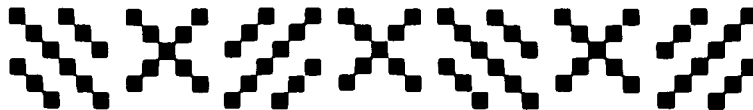


## The Civil War Diary of Chaplain Stephen C. Bowers

*Edited by Glenna R. Schroeder\**



Stephen C. Bowers, whose brief tenure as a Union army chaplain is recorded in this diary, was born near Wilmington, Dearborn County, Indiana, on March 3, 1832.<sup>1</sup> The youngest of seven brothers and seven sisters, Bowers was raised on a farm and attended local schools.<sup>2</sup> As a teacher, he married one of his students, Margaret A. Powell, about June, 1851. A child was born in early 1852, but both Margaret and the baby died soon after.<sup>3</sup>

On November 6, 1856, Bowers was married to Martha A. Craycroft in Salem, Indiana.<sup>4</sup> A son, John, was born in late December, 1859, but died in early February, 1860.<sup>5</sup> Anna A. Bowers (Bailey) was born in December, 1860, and a son, DeMoss, was born on January 5, 1864.<sup>6</sup> These two were the only children of this marriage to survive to adulthood. Martha died October 14, 1879, in Santa Barbara, California.<sup>7</sup>

Bowers decided to enter the Methodist ministry and was admitted to the Indiana Conference on probation in 1856, be-

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<sup>1</sup> Bowers Autobiography (1859), 1, manuscript in the possession of Art Harrington of Claremont, Calif.; Bowers Diary, March 3, 1863, Stephen Bowers Collection (Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, Calif.). The portion of the diary reproduced below is edited and published by permission of Dr. Patrick T. Houlihan, director.

<sup>2</sup> Bowers Autobiography, 1, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Affidavit of David Radibaugh of Los Angeles, California, December 7, 1907, in Bowers Pension File, Records of the Record and Pension Office, 1784-1917, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

<sup>4</sup> Copy of marriage license, State of Indiana, Washington County, in Bowers Pension File.

<sup>5</sup> Bowers Autobiography, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire filled out by Stephen Bowers, February 23, 1898, Bowers Pension File.

<sup>7</sup> Affidavit of DeMoss Bowers and Anna Bailey, Los Angeles, Calif., December 3, 1907, Bowers Pension File.

coming a full-fledged minister in 1858 and rising in rank to deacon in 1859 and elder in 1860. Having served several other congregations in Indiana, he was assigned to minister in Brownstown in Bloomington District in 1860 and was still leading this congregation in 1862, when he joined the Union army.<sup>8</sup>

The first step in Bowers's military service was his commissioning as second lieutenant and recruiting officer on August 7, 1862. In this position he recruited eighty-two men for Captain Ralph Applewhite's company and fourteen for Captain Byford E. Long's. When Applewhite's company was actually formed on August 19, 1862, Bowers was elected first lieutenant. The group was officially mustered in as Company K of the 67th Indiana Infantry Volunteers on August 20, 1862, at Madison, Indiana. Bowers's term as first lieutenant was brief, for he was appointed chaplain for the regiment on September 1, 1862.<sup>9</sup> Bowers's active military career lasted less than two months (August 7-September 29, 1862), but in that period he had a real taste of camp life, experienced a battle, and was taken prisoner by the enemy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> List from records at the Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church (Lake Junaluska, North Carolina); hereafter cited as Methodist Archives List. Methodist ministers are required to spend at least two years on probation ("on trial") before being admitted to full ministerial privileges ("full connection"). Deacon and elder are ministerial ranks. That of deacon may be entered during the probationary period, but elder is reserved for those in "full connection." See *Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church* (Nashville, Tenn., 1976), 176, 182, 204-205.

<sup>9</sup> [William H.H. Terrell], *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, 1865-1869), II, 614-20; Company Muster Roll in Bowers Military File (National Archives).

<sup>10</sup> Bowers's diary was kept in a small black book and written in pencil. The volume begins on August 19, 1862, and continues sporadically until May 2, 1864. The later entries have to do only with Bowers's ministerial responsibilities and his spiritual life. Although the book is well preserved, the exigencies of writing under camp conditions often rendered his handwriting difficult to read. The editor has attempted to transcribe Bowers's original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, which are very inconsistent. [Sic] is added only after grammatical peculiarities. Illegible words are indicated as such in brackets; in cases where the editor has minor doubts about the transcription of a word, that word is followed by a question mark in brackets; wherever the editor could make only an educated guess as to the proper transcription of a word, it is placed inside brackets with a question mark. Persons and places are identified in footnotes where possible.



STEPHEN C. BOWERS

Courtesy of the Southwest Museum.

## DIARY

Aug. 19 1862 This day we called our company together at Brownstown<sup>11</sup> It consisted of about 125 men At 12 ocl the Ladies of Brownstown anounced dinner in the Court House square. After the soldiers and several hundred citizens had partaken the volunteers repaired[?] to the Cout House where an election was had for commissioned officers R. Applewhite<sup>12</sup> for Cap. S. Bowers 1st Lieut., T. Vawter<sup>13</sup> 2d Lt. were nominated & elected by acclimation. After the Com. marched out they were called together when Hon S. S. Early on behalf of several citizens made a present of a fine cane, to me, accompanied by an excellent speach upon which I tryed to reply & was loudly cheered. Several speaches were made during the day About 4 P. M. the Com. were marched down to the depot were after waiting a time the cars came & good bys were exchanged as well as many tears when the noble boys were hurried away many of them never [to see?] their loved ones again I fear. In due time we arrived at Vernon<sup>14</sup> being cheered all the way by the citizens our boys cheering in return. At Vernon we changed cars for Madison<sup>15</sup> where we arrived about 9 ocl. Here we were mustered into service. We got no sleep, having to work all night Next day Aug. 20 we were called together & our boys were each paid 25. bounty in advance Officers excepted. In the afternoon we got into camp. having drawn our guns. At night we drew our clothing. I forgot to state that our boys were furnished with a good breakfast by the citizens of Madison

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<sup>11</sup> Brownstown, Jackson County, Indiana, was located near the east fork of the White River, seventy miles south of Indianapolis; Thomas Baldwin and J. Thomas, *A New and Complete Gazetteer of the United States* . . . (Philadelphia, 1854), 149-50.

<sup>12</sup> Ralph Applewhite served in Company K of the 67th Indiana Infantry Volunteers from August 20, 1862, when he was mustered in at Madison, Indiana, until he resigned at Knoxville, Tennessee, on April 6, 1863. Unless noted otherwise, all the identified men mentioned below were mustered in at this time and place. Civil War Service Cards (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis). Hereafter cited as ISL Cards.

<sup>13</sup> Tazwell Vawter later served as first lieutenant and captain in this company and as captain in Company K of the 24th Regiment (Reorganized), Indiana Volunteers; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 239, 619.

<sup>14</sup> Vernon, Jennings County, Indiana, was sixty-six miles southeast of Indianapolis, where the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad crossed the Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad. See Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 1209.

<sup>15</sup> Madison, Indiana, was first settled in 1808 and served as the county seat for Jefferson County. It was a trade center of approximately 8,700 in 1850 and was located on the Ohio River ninety miles below Cincinnati, forty-four miles above Louisville, and eighty-six miles south-southeast of Indianapolis; *ibid.*

Aug 21. Early this morning we were called on to gather up our utensils &c. & march to the river there we found a boat ready to convey us to Louisville. In due time we were on board with the whole regiment & on our way. We arrived at Louisville in the afternoon and marched out to our camp about one mile south of the city where two or three Reg. were encamped.

Aug. 22 Went to the city to day and purchased uniform sword sash & pistol Perhaps 1 out of 8 [are?] Secessionists in the city. Cap. Applewhite left for home to day & the duties of the day devolved upon me.

Aug. 23 Nothing of importance to day I believe

Aug. 24 This is the holy Sabbath. To day I preached to an attentive audience of about 600 persons. Many wept There are quite a number of religious men and officers in our regiment, yet much wickedness At night we had prayer meetings in two of our tents I think them useful

Aug 25 Capt. Applewhite returned to day with a letter from my family. Late this evening we were ordered to stryke tents & leave for Mumfordsville, Ky.<sup>16</sup> Some 75 ms. South of Louisville. We did not get off on the train till near 1 o cl. P. M. remaining up all night

Aug. 26 Reached Mumfordsville at about 8 o cl this morning. We then went to work to get our tents pitched & our luggage from the cars. We have had but little to eat since yesterday noon No sleep last night. We are in bad plight. Eat bit little till night Capt & I took dinner about a mile from camp. I certainly appreciated it. About noon We receid a report of Morgans cavalry being 7 miles below at Cave City.<sup>17</sup> We immediately strengthened our pickets but herd no more of Morgan. Many of of [sic] our men slept on their arms. each having 40 rounds of ammunition Here we met a portion of the 50 Reg they were highly gratified at seeing us One old

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<sup>16</sup> Bowers generally spells it Mumfordsville, Baldwin and Thomas spell it Munfordsville, and it is listed as Munfordville in U.S., War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901); the latter work is hereafter cited as *Official Records*. Now known as Munfordville, it is a small village in Hart County on the Green River; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 754.

<sup>17</sup> Colonel John Hunt Morgan (1825-1864) was a Confederate cavalry commander noted for his raids into Union territory. In May, 1862, he had been in Cave City destroying the railroad and valuable supplies. In July he had been around Georgetown and Cynthiana, Kentucky, wreaking havoc, so naturally the possibility of his presence nearby would create alarm. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), XIII, 174-75; Mark Mayo Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York, 1959), 566.

Methodist ran up & hugged me. Our meeting was quite joyous. Here I met my old friend Cap Scott he invited Cap A. & myself to dine his boarding house which we gratefully accepted, as before referred to. Cap. Scott is Provost Marshal of this County

Aug. 26 To day I met Col. Dunham<sup>18</sup> Major Wells<sup>19</sup> & Lt Hunter<sup>20</sup> of the 50 Rej.

Aug. 27 This day I had an interview with Gen. Ward.<sup>21</sup> We have now got our tents arranged. I believe it was this evening that the artillerymen were practising with shell & round shot. This was the first practice of the kind I ever witnessed.

Aug. 28. This day I was detached from service & sent to Indianapolis to procure Army regulations, Tactics Wipes cones &c for our guns. Started at 2 o cl P. M. Three deserters from our Rej. were on the train. They were promptly stopped by an officer & the last I saw of them they were on their way to the guard house. Reached Louisville about 5 P.M. & Jeffersonville<sup>22</sup> about 9½ ocl.

Aug. 29. Reached Indianapolis about 4 ocl this morning Attended to the business of our Rej. & started back. Reached Seymour about 11 P.M. Here I met my old friends H. & E.

Aug. 30 Reached my family this morning found them in health. Attended my fourth quarterly meeting<sup>23</sup> I brought home over a thousand dollars from the soldiers

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<sup>18</sup> Colonel Cyrus L. Dunham was enrolled at Seymour, Indiana, on September 1, 1861, and mustered in at Camp Morton, Kentucky, on December 31, at the age of forty-seven. He was captured at Munfordville on September 17, 1862, and resigned from the army on November 18, 1863. See ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 490.

<sup>19</sup> Samuel T. Wells, age thirty-nine or forty-three, was enrolled at Seymour, Indiana, on September 28, 1861, and mustered in as a captain at Camp Morton, Kentucky, on December 31. He was promoted to major on September 17, 1862. Eventually he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. His record cards are not entirely clear. See ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 490, 491, 493.

<sup>20</sup> Cyrus R. Hunter, first lieutenant with Company H of the 50th Indiana, was enrolled at Freetown, Indiana, on September 21, 1861, and mustered in on December 31, probably at Camp Morton, Kentucky (the card is illegible). His card is particularly complete and indicates that he was thirty-five years old at the time, had hazel eyes, dark hair, a light complexion, and stood 5'10" tall. A native of Henry County, Ohio, he was a farmer by occupation and died of an unstated disease on October 30, 1862. ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 499.

<sup>21</sup> Apparently General William Thomas Ward; see *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 212.

<sup>22</sup> Jeffersonville, Clark County, Indiana, was situated on the Ohio River almost across from Louisville, Kentucky, and was on the railroad to Madison and Indianapolis; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 545.

<sup>23</sup> Bowers is referring to a quarterly meeting of the Methodist church.

Aug. 31. Attended divine service and preached at night

Sept. 1. All who were not [illegible] considered themselves unable to go into the Army were requested to meet at Brownstown for examination. It is surprising how many came. It was the largest crowd I ever saw in Brownstown I think

Sept. 2. To day I am quite unwell, but bid my family adieu & started for my regiment. Reached Seymour at night. I have quite a no. of Testaments & letters for our boys in the Reg. It is a [illegible] task to leave ones family when he has no assurance of ever meeting them again May our heavenly Father keep them in all peace.

Sept. 3. Reached Louisville today. Still unwell. Louisville is under martial law. The rebels are reported marching on the city. The citizens just appear waked up. Made some purchases. Put up at the U. S. hotell. Met the Provost Marshal of Jackson & Madison Co's [when/where?] the late fight occured.<sup>24</sup> He says our boys fought desperately, but being undisciplined the rebels had the advantage of them.

Sept. 4. Started early this morning in company with Col. Wilder<sup>25</sup> Col Buehler & Capt Sears<sup>26</sup> for Mumfordsville which we reached about half past eleven. On the way Col. B. became facinated with an intelegent & hansome lady whose acquaintance he appeared anxious to cultivate After riding with her several miles he found she was of African extraction & that her liege Lord was a son of Ham Col. Wilder could not keep the joke but communicated it to some of the officers who enjoyed the joke hugely at the Col.s expense. Such is southern amalga-mation. The boys appeared very glad to meet me again

Sept. 5. To day I entered upon the duties of Chaplain. Visited both hospitals. The men appeared rejoiced to see me. Several of them wept when I spoke of home.

Sept. 6. Visited the hospital this morning found many of the patients better. Moses L. I fear will die. Met with Bro.

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<sup>24</sup> The "late fight" was probably the Battle of Richmond, Kentucky, on August 29-30. Kirby Smith, with approximately 16,000 Confederate troops, had invaded the area and defeated about 7,000 raw Union soldiers under Generals William ("Bull") Nelson and Mahlon D. Manson. See James Truslow Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History* (6 vols., New York, 1940), IV, 481; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 508, 586, 697-98.

<sup>25</sup> Colonel John Thomas Wilder (1830-1917) of the 17th Indiana Volunteer Infantry was the Union commander at Munfordville. He resigned in October, 1864, with the rank of brevet brigadier general. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 209-10.

<sup>26</sup> Theodore E. Buehler and Francis A. Sears; see *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 614, and Reuben B. Scott, *The History of the 67th Regiment Indiana Infantry Volunteers, War of the Rebellion* (Bedford, Ind., 1892), 123.

Armstrong of the 17th Ind. who was here not being able to join his Reg in Alabama. This afternoon Cap. Applewhite & self went to the river and took a bath. At night I went to Mumfordsville and heard a sermon from an old local Preacher. We had to wade Green river in order to get there & back

Sept 7. This is the holy Sabbath I preached at eleven ocl. to an attentive audience in a grove near camp many wept. When near half through the sermon a messenger came for the Col. informing him of the rebels burning a bridge across Salt river.<sup>27</sup> This cuts us off from supplies from Louisville Some 50 of our men went out foraging. At about 9 ocl P.M. Com. A & K were sent off on the cars for Bowlinggreen so I learn<sup>28</sup>

Sept 8. This morning our companies came back with an abundance of provision Nothing of special importance transpired to day.

Sept. 9. This has been a busy day for me. I did not get to visit the hospital till night Found our men generally convalescent. We [foild/failed?] in our mail today.

Sept. 10. To day a soldier shot himself in the leg with a pistol I visited the hospital and found our men getting along as well, perhaps, as could be expected

Sept. 11. This morning a soldier a minister in the U. B. Church shot two of his fingers badly with his musket.<sup>29</sup> They both had to be amputated. This I assisted in doing Last night one of the regulars died. I conversed with him several times while in the hospital He belonged to the German Lutheran Church in Ohio. I thought he spoke hopefully in reference to the future. I trust he rests with his Saviour in glory. Some 25 of our men are sick in the hospital. This evening I spent some time with hook & line with some success. The regulars left us this evening

Sept. 12. We had a thundershower last night. It was very welcome, as the dust was almost suffocating We herd this morning that a large rebel force was at Glasgo.<sup>30</sup> We have also herd that ther[e] was a large union force between here and Bowling-

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<sup>27</sup> This bridge burning is mentioned in Colonel Wilder's report, although the date is misprinted as Sunday, September 9; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 959-60.

<sup>28</sup> This is described in Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 6, and *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 960.

<sup>29</sup> The victim was Leonard Haney, and U. B. presumably refers to the United Brethren church; see note 62.

<sup>30</sup> Glasgow, Kentucky, was located on the railroad between Louisville and Nashville; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 429.



green. We can hardly tell what to believe. I understand our force here is about 2,307 men. I consider this rather an untenable place. May God in his infinite mercy save us from destruction. I would commit our cause into his hands. He is able to deliver us from our temporal & spiritual foes I have been considerably unwell to day. Some better now.

Sept. 13. In the evening we herd of a large rebel force approaching we made preparations for a fight. I told Cap. Applewhites men, some 17 in no. (the rest being out on picket to retire with their arms & equipments ready to go into the fight at any moment. About 11 ocl we were aroused for the contest Cap. Lang.[?]<sup>31</sup> came to me & informed me the rebels were in side our lines and gave me \$100. saying If you come out [illegible] & I do not you will know what to do with this. I gave Cap. Applewhites men some instruction & reported myself at the Surgeons quarters as previously instructed. I soon [heard/learned?] that a rebel Col. was in with a flag of truce demanding a surrender<sup>32</sup> Col. Wilder informed him that he would fight him. The rebel Col. informed Col. Wilder that he had two brigades backed up by 32,000 men and that if we would surrender he would parol us next day in half a hour but our commander positively refused to do so. The rebel Col. was then conducted out side our lines At his departure he drank [rum?] with the officers with this said [he?] "To-day we are friends tomorrow we meet as enemies, they will be prospered who are on the Lords side" The enemy then under cover [?] of night commenced planting his batteries. About 4 ocl<sup>33</sup> the pickets commenced firing on the enemy and soon a ball was fired at us from one of their field pieces Skirmish fight was kept up until daylight when our pickets got in & the battle commenced in earnest We had 4 cannon they 7 and 5 mountain howitzers.<sup>34</sup> The first man that came to our quarter had his hand badly mashed with a [ball?]. He had his arm amputated

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<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this was Captain Byford E. Long, of Company E, who was listed as enrolling officer for many of the members of the 67th Indiana. See ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 617.

<sup>32</sup> The Confederate officer apparently was Colonel John S. Scott; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 937-39, 960.

<sup>33</sup> 3:00 says *ibid.*, 960; Brigadier General James R. Chalmers, C.S.A., said 5:00, *ibid.*, 975.

<sup>34</sup> The Union forces had one twelve-pounder heavy gun, one twelve-pounder Napoleon, one twelve-pounder howitzer, and one three-inch rifled gun under Lieutenant Mason of the 13th Indiana Battery; *ibid.*, 961. Confederate artillery consisted of two six-pounders, two twelve-pounder howitzers, and two small mountain howitzers; *ibid.*, 978.

The fight now became general. We were completely surrounded. The roar of artillery & small arms was terrific. The rebels were brave. Our men fought like tigers. Our quarters were in a hollow between the fort & stockade and the balls of the enemy from the attack on both fell among us. Some 12 or 20 shell burst near us. One shell [wobled thru?] the hospital tent, but did not explode. For 4 hours the battle raged when a flag of truce was sent in by the enemy to remove their wounded & bury their dead. We learned that their loss was between 600 & 700 in killed & wounded. Our 41 We had a force of about 2,300. We learn their force was about 8,000<sup>35</sup>. Just as the battle was closing Col. Dunham came in with a force of about 400<sup>36</sup>. This did me so much good that I could not help shedding tears, as was also the case after I found that victory was ours. Major Albert of the 67th was killed. A braver man I think I never saw. He mounted the fortifications encouraging his men when he received a ball through the shoulders and died immediately.<sup>37</sup> The first one killed was Sergt. Geo. T. Rama of Com K 67 Reg.<sup>38</sup> He was an excellent young man. One man had the end of his tongue shot off & his mouth badly torn. Two or three others were shot in the head. But it is unnecessary for me to undertake to describe them. In our rejoicing over our victory we had to lament the loss of our brave men. This was the first battle I ever witnessed. The crash[?] of arms & the roar of artillery was truly terrific. I will not moralize, however. Our flag & staff received 110 shots from the enemy.<sup>39</sup> I did not

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<sup>35</sup> As usual, rumored numbers tend to be exaggerated. United States forces consisted of 2,122 men, many of them recruits, of whom Colonel Wilder reported 37 were killed or wounded; *ibid.*, 961. Wilder reported 714 Confederates wounded or killed; *ibid.*, 962. The Confederates reported 1,613 men present with 35 killed and 253 wounded; *ibid.*, 978. These reports of the commanding officers differ somewhat from the official casualty lists: Union—15 killed, 57 wounded, 4,076 captured or missing, *ibid.*, 967; Confederates—35 killed, 250 wounded, *ibid.*, 982.

<sup>36</sup> Dunham brought six companies, *ibid.*, 961, or 446 men, *ibid.*, 963. For information on Dunham see note 19.

<sup>37</sup> "Major Albert's" heroic death is also described in Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 8, and *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 960. The spelling of his name varies greatly, however. In the *Official Records* he is listed as Augustus H. Abbott; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 614, lists him as Augustus H. Abbett; and Scott calls him Ablott (p. 8) and August A. Alebett (p. 123). He was from Columbus, Indiana, and was mustered in and commissioned on September 5, 1862.

<sup>38</sup> In Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 138, he is listed as Corporal George T. Ramy; this is also how he is identified in *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 84.

<sup>39</sup> Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 9, says 146; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 960, says flag 146 and staff 11.

think I could stand a battle so well; before the fight was over I was some what charmed with the musick of the shells & bullets. I understand the forces brot. against us was the 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 26, 27 Miss. 4 Reg. Cav.[?] from Louisana 7 pieces of Artillery & 5 mountain howitzers Com. by Brig. Gen Chalmers<sup>40</sup> We had 4 pieces of Artillery. Thus was spent the holy Sabbath. The rebels kept their flag of truce up until night which we respected. At night we laid down expecting to renew the conflict at any moment.

Sept. 15. We expected to renew the conflict this morning. but when morning came we found the enemy gone.<sup>41</sup> This was a day of rejoicing to us. We had whiped a very superior force of well drilled rebels with our raw troops. We buried our dead and kept a sharp look out for the enemy but were not molested during the day. Each one had some thing to relate of yesterdays affair. There were many hair bredth escapes.

Sept. 16. This morning I walked out on the battle field some distance from camp when our pickets commenced firing.<sup>42</sup> We soon found the enemy were close upon us being reinforced. Our skirmishers were sent out immediately and soon our artillery commenced playing upon the enemy. The fight lasted most of the day. It was principlly among the skirmishers Our loss was 7 wounded.<sup>43</sup> In the evening a flag of truce was brot in demanding an unconditional surrender. This we refused to do. The parley continued all night. Col Wilder went out with the confederates to see their works and found them very extensive. They had about 60[?]<sup>44</sup> pieces of canon bearing upon us and we had but 10 pieces. They claimed some 60.000 men.<sup>45</sup> we had less than 4,000. I laid down after the fategus of the day & slept sweetly

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<sup>40</sup> The Confederate forces consisted of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 29th, and 44th Mississippi Regiments, a battalion of sharpshooters, and Ketchum's battery, all of the 2nd Brigade, Reserve Division, Right Wing, Army of the Mississippi; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 982. United States troops were the 67th and 89th Indiana Regiments, one company of the 18th Regulars, 204 recruits of the 17th Indiana, two companies of the 74th Indiana, one company cavalry, the Louisville Provost Guard, the 13th Indiana battery, and sixty men from the 33rd Kentucky; *ibid.*, 961. Brigadier General James Ronald Chalmers (1831-1898) was the commander of the Confederate forces; *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 593-94; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 135, 575.

<sup>41</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 964, 971.

<sup>42</sup> About 9:30 a.m.; *ibid.*, 965.

<sup>43</sup> Also *ibid.*, 967.

<sup>44</sup> Actually forty-five pieces; see *ibid.*, 962.

<sup>45</sup> Actually over 25,000; *ibid.*



Sept. 17. About 4 ocl this morning we learned that we were surrendered<sup>46</sup> We felt it keenly but could not help ourselves. About 8 ocl we were marched out some distance from camp when we were commanded to lay down our arms.<sup>47</sup> O how affecting to see our brave boys who [list of wounded]<sup>48</sup> fought so manfully on Sunday & yesterday, lay down their arms. I could hardly stand. Perhaps could not had it not have been for Capt. Applewhite. Many like myself wept like children. We were then commanded to march. In doing this we were compelled to march thru the ranks of the federals.<sup>49</sup> They were the dirtiest hardest[?] and most disorganized set of men I ever saw. They generally treated us kindly Their officers generally treated us with much respect. After marching us out about 4 miles we were halted in a field [where/when?] the officers & privates were paroled Chaplains & Physicians excepted In the evening I gained permission of a Confederate Col. to return to camp. On reaching camp I found that both my trunks were broken open and their contents rifled, tho one of their generals had promised us protection for our private property. Every thing was gone [cloathing/cloaths?], papers, books, sermons stationary and all My sermons had cost me six years labor I regret it exceedingly. I then went to Woodsonville<sup>50</sup> to the hospital to attend the sick The whole country was filled with rebels. I found quarters at Mrs. Millers. whose husband is in the Union army as a scout.

Sept. 18. I remained at the hospital to day not being able to get to our brigade The report had come that Gen. Buell<sup>51</sup> was coming up in the rear of the enemy & they had formed along the road between our hospital & brigade. The confederates are great brags[?] many of them and yet they are anxious that the war should close. They talk of wintering in Indiana I informed some of their officers that if they ever got into Indi-

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<sup>46</sup> Wilder's report indicates that the surrender took place at 2:00 a.m.; *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Wilder reports 6:00; *ibid.* According to General Braxton Bragg (C.S.A.) the Confederates got 4,000 prisoners, 4,000 small arms, and 10 pieces of artillery, as well as other supplies; *ibid.*, 968.

<sup>48</sup> Here Bowers included a list of the wounded men; this will be given at the end of the diary since it is not pertinent at this point.

<sup>49</sup> Apparently he meant the Confederates.

<sup>50</sup> Woodsonville, Hart County, Kentucky, was situated on the Green River opposite Munfordville; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 1311.

<sup>51</sup> General Don Carlos Buell (1818-1898) was a West Point graduate who had served in the Mexican War. He was in command of the Union Army of the Ohio from November, 1861, to October, 1862; *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 240-41.

ana they would never get out again. They might just as well think of wintering in the good world as in Indiana.

Sept. 19. I remained at the hospital to day untill about 3 o cl P. M. when we were informed that a flag of truce was going out from the fort to Gen. Buells lines. I started with some 30 others. but after we had got out about 4 ms. we were halted for the night. Dr. L. & my self went to Gen. Buckner<sup>52</sup> who gave us & the other officers permission to go a mile further to a farm house where we found lodging for the night. Gen. Buckner let us off on parole the condition of which was that we report our selves at the quarters of the other men. The general treated us with much kindness. We found pretty good quarters at a service[?] mens residence. An intelligent Confederate Physician—Dr. Hall—remained with us tho the night.

Sept. 20 Early this morning we took our breakfasts & started back to quarters. When we reached our quarters we found the order for transporting us. out of our lines had been countermanded & we were and we were [*sic*] marched back 5 ms to Woodsonville. We learned that our Brigade had gone on About 2 hours by sun P.M. the rebels set fire to the R. R. bridge & soon after to the pontoon bridge, having previously fired the tents & equipage they captured from us, especially such as they could not carry[?] with them. Our cooking utensils they destroyed by striking them with picks. In the bridges they destroyed some 40.000 dollars worth of property, such is rebel protection.

Sept. 21. This is the holy Sabbath. This morning we buried one of the soldiers of the 67th by the name of White from Seymour[?], Ind. He was shot in the head on last Sunday.<sup>53</sup> In the afternoon we heard the firing of the Union pickets & rebel cavalry. Soon the engagement begun in earnest The rebels commenced retreating tho. town. The artillery soon commenced. I found shelter in Dr. Gardeners residence but soon found it poor shelter for a rebel ball passed tho. the house and another exploded by the front door & several in the vicinity. The can-

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<sup>52</sup> Major General Simon Bolivar Buckner (1823-1914), C.S.A., was a native of the Munfordville area. He was a graduate of West Point, served in the Mexican War, taught at West Point, and was stationed at various forts until he resigned in 1855. He joined the Confederacy as a brigadier general and was the commander who surrendered Ft. Donelson in February, 1862. He was exchanged as a prisoner of war in August, 1862. *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 234-36.

<sup>53</sup> Probably Private Joseph B. White of Co. G, 67th Regiment. He was enrolled at Jackson County, Indiana, on July 16, 1862, and was twenty years old. ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 81.

nonading continued one or two hours we being in immanent peril all the time. After it had ceased I opened the door & saw our troops approaching One Lt. took me for a rebel I suppose but I commenced cheering him & he laughfed & went on. I was never so rejoiced to see our soldiers. I took them by the hand & welcomed them as only a union soldier in captivity can welcome a brother hoosier. Our cavalry[?] now came up & after passing tho. the town had another engagement with the rebels but they skedadled in a hurry. I learn their loss is 8 killed & several wounded among them one Col. Our loss three wounded one killed. I met Gen's Buell & Woods to night

Sept. 22. I have been quite sick to day. In fact have been confined to my bed most of the day. Met Gens. Rassow[?], Smith & McCook to day. Saw Col. Wilder he has been exchanged and has joined the service again. Glad to see him. Dr. Gardener of Woodsonville gave me a horse this morning & Capt Hotchkis of one of the Min. Bat. gave me a saddle & bridle. This after noon Dr. Stilwell<sup>54</sup> of the 22 Reg. came into my room to see me I was rejoiced to see him. He agreed to stay with me tho. the night & I to accompany him tomorrow. My health is quite poor.

Sept. 23. In com. with Dr Stilwell I left Woodsonville early this morning. I was quite weak but succeeded in traveling 21 ms. against 2 o cl P.M. It is quite hard on me to ride so far without any thing to eat of account on the way. The dust is deep. After I got to our (22) Reg. I got into an ambulance but we rode 21 ms before we got to it. Traveled about 32 ms to day. Camped with the 22 Ind. Several of them got drunk and a Lt. shot at a squad. One of the men struck him with a rod which wounded him severely. There is much profanity in this Reg. and I should think much insubordination. We camped near Elizabethtown.<sup>55</sup>

Sept. 24. We left Elizabethtown early this morning. Nothing of unusual interest transpired to day. We heard that an Army in Md. had captured some 15 or 18000 rebels and that we had been successful in our late engagements there.<sup>56</sup> I rode in

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<sup>54</sup> Joseph A. Stillwell was assistant surgeon of the 22nd Indiana Regiment. He was twenty-eight years old when he was mustered in at Madison, Indiana, on August 15, 1861. He became surgeon on February 3, 1863, and was mustered out at Louisville, Kentucky, on July 24, 1865. ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 211.

<sup>55</sup> Elizabethtown, Hardin County, Kentucky, was forty-three miles southwest of Louisville; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 354.

<sup>56</sup> This exaggerated rumor undoubtedly refers to the very bloody Battle of Antietam fought on September 17, 1862. Robert E. Lee returned to Virginia after the battle, so it was a Union victory, although losses were very heavy.

an ambulance till night. Then I got out & walked some 6 ms to camp We stoped & took our dinners about noon We have traveled about 24 ms to day & camped at the mouth of Salt river. I have suffered greatly to day from neuralgia in my face. Our Conference meets to day at Greencastle I should like to be with them very much. May the Lord preside over & direct them.

Sept. 25. We arose this morning and found ourselves by the Ohio river. The Indiana hills looked charmingly. No doubt many a weatherbeaten soldier longed to stand upon them & feel free from soldier life. I could eat not breakfast but drank a cup of coffee Our march today was a tedious one yet we made but some 15 ms. We got no dinner. I eat a biscuit & som ham. We encamped some 10 ms below Louisville near Greenwood. Our provision wagon was behind, consequently we went to rest, if rest it was, without our regular supper. I had carried an ear of corn a mile or two, from a field where I had plucked it that I roasted & et half of it. Some one gave me a cup of coffee & another gave me some pieces of crackers. About 11 o cl. we were called up & ordered to march that fight at Louisville had commenced I saddled my horse & waited till about 12 when the order came that we were to march at three o cl. I then retired again

Sept. 26. I got up at 3 o cl & et my breakfast but found we were not going to march immediately & retired for the third time. I arose at daylight and had an interview with General Mitchell who refered me to Col. Wilder & Gen. Buel in reference to a pass to New Albany.<sup>57</sup> I learned that we were to march at 9 o cl A.M. We did march at about that time and reached Louisville at night. I stoped at the U. S. hotell in company with Chap. Kenedery[?] of Ohio.

Sept. 27. I procured a pass to Jeffersonville & Indianapolis Got over to Jeffersonville, but found the cars do not go out until tomorrow evening Put up at a hotell where there was a bar & all kinds of uncomfertableness

Sept. 28. This is the Holy Sabbeth I attended class meeting this morning. There were but 5 of us present but we had a gracious class meeting I attended preaching at 11 o cl Dr E. G. Wood preach a splended sermon. I was much comforted. I dined with Bro. Behurnell[?]. There is some 200,000 soldiers in & around Louisville. I took the car at 10 o cl P.M. & came to Seymour.

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<sup>57</sup> New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana; Baldwin and Thomas, *New and Complete Gazetteer*, 766.



Sept. 29 Reached home this morning, found my family well. The people appeared glad to see me after our captivity I am glad to see my family could I enjoy better health

### LIST OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS

Jas. Rodman Com. E. 67 Reg. Nurse<sup>58</sup>  
 J. T. Henderson Com. E. 67 Reg. Sick<sup>59</sup>  
 C. H. Newby Com. F 67 Reg. Sick<sup>60</sup>  
 Sam. Brumfield Com. F. 60 Reg Nurse  
 Jas. R. Adkins Com E. 67 Reg. Sick<sup>61</sup>  
 E. K. Davidson Com. A. 1 Reg. O. V. Art. Wounded in left side by ball  
 Amos Jeffres Com. K. 74 Reg Sick<sup>62</sup>  
 Leonard Harvey Com. E. 67 Reg Two fingers of left hand shot off. Accident<sup>63</sup>  
 Salathiel Lightener Com. K. 74. Reg. wounded by having left arm shot & amputated<sup>64</sup>  
 Roderick Henry Com. F. 67. Reg. wounded in mouth by ball<sup>65</sup>  
 John Gessitt[?] Com. G. 67. Reg. wounded in the head by ball<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> James T. Rodman, a twenty-five-year-old farmer from Brownstown, was a private; he died on March 17, 1863, in Memphis, Tennessee. ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 78.

<sup>59</sup> John T. Henderson was at that time a corporal. A native of Kentucky who listed his occupation as mason, he was twenty-eight when he was enrolled at Brownstown on August 5, 1862. At one point he became a first sergeant and was transferred to Company H of the 24th Regiment. When he was discharged on May 23, 1865, he was suffering from some type of disability. ISL Cards; Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 131; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 77.

<sup>60</sup> Charles H. Newby, age twenty-eight, was enrolled as a private at Medora, Indiana, on August 9, 1862; ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 79.

<sup>61</sup> James R. Atkins, who was eighteen when he was enrolled at Brownstown, was born in Indiana and gave his occupation as farmer. He died at Memphis, Tennessee, on an unknown date, from wounds received at Arkansas Post, Arkansas, on January 11, 1863; ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 77.

<sup>62</sup> See *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 214.

<sup>63</sup> Actually Leonard Haney, a twenty-five-year-old minister, who was born in Indiana and enrolled at Brownstown. He was discharged at Munfordville on December 1, 1862, because of his wound, which he suffered on September 11 (see diary entry). ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 77.

<sup>64</sup> See *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 214.

<sup>65</sup> Private Roderick Henry was twenty-eight when he was enrolled in Bartholomew County, Indiana, on July 26, 1862; ISL Cards. *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 83, lists Henry as being in Company I.

<sup>66</sup> Twenty-three-year-old Private John W. Gossett was enrolled on July 10, 1862, in Jackson County, Indiana. He died on September 26, 1862, as a result of this wound, at Munfordville; ISL Cards; *Report of the Adjutant General*, VI, 80.

## EPILOGUE

Stephen Bowers's health worsened after his return home, and later diary entries indicated that he had been seriously sick. On January 21, 1863, he wrote that he was "suffering with enlargement of the liver and a nervousness." He was never able to rejoin his regiment for longer than several days, and he was discharged May 4, 1863, due to ill health, which he later described as "chronic inflammation of the liver or hepatitis, brought on by exposure."<sup>67</sup>

Until 1871 Bowers continued to serve various Methodist churches in Indiana. In that year he was transferred to Kentucky, in 1873 to Oregon, then to California, and in 1877 back to Indiana, where he left the pastorate in 1878.<sup>68</sup>

Bowers's later career was varied and controversial. He returned to California and located in the Santa Barbara and Ventura areas, where he was involved in editing several reform-minded newspapers, including the *Ventura Observer*, the *Free Press*, the *Vidette*, and the *Santa Paula Golden State*. Particular targets for his criticisms were local saloons and county government.<sup>69</sup> He also was an avid excavator of Chumash Indian relics along the Santa Barbara coast. Although one later archaeologist characterized Bowers with disdain as a "pot hunter," this was chiefly because Bowers worked before the days of modern standardized field methods. Recent research has shown that he was actually more observant than most archaeologists of his time. Bowers shipped the majority of his many finds to the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>70</sup> Under Cali-

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<sup>67</sup> Various later diary entries such as those of November 1, 18, and 20, 1862, indicate some brief contacts with his regiment; others cannot be ascertained since entries became so sporadic. Statement of Army Service, Bowers Pension File. The Pension Office Report, Bowers Pension File, lists him as absent on sick leave from November 1, 1862, on. Between September 29 and this date his regiment was apparently on furlough; Bowers Diary, October 3, 1862; Scott, *History of the 67th Regiment*, 10.

<sup>68</sup> Methodist Archives List.

<sup>69</sup> Charles F. Outland, "Dr. Stephen Bowers, Controversialist," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (November, 1958), 2; Bowers's obituary appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 1907.

<sup>70</sup> David Banks Rogers, *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast* (Santa Barbara, 1929), 37. Arlene Svea Benson, "The Noontide Sun: The Field Notes and Unpublished Manuscripts of the Rev. Stephen Bowers" (M.A. Thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1982). Benson believes that "Bowers functions as a scapegoat for the past sins of the profession. Until the quite recent past, archaeologists have not been sensitive to the feelings of Native Americans about the treatment of osteological remains. Since Bowers worked primarily in cemeteries, he is an ideal scapegoat for these perceived sins." Benson to Glenna Schroeder, June 25, 1982.

fornia governor Harry F. Gage, Bowers was appointed and served as state mine examiner and geologist in the field.<sup>71</sup> He was an active lecturer on Biblical, scientific, and prohibition topics and continued to preach in various churches until his death.<sup>72</sup>

After the death of his second wife, Bowers married Margaret Dickson Ellison, a widow from Plattville, Wisconsin, on November 10, 1880.<sup>73</sup> Their daughter Florence May was born January 15, 1885.<sup>74</sup> In 1888 the family moved to Los Angeles, where Bowers resided until his death of endocarditis on January 5, 1907, at the age of seventy-four.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Bowers Collection, Southwest Museum. Several other diary volumes record some of his activities during this time.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; Los Angeles Times, January 6, 1907.

<sup>73</sup> Bowers/Bailey Affidavit, Bowers Pension File; Pension Questionnaire, *ibid.* The third Mrs. Bowers was born about 1845 and died in late 1913 or early 1914; Declaration for Widow's Pension, *ibid.*; Pensioner Dropped Form, April 9, 1914, *ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Pension Questionnaire, Bowers Pension File. Florence is listed as Mrs. Dale G. Cooper of Long Beach in the Los Angeles Times, January 6, 1907.

<sup>75</sup> Los Angeles Times, January 6, 1907; Certificate of Death, Bowers Pension File.