

## Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1861

*Ward Baker\**

During the years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, citizens of Mishawaka were confused and frustrated by the increasing sectional bitterness that threatened to divide the nation. Being Hoosiers, they strongly supported their political convictions. Many followed the leadership of Schuyler Colfax from nearby South Bend and vigorously supported the new Republican party in the election of 1860, while others continued to support the old Democratic party. As the nation drifted into the "irrepressible conflict," there was a division of opinion on national affairs among Mishawaka's citizens. Some believed that the nation would be split by the secession of the southern states and voiced threats against all traitors; others advocated the preservation of the Union by reasonable concessions to and compromises with the southern people. Confused and uncertain about national affairs, the citizens gave little vent to any manifestations of patriotism, and, as the nation approached the time of crisis, they seemed to be waiting, along with the rest of the North, for an overt act by the South.

The news of the fall of Fort Sumter was received at Mishawaka on the morning of April 15, and the response of Mishawakans to its fall was immediate and enthusiastic. In a series of public meetings, citizens vigorously reacted in support of the Union. A permanent organization was formed to represent the village in matters pertaining to the war, and a Soldiers' Aid Society was organized, with over \$2,000 subscribed for the relief of volunteers' families. Forty-two men volunteered for the army, uniting with fifty-five volunteers from South Bend to form a company. The company was accepted by Governor Oliver P. Morton and ordered to leave for Indianapolis on Friday, April 19. Patriotism, war fever, and excitement were in the air. Over three hundred Mishawaka citizens accompanied the volunteers to South Bend

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on Friday and remained with them until their train left for Indianapolis.<sup>1</sup>

The week following the departure of the volunteers for their training camp in Indianapolis was anticlimactic for citizens of Mishawaka. True, ladies wore badges—rosettes made of the national colors—and stories of patriotism were being told. For example, there was the one about the “prominent married lady who wished she were a man, so that she might volunteer and go down and fight”; and a tale circulated about the young man who was told to leave a certain young lady’s presence and never return because of his expression of secession sentiments.<sup>2</sup> But the excitement of the past week, when the war meetings had been held and men had volunteered for the army, simply could not be kept at its fever pitch. On April 27, Editor Archibald Beal of the *Enterprise* stated that because of a scarcity of help he was unable to collect much local news; nevertheless, he did manage to obtain the information that eleven men had enlisted in a rifle company formed in South Bend and had left for Indianapolis, but that thirteen of the original forty-five volunteers had returned home, honorably discharged for physical reasons. Summing up national news about the war, Beal wrote that “a terrible civil war is at hand and that nothing but bloodshed and a final triumph by arms will restore peace.”<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the Mishawaka volunteers had arrived in Indianapolis. They had left South Bend on the evening of the nineteenth; after a sleepless night on the train, they had arrived in the state capital at sunrise. They were pleased and surprised to be greeted by a thirteen-gun salute. They marched to the Spencer House for breakfast and later went to the Capitol where they were welcomed by Governor Morton. Following this reception, they marched to the State Fairgrounds along streets lined with people who cheered them as they

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of Mishawaka and events there just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, see Ward Baker, “Mishawaka on the Eve of Conflict,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, LV (March, 1959), 25-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 27, 1861.

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

passed.<sup>4</sup> On April 22, they were sworn into the service of the federal government as Company I of the Ninth Regiment.<sup>5</sup>

The men had many new and exciting experiences while at Camp Morton. During the early part of the war, there was fear that rebel sympathizers would gain control of Indianapolis, and a portion of Company I was detailed to guard the Statehouse. Two men of the regiment later died, and it was believed that their deaths resulted from drinking water from a well that had been poisoned, possibly by southern sympathizers. A peddler, nearly mobbed because he was accused of selling poisoned oranges, had to be rescued from an angry gathering by the guards.<sup>6</sup>

The volunteers began their training and were soon emitting the complaints of civilians being made into soldiers. They had to sleep in the horse and cattle stalls at the State Fairgrounds. Although their food was good, consisting of large quantities of bread, rice, potatoes, ham, beans, beef, and

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<sup>4</sup> George F. Niles, one of the Mishawaka volunteers, to Editor Archibald Beal, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 27, 1861. A colorful greeting for the incoming companies was inaugurated by Lew Wallace and continued throughout the war. Wallace arranged to have the men met by one of two elegantly uniformed independent companies, a brass band, and a fife and drum corps. Lew Wallace, *Lew Wallace: An Autobiography* (2 vols., New York, 1906), I, 266-267; Joseph A. Parsons, "Indiana and the Call for Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, 1865-1869), IV, 47-48. The Ninth Regiment was made up of volunteers from the northern part of the state. Company A was from Carroll County; B from La Porte County; C from Elkhart County; D from Cass County; E from Allen County; F from La Porte County; G from Jasper County; H from Porter County; I from St. Joseph County; and K from Cass County. See Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 17-20. The officers of Company I were: Andrew Anderson, Jr., of South Bend, captain; Henry Loring, Jr., of Mishawaka, first lieutenant; Henry J. Blowney, of South Bend, second lieutenant. All men in Company I were from St. Joseph County. They were mustered into the service for three months at Indianapolis on April 22, 1861, and mustered out on July 29, 1861. See Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 20; and IV, 47-48.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 27, 1861; Parsons, "Indiana Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 20. See Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph R. H. Moore, "Camp Morton, 1861-1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp" (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XIII, No. 3; Indianapolis, 1940), 240-247, for an excellent description of the volunteers' training at Camp Morton. In view of Winslow and Moore's description of the volunteers' experiences, perhaps George Niles's letters to the *Enterprise* repeated camp gossip rather than actual experiences of Niles and the other local volunteers.

sugar, somehow it just didn't taste like home cooking.<sup>7</sup> There was strict discipline and drill for many hours of the day, drill conducted without uniforms and without guns.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the volunteers' greatest disappointment came when they finally received their weapons. They had hoped to receive the new Minie rifles that would shoot up to nine hundred yards, but instead they received old (1844) muskets which had a range of only three hundred yards. But the men were philosophical in their disappointment, for "they volunteered to fight and so they will do even if they have to fight with nothing more than an Indian war club."<sup>9</sup>

Sunday was the popular day for visitors, and on April 21, it was estimated that there were ten thousand visitors

<sup>7</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 11, 1861; Winslow and Moore, "Camp Morton, 1861-1865" (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XIII, No. 3), 238-239, 242-244, 247-249. A volunteer serving in the Sixth Indiana who was at Camp Morton at this time stated that "the stalls were very uninviting, as visions of fleas and other vermine 'rose bright o'er the way.'" A. J. Grayson, "The Spirit of 1861": *History of the Sixth Indiana Regiment in the Three Months' Campaign in Western Virginia* (Madison, Ind., [1875?]), 7. Of all the problems at Camp Morton in 1861, the most annoying one was the food question. Charges were made that food was spoiled or adulterated; then too, the men were not accustomed to army rations and wanted food such as they were accustomed to having at home. See William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, Including his important speeches* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1899), I, 151; Winslow and Moore, "Camp Morton, 1861-1865" (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XIII, No. 3), 247-249. The troubles of the commissary department had little effect on the volunteers. "There were no cases of starvation or epidemics. If anything, food was too plentiful. The vast amounts bought from sutlers and received from parents and friends eventually had to be regulated in the interests of discipline and physical training. The chief problem seems to have been that the people of Indiana expected nothing but the best for their volunteers in the early days of the war. . . . Six months later, when the realities of camp life were better known, it is probable that no complaint would have been raised." Parsons, "Indiana Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 11, 1861. A volunteer from the Sixth Indiana stated that "we received arms and uniforms in due course of time. Our uniform was of an inferior article of grey, pants and roundabout, and big hat to suit, together with stoga shoes, and many other articles, too numerous to mention. Rubber blankets were furnished us to lie on or cover us at night, at our pleasure, and when on the march to be rolled up into a knapsack. . . ." Grayson, *Sixth Indiana Regiment in the Three Months' Campaign*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 11, 1861. It is not surprising that the troops were supplied with old muskets in view of the state's unpreparedness for war. There were available in March, 1861, "3,436 small arms of sixteen different kinds, but of uniform inferiority. They were fit for nothing, and were never used for anything but guard duty or drill instruction." Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 429. See Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 125-126, for an account of Governor Morton's successful effort to secure arms for Indiana troops.

at Camp Morton, who interfered so much with military routine that the camp was closed to visitors on Sundays. Sunday duties were assigned to keep the homesick boys occupied, and there was little to set the Sabbath apart from any other work-day except various religious services.<sup>10</sup> Editor Schuyler Colfax, of nearby South Bend, wrote in his paper that he had attended divine service with the Ninth Regiment. The "attendance was very large—no church ever had a more orderly congregation—and the melody of sacred music never fell more sweetly on our ear."<sup>11</sup>

Despite curtailment of the privilege of having visitors, there were plentiful opportunities for recreation. Much of the soldiers' leisure time was spent in playing games, group singing, and listening to regimental bands. Games brought from home included checkers, chess, and various card games. There was the usual "rough stuff" such as the Knights of Malta initiation, in which the initiate was tossed on a piece of tent canvas handled by a squad of tormentors.<sup>12</sup> Passes were given to the men so that they might visit the city. Most of the men on pass simply looked at the sights, some attended Masonic meetings, while others sought out more worldly pleasures. Some brought back whiskey, which they smuggled past the guards by throwing the bottles into the creek that flowed through the camp and then hurrying inside to retrieve the floating bottles. Letters home reassured the temperance people that the men who smuggled the whiskey into camp were from Elkhart and hence not St. Joseph County men!<sup>13</sup> In addition, letters told of the pride that the men had in their organization. They were doing a job the best they could; as drill and discipline changed them into soldiers, they grew confident in themselves and wrote home that they hoped to become the best regiment in the state.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Winslow and Moore, "Camp Morton, 1861-1865" (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XIII, No. 3), 243-244; Parsons, "Indiana Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 18.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), May 2, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> Winslow and Moore, "Camp Morton, 1861-1865" (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XIII, No. 3), 245; Parsons, "Indiana Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 20.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 25, 1861. Francis M. Sherman, *Mishawaka* volunteer, to Editor Archibald Beal, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 8, 1861.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 25, 1861.

During the last week in May, through the influence of Schuyler Colfax, the regiment was re-equipped with the very best of Minie rifles.<sup>15</sup> On May 29 the group left Indianapolis for Virginia—the first regiment to leave the state for that battle front.<sup>16</sup> Through a misunderstanding of orders, the men had been brought to the depot at midnight and therefore had no rest and no breakfast, yet they were in good spirits at the prospect of active service. The Indianapolis *Daily Journal* noted:

The possession of splendid Minie rifles, of the very best style . . . no doubt contributed not a little to their good feeling. As almost all of them are "backwoodsmen," accustomed to the rifle, they may be relied on to do some ugly work with their terrible weapons if they can get within shot of the traitors. . . . They went fully equipped. Every man had his . . . haversack with two days' rations in it, his canteen, his tin cup, a complete uniform of sheep's gray, durable and strong, his Minie rifle, with the spring bayonet, and forty rounds of ball cartridges.<sup>17</sup>

The regiment traveled by train to Virginia. They left Indianapolis at 10:00 A.M. on May 29, arrived at Dayton, Ohio, at 6:00 P.M., and were in Columbus, Ohio, by midnight. George Niles reported that the men were impressed by the cheering of citizens whenever the train passed through a town or village. In particular they would remember Zanesville, Ohio, where they arrived at 6:00 A.M. on May 30, for the good women of that town served them hot coffee, cakes, and biscuits; the men declared that these women "will never be forgotten by us as long as we live."<sup>18</sup> Arriving at Bellaire, Ohio, at 10:00 A.M. they crossed the Ohio River by ferry to Renwood, Virginia, and from there traveled via the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Grafton, Virginia. Western Virginia was a surprise and also something of a disappointment to the men from northern Indiana, for Niles wrote:

Our route is one of beautiful scenery, far surpassing my expectations; but instead of plantations stocked with negroes, I

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<sup>15</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 1, 1861; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), June 6, 1861.

<sup>16</sup> *Indiana, Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 21.

<sup>17</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 30, 1861.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 15, 1861. See also, Grayson, *Sixth Indiana Regiment in the Three Months' Campaign*, 21.

found a country of nothing but hills to describe; no plantations whatever, less negroes than are in Northern Indiana.<sup>19</sup>

The regiment arrived at Grafton, Virginia—now West Virginia—on June 1, and was attached to Colonel B. F. Kelley's command.<sup>20</sup> From Grafton it marched toward Philippi in the column commanded by Colonel Kelley and took part in the surprise and pursuit of the rebels at that place on the morning of June 3.<sup>21</sup> Later the regiment returned to Grafton and became a part of the Indiana Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Thomas A. Morris. It participated in all the marches and skirmishes of the brigade during General George B. McClellan's successful campaign against the enemy at Laurel Hill and Rich Mountain. The regiment was in action at Laurel Hill, July 7-8; Belington, July 10; Carrick's Ford, July 12-14; and it was one of the leading regiments in the pursuit of the defeated southern forces.<sup>22</sup> General Robert S. Garnett, of the Confederate forces, was killed while defending a ford over Cheat River against the attack of the Indiana men.<sup>23</sup> One Indiana soldier stated, "The Hoosiers are too much for Secesh, fire too rapidly and with aim too accurate—nothing in rebel shape can resist their impetuosity."<sup>24</sup> John Auten from South Bend was killed in action at Belington on

<sup>19</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 15, 1861.

<sup>20</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 21.

<sup>21</sup> U.S., War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. II (Washington, 1880), 66-68. A Mishawaka soldier wrote an interesting account of the experiences of the Ninth Regiment during the surprise attack at Philippi. "We lost the rascals by being fifteen minutes too late. Our Regiment was on a hill facing the way they went, and we fired our rifles at nothing in particular, but happened to kill and wound 150 of them. We now have possession of the town. The Elkhart Company have a piano to amuse themselves with. Everyone can have what they get hold of." Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 15, 1861.

<sup>22</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 21; U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. II, 218-223.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 223; letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, July 27, 1861. Another Mishawaka volunteer, commenting on the death of General Garnett wrote, "Here it was that General Garnett met the deserved fate of a traitor and was shot in the back while vainly endeavoring to rally his men." James Sandilands, Mishawaka volunteer, to Editor Alford Wheeler, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), August 1, 1861.

<sup>24</sup> "Prock" to the Vincennes *Sun*, October 4, 1861, in Howard R. Burnett (contrib.), "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain: Letters to the Vincennes *Sun*," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (December, 1933), 367.

July 10. His loss was the only casualty sustained by Company I in the campaign.<sup>25</sup>

As their three-month enlistment was about to end, the Indiana men were being urged to re-enlist for three years. As early as June 10, Schuyler Colfax had written to Colonel Robert Milroy, and referring to an order by President Lincoln, had told the Colonel that Indiana troops could be mustered immediately into the federal service for three years. "Where less than one fifth decline to (re-enlist), those declining are to be paid and discharged and their places filled with recruits as soon as possible and the regiment to be accepted when four fifths full."<sup>26</sup> Colfax urged Milroy to instruct each of his captains to encourage his men to re-enlist.<sup>27</sup> Governor Morton also put pressure upon the Indiana men, for he sent letters by special messenger to all Indiana three-month regiments asking the men to re-enlist for three years' service.<sup>28</sup> On July 13, however, Colfax again wrote to Milroy stating, "The Secretary of War promised me today most positively [*sic*] that all our three months regiments should be allowed to go home to recruit and re-enlist for the war."<sup>29</sup> The attitude of the men on re-enlistment was well stated by Adjutant Henry Loring:

not more than one fifth of the force would remain in the service unless permitted to return home at the end of the three months as many have made arrangements for that time only, and if

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<sup>25</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, IV, 47; letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, July 27, 1861. In describing the action at Belington where John Auten was killed, a sergeant of the Ninth Regiment wrote that "it was solely and entirely a battle begun and fought to an end by privates and 'noncoms,' independent of leadership except as some one more daring than his fellows would push to the front shouting to his fellows to 'come on' when a rush would be made to support him. In short, it was the enlisted men's fight; with not a commissioned officer in the fray." James H. Durham, "The Battle of Belington," *Indiana Magazine of History*, VII (September, 1911), 119. More details of the death of John Auten were in a letter from Captain Andrew Anderson, Jr., from South Bend, captain of Company I, dated Belington, Va., July 11, 1861, to the *Register*, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), July 18, 1861.

<sup>26</sup> Schuyler Colfax, South Bend, Ind., to Colonel Robert Milroy, June 10, 1861, Milroy Papers, Rensselaer Public Library, Rensselaer, Ind. The Milroy Papers are mainly of a personal nature, including letters, clippings, and Milroy's diary for the year 1865.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 127.

<sup>29</sup> Schuyler Colfax, Washington D.C., to Colonel Robert Milroy, July 13, 1861, Milroy Papers.



they could return for a short furlough and adjust their matters, three quarters of this regiment would remain in the three years service.<sup>30</sup>

In the latter part of July, the regiment was returned to Indianapolis, where Governor Morton welcomed the men home with a patriotic address at a magnificent reception given in their honor.<sup>31</sup> They remained in camp at Indianapolis until July 29, when the regiment was mustered out of service.<sup>32</sup>

During the period between mid-April and the latter part of July when the volunteers had been gone from the village, life at Mishawaka had been going on much as usual, and the citizens had taken part in numerous activities. The *Enterprise* reported that the young folks' concert held at Milburn Hall on April 26 "was very beautiful, and the original songs, modern Yankee Doodle and Secession, were well timed and as such brought the house down."<sup>33</sup> The corporation election, held Monday, May 6, was uneventful. Only 172 votes, representing about a third of the eligible voters in town, were polled.<sup>34</sup> On Sunday, May 26, the Most Reverend Bishop John Henry Luers laid the cornerstone of the new St. Joseph Catholic Church.<sup>35</sup> In June a band of gypsies camped on the outskirts of the town. The editor of the *Enterprise* stated, "They are a lazy and roving set of thieves which should be driven from the country."<sup>36</sup>

Patriotism and the war influenced Mishawaka residents in some of their activities. On May 1, the people in the southern part of town met at Schmitt's Hotel and raised the Stars and Stripes to the top of a sixty-five foot black ash pole. Appropriate speeches were made, and cheers were given for

<sup>30</sup> Adjutant Henry Loring, Jr., Mishawaka volunteer, to Theodore Cowles, Mishawaka postmaster, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, July 13, 1861.

<sup>31</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, July 25, 1861.

<sup>32</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, IV, 47. When the three-month volunteers returned to Indianapolis it was believed there would be little trouble in persuading them to re-enlist for three years. However, unexpected delays in mustering them out caused great dissatisfaction. When finally mustered out, many were so exasperated that they declared they would never enter the service again. Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 127.

<sup>33</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 27, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, May 11, 1861; Mishawaka, City Clerk's Office, Town Board Records, 1845-1892, Vol. I, 165.

<sup>35</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 1, 1861; C. A. Suelzer, *A Century of Catholic Faith in Mishawaka* (Mishawaka, Ind., 1948), 20.

<sup>36</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 29, 1861.

Dr. Gideon Moon who climbed the pole and released the ropes which had become caught when the flag was raised.<sup>37</sup> A Home Guard made up of about fifty men of the village met once a week at Town Hall for drill, but more time was given to lively discussions of the war and politics than was spent in soldiering.<sup>38</sup>

In June the residents were again sharply reminded of their absent volunteers. According to the *Enterprise*:

Not a little feeling was manifested here on Thursday last, on the arrival from Indianapolis of a large box containing clothes, blankets, and quilts etc., of the volunteers who went from this place. Government having furnished them new suits and ordered them into service in Virginia, the clothes and quilts which they took with them were of service no longer and were sent back. They were unpacked and spread out in front of A. B. Judson's store where each bundle or package was in waiting to be claimed by the person or relative to whom addressed. The claimants in some instances were wives or mothers of those far away, who burst into tears on receiving the bundle directed to them, being thus forcibly reminded of their absent loved ones. Be assured that many prayers go up from here for the success of our brave volunteers and their safe return.<sup>39</sup>

Another mark of the war was the prosperity brought to Mishawaka by government contracts for wagons, and the increased demand for the products of the local farmers. The woolen factory of Palmer and Worden paid 22¢ to 38¢ per pound for wool, which was a high price, and a brisk trade developed.<sup>40</sup> The firm of Milburn, Eberhart and Company, manufacturers of Utah wagons, however, became chief benefactor of the war contracts.<sup>41</sup> George Milburn, a partner in the company, had gone to Washington, contacted the proper

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1861.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8, 1861.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861.

<sup>41</sup> In 1857 Milburn, Eberhart and Company received a contract from the government for several hundred wagons having a six thousand pound capacity. These wagons were to be used to supply the military force which was to be sent to Utah in 1858 to force the Mormons to recognize the laws of the United States. This was an important contract for the local factory, and henceforth heavy transport wagons manufactured in Mishawaka were called Utah wagons. *Mishawaka Enterprise*, February 26, 1859; Kathleen Ann Smallzried and Dorothy James Roberts, *More Than You Promise: A Business at Work in Society* (New York, 1942), 25; also Stephen Longstreet, *A Century on Wheels: The Story of Studebakers, A History, 1852-1952* (New York, 1952), 25.

authorities, and by the end of July the wagon factory had received contracts to make and deliver four hundred wagons. The factory was well equipped, employed over 150 men, and used the very latest machinery. Availability of skilled workmen and an extensive supply of good materials made it possible to turn out approximately fifty wagons each week.<sup>42</sup>

The military campaign in far-off Virginia, at unknown places and staged in movements not understood by civilians, had been of great interest to the people of Mishawaka while the Ninth Regiment had been in that state.<sup>43</sup> After the Ninth was safely back in Indianapolis, Mishawaka citizens lost their personal fascination for military campaigns, but their interest in the movements of the armies remained. A bulletin board had been erected in front of the Milburn, Eberhart and Company hardware store where telegraphic dispatches were received and posted three times daily.<sup>44</sup> When the report of General Erwin McDowell's defeat at Bull Run arrived on July 22, crowds gathered in front of the bulletin board and at the telegraph office to learn the latest reports regarding that disaster. The reports were shocking in view of the fact that the Union army had been expected to win an easy victory, smash the rebels, and end the war. When the telegraph reports indicated not victory but defeat, there came the realization that it might be a long and bloody war; and on

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<sup>42</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 29, July 27, 1861. Milburn, Eberhart and Company sublet a portion of their government contracts to the Studebaker Company in South Bend. See Smallzried and Roberts, *More Than You Promise*, 25-26; Longstreet, *A Century on Wheels*, 25; *St. Joseph County Forum* (South Bend, Ind.), April 21, 1858; *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 24, 1861. The Studebaker Company was on the threshold of a great industrial future, but during the years 1858-1861 the Mishawaka company was the larger and more important concern. For information on the Mishawaka concern's business, see *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 14, 21, 1858; January 1, February 26, March 5, 19, 1859; June 15, 29, July 27, August 17, 24, November 30, 1861. See also *St. Joseph County Forum* (South Bend, Ind.), April 17, 1858; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), March 17, 1859; *Goshen Times*, July 4, December 5, 1861. Information on the Studebaker Company may be found in Smallzried and Roberts, *More Than You Promise*, 25-26, 34; Longstreet, *A Century on Wheels*, 25, 31; *St. Joseph County Forum* (South Bend, Ind.), April 21, 1858.

<sup>43</sup> Since he was a politician, Schuyler Colfax had "political fences" to keep in order, but perhaps he typified the interest and pride of Mishawaka citizens in the Ninth Regiment while they were in Virginia when he wrote Colonel Milroy praising the performance of Milroy's command in glowing terms. Schuyler Colfax, South Bend, Ind., to Colonel Robert Milroy, June 10, 1861, Milroy Papers; Colfax, Washington, D.C., to Milroy, July 13, 1861, Milroy Papers.

<sup>44</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, July 27, 1861.

the night after the reports were received there were many sleepless men and women in the town.<sup>45</sup>

On Wednesday morning July 31, the volunteers from the Ninth Regiment returned home to be welcomed with cheers, music from the military band, and the firing of cannon. Yet the town almost missed the homecoming. Rumor had it that the men would be returning on the 9:49 A.M. train, but so many other conflicting rumors circulated that the people were really not prepared when shortly before 9:30 a dispatch arrived from South Bend announcing that the "boys" were indeed coming on the 9:49 train. The news spread like wild-fire, and practically everyone who was able went straight to the railroad station. Business places were closed; members of the bands and of the drum and fife corps were quickly assembled. The flag was waving and the cannon loaded when the long train pulled into the village with the men aboard. There ensued a happy confusion of hugging, kissing, crying, talking. The Mishawaka volunteers had experienced rough service, but none had been injured, and now that the men were home again, the dread and fear of the past months could be forgotten.<sup>46</sup> Plans had been made for a march to the picnic grounds and a formal reception, but the "boys" would not have any more of marching and soldiering. All they wanted was to be allowed to do as they liked, and so some of them left for home with their families, while others went to the Milburn House where they were served a large breakfast.<sup>47</sup>

The most sincere and best welcome given to the returning soldier was no doubt that which he received from his wife,

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, August 3, 1861. There was divided opinion about the experiences of the three-month regiments. The campaign of the Indiana three-month regiments in western Virginia has been called "the three months' picnic." There had been little serious fighting, and the men learned little that would prepare them for the tragedy in which many would soon take part. The Hoosier troops returned home as conquering heroes during the period of confusion, indignation, and despair which followed the Union disaster at Bull Run. Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 126-127. These opening actions in western Virginia, however, were almost the only battles the armies of the North were to win for some time to come. The numbers of dead and wounded in the three-month volunteer regiments were small (less than thirty killed), but these men had learned that war was not the picnic many had expected. Parsons, "Indiana Volunteers, April, 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LIV (March, 1958), 23.

<sup>47</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 3, 1861.

mother, or sweetheart, as the case might have been; nonetheless, Mishawaka wanted to welcome the volunteers publicly. The young ladies of Mishawaka decided to give them a picnic dinner on Tuesday afternoon, August 6. The soldiers and their families were invited, along with the general public. Speeches, music, and other entertainment were planned to enliven the occasion. In the evening there was to be a dance at the Milburn House in honor of the soldiers and their ladies.<sup>48</sup>

The young ladies' picnic for the volunteers was a fine affair. There was a large crowd, and the tables were loaded with choice foods. Speeches were made by citizens who told the "boys" that the home folks appreciated Company I's "deeds of valor" in Virginia. Answering speeches were made by some of the soldiers. Two large flags had been raised on poles placed near the river bank, and a tent had been stretched between these poles, giving the picnic grounds the appearance of a military encampment. When the military band played martial music and the cannon fired, everything seemed very warlike and brave, at least for the citizens who were present.<sup>49</sup>

There was dancing in the evening at not one but two dances. At the Milburn House there was an invitational dance attended by some thirty couples from Mishawaka and surrounding towns. A second dance was arranged by those who were dissatisfied with the way the dance at the Milburn House was to be conducted. They did not approve of the invitational dance or of having to pay \$1.50 for a few hours of dancing. Permission to use the fire engine house was secured from the town board, and money was collected from those attending the dance to pay for the rent of the hall and for the dance band. A large number of people were present at this dance and all who came had a pleasant evening. The dances proved to be a proper ending to the big day of public welcome for the returned soldiers.<sup>50</sup>

But dancing was only a pleasant interlude among the vicissitudes of civil war, for on August 10 the following advertisement appeared in the *Enterprise*:

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, August 10, 1861.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

Rally! Boys, Rally!!

THE UNION needs the service of all the lovers of Freedom, who are willing to volunteer in her defense.

The undersigned proposes to raise a Company to join the "Old Ninth," and invites those who wish to volunteer, to register their names at "Head-Quarters" at Milburn, Eberhart & Co.'s Hardware Store, and also with the undersigned at his place of business.

PAY, \$13.00 PER MONTH:

James Houghton.<sup>51</sup>

Mishawaka, Aug. 8th, 1861.

Some of the volunteers believed that they should re-enlist, for they wanted to see the war carried to a victorious conclusion; but on the other hand they were in no hurry to join again. There was some doubt that a company should again be raised in the village, despite the statement in the *Enterprise* that Captain Houghton was "a fine man, somewhat versed in military matters, and just the one to go with."<sup>52</sup> A large rally was planned for August 16 to promote enlistments for the new three-year regiment. Schuyler Colfax and Colonel Robert Milroy were invited and asked to give patriotic speeches to help arouse enthusiasm. Colfax was unable to attend,<sup>53</sup> but Milroy arrived in town about 5:00 P.M., and after dinner at the Milburn House, where a large crowd of people had gathered to greet him, he was serenaded by the military band and called upon to make a speech. The "old hero made a speech, setting forth the necessity for putting down the rebellion and calling upon all his 'old boys' to go with him." Later the band played patriotic music, and the people sang songs and cheered as each man stepped forward and signed his name to the roll. A number of enlistments were secured, but more were needed. The next day the *Enterprise* urged, "Come along, boys, volunteer and go with Captain, he is just the man to go with, besides he has secured the old place for Company I, in Colonel Milroy's Regiment, the 'Bloody Ninth.'"<sup>54</sup>

Whatever the inducements, seventy men from Mishawaka and Penn Township enlisted. Nine men from the three-month

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> An explanation for Colfax's absence may be found in Schuyler Colfax, South Bend, Ind., to Colonel Robert Milroy, August 15, 1861, Milroy Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, August 17, 1861.

company re-enlisted; the others were new volunteers.<sup>55</sup> Soon it was time for them to join their regiment. The Ninth mustered at La Porte, and on August 20, Captain Houghton's company left the village to take the place of old Company I in Colonel Milroy's regiment, the "Bloody Ninth." They took with them the flag which they had carried to victory in the Virginia campaign.<sup>56</sup>

The parting was sad for many who gathered at the railroad station to see the men leave. The festive occasion of the three-month volunteers' homecoming was now overshadowed, and old fears and worries had again returned. Outwardly there were the usual manifestations of patriotism, but inwardly there was undoubtedly the dread feeling of loss. For the re-enlisted men, this second departure was not the exciting experience of their April enlistment. They had already had a taste of war and army life and had found nothing romantic or exciting about it; besides this enlistment was for three long years. This departure was not one of flag-waving patriotism, but rather one reflecting grim determination. A few days after the men left, Editor Beal mused:

One could not help thinking of the necessity which should take from our midst, men of families, some of them our most prominent business ones, and send them away to fight those who used to be our brothers, but now traitors, engaged in trying to put an end to free government and free institutions.<sup>57</sup>

On September 5, 1861, at La Porte, Indiana, one hundred and one officers and men, seventy of whom were from Mishawaka and Penn Township, were mustered into the service of the United States as Company I, Ninth Infantry, three-year Indiana volunteers.<sup>58</sup> At Camp Colfax in La Porte the men chose as their captain James Houghton, a prominent Mishawaka businessman, partner of Richard Stone in the manufacture of furniture and cane-bottom chairs. Houghton had helped recruit volunteers for the company. Isaac Pettit,

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<sup>55</sup> See Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, IV, 47-48, and Timothy Edward Howard, *A History of St. Joseph County, Indiana* (2 vols., Chicago, 1907), II, 718, for a muster roll of Company I, three-month volunteers. For a list of officers and men of Company I, Ninth Regiment, three-year volunteers, see Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 64; and IV, 149-151.

<sup>56</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 24, 1861.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 64; IV, 149-151.

who lived northeast of Mishawaka was elected first lieutenant, and William Merrifield was elected second lieutenant. The company was brought to full strength when additional men arrived from Mishawaka. Once the group's organization was completed, the men were kept busy with drill and other preparations.<sup>59</sup> The Southern Michigan and Northern Indiana Railroad ran an excursion to the camp from the towns west of Elkhart, and many of the folks from Mishawaka took advantage of this opportunity to visit Camp Colfax. For both the soldiers and the visitors this was an enjoyable event. The camp was inspected by the visitors; and when the men were relieved from drill, there was a picnic supper for everyone. Later in the evening the bands serenaded, and there was dancing until it was time for the train to leave for home. For some, this was the very last time they saw their loved ones.<sup>60</sup>

The Ninth did not remain long at Camp Colfax. It left on September 14, and was ordered directly to Cheat Mountain, Virginia, to reinforce the command of General Joseph J. Reynolds.<sup>61</sup> The train carrying the regiment passed through Mishawaka about two o'clock in the afternoon. The people received news that the troops were to pass through, and a large crowd gathered at the depot to bid them farewell. Food and other gifts were brought to the depot, but, much to the disappointment of the people, the train did not stop in the village. The men cheered and were cheered in return as the train slowly passed through the town; and, as it disappeared down the track to the east, the heartbreak and sorrow caused by the war must have again clutched at the hearts of many.<sup>62</sup>

After the departure of the volunteers, local activities received increased attention from the citizens. President Lincoln proclaimed a national fast day on Thursday, September 27.<sup>63</sup> In Mishawaka it was a day of fasting and prayer. Stores and shops were closed and all business halted. Services were held in the morning at the Methodist, Episcopal, and Catholic churches, and in the evening the Presbyterian and

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<sup>59</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, August 24, 1861; Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 64.

<sup>60</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, September 14, 1861.

<sup>61</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 65.

<sup>62</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, September 21, 1861.

<sup>63</sup> James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1896-1899), VI, 36-37.



Disciple (Christian) congregations united with the Methodists in a combined service held at the Methodist church. Patriotic speeches were made by prominent men, and prayers were offered by ministers of the several congregations.<sup>64</sup>

As elsewhere throughout the state, there was in Mishawaka and especially throughout the neighboring rural districts some sentiment for a peace movement.<sup>65</sup> Among the people of Indiana there was considerable opposition to the war. The chief cause of this opposition was in the political partisanship which a great many politicians were unable to lay aside.<sup>66</sup> When the war opened, Democrats found it necessary to readjust themselves rather quickly. They had recently been engaged in political campaigns of some intensity and had continued to be critical and even hostile towards the Lincoln and Morton administrations.<sup>67</sup> In the first days of the war public criticism of the conduct of the war was unwise. As time passed, however, open expression of adverse opinions became less risky, and soon it became apparent that most Democrats would support the war effort, but that they intended to maintain their position as the opposition party.<sup>68</sup> Continuing Republican partisanship and Republican political and economic policies soon caused the Democrats to dread certain possible results of the war.<sup>69</sup> The Bull Run fiasco dispelled all hope that the conflict would be a short one. Despite numerous Union meetings held throughout the state where speakers orated scornfully to the fainthearted and shouted their contempt of the secessionists and peace-lovers,<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, September 28, 1861.

<sup>65</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 269-275, lists meetings held in many counties at various times during the war, where sentiments hostile to the war were expressed in the most public and emphatic manner.

<sup>66</sup> Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana: From its Exploration to 1922* (3 vols., Dayton, 1923), II, 776.

<sup>67</sup> John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth* (4 vols., New York, 1954), II, 159.

<sup>68</sup> Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXI; Indianapolis, 1949), 91-92.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>70</sup> At a Union meeting held in Mishawaka on September 7, Norman Eddy, a prominent Democrat from South Bend, "rebuked those who carped at high taxes and at the strong measures taken by the Government." Mishawaka *Enterprise*, September 14, 1861; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), September 12, 1861. At a Goshen Union meeting, the speaker, Dr. E. W. H. Ellis, defended the policy of the government and declared that any man who found fault with the administration was a "secesher." Goshen *Times*, August 29, 1861.

it was impossible to conceal the fact that the Union defeat had had a very sobering effect upon the people.<sup>71</sup> Thereafter the reaction of the Democrats steadily increased:<sup>72</sup>

Disloyalty began to speak out in sneers and doubts and disparaging suggestions. Growing bolder, it condemned the war and arraigned the constitutionality of the military measures of the Government. It abused Mr. LINCOLN. It charged corruption wherever it could create distrust or disaffection. It began to hold meetings and declare resolutions.<sup>73</sup>

The response of the Republicans to this growing opposition was both fierce and partisan, and before long they were again raising the cry of treason and identifying any sort of criticism with that term.<sup>74</sup>

Partisan reaction in Mishawaka to peace meetings was typical of the rest of the state. No meetings were held in the village, but at Jimtown, a few miles to the east, some two hundred people gathered and listened to speakers who stated that the "war was an unholy one which would bankrupt the nation," that it was "a war of extermination and annihilation," and that the people of the South had the right to withdraw from the Union, "for the Declaration of Independence gave them the right to alter or abolish any government that became oppressive to their rights." One speaker stated that he believed it his patriotic duty to fight if Indiana was invaded, but since this was not so, he advocated letting the South go its way and putting an end to the war.<sup>75</sup> The *Enterprise* reported this meeting, and then Editor Archibald Beal stated emphatically:

Now we are as much in favor of the right kind of peace as any man, and of giving the South all their Constitutional rights in the Union, but when out of the Union and in armed rebellion, with the overthrow of the Government for their object, we are in favor of giving them nothing but what rebels and traitors should have—a sufficient amount of lead and steel to make them return to their allegiance. What would a peace be worth when purchased at the sacrifice of the Union, liberty and all else dear to Americans. Peace men and peace meetings now

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<sup>71</sup> Stamp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War*, 93.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 239.

<sup>74</sup> Stamp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War*, 93.

<sup>75</sup> *Goshen Times*, August 29, 1861; *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 31, September 7, 1861.

are only so much aid and support to the rebels and should not be countenanced. What is the use of sending men away to fight for the Union, and allow some at home to aid the rebels in their cause and in taking the lives of those we send away.<sup>76</sup>

The editor also believed that the Home Guards, which had been disbanded, should be reorganized. He noted that "if there are as many secessionists around here holding meetings as there are said to be, the service of a Home Guard may be needed."<sup>77</sup>

On September 7, this same partisan Republican editor stated that "our paper is neither Republican nor Democratic but unconditionally Union." Yet in an editorial of that date he offered a plan which was rather highhanded and perhaps confused politics with patriotism. The editor proposed

to enable [citizens] to protect themselves against Traitors, and Treason in all forms, without military aid. The plan proposed is, in addition to the law, to use public opinion in the case, by keeping a certified public record of all acts and expressions of an unloyal character, to be used as history against the persons making them. Then woe to the candidate who shall come up for office in after years not having a clear record.<sup>78</sup>

Editor Beal went on to write that the *Enterprise* office had not yet been demolished, but that two subscribers had stopped the paper because of his stand on the war and the rebellion.

<sup>76</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, August 31, 1861. Archibald Beal and the *Enterprise* were not neutral in their politics but followed the political leadership of Schuyler Colfax, editor and owner of the *St. Joseph County Register* at South Bend and congressman from the Ninth District. See Baker, "Mishawaka on the Eve of Conflict," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LV (March, 1959), 29-30. Though properly classed with the radicals, Colfax claimed that his political position was not among the extreme radicals of that period. He maintained that his position was a middle one among the Republicans in Congress. See Willard H. Smith, *Schuyler Colfax: The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXIII; Indianapolis, 1952), 168-169.

<sup>77</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, August 31, 1861.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., September 7, 1861. "War psychosis was . . . manifested . . . in a morbid suspicion of those at home whose opinions did not coincide with their own. . . . Loyal citizens lived in panicky fear of their own neighbors, and lumped all dissenters in the single category of traitors. Intellectual tolerance was not the order of the day." Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Impact of the Civil War upon Hoosier Society," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (March, 1942), 13. George W. Julian wrote, "Loyalty to Republicanism was . . . accepted as the best evidence of loyalty to the country. . . ." George W. Julian, *Political Recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), 244.

He explained that he intended to keep for future publication a list of those persons who withdrew their subscriptions because they did not like his policy. Furthermore, he commented that all who did not like his views could "haul off as soon as they please, taking care, however, to pay up when they do."<sup>79</sup>

Mishawaka citizens' fear of being labeled suspect by Beal's plan brought about a public meeting at Town Hall on September 2. It was called by persons who had subscribed to buy a map of the United States compiled by Commodore Matthew Maury, formerly of the United States Navy. Maury had become a rebel, and the subscribers wanted a public record of their refusal to have anything to do with the map, with Maury, or with the rebel cause. The subscribers at the meeting agreed to refuse to honor their subscriptions when the agent came to deliver the maps.<sup>80</sup>

The war continued to bring work and prosperity to the village. Additional contracts secured by Milburn, Eberhart and Company brought to six hundred the number of wagons to be manufactured. A government inspector stationed in Mishawaka to supervise the construction of the wagons told the *Enterprise* that "there is no one shop in the Union which has so extensive and perfect machinery and which can make as many in a given time as this one can."<sup>81</sup> Mishawakans were justly proud of their local company, but a charge was made that the concern was guilty of collusion and of making excess profits. Both the *Enterprise* and the *St. Joseph Valley Register* printed a letter written to them for publication by George Milburn in which he stated that a Mr. J. A. Liston had made such a charge in a letter postmarked South Bend and addressed to the Indianapolis *Daily State Sentinel*. Milburn wrote that Liston had claimed in his letter to the *Sentinel* that Milburn, Eberhart and Company was paid from \$145 to \$155 for army wagons which could be profitably manufactured for \$95, and therefore the company made an extra \$50 per wagon in profit. In addition to the charge of profiteering, Liston had asked why proposed contracts for

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<sup>79</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, September 7, 1861.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, August 17, 1861.

building wagons were not publicly advertised and let to the lowest bidder.<sup>82</sup>

Milburn's letter gives an interesting insight into the methods of contract letting and wagon manufacturing of that period. Milburn wrote:

On the first day of June, I contracted with Major Sivley, acting Quartermaster General, for one hundred army wagons for the sum of \$140 each—on the 25th of June, with General Meigs for 200 at \$150 (one quarter of this number was built by Messrs. C. & J. M. Studebaker of South Bend) on July 11th for 100 at \$125 and on the 31st of July for 200 at \$120, making an aggregate of 600 at an average of \$127.50. This is all that need be said about the price we get, though it is proper to say that until I took the first contract at \$140, the Government had never bought them for less than \$141; and we furnished in addition to what previous contractors had done, a fifth chain with stretchers and whiffletrees attached, making our price at least six dollars less than ever before purchased; further, as before stated, Studebaker built fifty of the wagons on our contract at \$130 and they had the offer of fifty on our last contract at \$120 which they declined, not considering the compensation sufficient to justify them in doing so—which at once puts to rest the charge that those wagons can be profitably manufactured for the sum of \$95, as no one knowing that enterprising firm would believe they would throw away an opportunity to make the snug sum of either \$2,000 or \$3,000.

In reply to the charge of collusion in the bidding for the contracts, Milburn added

that proposals were published in the papers of all the important points in the Union, and not only so, but printed specifications were extensively distributed by the different Quartermasters to wagon makers, soliciting bids, and in every instance our contracts were taken as low or lower than they were offered by any other contractors in the United States.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, August 24, 1861; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), August 29, 1861. The Liston letter referred to in Milburn's letter to the *Mishawaka Enterprise* and the *St. Joseph Valley Register* could not be found in the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel* for the summer of 1861. However, in the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 10, 1861, there is a letter from a J. A. Liston attacking the Republican party and stressing the states' rights principles set forth in the United States Constitution. The *Sentinel* was a partisan anti-administration paper. There was at times such strong public feeling against it that the editor was threatened with personal violence and the paper's plant with destruction. Governor Morton was urged to place armed guards in the *Sentinel* building to protect it from attack. See Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 115.

<sup>83</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, August 24, 1861.

Milburn retorted that since Liston's letter was written to discredit the government and the war effort, he would prove that the cost of wagons purchased by the government under the Democratic administration prior to the war was higher than the cost for the army wagons being manufactured by his company under war contracts.

In the year 1859 we built for Messers. Russel, Majors & Waddell, and in 1860 for Irwin Jackson & Co., some iron axle transportation wagons, of about the same capacity of regular army wagons with this difference in furnishing them. The army wagons are fitted for six mules or horses, and have all the necessary fixings, as doubletrees, stretchers, fifth chains, stay chains, etc. The transportation wagons have simply an ox tongue without any chain, the army wagon we supply with a frame bed and wagon cover, the other has a plank bed without a cover, and it will cost at least \$25 more to make and furnish the army wagon with all it requires than the transportation wagon—yet for our contract of 600 army wagons we get at the rate of \$127.50 each, and we get for the transportation wagons \$145.

Milburn concluded his defense by accusing Liston of belonging to the political party that was in rebellion against the Union and stealing arms and forts from it. The reason for Liston's charges, Milburn contended, was to hamper the Union war effort and promote the cause of the southern rebellion.<sup>84</sup>

The women of Mishawaka contributed to the war effort by organizing themselves for war relief work. On October 14, at a meeting held at the residence of George Milburn, the ladies formed a Soldiers' Aid Society to gather supplies to be forwarded to the volunteer soldiers from Mishawaka. It was agreed that meetings would be held each Monday evening. A committee was appointed to meet on Monday afternoons to receive donations and plan the work for the regular evening meeting. People in the township as well as the village were asked to participate in the project. Contributions of dried fruit, yarn, socks, blankets—anything that could be made useful for the soldiers—were solicited. All articles left at the Milburn, Eberhart hardware store would be collected by the ladies, processed, and sent to the men in the army camps.<sup>85</sup> The Soldiers' Aid Society remained active through-

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, October 19, 1861.

out the war, collecting food and clothing for the volunteers. Articles collected were sent to the Sanitary Commission in Indianapolis, which sent these supplies on to the hospitals and army camps. Such hard work by women throughout the North did much to relieve the suffering of the soldiers. When Governor Morton called upon the citizens of the state to donate to the relief of the troops, Mishawaka had an active organization ready to function, and the editor of the *Enterprise* could write:

The ladies of Mishawaka, God bless them, are ever ready to do their share in any good work, and we know they will in this, without any urging through the paper. All that is necessary is to let them know the need of help and it is sure to come. We understand that one lady alone will contribute sixty pairs of socks.<sup>86</sup>

The women were not alone in their efforts to minister to Mishawaka soldiers, for on November 6 a meeting was held at the Presbyterian church for everyone, regardless of church affiliation. The gathering was for prayer, music, and talks, but the main purpose was to take up a collection to purchase the "Soldier's Camp Library" for the men of Company I. This library consisted of twenty-five volumes of religious books and tracts considered worthy to be sent to the soldiers. It was resolved that while "the ladies took care of the body comforts of the boys—by sending them things to keep them warm and to keep them from getting hungry—the men should think of the spiritual well-being of the boys." A committee was appointed to collect money, purchase the books, and send them to Captain James Houghton with the suggestion that he or the regimental chaplain act as company librarian. All persons having secondhand books were urged to give them to the committee as soon as possible. After some discussion it was decided that the men would rather have

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* On October 10, 1861, Governor Morton "issued an appeal 'to the patriotic women of Indiana,' calling attention to the approach of winter and to the sufferings which the troops must undergo. Many articles, he said, which, to men with houses and warm fires, were hardly more than luxuries, to those with no protection but a tent, no bed but the ground, were absolute necessities and might save many lives which would be lost without them. These things, it was hoped the patriotic women of Indiana would supply." Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 159. Governor Morton's appeal "To the Patriotic Women of Indiana," was the first official attempt made to bring popular effort to the aid of the government. Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 318.

the local newspapers than a large number of "Tracts" sent to them. Enough money was collected at the meeting to purchase the library and to pay for the newspapers. The meeting closed when the people raised their voices in a "united prayer for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the men, for victory soon and the safe return of the soldier to the open arms of their loved ones."<sup>87</sup>

During the later months of 1861, the effects of the war were seen in many ways in the village. Additional young men were leaving for military service or government work. For example, Schuyler Colfax secured an appointment for Edward Towle, son of Samuel Towle, to the Naval Academy at Newport, Rhode Island, and young Towle left during September. In November, William Lake went to Washington to begin his duties as a clerk in a government office. Elmore Smith and Willis Pettit enlisted in Captain Bush's artillery company and joined that command in Indianapolis.<sup>88</sup>

Controversies aroused by the war heightened tempers, and on August 24 the *Enterprise* stated, "It is about time that something was done to put a stop to rows and fights in our streets," adding that "these unpleasant occurrences are all traceable in the first place to a use of too much whiskey." The day the men of Company I left for camp there were five fights in town and one almost resulted in a general riot. One man accused another of being a secessionist, and, both being quite drunk, they fought out their differences in the center of Main Street. One beat the other badly and bit off a large portion of his ear; then, fearing the action of the law, the winner ran away, supposedly to Canada.<sup>89</sup>

The town board, recognizing that something would have to be done, passed on August 23 an ordinance compelling all venders of intoxicating liquors to obtain a license from the board. The license would cost fifty dollars, and anyone selling liquors without it would be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five nor more than fifty dollars.<sup>90</sup> At the next meeting of the board, following the near riot, the following ordinance was passed:

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<sup>87</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, November 9, 1861.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, September 21, November 9, 1861.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, August 24, 1861.

<sup>90</sup> Mishawaka, City Clerk's Office, Town Board Records, 1845-1892, Vol. I, p. 170.



That any person appearing in a state of intoxication within the limits of said town or any person behaving in a rude, angry, quarrelsome or tumultuous manner within the limits of said town, shall be deemed guilty of disorderly conduct. . . . Each and every person found guilty of violating the above ordinance shall be fined in any sum not less than one dollar nor more than ten dollars for each offence.<sup>91</sup>

Not everything touching the lives of the people of Mishawaka pertained to business, crime, and war. November 28 was set aside for a day of thanksgiving, and Governor Morton "urged all to gather in their churches or around family altars to give thanks for the many blessings that we have, and to pray that the national troubles will soon pass away."<sup>92</sup> There was a lighter side to life too. In November J. F. Breyer and his celebrated New York troupe of actors stopped at Milburn Hall for a few evenings. One night the program was *Lady of Lyons*, with *Jealous Wife* as an "afterpiece," and on the last evening the play was *John Paul Jones, America's Naval Hero*, with *How to Raise the Wind* as an encore. The *Enterprise* reported that the hall was well filled each night and that the plays were very entertaining.<sup>93</sup> During the same week, Professor G. P. Sands, "the celebrated Magician and Ventriloquist," was entertaining the citizens at the town hall with many new and astonishing feats. The "Original General Tom Thumb" was scheduled to be in town on Friday, December 6.<sup>94</sup>

After the Ninth Regiment had left Camp Colfax in September, they arrived in Virginia without incident. The men sent news home in letters, some of which the *Enterprise* published. On September 26, a letter dated the twentieth arrived from George F. Niles, stating that the regiment had arrived at Webster, Virginia, at 4:00 A.M. on the Monday after it had left Mishawaka. In the next four days, the men had marched sixty-five miles from Webster to their destination at Camp Elk Fork on Elkwater Creek.<sup>95</sup> On October 5, the *Enterprise* published a letter written by Captain Houghton to Harris

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 171.

<sup>92</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, November 16, 1861.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, November 30, 1861.

<sup>95</sup> Letter from George F. Niles, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, September 28, 1861.

Hurlbut, dated Huttonsville, Virginia, September 25, in which the Captain wrote that the troops had orders to march on the rebels, and that the "Bloody Ninth" was to commence the attack. The Captain stated his determination to honor the sword presented to him by the citizens of the village by "making his mark with it on the rebels." The *Enterprise* added, "We have not the slightest doubt but what the enemy will feel the weight of a small 'Argument' when Colonel Milroy and his brave officers and men make a charge on them."<sup>96</sup> The Ninth skirmished with the rebels at Green Brier on October 3, and at Allegheny, December 13, 1861. After defeating the enemy at these two places, the regiment then remained in winter quarters at Cheat Mountain, Virginia, until January 9, 1862.<sup>97</sup>

During the campaign and while the regiment was in winter quarters, letters home contained more serious news than they had previously. They told of numerous hardships, of rain and cold during the long, dreary scouting parties, of illness, and of homesickness. In November Clark B. Crook wrote of being on a five-day scouting trip, during which it rained all the time—a cold rain that at times froze his whiskers. He wanted to hear from home and was glad to receive the newspapers, but would most appreciate a good warm pair of boots. Crook said there was much sickness in the company, mostly because of exposure to the terrible weather, and that Robert Boyd was in the hospital but was not seriously ill.<sup>98</sup> On November 23, however, the *Enterprise* carried the following notice:

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<sup>96</sup> Captain James Houghton, Mishawaka volunteer and captain of Company I, to Harris Hurlbut, prominent Mishawaka lawyer, Mishawaka *Enterprise*, October 5, 1861.

<sup>97</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 65.

<sup>98</sup> Clark B. Crook, Mishawaka volunteer, to Editor Archibald Beal, Mishawaka *Enterprise*, November 9, 1861. "Prock" in his letter to the Vincennes *Sun*, dated Huttonville, W. Va., October 10, 1861, stated that his regiment—the Fourteenth Indiana—had been relieved from their camp on the summit of Cheat Mountain by the Ninth Indiana, and that the men of the Fourteenth were very happy to leave "Cheat Mountain, its chilling winds and everlasting fogs far behind." Howard R. Burnett (contrib.), "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (December, 1933), 369. See Foulke, *Oliver P. Morton*, I, 155-160nn. for information on Governor Morton's persistent efforts to have the Indiana troops serving in western Virginia supplied with suitable clothing.

Robert F. Boyd, a member of Captain Houghton's Company from this place, died in the Hospital in Western Virginia on the 8th inst., of typhoid fever, brought on by exposure to the severe storm on the eve of the Green Brier reconnaissance. He died in the service of his country and his name will not be forgotten. Company I of the 'Bloody Ninth' has lost one of its most valued members. We learn that his body will be brought here for burial.<sup>99</sup>

News of the Ninth's war experiences continued to arrive in Mishawaka by letter. William Giles wrote in November describing a long and hard scouting expedition and then continued,

Some of the boys are sick but most of them are feeling first rate. We have plenty to eat and you can bet plenty of mud too. A good pair of boots would come in handy and a pair of mittens also, but I can stand it as well as the rest of the boys who have not got them. Let me say a word for the Relief Society. (God bless the ladies). We mostly want gloves, comforts for our necks, and the little needfuls, such as needles and thread.<sup>100</sup>

In the middle of December William Merrifield, second lieutenant of Company I, came home on furlough. He was well and looked every inch the soldier. He stated that the men of Company I and the Ninth were all well except for a few cases of slight illness. He went on to say that the regiment had good winter quarters, plenty to eat, and warm clothing to wear. Besides news, Merrifield brought a large sum of money from the men of the company, along with many letters. Merrifield's report on the conditions of the camp at Cheat Mountain eased the home folks' worry about the suffering of the men in Virginia.<sup>101</sup>

On January 9, 1862, the Ninth Regiment was ordered to Louisville, Kentucky. They marched from their winter quarters on Cheat Mountain to Philippi, Virginia, where they received new orders to remain at Fetterman, Virginia. While at Fetterman there was much sickness and discouragement. In one week over three hundred men became ill with mumps,

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<sup>99</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, November 23, 1861.

<sup>100</sup> William Giles, *Mishawaka* volunteer, to Editor Archibald Beal, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, November 30, 1861.

<sup>101</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, December 14, 1861.

measles, and smallpox, and thirteen deaths resulted; in addition, there were rumors that the regiment would be ordered to remain "among these miserable mountains."<sup>102</sup> On February 19, however, the group was ordered to Louisville and placed in Brigadier General William Nelson's division of Major General Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio.<sup>103</sup>

While the men of the Ninth Regiment were campaigning in Virginia, another company of volunteers left Mishawaka. In October, Governor Morton authorized the formation of the Forty-eighth Regiment, which was to be recruited in the northern part of the state. This regiment was organized at Camp Ellis in Goshen, and Norman Eddy, a prominent Democrat, was appointed by the governor to be its colonel. The camp was named Camp Ellis in honor of Dr. E. W. H. Ellis, a leading citizen of Goshen. Ellis, George Milburn, of Mishawaka, and Thomas S. Stanfield, of South Bend, were called the fathers of the regiment.<sup>104</sup> An announcement was made on October 12, that a company would be recruited in Mishawaka for the Forty-eighth Regiment and that Barnett Byrkit would be captain.<sup>105</sup> Recruiting for this new company went well, especially after a large patriotic rally was held at Town Hall on the evening of November 2, when George Merrifield, Harris Hurlbut, Theodore Cowles, and Milburn made patriotic speeches to arouse enthusiasm.<sup>106</sup> On November 23, Captain Byrkit announced that the recruits of his company were to meet at the town hall on Tuesday morning at eight o'clock prepared to leave for Camp Ellis. He warned them to bring along quilts or blankets for their own use in case the army blankets had not yet arrived at the camp.<sup>107</sup> On November 30, the following announcement appeared in the *Enterprise*:

Thirty-three of Captain Byrkit's Company left here on last Tuesday morning for Camp Ellis at Goshen. They were generally able-bodied and good looking fellows. Previous to leaving they held an election for 1st Lieutenant, which resulted

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<sup>102</sup> Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy, Huttonville, W. Va., to his wife Mary, January 19, 1862, and February 11, 1862, Milroy Papers.

<sup>103</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 65.

<sup>104</sup> E. P. Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War* (South Bend, Ind., [1906?]), 6.

<sup>105</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, October 12, 1861.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, November 2, 1861.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, November 23, 1861.

in the choice of W. A. Judkins. The regiment to which they belong (the 48th) is to be attached to General G. N. Fitch's brigade, and is officered as follows; Colonel N. Eddy; Lieut. Col. M. B. Hascall; Major, Captain Rugg; Quartermaster, C. L. Murry; Adjutant, E. P. Stanfield.<sup>108</sup>

The village seemed empty without the men, for after their departure there was hardly a family that did not have a loved one in far off Virginia or at Goshen. Still, as the old year drew to a close, the citizens looked forward to the joyous Christmas season. Santa Claus came with presents for the children, there were decorated Christmas trees, and the people of the village followed traditional ways in celebrating the birthday of the Savior with religious services. In its last issue of the old year the *Enterprise* stated:

We have not seen as much stir, nor a Christmas pass off as merrily, in Mishawaka for a long time as did last Wednesday. The day and sleighing were beautiful and the town full of people, who seemed bent on having as much fun as possible.<sup>109</sup>

And so as the year 1861 came to an end—a year filled with exciting events but also with heartache and sorrow—the citizens of Mishawaka did not realize how much their lives and their futures had been changed by war. The early months had been frustrating ones, filled with uncertainty about the nation and its future, and the secession of the southern states had brought many changes. People who had not understood the threat of secession, or who could not believe that a civil war was close at hand, were guided by patriotism and determination to save the Union after Fort

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, November 30, 1861. Captain Brykit's company arrived at Camp Ellis in Goshen on November 26, and was mustered into the service of the United States for three years on December 12. They became Company F of the Forty-eighth Regiment. Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, V, 459-460; The William H. Judkins Diary, Vol. I, p. 1. Judkins was a Mishawaka volunteer in Company F of the Forty-eighth Regiment. He served his regiment as commissary sergeant from 1862 to 1864 and as quartermaster from 1864 until the end of the war. Judkins kept a daily record of his experiences from January 1, 1862, until July 27, 1865. This four-volume, handwritten diary is in the possession of Judkins' granddaughters, Mrs. S. D. Hillier and Mrs. George Blair, of Mishawaka. See Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 473, for date of Judkins' commission as quartermaster of the Forty-eighth Regiment.

<sup>109</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, December 28, 1861.

Sumter. Men volunteered and were rushed into the fighting, while at home citizens donated money and worked in various patriotic activities. Later in the year, forces released by war became noticeable in the village. War hysteria and intolerance influenced some people. Inflation increased the hardships of the poor and of the soldiers' families. Gambling, drinking, and other forms of vice were more in evidence. Casualties on the battle fronts had touched few from the village, but in many families there was constant fear that sickness, permanent disability, or death would come to a loved one. To Mishawakans as the year ended, the future was still dark and filled with the uncertainties of war, but now preservation of the Union became a symbol which would sustain and help them continue the fight for what they believed to be right.