"Please Send Stamps": The Civil War Letters of William Allen Clark Part III*

Edited by Margaret Black Tatum**

On November 16, 1864, William Allen Clark writes to his parents in Clinton County, Indiana, from his Civil War encampment in Alabama, "I could give you a sircumstance of political strategy, but I only carey a gun, so I had better keep mum." Penned after Stones River, Hoover's Gap, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Gap, and countless other battles, his words reflect his exhaustion, his penchant for sarcasm, and his devotion to duty. Indeed, these emotions are themes in almost all his letters home from July, 1863, through February, 1864. To David C. and Mary Clark—farmers from north central Indiana, steadfast Missionary Baptists, equally steadfast Democrats—their son complains, typically, about army life, makes homesick pleas for news from the Hoosier state, subtly hints of his infatuation with Alma Jordan, a cousin, and concludes almost every letter with requests for paper and stamps. Most importantly, as the summer of 1864 approaches, he predicts all too accurately what he will face as he marches into Georgia with General William T. Sherman. His letters to his family are less frequent, but more piquant.

Although much of what Clark reports is rumor, he more frequently comments about the war in his letters written from midsummer, 1863, through February, 1864. Whether in a military or political context, his statements prove once again that he is an Indiana Democrat. Clark opposes the war, but his opposition to a divided Union is stronger. He is anti-abolitionist, antiblack. He grumbles about Governor Oliver P. Morton's policies as well as President Lincoln's, rejoicing when election results celebrate "a big man's littleness." His humor remains subtle. In midsummer, 1863, both Robert E. Lee and George G. Meade are acting "in the Defensive!" he reports. There is fighting at Charleston, South Carolina; Brashear City, Mississippi, has fallen to the Rebs, he believes; and

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France and Spain are trying to join the fray. "I guess peace wont be made yet for two or three months," he writes his parents.

Clark enlisted in the Union Army on August 8, 1862. He spends the anniversary of his first year in service in Tennessee and admits that he does not know why he joined the army. Later, in September, after the carnage at Chickamauga, he writes tiredly: "I will quit making peace Prophecies. All the Bright prospects have Vanished." The battlefield pictures of Stones River and Chickamauga have wounded his memory, coloring the beauty of Kentucky and Tennessee with blood and overlaying it with images of the body of his regimental chaplain, decapitated at Hoover's Gap. Not even Christians, the nineteen-year-old Clark realizes, are protected from war's brutality, and he admonishes himself for volunteering for war because he thought it would be glorious. An ineffective army regime, "Despotic" officers, and ever-present danger make up reality.

With at least part of the 72nd Indiana encamped in Huntsville, Alabama, for a while, Clark relaxes. He enjoys church and the company of the local Baptist minister, the Reverend David Adams, a "Peace man" who "is opposed to the war on both sides." The Adamses invite Clark into their home, and readers can assume that it is not only the minister's hospitality but also the minister's daughter, Maggie, that make Clark feel light-hearted. The letters from Huntsville are particularly well written, the sentences long, descriptive, and reflective. Clark sees Clinton County, Indiana, in the eyes and faces of the Huntsville residents. His days in Alabama are almost like being home, he says, although he still misses his family and the Rossville farm.

Indeed, loneliness and a sense of isolation pervade all of Clark's correspondence. With little information except that allowed by army commanders, he begs for news in almost every letter: news about friends at home and in the army; news of his younger brother George's carefree escapades in school and on the farm; news concerning the draft, elections, and politics in Indiana; news as to political maneuverings in Washington, D.C.; even news about what he himself has done and might be doing on the battlefields in the South. "Nothing is as acceptable as a letter from home."

On February 28, 1864, Clark writes perhaps the most moving of all his Civil War letters. Seated "with my back to you," he describes to his parents the activities that he knows are underway in their Clinton County, Indiana, home on a rainy Sunday morning. It is raining in Mooresville, Madison County, Alabama, too, "not showers," he says, "but big drops that fall straight to the ground." Clark uses this quiet time to detail all the minutia of camp life. In a sense, his letter is representative of the thousands sent home during the war. He writes of the weather, contrabands, camp recreational activities, smallpox, his quarters, which include "a fancy cupboard, and writing desk," his clothing, the sutlers, pictures for those at

home, war news, religion. He comments on news from home and concludes, as always, "I have no stamps, and I would like to have a few if you will be kind enough to send them."

Throughout his first year and a half as a Union soldier, Clark continues to count his blessings; he also remains politically fixed in his beliefs. He opposes abolitionists, hates blacks, challenges the emancipation of slaves, dislikes what he terms censorship by the army commanders, distrusts the growing power of state and federal governments. He believes in compromise, and he wants to go home. Most importantly, however, he opposes secession. His refusal to see the Union severed takes him deeper into the South in 1864 and 1865 as he follows Sherman across Georgia to Atlanta. Then, eventually, he and the 72nd make their way back across Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky, home.

I seat myself to pen you a few lines to let you know that I am still enjoying good health. I havent heard from you since the 22nd of last month, but I guess the R. Road is tore up at Muldoe's Hill, Ky., which has prevented our getting the mail.

I dont know anything to write. We dont get any papers, and consequently know nothing save what transpires in our own Department. The Couriers say that our advance is at Stevenson, Ala. The cars run to Deckard [Decherd, Tennessee] now. Our force have taken several thousand prisoners, since we left Murfreesboro. It had rained nearly all the time for the last 20 days, and I fear it will rain again tonight. The roads are almost impassable. We get only ½ Rations from the Government, but we are in a good Country for Forage. The Mountains are full of ripe Blackberries & Huckleberries. Apples are plenty, and peaches in abundance.

We heard to day that Morgan was at Salem, Ind. with 5000 men and two Batteries.³

¹ William Allen Clark guided the following transcription of his correspondence by reminding his brother George, in a letter of January 9, 1865, to place periods at the end of sentences and to capitalize proper names. For the editorial procedures followed by the editor of these letters see Margaret Black Tatum, ed., "'Please Send Stamps': The Civil War Letters of William Allen Clark," Part I, *Indiana Magazine of History*, XCI (March, 1995), 88n. One letter from David C. Clark to his son has been inserted in its proper chronological order.

² In July, 1863, Clark was still a private in Company K of the 72nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. In April of that year Richard H. McIntire had replaced Hiram B. Collins as captain of Company K; Colonel Abram O. Miller was regimental commander. The 72nd belonged to Colonel John T. Wilder's famed "Lightning Brigade" of mounted infantry, i.e., the First Brigade, which was assigned to the 4th Division, under the command of General Joseph J. Reynolds; XIV Corps, commanded by General George H. Thomas; Army of the Cumberland, commanded by General William S. Rosecrans. As this series of letters begins, the 72nd is in something of a hiatus following the Tullahoma campaign, one purpose of which had been to prevent Confederate General Braxton Bragg from reinforcing General John C. Pemberton at Vicksburg. The brilliantly planned campaign, in which the Lightning Brigade had participated, was successful despite torrential rains that fell day after day for more than two weeks. The Confederate Army of the Tennessee was forced to pull back to Chattanooga. [William H. H. Terrell], Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana (8 vols., Indianapolis, 1866-1869), II, 665, 671, 672-73; Benjamin F. McGee, History of the 72d Indiana Volunteer Infantry of the Mounted Lightning Brigade, ed. William R. Jewell (Lafayette, Ind., 1882), 128-42; Mark Mayo Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), 850-51; James M. McPherson, ed., The Atlas of the Civil War (New York, 1994), 128-29. Although the regimental historian's name is properly spelled Magee, it is incorrectly printed McGee on the book's title page.

³ To support Bragg's defense of Chattanooga and central Tennessee, Confederate General John Hunt Morgan and approximately 2,500 cavalrymen conducted raids throughout Tennessee and Kentucky in early July, 1863. On July 8, against explicit orders, Morgan crossed the Ohio River at Brandenburg, Kentucky, and invaded the Hoosier state. Panic ensued. Hastily assembled local militia units were no match for Morgan's seasoned cavalry. The Confederates easily defeated forces in a battle at Corydon and raced quickly north and east across Indiana via Salem, Lexington, and Vernon. They exited the state near Harrison, Ohio, on July 13. Perhaps

Our Sutler cant Bring in goods now, on account of the mud. So I am out of both paper and Envelopes. I wish you would send me some of each. The boys are having big times over the fall of Vicksburgh.⁴ Every fellow is setting his time to get home. None of them put it off longer than six months, and others say it will be settled in two months. It would please me if it could end in one. But the prospect dont look very flattering to me.

We have no preaching now, as our Chaplain was killed in the fight at Hoover's Gap.⁵ I had a good time to day picking Berries up in the mountains, only the snakes are too plenty to suit me.

I believe I will quit for this time. This is my third letter since I heard from you. Please write as often as once a week. My love to all who may inquire. No more at present but remain your dutiful Son, Will

Normandy, Tenn. Affectionate Parents, July 19th 1863

I seat myself this pleasant Sabbath morning to pen you a few lines to let you know how I am getting along. I am well at present, but had a severe attack of Cramp the first of the week. The health is generaly good.

I received a letter last night from home dated the 7th, also one from Jonas D. and 1 from Stephen Erehart.⁶ We have received no mail for two weeks till last night. We was paid off yesterday for four months. I sent \$25.00 to John Allen in Frankfort [Indiana] by the State Agent.⁷ You can get it there and dispose of it as you think

Morgan expected the allegedly disloyal citizens of southern Indiana to flock to his support; if so, he was mistaken. Hoosiers, whatever their political proclivities, proved more than ready to defend their homes against the Confederate invasion. Although the Federal pursuit under General Ambrose E. Burnside was clumsy and slow, it was eventually effective. On July 26 Morgan and his men were captured and incarcerated in the federal penitentiary in Columbus, Ohio. Other than destroying considerable private property and causing widespread damage—and creating myriad Hoosier legends—the dashing Confederate general had accomplished nothing. Federal operations were not significantly affected. For a complete discussion of Morgan's raid see James A. Ramage, Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan (Lexington, Ky., 1986), 170-82; Scott Roller, "Business As Usual: Indiana's Response to the Confederate Invasions of the Summer of 1863," Indiana Magazine of History, LXXXVIII (March, 1992), 1-25.

⁴ Vicksburg, Mississippi, surrendered on July 4, 1863.

⁵ John R. Eddy was killed at Hoover's Gap, Tennessee, on June 24, 1863. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 666. See also Tatum, "'Please Send Stamps,'" Part II, 223.

⁶ Jonas D. was William Allen Clark's brother; Stephen S. Erehart his cousin. For a complete list of family members—who will not hereafter be identified in notes—see Appendix, p. 320.

⁷ Devising a system to facilitate the transmission of soldiers' pay to dependents at home proved one of the most difficult tasks for the state and national administrations during the Civil War. By 1863 the Indiana Allotment Commission was in charge of the Hoosier state's procedure. Each command in the field was provided with rolls on which each soldier could specify the amount he desired to send home and the name and residence of the person to whom it should be sent. The paymaster

best. I was indebted to the Sutler some. I could have sent \$15 more, but if by sickness or wounds, I should be rendered unfit for duty, I would be in a bad row for stamps. A man dont get an accomadation here for less than double price.

I want you to send me some stamps and paper, also Envelopes. They are indispensable articles, and it is hard to get them here.

The reports say that Port Hudson has surrendered with 6,000 men.⁸ Also that Charleston is taken. Lee has got back to Virginia.⁹ Sheridan's Division is 40 miles south of here at Bridgeport, Ala. Bragg's Army is divided, part went to Knoxville and part to Atlanta, Georgia.¹⁰ There is big reports of the Riot in New York.¹¹ I think it will prove a damper to the Administration.

I see by the *Cin. Commercial* that Seward wants to Compromise with the South, and have the old Constitution as a Standpoint. He is willing to give the leaders of the Rebellion an Amnesty, and said that if the people of South Carolina would elect Jeff Davis

could issue a check on a New York bank for the aggregate amount allotted by each company; the pay agent could cash the check and remit the money in accordance with the individual allotments. Clark, it appears, continued to use an older system whereby state agents appointed by Governor Oliver P. Morton, as part of their myriad duties, collected money from soldiers in the field and carried it back to Indiana to be forwarded by express or other means to families or friends. For a discussion of these and the various other systems used during the war see William H. H. Terrell, Indiana in the War of the Rebellion; Vol. I, Report of the Adjutant General (1869; reprint, Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XLI; Indianapolis, 1960), 467-73. From 1855 to 1864 a John Allen owned and operated a hotel in Frankfort. It is also possible that he or another John Allen ran the express office in the town. Clark could have had his pay and other packages sent to either place as a central pick-up point in the county. History of Clinton County, Indiana . . . (Chicago, 1886), 532.

⁸ A Confederate strong point guarding the Mississippi River approximately twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Port Hudson surrendered on June 9, 1863, after a siege that began on May 27. Confederate losses are estimated at more than 7,200 including 5,500 prisoners. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 663.

⁹ Between April and September, 1863, Federal forces made a concerted effort to take Charleston, South Carolina, first from the sea, then by siege. Although they did capture Battery Wagner on Morris Island in Charleston harbor, the city itself remained in Confederate hands until February, 1865. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 126-27, 208. Following his defeat at Gettysburg on July 4, 1863, Robert E. Lee successfully retreated into Virginia when Union General George G. Meade failed to consolidate his victory by attacking the Confederates before they could cross the Potomac. Robert E. Denney, The Civil War Years: A Day-by-Day Chronicle of the Life of a Nation (New York, 1992), 298-312.

¹⁰ Union General Philip H. Sheridan commanded the 3rd Division of the Army of the Cumberland in July, 1863. He and the rest of Rosecrans's forces were maneuvering in preparation for the capture of Chattanooga and the Chickamauga campaign. The bulk of Bragg's army was gathering around Chattanooga. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 128-35.

¹¹ A national conscription act passed on March 3, 1863, culminated in a number of draft riots throughout the North, the worst of which occurred in New York City, July 13–16. A mob stormed the draft headquarters, burned houses, and looted stores. Blacks were the prime targets for the mob, composed mainly of working-class Irish; an African-American church and orphanage were burned. Damages were estimated at \$1,500,000, and approximately one thousand lives were lost. Federal troops brought from the front finally dispersed the rioters. Denney, *Civil War Years*, 308-309; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 245-46.

to the U. S. Senate, he had no objections to it, but the President and part of the Cabinet refused to Compromise without Stipulating the exile of the leaders of secession and the extirpation of Slavery, as the prerogative of Peace. If this is all true, Wm. H. Seward is Politically immortalized, and the Death Knell of Old Abe has sounded (ie.) Politicaly.¹²

You needent laugh at me for saying that I think we will get home this fall for the most of the Soldiers here are of the same opinion. I think peace will be made by the first of November.

Peaches is getting ripe, and there is an abundance of them. I believe I have wrote enough for this time. Please excuse bad writing as I am very nervous since I had the Cramp. Write soon and often. Nothing is as acceptable as a letter from home.

Your Affectionate Son, Allen.

Normandy, Fayette Co., Tenn. Near midnight. July 25th 1863

I take my pen to write to you to let you know that I havent quit thinking of home yet. We have just received orders to march in the morning at 5 o'clock with two days Rations, and I thought it best to write a few lines tonight for fear that I wouldent get to write for some time. I do not know our destination.

I received a letter from you day before yesterday, dated the 17th. It pleased me to hear of your good health. I am well at present. I was at the Depot today, loading corn & oats for our horses. It was hard work as the corn sacks contained 3 Bu. and the oats sacks, 5 Bu. There was 20 of us to load 72 Wagons. We completed the job at 4 o'clock and I expected to spend a quiet Sabbath in camp, writing and reading, but the programme is changed. I will in all probability be splashing through the mud, (but thanks to Col. Wilder) it will be on horse back. We have not had rain for several days, but it is thundering now. I think it will rain before morning.

I got a letter from Elizabeth Porter when I got the last from you. They were all well. I also got one from S. S. & M. G. Clark.

War news is unimportant. Morgan is still on the alert and uncaptured. $^{\mbox{\tiny 13}}$

¹² As Clark was aware, peace was in the air in the summer of 1863. Several newspapers throughout the country, among them the New York *Herald*, published a number of peace proposals attributed to Secretary of State William H. Seward. Although Seward was willing to be far more conciliatory toward the South than many in Lincoln's Cabinet and although he discussed privately, with the president and others, various peace and reconstruction plans, he did not favor the reinstitution of slavery, amnesty for southern leaders, an armistice, payment of southern debts, or foreign intervention in any form, all of which were mentioned in the various peace proposals. For a discussion of Seward's position on these and similar issues, see Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William Henry Seward* (New York, 1967), 376-89

¹³ See note 3 above.

Lee and Meade is both acting in the Defensive! Meade is defending Abe & Vice Versa with Lee and Jeff. They are reported fighting at Charleston. The Rebs have taken Brashear City, Mississippi. France and Spain is said to be trying to get a hand in the mess. If Juess peace wont be made yet for two or three months. It is raining, so I must close.

Your affectionate Son, Allen

Camp near Decherd, Tenn. Dear Parents,

August 2nd '63

I take my pen to write you a few lines to let you know how I am getting along. It is 4 o'clock P.M., and the mercury stands at 87° with some prospect of rain. There is no war news worth writing. There appears to be an ominous Calm in the Military atmosphere.

We are in a pretty country. It is well watered, but the crops are light in consequence of the heavy rains of the forepart of last month. We are on half rations. True we have plenty of hard tack, but man cant live by Bread alone, and we have had nothing else since yesterday morning. But we don't do much, consequently dont eat much. I guess we will get full Rations tonight as there was a train of supplies come in for Reynold's Div. to day.

We are to have inspection in about an hour to inspect Arms, accoutrements, clothing, and horse Equipment. I have been busy to day cleaning my gun and clothes in order to make a respectable appearance.

I would have wrote this morning, but thought I would wait till the mail come. It has arrived now, but nothing for me. I have received no letters from anyone for sometime except one from you, which contained the ground work of five letters complete. The envelops and stamps are of the most importance. I succeeded in getting some paper off the Sutler by giving three prices for it.

Cosmas Rhodes of the 10th Regiment was here yesterday. There is some talk of their Regiment coming into Wilder's Division. The 4th Cavalry is camped about two miles from here, but I cant get to them on account of provost Guards. I am going to get a pass to visit them tomorrow, provided we dont leave. 15

¹⁴ Following Gettysburg, the Union and Confederate forces maneuvered back and forth across Virginia seeking a decisive victory. Neither was successful, and both armies retired to their winter encampments to await the spring campaigns. McPherson, *Atlas of the Civil War*, 138-39. For information on the situation at Charleston, see note 9 above. For discussions of possible recognition of the South by both France and Britain in 1862 and 1863, see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (1988; New York, 1991), 650-51; Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston, 1991), 188-90.

¹⁵ A Conners Rhodes, listed as residing in Fountain County, served in Company G of the 10th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. A number of men in Company I, 4th Indiana Cavalry (77th Regiment) were from Clinton County and adjacent areas. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, IV, 165-66, III, 17, VI, 259-61.

We are 90 miles from Nashville and 30 from the Tennessee River, also about 40 miles from Chattanooga. It was reported yesterday that Bragg had got his Army back into Kentucky. ¹⁶ It looks as if the Department of the Ohio paid more attention to Civilians than to the Rebellion, but if Bragg is there, his fate is certain. He will have to room with John Morgan at Columbus. It seems to me that the Rebellion had its back Broke by the movements of the last 60 days. The fall of Pulaski, Vicksburgh, and Port Hudson, the defeat of Lee in Pennsylvania and Bragg's Route from this state, with Morgan's Capture, are blows that have struck the Confederacy at its vital points, and it is now making its death struggles. I was fearful of the consequence when we heard of the Riot in N. Y., but it has been effectually quelled, and the resistance of the Conscription is doubtful at an end.

It is now almost a year since I left home and its associations. I am still alive and well, notwithstanding Mother's predictions to the Contrary. But I am sorry to say that I am not making the improvements in an Educational point of view, or in industry that is necessary in order to be a useful and influential member of Society. We have no Chaplain, as it was the stern hand of providence that severed his head from his Body by a Shell in the Battle of Hoover's Gap. I have only heard one Sermon in the last four months. I must quit till after Inspection.

I grasp my pen again to complete what I have commenced. We have been reviewed by Col. KirkPatrick, Major Robinson, and Adjutant Burnes.¹⁷ Robinson gave me a lecturing for not fastening all the Buttons of my coat. They were all Buttoned but two, so you may Know how strict our Discipline is. I like Camp life, but I detest Tyrannical Officers. They are the Bane of Soldier life. I have never been put on extra duty or punished for disobedience, but I have seen enough punishment inflicted on others to satisfy me that all is not quiet on the Cumberland.

If I knew how long we would stay here, I would tell you, but it is hard to tell. We may leave tomorrow, or we may stay here three months. There is some talk of our going to Tracy City [Tennessee]. It is 15 miles east of here. It is up on the mountains. I hope we wont go there. It will be almost impossible to get supplies up the mountains.

The 86th Regiment is at McMin Ville [Tennessee]. I heard from Henry Mohler yesterday. He is well. I admire the Courage of Amous Miller, and Co. I dident think those peaceful youths of Rossville

¹⁶ Bragg was, in fact, concentrating the majority of his forces around Chattanooga. McPherson, *Atlas of the Civil War*, 128-29.

¹⁷ Milton S. Robinson of Indiana commanded the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, XIV Corps, Army of the Cumberland in August, 1863. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 705. Samuel C. Kirkpatrick was lieutenant colonel and William K. Byrns was adjutant of the 72nd Indiana. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 665.

would expose themselves to the Horrors of War for the unprecedented long period of 30 days, unless sooner discharged. They are certainly intitled to the Roll of Honor.¹⁸

Tomorrow is Election day in Kentucky, and as the state is under martial law, I presume a man can vote for Bramlette, or not vote atall. A beautiful farce truly. One day more will tell whether we are to be allowed the right of Suffrage in its purity.¹⁹

I have wrote enough for one time so I will close. Write soon, and I want to hear from George also. My respects to the Neighborhood. Yours truly,

Wm. A. Clark 72nd Regt. Ind. Vols. Co. K care of R. H. McIntire Wilder's Brigade

Decherd, Tenn. Sabbath Evening August 9th 1863

Father, Mother, and Brothers, etc.,

One year ago today I enlisted what for I couldent tell. I did it without reflecting what the life of a Volunteer was. I dident appreciate the comforts and Blessings of home. In fact I done it just to be doing, and as luck would have it, I was entrapped so securely that Begging off would have been silly. The first six months I made a dunce of myself by fretting about spilt milk. I then came to the conclusion to make the best of a bad bargain. Since then I have had good health and have been contented. The war has been prolonged much longer than I then thought it would be. The clouds of war are now brokend, but there is a dark cloud still hanging in the horizon. No one can tell when it will be compromised, but my time is one third out, and I have escaped unhurt so far unless my morals are injured. Of that it is not for me to judge of myself.

It is raining today. We have drawn ten days' Rations and are ordered to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Our destination is in the future to be proclaimed. I hope we will have better weather than we did after leaving Murfreesboro. The Officers think we will start in the morning at six.

¹⁸ A number of Clinton County men, including Henry Mohler, a corporal in Company I and a close friend and neighbor of Clark, served with the 86th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, III, 76-78, VI, 388-402. Following Governor Oliver P. Morton's call for volunteers to repel Morgan's invasion of Indiana in July, 1863, thirteen regiments—the 102nd through the 114th—of Minute Men were mustered into the state's service, and thousands more men awaited official organization. Although they had volunteered for thirty days' service, most were mustered out within a week. In all probability Amos Miller was one of these volunteers. *Ibid.*, I, Appendix, 95, 300; Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*, 565.

¹⁹ In August, 1863, Union Democrat Thomas E. Bramlette, an ardent Unionist, was elected governor of Kentucky over Charles A. Wickliffe, a regular Democrat, by a vote of 68,422 to 17,503. Lowell H. Harrison, ed., *Kentucky's Governors*, 1792–1985 (Lexington, Ky., 1985), 77-81.

I received a letter from Sam [Cade] not long since. They were all well, and Elyza is very much Antislavery. Perhaps she would be more so if she saw more of its evil consequences.

Of the Indiana draft, we hear nothing.²⁰ In fact all military affairs appear to be at a standstill. Sometimes I think I would like to have a furlough, but if I was to get home for a few days it would only make me hate to start back to the Regiment. I heard today that Isaac Briant was married. Is it true? I think he must be in a hurry, if he is.

We have plenty of corn and peaches now by paying 10 cents per Dozen. Cheap enough. I heard to day that Mr. Miller was killed by his horse running off. It appears that the stern hand of death dont confine itself to the Army. The health of the Regiment is better now than it has been since we crossed the Ohio.

We received new Regimental Colors today. They have the name of the Regiment and the Battle of Stone's River engraved on them.

I have not heard from you since the time you sent the Envelops. You either dont write as often as you did, or they go to the Dead Letter Office. I have only received two letters for some time. I have told you enough to satisfy you that I am well. So I will close for the time. Please write soon, and if it isent too much trouble, I would like for you to save my letters. It will be a pleasure to peruse them if I should get home. One and all, write to me. George be a good boy, a pleasant Evening to you.

Your Son,

Will

The Bugle is blowing for Church. The first for two months, by the Chaplain of the 17th Regt.²¹ I will go and hear what he has to say.

[Addressed to "George W. Clark, The Celebrated Sportsman"] Rackcoon Mountain, Hamilton County, Tenn.

Sabbath morning, August 30th/63

Mr. G. W. Clark, good morning,

It is just 4 weeks since I have wrote a letter. We left Decherd on the 15th and went to Tracy City [Tennessee], staid there 1 day, and then started for parts unknown. We got here on the 21st and commenced Shelling Chattenooga. We have been Shelling 'n trenching and picketing ever since. I cant see that the town is any nearer

²⁰ It was not necessary to draft from Indiana under the Conscription Act of March 3, 1863, until after the call for troops of July 18, 1864. For discussions of this and the draft of 1862, see Charles E. Canup, "Conscription and Draft in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, X (June, 1914), 70-83; Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*, 49-68, passim. See also Tatum, "'Please Send Stamps," Part I, 81-82n.

²¹ In August, 1863, the chaplain of the 17th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment was Safety Layton, whose residence was listed as Logansport. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 146.

taken than it was a week ago.²² It is larger than Lafayette [Indiana], on the south bank of Tenn. River, and it is surrounded by mountains 1500 feet high. Our Knapsacks is at Dunlop [Tennessee], 25 miles from here, so I have no pen ink or paper except what I can beg of the Captain. And I fear the knapsacks will be thrown away when we left Decherd. The Col. said we was going to camp at Tracy for a week or more, and as we expected a fight there, he advised us to put all our valuables in the wagon. So if the knapsack is lost, I will lose miniatures, clothing, postage Stamps, etc.

We got a mail last night. I got a letter from Grandmother and 1 from you. We have plenty of peaches and Apples, but only get $\frac{1}{2}$ Rations of meat and Bread.

We are close enough to the Enemy to hear their Drums and Bugles. We stand picket on one bank of the River, and they on the other. I wont write much this time for I am not certain that I will get to send it. If you get it, please write soon, and tell all the news. I haven't seen a paper for a month, so I dont [get] any news outside of this Department. I hope my next will be wrote on the other side of the Tenn. River.

I am well and hope this will find you the same. No more at present, but remain your Affectionate Brother, William A. Clark

Camp near Black Oak Grove, Georgia Dear Parents,

Sept. 15th '63

This (if it reaches you) will inform you where I am, how I am, and what we have been doing. I received a letter from you last night dated the 8th inst. This is the first that I have wrote for some time, as we have had no chance to send any mail. We crossed the [Tennessee] River on the 9th and commenced persuing the Enemy. We went to Ringgold in this state and had a light Skirmish, two wounded. We went on to Tunnel Hill and had a Skirmish, no harm done to us. Rebel loss, 10 killed. We went back to Ringgold and started out on the LaFayette Road. We went 8 or 10 miles and was ambushed by Scott's Guerillas, 3000 strong. We repulsed them in about an hour. Our loss was 8 killed and 13 wounded, all belonging to the 72nd. The Captain of Co. II [Co. I] was killed. His name was McMertrie. Our Company was on the right of the Skirmish line. The fighting on the left was in a field, and we was in the woods. We got behind trees so as to protect us from their Sharp Shooters.

²² Following its successful Tullahoma campaign, the Army of the Cumberland set out to follow Bragg to Chattanooga. Dividing his army, Rosecrans crossed the Tennessee River in four places and began a broad-front advance southeast across the state. At least two wings of the Army of the Cumberland fronted Chattanooga directly, and by September 9 Bragg, outflanked, was forced to evacuate the city. McPherson, *Atlas of the Civil War*, 128-29. For a detailed description of the 72nd's significant role in the battle for Chattanooga, see McGee, *History of the 72d*, 143-54.

There was none hurt in our Company. The loss was over in the field. Company I had four killed, Co. F, 13 [wounded], three [killed] and Co. A, one [killed]. The last was Jo. Eitchkin of Delphi [Indiana].²³We come here last night, but we will move sometime today.

We are in good Spirits and expecting a big fight. We have been marching, picketing, or Skirmishing all the time except 5 days, since we left Decherd. This will account for my delay in writing. We have no news outside of this Department.

I will have to close as the Mail Carrier is waiting. Please write often as you can. Send me some stamps. Dont be uneasy. Hope the war will soon close. Weather is dry; corn is splendid. We are on ½ Rations.

Believe me your loving Son, William A. Clark

Colwell's Ferry, Tenn.

Saturday Eve, Sept. 26th '63

Dear Parents,

I will pen you a few lines to let you know that mid all the loss of life and limb that has been suffered here within ten days, I am still spared. It is horrible to think of the Revolting Scenes of the Battlefield after moving a distance of 180 miles, almost without opposition, the Enemy apparently flying from us in dismay, when we was buoyed up by the prospect of a Speedy close to hostilities. Then it was that Bragg hurled an almost irresistible tide of armed men upon us, bearing us down before them, but not without obstinate Resistance. Rosancrans's Chief Command is in Chattanooga. We are on the north side of the [Tennessee] River in our old position. We was in the Battle the first three days, Friday, Sat., and Sunday, but our losses were small. We had 4 killed and 17 wounded in our Regt. Our Captain was wounded and is supposed to be in the hands of the Enemy. He is the only one injured in Comp. K. It was awful to see the various wonds that were inflicted. Some of the Regiments were almost anihilated. The 86th is said to be all killed, wounded, and taken. The Rebels have possession of the field, and it is not likely that the dead will ever be all buried. I might tell you many

²³ After his occupation of Chattanooga, Rosecrans, even though his infantry corps were scattered widely over rough terrain, determined to pursue Bragg into the mountains of northern Georgia. Far from beaten, the Army of the Tennessee engaged the northern forces in a number of skirmishes from September 10-18. McPherson, *Atlas of the Civil War*, 130-31. The engagement mentioned by Clark, against the forces of General Thomas M. Scott, indeed resulted in a number of losses in the 72nd, although not in Company K. According to the Indiana adjutant general, one officer and ten men were killed in the skirmish; two—including Captain William H. McMurtry—were from Company I, four from Comapny F, and one—Joseph Etskin of Delphi—from Company A. The regimental historian, in his account of the battle, lists eight killed. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 673, VI, 163, 172-73, 177; McGee, *History of the 72d*, 156-61.

things about the fight and of our losses, but it would be Contraband. But this I do know. Imagination cant make it worse than it is. I will quit making peace Prophecies. All the Bright prospects have Vanished.²⁴

I have received two letters from you and one from George since I have wrote, and I dont like to write when I cant write anything good. I saw the 4th Cav. last week. Miller, Smith Ewing, Lewis, and Mohler is the only boys that were along from the Ross. [Rossville] Delegation. John Bridget is sick at Stephenson [Stevenson, Alabama]. G. Siegfried is at Nashville and Bill Williams at Bridgeport [Alabama]. Alf Gaddis is captured.²⁵

After eating a hearty meal of ½ a cracker and a cup of coffee without Sugar for my Breakfast, I was surprised to see my old Chum Alex Simms. He had just arrived from Ind. and joined Co. D of the 72nd. He is full of Politics, but he is a green one. I wish I could see you and tell you some items that I dont want to trust to the mail. I dare not express my opinions on politics here, and I am not posted, but you know that if you take *The Crescent*. I wish you would send it to me. We get so little Reading matter. There is a possibility that we will get back to Nashville. If we do, I want you to come and see me. Please write soon and often. My respects to friends. Your affectionate Son,

W. A. Clark

I will send you some Sorghum Seed that growed way down in Georgia. It was the prettiest Cane i ever saw.

²⁴ Loosely pursuing what it believed to be an all-but-beaten southern army through northern Georgia, the Army of the Cumberland, on September 19, was engaged by Bragg's reinforced Army of the Tennessee at Chickamauga. For two days northern and southern forces fought "the bloodiest battle of the war in the Western Theater." Bragg inflicted just over 16,000 casualties on the Union army and forced Rosecrans from the field back to Chattanooga. In fact, only the determined stand of General George H. Thomas, whose troops included the 72nd, prevented a rout of the Union army. The Confederates suffered almost 18,500 casualties and left Chattanooga still firmly in the hands of demoralized but not yet decisively beaten Federal forces. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 132-33; John S. Bowman, ed., The Civil War Almanac (New York, 1982), 168-70. According to the Indiana adjutant general's report, the 72nd suffered "severe" losses at Chickamauga, a conclusion supported by the regimental historian's account of the battle. McGee also confirms that Captain Richard H. McIntire of Company K was wounded in the thigh and sent to one of the hospitals in the area and that some of the hospitals were later captured by the Confederates. Although no corroborating information has been located, it can be assumed from subsequent Clark correspondence that McIntire was indeed captured, then paroled or exchanged. The 86th was apparently not as decimated as Clark had heard. Terrell, Report of the Indiana Adjutant General, II, 673, III, 76-78; McGee, History of the 72d, 169-72.

²⁵ James M. Miller, Smith Ewing, Peter W. Lewis, John C. Bridget, George H. Siegfried, William H. Williams, and William A. Gaddis served in Company I, 4th Indiana Cavalry. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, IV, 260-61.

²⁶ Alexander W. Simms was mustered into Company D of the 72nd on September 10, 1863. *Ibid.*, VI, 170. Clark refers to the Frankfort, Clinton County, *Crescent*.

Murfreesboro, Tenn. Kind Parents, October 15th 1863

After an unprecedented delay, I haste to pen a few lines to inform you that I still enjoy good health. You have doubtless heard of Wheeler's Raid on this point and of our Brigade being in hot pursuit. That is my only excuse for not writing. We left the Tenn. River on the 1st of this month. We skirmished with Wheeler's Rear Guard three days. Our loss was 1 wounded. One in Company K. His name is Cue. He was shot in the heel.²⁷ We arrived here on the night of the 6th. The Brigade started on the next day, but as my horse had played out, I was left here as a dismounted man. There is 24 here out of the 72nd & 4 of them is from K.

We are comfortable situated with the exception of Reading and Writing material. My Knapsack is in the wagon, and I have nothing with me save what I have on my Back. I succeeded in getting some paper today, so I will take up my time in writing to my Friends. It has been so long since we received any mail, that I have almost forgot how to read writing. The last letter I received from you was dated Sept. 13th. (I believe.)

We have no good news to narrate. The Order of the day seems to be Defeat in Ga. & Retreat in Virginia, and empty honors bestowed on an unauthorized Embassy from Russia, by the men that control our helm of State.²⁸

²⁷ Between October 1 and 9, 1863, Confederate General Joseph Wheeler's cavalry conducted a series of raids in central Tennessee, the purpose of which was to disrupt Rosecrans's extended communications and supply lines. Despite considerable losses Wheeler destroyed wagons and animals, captured and sacked a number of small towns, and harassed Union forces around Chattanooga before withdrawing across the Tennessee River. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 910-11. According to the Indiana adjutant general's report, the 72nd lost "a number in killed and wounded" in these engagements, and the regimental history indicates that losses against Wheeler were even greater than those at Chickamauga. Terrell, Report of the Indiana Adjutant General, II, 673; McGee, History of the 72d, 197-208. William J. Cue, from Clinton County, served in Company K of the 72nd and was wounded during the campaign against Wheeler's forces. Terrell, Report of the Indiana Adjutant General, VI, 179; McGee, History of the 72d, 199.

²⁸ Clark obviously considered Chickamauga a Union defeat, and he had evidently heard that Meade in Virginia was retreating toward Washington, D.C., with Lee in pursuit. Such was the situation in the east on October 15. By October 18, however, Meade had made a stand, and Lee withdrew. Throughout most of November the Union army followed the southern forces back into Virginia. Finally, the Confederates, in turn, fortified their position, and Meade's forces stalled. Neither side could gain an advantage in the eastern theater, and the armies went into winter quarters in December. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 138-39. In considerable measure because of Secretary of State Seward's efforts, Russian-American relations were decidedly cordial during the Civil War. During 1863 the Russian naval squadron had been lavishly entertained up and down the eastern coast of the United States. In September, just days after Chickamauga, the Russian vessels had been welcomed into New York harbor. Later, the squadron moved down to Washington, D.C., where officers met the president and Cabinet. Although the specific event to which Clark refers is not known, his opinion of both the Russians and the administration in Washington, D.C., is clear. John M. Taylor, William Henry Seward: Lincoln's Right Hand (New York, 1991), 221-22; Van Deusen, William Henry Seward, 537-42.

I dont know how long we will stay here. We will stay untill ordered to our Brigade. We are expecting Orders every day. If I was certain of staying here, I would have you address me at this place instead of at the Regiment. But the future is veiled in so much uncertainty that you had better direct as before, and if we should be permanently detached for Garrison duty, I can get my mail from the Company nearly as soon as I can get there. We have drawn tents here and organized a company to report to the Post Commander for duty.

I have wrote enough for this time. Please write soon and often. your Affectionate Son,

William A. Clark

Rossville Ind. Wm. A. Clark Dear son, Oct 23 1863

This will, if you get it, inform you that we are all well, hoping this will find you in the enjoyment of the same blessing. We rec'd yours of Oct. 15 written at Murfreesborough, was glad to hear that you still retain good health. Do you ever think while you are in pursuit of the Rebels that the enemy of souls is in pursuit of all who are rebels to his kingdom, and while you strive with all your power to overtake and punish your enemies (which is all right), strive equally as hard to escape the wiles and strategies of the enemy of souls. And the only way to do that is to serve and trust in the Lord and in his care. I commend you hoping you will ever remember you Mother's and Father's advise to abstain from all evil as much as in you lies. Read your testament. Obey its instructions. Obey your officers so that if you live to come home, you can come with honor.

Your Captain is at home in this County. He is a paroled prisoner.

The weather is very disagreeable here now, snow some two inches deep with the atmosphere below the freezing at 12 oclock A.M.

We have our winter apples gathered and cider pretty near all made. We have a new cider mill, cost 42\$. George and self can gather the apples and make two bls. per day. Cider worth \$2, per bl. apples .30. Our orchard was full this season.

We have no news of much importance to write. I will send you some scraps of news in this. I must quit for this time am in much of a hurry. Will send ½ of this ½ sheet blank for you to answer on. No more but remain yours affectionately. Write as often as you can conveniently. Remember a mother's parting address.

D. C. Clark

Maysville, Alabama Monday Morning Father & Mother & Brothers, Nov. 16th [1863]

I take my seat and more to pen you a few lines to let you know that I am well. Health is good, weather cool, and roads muddy. I would have wrote yesterday, but I was detailed to guard a forage train. We went 15 miles south of here and loaded 34 wagons with corn, wheat, potatoes, and hogs from the plantation of a Mr. Flemming. We returned at dark, quite a contrast with the way I would have spent the Sabbath in Indiana.

I joined the Regt. on the 10th Inst. and there was about a dozen lettahs for me. You was rather late in sending me the Election returns, as I get *The Crescent* weekly, through the kindness of John Barnes. The vote was capital.²⁹ The Clinton Political Campaign makes quite an exposition of a big man's littleness. I could give you a sircumstance of political strategy, but I only carey a gun, so I had better keep mum.

News is a scarce commodity. Burnsides' men is reported to be starving. Sherman's Corps passed here last week going to Chattanooga. Meade's Army said to be moving. We are in the midst of Guerrillas. Two of our Boys have been taken by them, namely John Harbaugh and Allen Weaks. We are 12 miles east of Huntsville [Alabama] on the R. Road, but we have to haul our Rations 15 miles. We get one mail every third day. Both of our Lieutenants have resigned, and it is likely that Geo. W. Brown will be 1st Lieut. We wont be allowed a 2nd Lieut. as our company is too small. We only have 42 men in the company. G. W. Brown is detailed to go

²⁹ Neither national nor state elections were held in Indiana in 1863. According to two county histories, the only election in Clinton County was for the office of appraiser of real estate. City elections may have been held in either Rossville or Frankfort. *History of Clinton County*, 360; Joseph Claybaugh, *History of Clinton County*, *Indiana*... (Indianapolis, 1913), 138.

³⁰ On September 2, 1863, Union General Ambrose Burnside occupied Knoxville, the most important city in the eastern Tennessee mountains. Using the city as a base, he began to extend Federal control into the rest of the region. Early in November Bragg, then besieging Rosecrans in Chattanooga, sent part of his army to oppose Burnside, who pulled back to the defenses in Knoxville. Too few in number to mount a siege, the Confederates failed to regain the city in a frontal assault and pulled back into the mountains to await the spring. While the Union forces may have been on short rations, it is unlikely that Burnside's army was starving. McPherson, *Atlas of the Civil War*, 136.

³¹ In Chattanooga, Rosecrans's only access to his supply base at Stevenson was a long wagon road across the mountains. Effectively besieged by Bragg, the Army of the Cumberland was itself in danger of starving. Given overall command in the Chattanooga area, General Ulysses S. Grant replaced Rosecrans with Thomas and dispatched Sherman and Joseph Hooker to assist in breaking the siege. *Ibid.*, 134.

³² See note 28 above.

³³ John H. Harbaugh and Allen Weaks both served in Company K of the 72nd. Weaks had been mustered into the army in August, 1863, thus had apparently just joined the regiment. Both men were mustered out with the regiment in June, 1865; therefore, if captured, the two escaped or were exchanged and rejoined the 72nd. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, VI, 179, VIII, 284.

home to recruit for K company, but the detail is not approved yet. I was detailed for that purpose at Deckard [Decherd] (but Dave Barnes was elected clerk since.)³⁴

I rec. a letter from Frank Hamilton last night,³⁵ also one from S. S. Erehart. We were paid off on the 12th, four month's pay, and our Bill of Clothing & Equipiage settled. We are allowed \$42.00 per year. My bill was \$56.50-\$42.00=\$14.50; \$52.00-\$14.50=\$37.50. I only drew \$37.50. The average draw of the Company was \$35.72 per man, hence I was a little more saving than the average. I sent \$25.00 to Mr. John Allen for you to dispose of as best you can. You will get it by going to him.

We have a Chaplain now, and a good man he is. His name is Dellameter, a new school Presbyterian. He has organised a church of all denominations. He has some 60 members. He has also organised a singing Society of 40 of which I am one.³⁶

I have wrote all the specials, more than that would be useless. Please write often and tell them Brothers not to wait for me to write. They tell me you have bought ½ of the Tracy place. Is it true? If true, how is it divided? I must close and bake some corn cake for dinner. To mother a receipt for cornbread: Two quarts of meal, not sifted; water enough to make a dough of the meal; put the dough in a warm skillet and leave it till dried through; serve it up on a clean shingle with coffee made in a rusty Iron Kettle. It spoils the Bread to salt or sweeten it, and it is not healthy to put cream or sugar in the coffee. Knives, forks, & spoons not to be used. Yours,

W. A. Clark

When you follow my receipt, please tell me the results.

In Camp, near Maysville, Ala., Nov. 18th [1863] To all whom it may concern,

I am in the Sunny South, and in good health, hoping this will find you enjoying the same Blessing. I have but little news to write, but G. W. Brown is going home in the morning, and I thought it would be a good chance to send you all a letter.

³⁴ The Indiana adjutant general's report lists 1st Lieutenant James W. Davis and 2nd Lieutenant Carey M. Layne as resigning in January, 1864. It is probable that their resignations were tendered earlier and that official action was not taken until several months later. George W. Brown's commission as 1st lieutenant is dated January, 1864; his date of muster as 1st lieutenant was

April, 1864. Such delays caused problems with pay and other matters as Clark notes later. *Ibid.*, II, 671-72. Brown, who was a doctor, served in the hospitals for much of his time with the 72nd. McGee, *History of the 72d*, 229-30; Tatum, "'Please Send Stamps,'" Part I, 93n.

³⁵ Frank Hamilton was probably Francis Hamilton, a Clinton County resident near to Clark in age. *History of Clinton County, Indiana*, 834-35.

³⁶ Isaac DeLaMater joined the 72nd as chaplain in September or October, 1863. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 666. The most popular religious activity in camp was singing, which was encouraged by distribution of pocket-sized hymnals published by religious organizations especially for the army. William C. Davis, ed., *The Image of War*, 1861–1865; Vol. II, *The Guns of '62* (Garden City, N.Y., 1982), 188-89.

I received a letter from you today dated the 7th of this month. I also received a package containing a pair of Socks, and a pair of Mittens, for all of which I am very thankful. Our Captain was wounded and taken to a Hospital, and the Hospital was capured in the night. He is a Brave man, but K Company has no other kind. I captured a Rebel's overcoat at McMinn Ville [Tennessee], so I am all safe on that score.

I received 26 letters from you out of the 28, and I have wrote 37 to you. This being the thirty eighth.

I am at a loss to know how the draft is to be filled in Ross [Township], but the cabinet is about to offer \$60 per month for recruits. Perhaps greenbacks will act as a Stimulus to men to Volunteer. These Recruits will be put into old Regiments. There will be no more Regiments formed.³⁷ Is the Dunkards liable to the draft of not?³⁸ I wasent aware that Oliver Smith was in the Army, but I have seen Richard several times. To write to him you will direct to 40th Regt. Ind. Vols. Company A, care of Capt. Comady's [?] Company, Chattanooga.³⁹ They are the City guards.

The Regiment went out on a Scout this A.M. for four days. I have no horse, so I am left in Camp and am reading a book called the *Stories of Waterloo*. ⁴⁰ I also have the *Jubilee Singing Book* and do a little singing for pass time. Is George as much of a Singer as he was when I was at home or has he quit?

When Dr. Brown returns, you will favor me by send me some good paper & Envelops, if he is willing to bring them, and if any of the Boys are afraid of the draft or want to see the Elephant, just tell them to come this way.⁴¹ All [for] under 20 cents can see the show

³⁷ See note 20 above. For a discussion of the bounties paid to Civil War soldiers see Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*, 75-91.

³⁸ Dunkards were members of one of the denominations; e.g., Church of the Brethren, deriving from an original German Baptist group that practices trine immersion, love feasts, simplicity of life, and avoidance of oaths, lawsuits, and military service. Under the original Conscription Act of March, 1863, conscientious objectors could avoid military service only by paying the three hundred dollar commutation fee available to all draftees. An amendment to this law later provided that members of religious denominations who declared that they were conscientiously opposed to bearing arms and who were prohibited from doing so by the articles of faith of their religion should be considered noncombatants. When drafted, they were to be assigned to duty in the hospitals or to the care of freedmen or should pay three hundred dollars for the benefit of sick and wounded soldiers. Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*. 60-61.

 $^{^{39}}$ Richard W. Smith, whose residence is listed as Stockwell, Tippecanoe County, served in Company A of the 40th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Terrell, Report of the Indiana Adjutant General, V, 252.

⁴⁰ A fictional account of the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, *Stories of Waterloo* was written by William Hamilton Maxwell and published in England probably as early as 1829. It was subsequently reprinted by various publishing houses in from one- to three-volume editions with different subtitles—and at least once with a different title.

⁴¹ The phrase "to see the elephant" means "to see all there is to see, to see the complete picture."

for three years or during. The easiest place in the Army is in Mounted Infantry. In infantry the victim must carry his clothes on his back, his ammunition on his belt, his rations swung to his shoulder, and a young cannon on his Shoulder. And Mounted Infantry has all these on his horse or in the wagon. We only have our gun to take care of, while Cavalry had his carbine, Revolver, and Sabre to carry.

Old Greely says that the war is fast winding to a close, that the Confederates are starving. I spose it must be true, *The N. Y. Tribune* never stories you know.⁴² Write soon and often, and believe me your affectionate Son,

Clark. W. A.

Huntsville, Alabama Dear Parents, Nov. 27th/63

I seat me down to write you a few lines to inform you that my health is good. You will excuse me for being brief, as it is nearly midnight. My excuse for writing at this untimely hour is that we are ordered to march at 4 in the morning, and I thought it best to pen you a few lines to keep you from being uneasy. I dont know where we will go to, but expect it is to Chattanooga. The Rebs have been whiped there and are retreating, and I suppose we will follow them up. If so hard times is before us.⁴³

I must close as my light is done gone. Write often and dont be uneasy if you dont hear from me. We are all well. Good bye for this time.

your Son,

W. A. Clark

Huntsville, Ala. Dear Parents. Dec. 12th [1863]

I take this opportunity to let you know that I am still enjoying good health and hope this will find you the same. I havent heard from you for some time. Why it is I can [can't] tell. You will excuse me if I make this very short for it is raining, and the tent leaks so that I cant find a place dry enough to write.

⁴² Editor and publisher of the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley during the Civil War pursued an eccentric and somewhat inconsistent course that confused many of his readers and lost him and his newspaper considerable support. Foner and Garraty, *Reader's Companion to American History*, 472-73.

⁴³ Although part of his army had been dispatched to confront Burnside at Knoxville, Bragg in late November, 1863, still occupied strategically strong positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge overlooking Chattanooga. Under Grant's orders, Thomas, reinforced by Sherman and Hooker, attacked the southern forces to break the siege. After major assaults by the northern army, Lookout Mountain fell on November 23; Missionary Ridge the following day. Chattanooga had been irretrievably lost to the Confederacy. Bragg retreated toward Ringgold in northern Georgia. The Army of the Cumberland pursued him briefly before ceasing operations for the winter. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 134; Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 141-47.



PRIVATE JOHN MUNSON
COMPANY F, 72ND INDIANA MOUNTED INFANTRY REGIMENT

ONLY KNOWN PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN THE FIELD OF A MEMBER OF COLONEL JOHN T. WILDER'S LIGHTNING BRIGADE

Courtesy C. Paul Loane, Cherry Hill, New Jersey. Photograph by Rick Baumgartner.

We havent had a Rollcall or drill since we left Chattanooga till to day. We are ordered to drill two hours each day and have Tattoo, dinner, and Revalie roll calls. We are on duty every other day, Foraging, or picket. Camp guard has played out. Since we were transferred to Cavalry, our drill will be on horseback. We are the Second Cavalry Brigade in the second division, commanded by Brig. Gen. Crook. A. O. Miller commands our Brigade. 44 We are likely to stay here this winter. If we do, and there is Furloughs granted, I will try to get one and visit home. That is the only prospect I have of getting home till my | time | I guess is out.

¹⁶ In late 1863 the 72nd was attached to the cavalry command in the 2nd Division of Sherman's army. Colonel Abram O. Miller of the 72nd had moved up to command the brigade; General George Crook commanded the division. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 673; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 209, 550-51.



Unidentified Trooper from the 72nd Indiana Volunteer Mounted Infantry Regiment

NOTE SADDLE RING ADDED TO STOCK OF SPENCER RIFLE.

Courtesy Blue Acorn Press. Photograph by Rick Baumgartner. Health is good here. We have meeting three times a week, singing nearly every night. But we are not Botherd with the girls, like we use to was.⁴⁵

My paper is getting so damp that I cant write on it. Write often, and please send me 10 days Rations of Stamps. No war news. Good evening,

Wm. A. Clark

Pulaski, Charles County, Tenn. Dec. 28th 1863 Dear Parents,

I once more grasp my pen to inform you health and whereabouts. We left Huntsville on the 24th and went to Athens [Alabama] (25 miles). On Christmas we went to Elkton [Tennessee], 21 miles. On the 26th we came within 7 miles of this place. On the 27th we came here. Yesterday we had Inspections to condemn our worn out Equipments, and today we are drawing new rig. And tomorrow we are ordered to march, but I dont know where we will go to.

We havent received any mail since we left Huntsville. My health is good. You may guess how I am when I tell you that I weigh 170 pounds. We are camped in a well improved County. It puts me in mind of old Clinton. There is so much Sugar and walnut timber. The weather is warm and damp. The streams are very full, so that it is difficult marching.

I havent heard any war news for sometime. I wish we would camp some place where we could get our Rations & mail regular. It is reported that we will go to Columbia [Tennessee] and turn over our wagons, and then report to Gen. Reynolds in Texas.⁴⁶ If we do, we will have hard times and no mistake.

I was at a Tea party in Huntsville the night before we left and had a pleasant time. Will Grissmer is well and has growed so much you wouldent know him. Jim Wakeland is well, so is Frank Gaskill. I received a letter from Billy Williams on the 23rd. He was in convalescent Camp at Nashville [Tennessee].⁴⁷ He was in poor health

⁴⁵ Clark may, of course, have been referring to camp followers. It would not have been inconsistent with his sense of humor, however, for him to have referred in this way to the girls who undoubtedly participated in the singing societies at home before the war.

⁴⁶ Following the Chattanooga campaign, General Joseph J. Reynolds served in various command positions in the XIX corps of the Department of the Gulf. From late October, 1863, to early January, 1864, his troops took part in operations along the Texas coast. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 364, 694-95. Clark's company does not go to Texas as rumored.

⁴⁷ William Griesmar, Benjamin F. Gaskill, and James M. Wakeland, all of Rossville, served with Clark in Company K of the 72nd. William H. Williams was in Company I, 4th Indiana Cavalry. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, VI, 179-80, IV, 260-61. Griesmar had originally been the drummer for the regiment. Tatum, "Please Send Stamps," Part I, 93.

But improving, and he expected to go to his Regt. in a few days. It is stationed a Alexandria, Tenn.

I have no news to write, so I will close. Did you ever receive an illustrated muster roll of Comp. K. 72nd? I sent one to John Allen of Frankfort for you. I sent you my Photograph by letter. Please let me know if you got either. Somebody stole my Saddle last night, and I am afraid I will have to pay for it. That will be \$17.48 out of my pocket. Please write often and send me some Stamps. No more at present.

your son, Will. Clark

Pulaski, Tenn. Dear Parents, Jan. 10'64

This cold Evening finds me seated to pen you a few lines to inform you that I am still in good health. I rec. 7 letters by this morning's mail, being the first since I left Huntsville, one from George W. Clark of the 20th of Dec. It pleased me to know that he been so dilligent in his studies. I am in hopes that he will continue a good Boy, and become a good man. I received a letter from I. N. today. 48 They are all well. It was dated the 5th.

There is no war news. Some think that Peace will be made in two or three months. All gass. The 17th Regt. has joined the Veterans and has gone home on a furlough. Our Recruits havent come yet, and I dont know when they will come.⁴⁹ It is chatted that when they come we will be furloughed home, but I fear it is a Humbug.

We have been under marching orders 7 times in the last two weeks. But they have been countermanded each time. We have had extremely cold weather since New Year's. Citizens say it is the coldest they have had for 30 years. There has been several Blacks frozen to death for the want of shelter. I am a subcriber to the *Religious Telescope*, published in Dayton, Ohio. It is United Brethren. We are on ½ Rations. But we are going to get full rations tomorrow.

Will Grissmer is well and is a Better Boy than he was at home. Him and me Bunk together now, as Harbaugh is detailed to drive team. He has been my mate ever since we drew dog tents. Samuel Hays & Ira Parcel of the 123rd Ill. dined with me today on crackers and Coffee.

⁴⁸ Isaac Newton Clark, William's older brother, lived in Indianapolis and was a preacher.

⁴⁹ In an effort to encourage voluntary enlistments, the federal government in 1863 offered a bounty of \$400 and a month's furlough to all veterans in the field who would reenlist for three years. Beginning in October, 1863, bounties of \$300 were offered to new recruits who would enlist in old regiments rather than forming new ones. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 1850–1880 (Indianapolis, 1965), 136.

Night before last I stayed in the country with Rev. David Adams, a Baptist minister. I slept in a nice feather bed for the 1st time in 17 months. He has an accomplished Daughter, Maggie, and it is reported that she will become the wife of Lieut. Burnes Adjt., 72nd.

Write often. Send me some Stamps.

W. A. Clark

No. 2 Huntsville, Ala.,⁵⁰ Tuesday Evening Kind Parents,

January 18th/64,

I have just received a letter from you dated the 4th & No. 1. I am glad to hear that you are in the enjoyment of good health. We arrived here almost a week since. But I delayed writing till I heard from you. I am in good health except a Bad cold. Health is very good here. Captain Mc.[Intire] come up last night and will start back in the morning. He is not yet exchanged. Our Recruits havent come yet, but we are looking for them in a few days.

I have no war news to write. The R. Road is not repaired this far yet. But we expect the cars in a few days. Col. Miller is in Command of our Division. It is the 2nd Cavalry Div. Col. Atkins of the 92nd Ill. commands the Brig.⁵¹ Lieut. Davis has resigned, and it is believed that George W. Brown will take his place.

We are under marching orders to start in the morning at 9 oclock for Triana [Alabama], 17 mi. below here on the [Tennessee] River, so I thought I would write tonight. It is getting late, and I have to write by firelight, so you must excuse poor writing.

I wish you would send me a Couple of Calico Shirts, colored of course. You can send them by mail. The weather down here is so hot that woolen shirts is to uncomfortable.

I was at Baptist preaching last Sabbath and heard a good gospel Sermon. Mr. McDonald took me home with him after Church, and I had a good Dinner and a Social Chat with Miss Sarah Mc[Donald]. They are good folks but are Secesh.

It is getting late, and I must close. Please write soon & often. Give me all the news. No more at present.

Your affectionate Son,

William A. Clark

W. A. Clark

Billy Grissmer is in good health.

⁵⁰ Beginning in January, 1863, Clark numbered each of the letters that he sent home; his parents numbered their letters to him. By doing so, as Clark put it, "you can tell whether you get all or not." William A. Clark to David C. Clark, December 21, 1862, in Tatum, "'Please Send Stamps," Part I, 106.

⁵¹ See notes 34 and 44 above. The 72nd was not officially assigned to the 3rd Brigade, 2nd Cavalry Division, until March, 1864, although, as Clark indicates, in actual fact the transfer had been effected earlier. Miller was now in command of the division, and Colonel Smith D. Atkins of the 92nd Illinois commanded the brigade. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, II, 673; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 28.

No. 3 Huntsville, Ala., Sabbath Morning Dear Parents, Jan. 31st 1864

I once more attempt to address you on health, and general tenor of a soldier's letter. I have just received yours of the 21st & No. 2. Truly pleased to hear that you are all in enjoyment of good health. It found me well and in better spirits than I have been since I left Hoosier soil. The climate is so exhibit arating, and the society is in unison with the society I hold dear in Indiana. After being subject to Despotic o---rs [officers] for 15 months, our discipline has been suddenly relaxed. We have also been frowned on by all the Citizen Population that we have been thrown in contact with untill we came here. It is but natural that being treated as Gentlemen, after being denounced so long as hirelings, that our more tender feelings should be touched. I shall never forget the unmerited kindness that I have received from Citizens of Huntsville. If we go to Church, we are earnestly invited to share with them, their household pews. If we happen to a Tea party, we are always invited to participate. I have never been to but one house that I was welcomed, and invited to make the second Call.

The most of our Regt. is escort to Gen. Smith and is reported to be at Nachez [Mississippi]. There is some over a 100 of us here, commanded by Capt. Robinson. The 98th Ill. is at Charleston [Tennessee], 200 miles above here on the [Tennessee] River. The 123rd is at Mooresville [Alabama], 30 miles below here. The 92nd is a Triana [Alabama], 17 miles below, and the 17th is at home. Col. Miller commands the division. The 1st Brig. consisting of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, & 4th Ohio Cav. has all reenlisted. The two first have gone home. The rest are here. The 2nd Brig., consisting of the 4th Regulars, 5th Iowa, 7th Pa., and the 4th Mich. is here, and Miller is commanding the entire command. We are the 3rd Brig. of [the Second] Cavalry. 52

Rev. Mr. Adams is a Peace man. He is opposed to the war on both sides. He is a smart man, (so is Maggie). Maj. Carr was commanding the Regt. at that time, and I got a pass for two days from him, and I went farther out in the Enemies' country than the Timid Shoulder Straps would venture.⁵³

My saddle is lost. But if Captain Mc.[Intire] comes to the Company, before the 1st Quarter reports, I can get him to certify that it was unservicable as it was an old saddle when I drew it. But if he dont come in two months, I will have to foot the bill.

⁵² During the winter of 1863–1864, various companies of the 72nd were on detached service. A number were with General William Sooy Smith, who was at the time chief of cavalry for the Union Army of the Tennessee, Military District of Mississippi. Company K remained in Huntsville, Alabama, under the command of Milton Stapp Robinson of the 75th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 776, 705; McGee, History of the 72d, 243-88.

^{53 &}quot;Timid Shoulder Straps" is probably Clark's term for officers. Clark refers to Major Henry M. Carr of the 72nd. Terrell, Report of the Indiana Adjutant General, II 665

It is strange that you havent received my Photograph, as I sent it on the 24th of December. I sent one to Alma Jordan the same day, and I have received a letter from her acknowledging its receipt and containing her miniature. She is the best looking Cousin I have yet seen. If you dont get it by the 15 of February, I will send another. John Barnes will go home then and I can send by him. I had six taken, and they cost \$4.

I dont like the tone of *The Telescope*. But it has some good reading matter in it, and reading is so scarce that it is quite a welcome messenger.

We went out on a scout last week. We was gone 5 days. We traveled 240 miles in that time and had a sharp skirmish. Our loss was 5 wounded, none killed. The enemies' loss was 60 killed, wounded, & prisoners.

It is 10 oclock, and I want to go hear Dr. Ross preach at 11. He is a presbyterian. I will close for the present. Write oftener. I would like to hear from you once a week at least. Give my love to enquiring friends.

Good Morning,

W. A. Clark

No. 4 No. 4 [number added later]

Camp of 72nd Ind. Vols., Huntsville, Alabama February 7th 1864 Sabbath P.M.,

Dear Parents,

I grasp my pen to write you a few lines to inform you that I am still enjoying good helth, and I hope this will find you the same. The weather is cool and clear with some snow on the mountains. It seems strange to see snow within three [miles] of us, and the ground not frozen here. But nevertheless it is the case.

I have the Blues today. My Boots are so near worn out that I cant go out of camp, and camp is too dull to chear one all the time. Our Recruits have arrived, 24 in number. But they are not armed yet, and it will be sometime before they will be. Three of them have got measles. I am not acquainted with any of them, as they are all from the South part of Clinton. George Brown has been more successful than I had anticipated. We havent got any mail since the first of the past week, as the train run off the track and blocked it up. But we expect the train in today.

I met two old cronies the other day, downtown [Huntsville]. They were Joseph & Jim Aikens, formerly of Rossville. They now belong to the 17th Iowa Regiment. Alexander Johns is here too. They are in good health and greatly surprised to meet me. They had just heard from Tom Goble and told me that Henry Smith was wounded and at home. It surprised me as you had rote nothing about it. Had Mohlers heard from Henry lately? I should like to hear from him.

The cars have come in, so I will wait till the mail is distributed. Well the mail has come. But nothing for me, so I have the Blues yet. I will close for the present. Please write soon and often. I remain your affectionate Son,

W. A. Clark

No. 5 Huntsville, Ala. Sabbath Morning Dear Father & Mother, Feb. 14th 1864,

I take my pen in hand to drop you a few lines to inform you how I am getting along. This is a rainy morning. It has been raining all night and is still raining. I am very unwell. On last Monday my horse fell with me, and hurt my back. My back is so stiff yet, that I cant turn in bed. I am getting better, and I hope to be all right in a few days. We are under marching orders. But no time specified to move. I am afraid they will move before I am able to rise. Is so, I will have to go to the Hospital, and I dont fancy the idea.

Our recruits have joined us at last, 24 in number, and some of them are fine men. But the majority of them are to young to stand the service. Old Jacob Culver has a son here. He is 17 year old, and there is a William C. Spaulding, that use to sing with you during Odoud's musical administration, and he is a splendid singer yet.⁵⁴

Both of our Lieutenants have resigned, and Jack Ball is in command of the company.⁵⁵ The Paymaster is here now and paid all the Regt. two months pay, except Co. K. We wont get our pay for sometime yet. The reason we cant get our pay is because we have no commissioned officer to certify that the Pay Rolls is correct. It seems that this company is born to bad luck.

War news is scarce. It is reported by deserters that the Rebel Congress has passed a bill to emancipate all the slaves and families of slaves that will enlist in their Army. If true, it is a master stroke of Policy.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Edward Culver was mustered into service in January, 1864, and was discharged in June of the same year. William C. Spaulding's muster date is given as December, 1863. He was later transferred to the 44th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Terrell, *Report of the Indiana Adjutant General*, VI, 180.

⁵⁵ Jackson S. Ball was sergeant of Company K. Ibid., 179.

so By January, 1864, the military situation in the Confederacy was such that a number of division commanders in the Army of the Tennessee proposed the recruitment of slaves who would be guaranteed their freedom in return for fighting for the South. The proposal resulted in so much dissension that President Jefferson Davis ordered all discussion of the matter to cease. By the end of 1864, however, Davis was openly admitting that arming the slaves might well be inevitable. Although, in February, 1865, General Robert E. Lee also supported the idea, the Confederate Congress and most southern states remained adamantly opposed. Not until March 13, 1865, was a law passed authorizing the requisition of a quota of black soldiers from each state but not mandating freedom for them. Since the war, in effect, ended on April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, the law was too little, too late. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 831-36.

There is a Negro School here now. It has 400 pupils and 14 tutors, and to cap the climax, it is supported by Unkle. So you are taxed to degrade the Caucasian to an equality with these half Breed Darkies of Huntsville. There is twice as many slaves here as there is white people, and they are nearly all Mulattoes.⁵⁷

The death of cousin Jane Stabler was a great bereavement to her family. But she is doubtless saved from seeing a great deal of trouble. Is Luanne still single, and where is Mary? Do you know what Regiment Frank is in?

I would like to know who it is that raises a Row at West Point since the Clark Boys are off the stage.⁵⁸ I supposed the Dunkards would have everything peacable.

William Grissmer is as fat as a pig. Him and [me] are bunking together now. I have wrote all the news. Please write soon and often.

W. A. Clark

Camp on Pine Creek, Ala. Sabbath Evening, Dear Parents, Feb. 21st '64,

I grasp my pen to write you a few lines to inform you that I am well once more and hope this will find you the same. It is late, and I will make this very short. I was waiting for the mail to come before I wrote, so the sun has set and no mail yet.

We left Huntsville on the 17th and arrived here on the 18th. We are thirty two miles below Huntsville on the Memphis R. Road. We have our Rations to haul 30 miles. But can get forage within 4 miles. The health is good. Weather pleasant and all quiet on the Potomac.

I received a letter from S. S. Erehart yesterday, also one from Nate Jacoby, informing me of the marriage of Mary Mohler. I spose I can serve the rest of the time contented, all my old flames have flashed.

We have the prettiest camp we have had since we listed in the army. It is in a dense Cypress woods, on the bank of a Beautiful

⁵⁷ Because the federal government had no official policy for dealing with former slaves who sought freedom and protection in areas occupied by northern armies, military commanders coped variously with the problems created by the fugitives who entered their lines. Funds to provide for care were acquired in numerous ways, but it is doubtful that the school described by Clark was supported by federal taxes. Some commanders appointed superintendents to oversee the blacks' welfare, and private relief organizations soon appeared to provide supplies, supervision, and education. Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York, 1986), 161-62.

⁵⁸ West Point was a district school located on the north side of section 1 in Ross Township, approximately two miles south of Rossville and probably adjacent to property owned by the Clarks. George Clark, and apparently others in the Clark family, attended this school, although it was not in their district. Joan C. Bohm, comp., *Clinton County, Indiana: History and Genealogical* (Frankfort, Ind., 1989), 319. See also Tatum, "'Please Send Stamps,'" Part I, 105.

Creek as large as Cripe's Run, etc. We have all got horses now. I have a fine little Roane horse. I have drawn a new saddle. But I guess I will have the other reported as lost in the Field. We drew full Rations today for the first since we left Murfreesboro. We drew, crackers, flour, pork, Beef, Beans, Rice, potatoes, coffee, tea, sugar, molasses, pepper, salt, candles, and soap.

News is scarce, as there is an edict against selling papers here. But Colonel Miller told me today that Colonel Straight and 100 of his companions had escaped from Libby Prison, and that most of them had arrived at City Point [Virginia], quite important, if true. ⁵⁹ He also said that Sherman's Army was in possession of Jackson, Mississippi. ⁶⁰

I received a letter from Alma, not long since. She was well and also the rest of the family. It is so dark I cant see to write. Please write oftener. I remain your son, Allen

No. 7 Mooresville, Madison County, [Alabama] In Camp To all my friends at home,

Feb. 28th 1864

Sunday morning, I am seated with my back to you. But me thinks I can see your faces as distinctly as though you was in my presence. I can imagine how matters are transpiring at home this morning. Sunday morning & raining. Breakfast is late, though a feast by the side of Soldier fare. Perhaps Allen's name is mentioned, how cheering the thought that I am not forgotten at home. Breakfast over. George upstairs singing or preparing to go to church, or perhaps hanging around Father to get permission to go to see some playmate. Mother is in the kitchen, putting everything in style in anticipation of visitors, and Father is the room reading the news or sleeping. My picture is complete although there is doubtless some guess work about it.

⁵⁹ In order to suppress reports of troop movements and battles, certain generals attempted to bar newspapers and reporters from camps. Union Colonel Abel D. Streight of the 51st Indiana led raids against Confederate troops in Tennessee and Alabama. In Alabama on May 3, 1863, he surrendered his mule-mounted volunteers to Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederate troops and was sent to Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia. With over one hundred other prisoners, he tunneled his way out of Libby on February 9, 1864. The tunnel took all winter to dig. Two escaped prisoners drowned, forty-eight were recaptured, and fifty-nine, including Streight, escaped successfully. Streight later returned to active duty. Faust, *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 726-27.

⁶⁰ In February, 1864, Sherman, with most of the Confederate and Union armies in winter quarters, marched from Vicksburg toward Meridian, the most important city in Mississippi still in Confederate hands. On February 5 Sherman's troops occupied Jackson for the third time in nine months; on February 14 they entered Meridian, the Confederates having evacuated the town in the face of superior forces. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 146.

It is raining here this morning, not showers, but big drops that fall straight to the ground. The past week has been delightful weather, and the Contrabands have been busy planting corn and preparing the ground for King Cotton. ⁶¹ I was out on forage duty twice during the week, and on picket once, and drilling Recruits twice a day. Between times we are jumping nearly all the time, and Allen is the best jumper in the 72nd Regt. Ind. Vols. But Black Bob, cook for Regimental Hdqrs., is the biggest hopper I ever saw. He can clear fifty two feet at 3 hops.

There is quite an excitement here now about smallpox. There is 73 cases of it in Huntsville. Col. A. O. Miller has ordered every man to be vaccinated. For my part I dont feel much afraid of it. At least I'm not as bad scared as I was at Indianapolis, and if I was, I couldent get home as easy as I did then.

Will Grissmer and I is (which is a sight) Bunking together. We have a fine house, 7 feet square, four feet hight at the sides, and 72 feet high at the comb. A nice bedsted made with clapboards, and a good floor, a fancy cupboard, and writing desk constitutes our household goods.

I received you welcome letter of the 15th just last night. It informed me of your continued good health, and that Jonas was going to move back onto the old hive. I hope it will be beneficial to all concerned. But it is a strange step, considering what has passed.

I have bought a pair of Boots from the Sutler for the Exhorbitant price of \$12, also a pair of pants for \$7. I couldent draw from the government because we had no Commissioned Officer here to make out our clothing list, and consequently I had my choice, either to freeze, or make the purchases of the Sutler.

I am trying to make a Conch Shell locket for Alma's picture, and if I get it made to my fancy, I will send you the picture in the locket. I have the picture in a Breastpin now.

Is that Mr. Knight the man that assisted Reverend Mr. Smith in the revival the time the Hollets' joined, or is it some other Knight?

There is lots of rumors afloat in regard to important war news. Sherman is reported to be within 30 miles of Mobile [Alabama]. General Smith is at Selma [Alabama] with the 2nd Cavalry Corps. There is 100 of our Regiment acting as his escort, and 150 of it is detached to the 2nd Indiana Cavalry. Tallahassee [Florida] is said to be in our possession. 62

⁶¹ Contrabands were blacks who had escaped to or were brought into Union lines. Frequently they were hired out to farmers to harvest cotton or other crops. For a discussion of the policies that were developed to deal with the many escaped or freed slaves who sought sanctuary with the northern armies, see Faust, *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 161-62.

⁶² Instructed to join Sherman at Meridian, Mississippi, General William Sooy Smith marched south from Memphis in January and early February. In part

General Palmer is in possession of Dalton [Georgia]. Gen. Averill is reported to have cut the Richmond & Milledgeville Rail Road at Lynchburg, Va. Longstreet has been reinforced and is threatening Knoxville again. Arkansas has organized a state government with Slavery Stench out. Louisiana is about to follow the example. The railroad is in opperation to Madison [Alabama], 7 miles above here. The Nashville Road is in opperation to Decatur [Alabama], 7 miles below here. So we have R. Road communications on both sides of us.

I believe I have wrote all the news, yes more than is true no Doubt. I will close for this time. Write often. My respect to enquiring friends. I have no stamps, and I would like to have a few if you will be kind enough to send them.

I remain your Affectionate Son,

Allen

P.S. Tell S. S. A. F. & J. D. that I am in the 72nd Regt. Co K. and in Alabama.

because of a number of serious skirmishes with Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry brigade, he had not arrived in Meridian by February 20. Sherman, hearing nothing from Smith, who was hurrying back toward Memphis, turned back to Vicksburg. No reference to the rumor concerning Tallahassee has been found; however, on February 5 Union forces occupied Jacksonville, Florida, without opposition. McPherson, Atlas of the Civil War, 146-47; Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 543-44. For descriptions of the "indomitable heroism" with which a detachment of the 72nd supported Smith in his aborted foray, see McGee, History of the 72d, 270-83.

63 Having determined through a series of assaults that Confederate forces were still strongly entrenched around Dalton, Georgia, Union General John M. Palmer withdrew from the area on February 26, 1864. Longstreet, whether or not he is besieging Knoxville, does remain in eastern Tennessee in force. Not until April does he return to Virginia to join Lee for the Wilderness campaign. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 220-21, 490-91. Clark refers to Union General William Woods Averell in connection with the Richmond and Milledgeville Railroad.

Gonvention, abolished slavery, inaugurated a pronorthern provisional governor, and launched a working free state government, which might have been acceptable for readmission to the Union under Lincoln's reconstruction plans. The United States Congress, however, declared the new government unsatisfactory and refused to seat its two senators. For the remainder of the war, Arkansas had two civil governments. Not until June, 1868, was Arkansas officially readmitted to the Union. In April, Louisiana also created a pronorthern Constitution under which slavery was abolished. Although Lincoln considered the state restored to the Union, both the state and federal governments challenged the validity of its elections. Ultimately, Louisiana, too, had to follow the congressional plan for reconstruction and was not readmitted to the Union until June, 1868. James G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (2nd ed., Boston, 1969), 553-54; Faust, *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 22, 449-50.

APPENDIX

List of Family Members

David C. Clark (b. 1804)	Father
Mary M. Slifer Clark (b. December 10, 1803)*	Mother
Elizabeth Clark (b. April 27, 1827)	Sister
Augustus F. Clark, A. F. (b. December 28, 1828)	Brother
Stephen S. Clark, S. S. (b. December 2, 1831)	Brother
Mary Jane Ayres Clark	Sister-in-law
Isaac Newton Clark, Newton, I. N.	
(b. October 13, 1833)	Brother
Eliza Jane Clark Cade (b. August 29, 1835)	Sister
Sam Cade	Brother-in-law
Jonas D. Clark, J. D. (b. September 12, 1837)	Brother
Tilghman A. H. Clark	
(b. July 12, 1840, died at 4 years)	${f Brother}$
David Austin Clark	
(b. May 24, 1844, died at 14 months)	Twin brother
William Allen Clark (b. May 24, 1844)	${f Brother}$
George W. Clark, Geo., G. W. (b. March 4, 1851)	$\operatorname{Brother}$
Jonas P. Clark	Uncle
D. F. Clark	\mathbf{Uncle}
Alma Jordan	Cousin
Jennie Jordan	Cousin
Andy Erehart	Cousin
Stephen Erehart	Cousin
Clark Rhodes	Cousin
Cosmas Rhodes	Cousin
Jane Stabler	Cousin
Luanne Stabler	Cousin
Mary Stabler	Cousin

 $^{^*\!}An$ alternate spelling of Clark's mother's maiden name is Slipher. Slifer is, however, the spelling used in Clark's family Bible.