905 Balch was receiving \$55 monthly. William L. Balch died on 16 August 1905.<sup>21</sup>

Not all the wounded were hit with bullets or shrapnel. Two of Company G's veterans received wounds from tree splinters. Private Lewis Eller was struck on the right

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<sup>20</sup>Pension File for Perry Rowe.

<sup>21</sup>Pension File for William L. Balch.

shoulder and side of his head by part of a tree shattered by artillery fire on 3 June 1864. The injury caused partial paralysis. Eller suffered from diseases, as well, including typhoid fever, lung trouble, and varicose veins in his left leg.

The injured soldier was discharged 28 July 1864 and returned to Indiana. He lived in Corunna, Indiana for almost a year. Then from May 1865 to November 1865 he traveled around, finally stopping in Plymouth, Indiana where he stayed until October 1866. At that time he moved to Buchanan and then Niles, Michigan. In April 1868 he moved to South Bend, Indiana. Later that year he moved back to Michigan and then in 1869 he moved to Kendallville, Indiana where he lived until May 1875. He spent the next few years travelling around and finally in September 1878 he moved into the National Military Home in Ohio. His wanderlust was not satisfied, however, and so he moved back to Indiana--living in Kendallville, South Bend, and Plymouth all over again.

Eller had been employed as a carpenter before the war, but his lung troubles and war wounds allowed him to do lighter jobs a few hours of the day. Eller applied for a pension in 1871, but his file does not show him receiving any money.<sup>22</sup>

Private Samuel L. Shirts suffered the effects of small pox and an injury to his left eye due to a splinter knocked from a tree by artillery fire, 5 May 1864. The army discharged Shirts on 17 May 1865. The small pox damaged his right eye and the splinter caused his left eye to lose all sight. In addition, the near blind soldier was racked with attacks of chronic diarrhea and consumption.

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<sup>22</sup>Pension File for Lewis Eller.

Shirts was completely disabled by the effects of these diseases and his injury. He moved to Michigan upon his discharge and married a woman named Catherine in May 1870. The couple had two children one, of which died before she was one year old. Shirts died on 20 July 1874, apparently never received a pension, although his wife and surviving child did.<sup>23</sup>

Seven of Company G's veterans suffered from severe attacks of rheumatism. Corporal Edward Smith complained of a leg injury and rheumatism. Smith injured his right leg at the Battle of Weldon Railroad while running through heavy brush, jumping logs, and stumbling over rubbish. These injuries resulted in varicose veins in that leg. In addition, he suffered from acute rheumatism in his left leg and hip. Apparently he was affected so badly by this problem that he was unable to perform manual labor later in his life. Smith was discharged on 19 October 1864 because of the overabundance of non-commissioned officers in the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana.

It seems that the effects of his injuries and rheumatism did not become evident for some time. Smith returned to farming in Steuben County until October 1872 when he moved to Ionia County, Michigan. Upon his move to Michigan, he took a job working for the railroad as a blacksmith until he applied for his pension in 1883. At first the government remained skeptical. Smith's record was examined and it revealed a man who spent about four months of his service in the hospital. Between November and December 1861 he was interned at the Patent Office Hospital and again in March and April 1864 he was listed as absent and sick. Curiously, the records revealed no mention of an injury at

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<sup>23</sup>Pension File for Samuel L. Shirts.

Weldon Railroad despite his statements and those by his comrades. Numerous medical examinations found Smith was unable to perform manual labor.

It took nearly seven years, until 1890, for Smith to receive his \$12 a month pension. He had married, but apparently it was not a happy union because on 5 September 1889 Edward and Eliza Smith divorced. Possibly the manner of his disability led to the divorce or the fact that while in the army (and most likely after his discharge) he suffered from syphilis. However, it is probable that the main reason for the divorce was explained by Smith's second wife who claimed he was extremely abusive. Edward Smith died 8 September 1910.<sup>24</sup>

Sergeant John H. Criswell filed for his pension due to rheumatism, lung troubles, and catarrh.<sup>25</sup> Criswell originally was discharged on 31 December 1863, but he re-enlisted with Company C, 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana the next day and served until 19 October 1864. Upon his return to the Midwest, the veteran moved to Michigan. It was not until the 1890s that the sergeant applied for his pension. By 1892 Criswell was so troubled by his ailments that he could not perform manual labor sufficiently enough to support himself. According to his file, Criswell was rejected for a pension in 1892. It is unclear if he ever received any money, nor was his date of death recorded.<sup>26</sup>

Rheumatism and disease of the heart and rectum troubled Joseph B. Warrick. He also was disabled due to blood poisoning in his left hand, which rendered it useless.

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<sup>24</sup>Pension File for Edward Smith.

<sup>25</sup>Catarrh is an inflammation of mucous membranes, especially in the nose and throat.

<sup>26</sup>Pension File for John H. Criswell.

Warrick obtained his discharge on 12 July 1865 and returned to Indiana. He resided near Jasonville and took up farming and the carpentry trade again. Warrick's first wife, Margaret A. Bonham, died in 1876 and he then married Margaret S. Magill on 11 December 1879. The veteran raised two children, one from each of his wives. His rheumatism greatly bothered his lower limbs so much that in the 1890s he applied for a pension. In 1891 he was awarded eight dollars per month for his ailments. By 1905 the aging veteran was receiving \$10 per month which was increased three years later to \$12. Warrick's date of death was not recorded.<sup>27</sup>

Private Benjamin Turner suffered from rheumatism contracted while held as a prisoner in Andersonville Prison. Turner was discharged 28 June 1865 and returned to Indiana for a short time before moving to Wisconsin in 1866. Not long after arriving in Wisconsin, he met and married Nancy Clark with whom he raised five children. Unfortunately, Nancy died in 1888 but Turner married Eunice E. Moffitt on 30 August 1891. Turner worked as a farmhand until about 1887, when it appears he obtained his own farm.

The stiff and sore veteran complained of terrible pain in his shoulders, hips, and legs. As he grew older it became nearly impossible to perform manual labor. On numerous occasions he was confined to bed and his neighbors would assist with his chores. He first received a pension on 29 June 1865 at a rate of two dollars per month.

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<sup>27</sup>Pension File for Joseph B. Warrick.

In May 1887 this was increased to four dollars and by 1892 his pension had reached \$14. The circumstances of Turner's death were not recorded.<sup>28</sup>

Several of the commissioned officers were struck with rheumatism as well.

Charles K. Baxter (originally a Sergeant later promoted to both First and Second Lieutenant) began experiencing trouble during the march from Antietam back to Virginia. Baxter served out his time even though he was in such pain that he required frequent hospitalization. The veteran Lieutenant received his discharge in September 1864 near Weldon Railroad, at which time he returned to DeKalb County, Indiana and his wife Mary A. Dickinson, whom he had married in November 1863. Miss Dickinson was the sister of Timothy Y. Dickinson, Baxter's employer at the Waterloo Press. Mary died in February 1866, but three years later Baxter married Harriet Landisand.

Baxter bought the Waterloo Press from his brother-in-law in September 1864 and retained control of it for about six months when he decided to sell it J. F. Radcliffe and Henry J. Long. Baxter remained active in DeKalb County. He was elected postmaster in Waterloo, holding the position from 4 April 1865 until October 1866. On 2 February 1867 he was re-elected to the position and held it until June 1868. In addition, Baxter was a member of the DeKalb County Monumental Association, which was established in July 1865. The group worked on constructing a monument for veterans of the war, but no record of any such monument exists today. In 1883 Baxter participated in the North

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<sup>28</sup>Pension File for Benjamin Turner.

Eastern Indiana Agricultural Association, helping to organize county fairs and other agricultural related events.<sup>29</sup>

By 1869 Baxter's condition had worsened to the point that he could barely walk. His knees and hip joints became so inflamed that he was forced to use a cane and walk bent over with stiff legs. At least once he was confined to home for a period of six weeks unable to walk at all. In addition, Baxter developed heart trouble. He first applied for a pension in 1869 and began receiving \$7.50 a month in 1870. Sometime around the turn of the century Baxter moved to Kansas and while living there in 1903 had his pension increased to \$11.25 per month. By 1907 he was receiving \$15 per month. Baxter finally died in 1913.<sup>30</sup>

Another victim of rheumatism was the founder of Company G, Captain John R. Clark. Clark resigned his commission in December 1862 as much from politics as from disease. He returned to Elkhart County where he lived for two years and then moved to Toledo, Ohio and resided there for two more years. From Ohio, Clark moved to Rome, New York and spent two years there before moving back to Indiana. Clark remained in Indiana for six years and then moved to Michigan where he lived until his death in 1898. He worked at a variety of occupations including keeping a restaurant, a grocery store, a hotel, and working as a tinsmith.

Clark had begun suffering from rheumatism in May 1862 while marching near Falmouth, Virginia. He received treatment several times in the hospital for his pain

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<sup>29</sup>Smith, 494, 1162-63.

<sup>30</sup>Pension File for Charles K. Baxter.

before his resignation. Clark first applied for a government pension in 1884 and received \$5 per month. The pain mainly occurred in his shoulders, back, and knees so badly that, according to friends, he was unable to work half the time. The aging veteran found it difficult to lift items and sometimes was in such pain he could not even get dressed in the morning. His left leg caused him such suffering that an amputation was required. In June 1888 his pension was increased to ten-dollars. Not long before his death in 1898 it became \$15 per month.<sup>31</sup>

Second Lieutenant Julius Waldschmidt suffered immensely from rheumatism as well. The native of Germany contracted the disease around the time of Chancellorsville, May 1863. Waldschmidt was originally discharged from the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana on 13 August 1864. He returned to Indiana, but did not stay home long; instead, he re-enlisted on 6 February 1865 in the 152<sup>nd</sup> Indiana as a private. By 8 March he had become Captain of Company E and on 17 March he was commissioned Major. He served with the 152<sup>nd</sup> until 29 August 1865. Upon his discharge, Waldschmidt married Louise Heinzenberger on 24 November 1865 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Waldschimds, who raised seven children, lived in South Bend, Indiana where Julius attempted to continue working as a cooper and carpenter. His rheumatism continued to plague him, sometimes keeping him bedridden for two or three months on end. In 1882 he turned to the government and began receiving \$7.50 a month. He continued to struggle along supplementing his pension by working as a laborer.<sup>32</sup> Four

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<sup>31</sup>Pension File for John R. Clark.

<sup>32</sup>Pension File for John M. F. Spittler.

years later Waldschmidt's pension was increased to \$11.25 and in 1891 to \$17. By 1912 his government pension reached \$30 a month and remained at this amount until his death on 31 January 1918.<sup>33</sup>

Five of the veterans returned home afflicted with diarrhea so chronic as to warrant it as the sole reason for a pension. This terrible disease caused Curtis Davis to apply for his pension. Davis served with Company G until discharged on 31 December 1863. He contracted chronic diarrhea around the time of Second Bull Run and was terribly affected by it up to the Battle of Gettysburg where he was captured. He was held in Richmond, Virginia from 21 July until 6 August 1863 when he was paroled. The young soldier returned home and married Sarah Love in February 1864. When a draftee named John Lutz hired Davis as a substitute, he returned to the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. While with the 19<sup>th</sup> Davis was struck on the left side of the head by a branch torn from a tree by artillery fire near Bethesda Church on 3 June 1864. He served with his old regiment until transferred to Company C, 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana and on 19 October 1864 was mustered out as a supernumary corporal. He returned to Indiana and enlisted in Company C, 53<sup>rd</sup> Indiana in which he served for one year.

Upon his final discharge from the military, Davis lived for a short time in Indiana before moving to Butler County, Nebraska. He lived there for ten or twelve years, possibly farming. Davis took up farming again after moving back to DeKalb County, Indiana. Throughout his military career and in the years that followed Davis suffered

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<sup>33</sup>Pension File for Julius Waldschmidt.

terribly from chronic diarrhea, which led to painful bouts with piles. So affected was Davis, that he was unable to perform manual labor.

In 1864 Davis had begun receiving a pension of four-dollars a month for the wound he took in the head. This sum increased to six-dollars in June 1889 and finally eight-dollars in November 1890. He filed several times with complaints about diarrhea, piles, kidney trouble, a lame back and rheumatism. Apparently Davis never received any more than eight-dollars per month for his head wound. He died 19 March 1902. His wife, Sarah, continued to claim his money, which appears to have been increased to \$12, until her death on 4 August 1915.<sup>34</sup>

Chronic bowel problems plagued Private Henry E. Altenburg as well. While encamped with the Elkhart County Guards at Camp Advance outside Washington, the young man contracted diarrhea. The disease plagued Altenburg throughout his military career, landing him numerous times in the hospital. Finally, around 25 August 1862, he became so ill that he was sent to the hospital again and remained there until his discharge in March 1863 with a pension of four-dollars a month.

Altenburg returned to Indiana and applied for an increase to his pension on 10 July 1863. However, he then re-enlisted in October 1864 with the 1<sup>st</sup> Indiana Heavy Artillery in which he served for one year. Before returning to war, in January 1864, Altenburg married Sarah Bodine near Auburn, Indiana. Upon his final discharge, Altenburg went home to Indiana where he worked for the postal service and raised a family with Sarah, consisting of two sons, Eugene and John. Unfortunately, all the while

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<sup>34</sup>Pension File for Curtis Davis.

the old veteran suffered severely from chronic diarrhea attacks that would at times last for a week.

Altenburg reapplied for a pension in 1882 and apparently was receiving money (but no more than four-dollars a month) up until his death on 8 February 1889. He died from a hemorrhage of the bowels and stomach caused by the chronic diarrhea. Sarah Altenburg continued to receive a widow's pension until her death in the early part twentieth century.<sup>35</sup>

George W. Thompson's suffering from diarrhea eventually resulted in painful hemorrhoids. It appears that he was first stricken with diarrhea in December 1863 while recuperating from his Gettysburg wound. Later during Grant's spring campaign, Thompson's right eye was injured and he lost sight in it. The war weary veteran was discharged in July 1864.

Thompson returned to Indiana for a short time before moving moved to Ohio. Apparently he worked as a farm hand because he lived with about a half dozen different people. Terribly afflicted with chronic diarrhea, he could not perform manual labor for days on end. Despite his complaints about his health, Thompson did not apply for a government pension until July 1889. He was awarded \$12 per month and this was renewed in 1897. Thompson never married and died of his illness on 6 October 1902.<sup>36</sup>

Private William H. Marks battled chronic bowel troubles as well as a fractured skull. In July 1862 near Warrington, Virginia a spent ball struck him in the head. In

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<sup>35</sup>Pension File for Henry E. Altenburg.

<sup>36</sup>Pension File for George W. Thompson.

August and September 1862 Marks was afflicted with diarrhea. He was sent to the Patent Office Hospital in Washington and remained there until he received his discharge on 9 January 1863.

Marks returned to Ohio and took up residence in Lexington. According to an acquaintance, Joseph B. Klotz, Marks weighed a mere 80 pounds upon his discharge. He was so badly afflicted with diarrhea that he was not expected to live through the winter. During the summer of 1863 Marks moved to Noble County, Indiana. The young man never regained his health or strength and had difficulty performing manual labor. On 21 March 1864 the disease racked soldier married Susan C. Frazure and together they raised two sons, Wilbert and Benjamin.

Starting on 10 January 1863, Marks received a two-dollar per month pension for chronic diarrhea. In the 1880s his pension was increased by two dollars and by 1898 he was being paid \$14 per month. In 1900 the pension reached \$17 and then \$24 in 1910.<sup>37</sup> Marks died in 1914 and was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery in Albion, Indiana.<sup>38</sup>

Private Eli Starnes suffered from diarrhea too. He contracted that terrible disease as well as scurvy while interned in Andersonville Prison. Upon his discharge from the military on 12 July 1865 he returned to Greene County, Indiana to live. He arrived in Indiana weak and emaciated, racked with terrible attacks of diarrhea. The young man was entirely unfit for manual labor. Apparently Starnes's wife could not deal with him and on 4 April 1865 she divorced him.

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<sup>37</sup>Pension File for William H. Marks.

<sup>38</sup>Lorraine Merklng., Noble County Civil War Veterans. (Kendallville, IN, October 1989), 138.

On the 27 September 1866 Starnes married Nancy Young of Monroe County, Indiana. Their one son, Alexander, was born in 1873. Starnes attempted to support his small family by farming, but his health would not allow it. He began receiving six-dollars per month in July 1865 and continued to obtain this rate until his death on 26 June 1880. Strangely enough the day Starnes died was the first time he had been out of bed in several months. His neighbor, William Young, described what happened:

[Starnes] had just got up and walked around some that day and seemed apparently stouter [sic] than he had for some time. And he had just got up on a wagon to ride back to his house when he fell over dead. He stated to affiant [sic] [Young] several times that he felt so unusual and strange that day, and he did not know what to think about it.<sup>39</sup>

Private Warren W. Whitney was another victim of diarrhea, as well as lung-trouble, and rheumatism. Whitney received his first injury in October 1861 when he fell off the rampart of Fort Bunker, part of the Washington defense system, while helping with its construction. He broke his left shoulder blade and injured the left side of his body. While recovering from the accident, Whitney contracted diarrhea and rheumatism.

The young soldier received his discharge in April 1862, but apparently was not greatly hindered by his misfortunes. He returned to Ohio where he married Francis H. Fersek in June. After taking time to re-cooperate, Whitney enlisted with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ohio Cavalry in December 1863 and served with that unit until September 1865.

Whitney returned to farming to support his growing family, which included three children by 1875. The family moved around, as well, starting in Milton Center, Ohio, then moving to Missouri and finally to Kansas. While living in Kansas the Whitneys

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<sup>39</sup>Pension File for Eli Starnes.

moved at least five times. When Francis passed away in 1886 Warren remarried the next year to Susan W. Marston.

Whitney suffered a great deal from his ailments as he grew older. In 1890 he applied for and received a pension of \$12 per month. In 1907 it was increased to \$15 and by 1914 had reached \$30. He collected his pension until his death on 1 July 1917.<sup>40</sup>

Joseph Snyder served one of the shortest tours of duty with Company G, 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana. Snyder enlisted on 29 July 1861 and received his discharge on 13 December 1861 at Fort Craig, Virginia. The young man returned to Ohio and in 1862 enlisted in the 120<sup>th</sup> Ohio Volunteers and finished the war with that regiment.

His discharge from the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana was due to a bout with typhoid fever and the measles. Snyder was affected by lung disease that caused such a hacking cough that it produced vomiting. In addition, he had heart and ear troubles related to his illnesses while serving with the 19<sup>th</sup>.

While Snyder attempted to earn a living as a house painter and paper hanger, his ill health made it nearly impossible for him to get any work done. His cough was so terrible he had trouble getting men to work with him. Snyder had trouble breathing and was unable to perform very active manual labor. Chronic diarrhea bothered him so that one of his business associates wrote:

we have worked together for about 15 years. we Slept in One bed and Snyder had the Chronic Diarheua [sic] So bad that at night he had to constantly be a running that he annoyed me nearly every night.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Pension File for Warren W. Whitney.

<sup>41</sup>Albert Bargahiser regarding Joseph Snyder's pension, 1888.

Snyder married Mary E. Trago on 22 March 1892, but the couple never had any children. The suffering man received his first pension starting on 14 December 1861 at two dollars per month. Throughout the 1880s Snyder's pension increased until 1888 when he was awarded \$12. The retired soldier probably received additional increases, but they were not recorded. Joseph Snyder passed away on 17 February 1905.<sup>42</sup>

Corporal Enoch T. Neal suffered from chronic stomach trouble and rheumatism in his back. The army mustered Neal out on 12 July 1865. He returned to Greene County, Indiana and on 6 September 1865 married Letitia M. Warrick with whom he had one child.

He worked as a farm laborer and a clerk in a general store. Unfortunately, he could only work about half of the time because of his disease. He had trouble with his bowels becoming inflamed which caused bloating and stomach pain. Many times Neal was forced to relieve the pressure by walking around with his trousers unbuttoned. Unlike many of the other veterans, Neal suffered from chronic constipation, which added to his inflamed bowel problems. In 1875 he moved to California in an attempt to improve his health. The family remained there for two years before returning to Indiana.

Neal first applied for a pension in 1883, but did not receive any money until July 1890. He was pensioned at \$12 per month. By 1890 the Neal family had returned to California in an effort to improve Enoch's failing health. It was to no avail as he died of liver failure on 21 December 1895.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Pension File for Joseph Snyder.

<sup>43</sup>Pension File for Enoch T. Neal.

Three members of Company G were poisoned by well water near Washington D. C. Daniel Kulp was poisoned with arsenic, which affected his heart and nervous system. He was discharged on 26 December 1862 and returned to Indiana. Apparently his disability was not that troublesome because he re-enlisted in the 9<sup>th</sup> Indiana Cavalry in December 1863 and served until August 1865.

Kulp returned to Indiana and settled in Wakarusa. He married and raised at least one daughter, Clara Belle. It was not recorded in his file when he married or to whom. Apparently his heart was badly damaged by the arsenic and continued to worsen as time passed. The veteran had difficulty performing heavy labor. Interestingly enough, the doctor, P. D. Harding, who examined Kulp for his pension physical, could find nothing wrong. Dr. Harding stated that Kulp was not incapable of doing manual labor. Kulp applied for his pension in 1875, but based upon Dr. Harding's examination he was rejected and never heard from again.<sup>44</sup>

Caleb W. McMeans was another victim of poison. Lead or arsenic poisoning from well water caused partial paralysis of the right side of his face and affected his eyesight. McMeans received his discharge on 26 November 1861 and traveled back to Noble County, Indiana.

McMeans could not escape his bad luck. In 1863 while jumping a rail fence near his home he sustained a terrible fracture in his left foot. His badly damaged foot made manual labor nearly impossible. After his discharge it is conceivable that he returned to

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<sup>44</sup>Pension File for Daniel Kulp.

his trade as a tinsmith. He married Ann E. Suly in September 1867 and the couple had one son, John.

McMeans did not apply for a pension until 1890. He immediately began receiving a \$12 per month pension. By 1913 the rate increased to \$18 where it remained until his death on 15 April 1915. He was buried in Orange Cemetery in Noble County.<sup>45</sup>

The third soldier to be poisoned by the Confederates was Private Henry L. Busz. Busz contracted typhoid fever at the same time followed in turn by small pox and consumption. Needless to say, the young man's kidneys were damaged as well as his back and entire nervous system and he was afflicted with chronic diarrhea.

After being discharged on 27 November 1861, Busz returned to Noble County, Indiana.

The soldier suffered from his disabilities from the day of his discharge until his death.

On 20 September 1866 Busz married Maria Presler, but the couple never had any children. While Henry supported his wife by farming, his disabilities made it difficult.

Advancing in years, Busz applied for a pension in 1890 and was awarded \$12 per month. In 1908 it increased by three dollars and in 1913 Busz received \$21 per month. On 17 August 1922 the 84-year-old veteran was approved for \$72 per month and remained at that rate until his death on 1 March 1936. The old veteran was buried in Sanford Cemetery in Noble County, Indiana.<sup>46</sup>

Two of the Hoosier soldiers received accidental injuries. Private Abijah R. Crabtree broke his right ankle and was discharged 7 March 1862. The fracture was

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<sup>45</sup>Pension File for Caleb W. McMeans; Merklings, 135.

<sup>46</sup>Pension File for Henry L. Busz; Ibid, 43.

extremely severe making the ankle very weak and stiff as well as enlarged. Apparently ulcers formed around the ankle. Crabtree re-enlisted in January 1864 in the 62<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Infantry and served until March 1866.

Upon his discharge, the crippled man moved to Mattoon, Illinois where he lived until 1868. While living in Mattoon, Crabtree married Sarah Ann Chamberlin and together they raised five children. In 1868 the family moved to Evanston, Illinois and remained there until 1872 when they moved to Kansas. In 1893 the Crabtrees moved back to Illinois. Apparently Crabtree supported his family as a carpenter. The family suffered a terrible loss, however, when Sarah died in 1889. Private Crabtree continued on alone until 1896 when he married 30-year-old Mary Ellen Swift. In 1911 Crabtree moved to the National Soldiers' Home in Wisconsin.

Crabtree first began receiving a pension in 1868 at a rate of four dollars per month. His pension was raised to ten-dollars by 1885. The pension remained at this rate until 1912 when it was increased to \$18 and then to \$24. Five years later Crabtree was given an additional six dollars per month. He was never able to enjoy the money because he died on 8 February 1917 and this final increase was not approved until June 1917.<sup>47</sup>

Private John Clealand suffered from a back injury received while working on fortifications around Washington. He was discharged in April 1862 but re-enlisted in the 7<sup>th</sup> Indiana in August 1863. He served with the 7<sup>th</sup> until February 1866.

Upon his discharge Clealand returned to Indiana where he lived until 1907. He made a living at a variety of jobs including guarding a mill as a night watchman, tending

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<sup>47</sup>Pension File for Abijah R. Crabtree.

the water tank for the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad, and farming. In July 1866 he married Harriet Post with whom he raised four children. In 1907 the Clealands moved to the state of Washington where they lived for one year. They then moved back to Michigan until about 1912 at which time they moved to Florida.

Clealand began receiving his pension in 1888 at the rate of two dollars per month from April 1862. In 1890 his pension was increased to \$12 because of his inability to perform manual labor. Unfortunately, because the government realized that Clealand was paid a pension for the time he served with the 7<sup>th</sup> Indiana, it decided to withhold money from his payments until the government was reimbursed the money paid to Clealand for the period between August 1863 and February 1866. The veteran's pension increased to \$25 in 1912 and by 1918 had reached \$40. Clealand apparently died around 1918 because no more increases were recorded.<sup>48</sup>

All that can be determined about John P. Altman's post-war life was that he received a two-dollar per month pension in March 1874 that was to have started in December 1870. In 1875 the rate jumped to \$18 per month and then abruptly ended on 16 March 1876. Altman received his pension for sunstroke. Since mention was made of a widow's file, apparently he did marry, but no other information could be obtained.<sup>49</sup>

Sketchy information exists about other members of Company G. By 1897 Ithamar Hague was living in Trinidad, Las Animas County, Colorado where he worked as a plasterer. He suffered from eczema, a skin disorder, as well. According to R. J.

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<sup>48</sup>Pension File for John Clealand.

<sup>49</sup>Pension File for John P. Altman.

Powell, the special examiner for John Spitler's pension claim, "Ithamar Hague is a man of considerable intelligence. He is a drinking man, but is considered truthful when sober."<sup>50</sup>

Michael L. Shirts moved to West Windsor, Michigan in Eaton County in 1866 and lived there for a time. In 1895 William Campbell, the special examiner for John Spitler's pension, listed Shirts as living in Las Vegas, San Miguel County, New Mexico. But by June 1897 Shirts was back in Michigan, where he farmed.<sup>51</sup> Oscar C. Bates moved to Newark, Michigan and made a living farming. He regularly attended reunions for the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana veterans.<sup>52</sup>

Ellison T. Campbell lived in Fort Wayne, Indiana by 1895. Apparently for a while he was a shoemaker, but at the time of his deposition for John Spitler's pension he was an elevator tender. William Campbell commented that Ellison Campbell's reputation "for truth is not good." Campbell had on an earlier occasion tried to obtain a pension by passing off his epilepsy as an effect of sunstroke received while in the military.<sup>53</sup> Claus Young moved to Madison, Nebraska where he was found by pension investigators in 1898. He stated that he had worked as a cabinet-maker, but as of 1 June 1898 he was unemployed.<sup>54</sup> John Shafer returned briefly to Elkhart County to find his wife dying. Upon her death Shafer left northern Indiana and moved to Shelbina,

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<sup>50</sup>Pension File for John M. F. Spitler.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

Missouri in 1866. Within the year he married Frances M. Smith and before long became as respected a resident in Missouri as he had been in Indiana. He was elected to Congress as a representative from Kansas as well. Shafer died in 1880.<sup>55</sup> John A. Campbell left the country and settled in Australia where he lived until his death in 1923 and was buried in Sydney.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Venner, 283-284.

<sup>56</sup>Dunn, 305.

## CONCLUSION

In many ways Company G reflected the stereotypical Federal infantry privates' experiences, but in other ways their war experience was unique. Company G suffered 11 dead resulting from disease and 14 battle-related deaths out of 114 men who served the four years. Oddly, battle deaths outnumber deaths from disease. Possibly the urban atmosphere many of the men came from strengthened their immune systems against the deadly diseases traversing the camps. In addition, the men were forced to deal with the terrible nightmare of poisoned water supplies in their camps on Arlington Heights. The deliberate poisoning of wells with arsenic was not common practice during the war and this in itself makes Company G a unique unit.

Historians such as Bell Wiley and Earl Hess have discussed the life of the common Federal soldier. As Wiley observes, "The most striking thing about Union soldiers was their diversity."<sup>1</sup> Company G sustains Wiley's point. Its men came from a wide range of backgrounds and occupations, although, unlike Wiley's claim, farming was not the leading occupational choice. Many of the men lived in urban areas, such as Elkhart and Goshen, and held such service type jobs as butchers and shop clerks.

As a railroad town, Elkhart's population was large enough to send a number of men to war and not just in Company G. The railroad also possibly reveals a reason for the large number of non-native Hoosiers living in the area and enlisting in the military. The members of the company that were found on the 1860 Census illustrated America's

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<sup>1</sup>Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1993), 296.

migration westward very well. For example, George Rodarmer's father and mother were both born in Pennsylvania in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The family moved to Ohio, where George and his older sister Martha were born. By 1850 the family lived in Indiana where George's five other brothers and sisters were born.

A number of the men enlisting with Company G were no longer living at home. Many of the young men were born in Ohio and held urban-related jobs. Three examples were John Keller, Lewis Eller, and James Rigby, all Ohio natives, who had worked just across the border in Indiana's DeKalb County, respectively as a clerk, carpenter, and laborer. Possibly these men could not find employment in Ohio and moved west to Waterloo, Indiana, which, as a railroad town, offered jobs.

Company G remained consistent with Wiley's observation that the majority of soldiers were not foreign born, with only 12 of the company's 114 men being foreigners. Wiley pointed out that the majority of foreign born soldiers were from Germany. The company supports Wiley once again, with seven of the 12 hailing from German-speaking areas.

In The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat, Earl Hess notes, "In the spring of 1861 a nation of innocents went to war. Few of the young men who so boldly offered their lives to the cause of the Union had an accurate conception of what combat was like."<sup>2</sup> Private Adam Juday illustrated this point perfectly:

We intend to do as they did in the old revolutionary times—march up to them till we see the 'whites of their eyes,' then shoot down the front rank and 'charge

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<sup>2</sup>Earl J. Hess, The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat (University Press of Kansas: Lawrence, KS, 1997), 1.

bayonets' on the rear, then it will be over and we can return to our homes rejoicing.<sup>3</sup>

The "we" Juday refers to more than likely means the company, making it safe to assume that this was the prevailing view within the company as to how the war was going to be won.

The soldiers of Company G support the argument that slavery was not the primary reason for the Civil War. It appears that slavery was not high on the list of reasons for enlisting. Orderly Sergeant Julius Waldschmidt wrote in July 1861 that "The boys are all, without exception, well satisfied and ready any day to march, and fight for their country, to aid in crushing the rebellion and saving this government from destruction."<sup>4</sup>

Private Juday penned the following:

I must go now, for I feel I can wait no longer. Who would not fight for his country? For one, I love it so much that I am willing to fight and risk my life to preserve the country that our forefathers bought at such great sacrifices.<sup>5</sup>

These sentiments did not last. By 1864 letters home were few and far between as the novelty and pomp of the war had worn off. Three days before he was killed in action in the Wilderness, Juday wrote home stating that his Gettysburg wound bothered him and that his three months left to serve were his only inspiration for getting through the spring campaign. The toll of war can be seen in the lack of letters appearing in the newspapers. In the early years of the war the new soldiers wrote home often describing events in great

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<sup>3</sup>Goshen Times, September 5, 1861, 2.

<sup>4</sup>Goshen Democrat, July 24, 1861, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Goshen Times, August 1, 1861, 3.

detail. By the summer of 1863 those letters had nearly ceased to be printed. Many of the writers had been killed or wounded, and the few who remained merely sent casualties lists, occasionally with a very brief account of what had happened. The innocence of 1861 was gone.

Not only did the majority of men in Company G not enlist to fight against slavery, but when emancipation did come they supported it for another reason. Private Phraortes Humphreys commented on the Emancipation Proclamation in October 1862:

The President's Proclamation in regard to the slaves of rebels is hailed here with delight, by all sensible persons. We are tired of protecting rebel property and would take delight in confiscating it whenever found, and in whatever shape.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently the view that slaves were merely property prevailed in Company G. It appears that many of the men wanted the slaves freed in order to hurt the Confederacy, but not necessarily because the soldiers opposed the institution. The company also must have had its collection of "insensible" men opposing emancipation for any reason, considering Humphreys made mention of "all sensible persons" supporting the freeing of the slaves.

Rivalries existed between western and eastern soldiers in all the theatres of the war. Both felt they fought harder and exhibited more bravery than the other. Being westerners in an eastern army set the members of Company G apart. They felt they had something to prove and this played a roll in their combat performance. Captain John Shafer revealed the animosity between his men and the eastern troops in a letter written after the Battle of Second Bull Run.

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<sup>6</sup>Goshen Times, October 16, 1862, 1.

There was no necessity of being beaten in that battle, had the Eastern troops done their duty.—Whole regiments of New York and Pennsylvania troops broke and ran like sheep. Had the Easterner troops stood nobly to the work, like good soldiers, our defeat would have proven a glorious victory.<sup>7</sup>

Shafer continued by attacking the eastern newspapers for not mentioning the Iron Brigade in their coverage of the battle. He wrote, “It is enough for us to know that we did our whole duty, and that Gen. Gibbon received the credit from the General commanding [for] performing his part nobly.”<sup>8</sup>

A shift occurred in the politics of command as well during the war. When the war began men such as John Clark financed and organized the companies they took to war. Many of the lieutenants and NCO’s were elected by the men of the unit or appointed through political connections. Lee Yaryan and Johnston Curd were prime examples of political appointees, while John Shafer and Julius Waldschmidt were elected by the men. As the war progressed Shafer was promoted to captain based on merit rather than popularity, even though he was very popular among the men. Significantly, Colonel Meredith did not like Shafer, but still allowed his appointment. Promotions based on merit or necessity replaced elections; men such as Adam Juday and Oscar Bates received promotions to sergeant and Bates later became a captain with the 20<sup>th</sup> Indiana, without an election by the men. Bravery and death became the primary means of officer selection.

The soldiers’ post-war sufferings were really not unique. Curiously, though, only 39 of the 89 survivors applied for pensions. Explanations for the low number of

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<sup>7</sup>Elkhart Review, September 13, 1862, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 2.

applicants range from a complete disenchantment with the government due to their military experiences to the possibility that they did apply and were turned down.

The men of the Elkhart County Guards helped earn the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana and the Iron Brigade a reputation for bravery and steadfast service. The suffering these veterans endured is merely touched upon in this study, but even so the lives of these 114 men (some obviously incomplete) reveal much of the forgotten pain that the war inflicted. These men's lives were turned upside down not only by physically leaving home for the war, but also by what the war did to them. Many returned home invalids, some barely able to earn a living. The members of the Elkhart County Guards did a great service for their country but at a terrible cost to themselves.

APPENDIX

PROFILE OF MEMBERS OF COMPANY G AT

TIME OF ENLISTMENT

Ages		Occupations	Birth Places
18	18	Baker 1	Canada 1
19	13	Blacksmith 2	Denmark 1
20	9	Butcher 2	England 2
21	3	Cabinet Maker 1	Germany 5
22	9	Carpenter 8	Indiana 21
23	11	Clerk 1	Ireland 2
24	6	Cooper 1	Maryland 1
25	5	Drayman 1	New York 15
26	1	Farmer 33	Ohio 39
27	3	Fireman 2	Pennsylvania 5
28	3	Gunsmith 1	Switzerland 1
29	1	Laborer 11	Tennessee 1
30	4	Lawyer 3	Vermont 1
31	3	Mason 3	Virginia 1
33	1	Mechanic 1	Unknown 5
34	1	Molder 1	
35	2	Painter 1	
38	2	Physician 1	
37	2	Printer 2	
41	1	Sadler 2	
46	1	Sailor 2	
		Shoemaker 3	
		Taylor 1	
		Teacher 2	
		Teamster 3	
		Tinner 2	
		V. Surgeon 1	
		Unknown 11	

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