

## Mishawaka and Its Volunteers through the Shiloh Campaign

*Ward N. 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. After Fort Sumter, however, people who had not understood the threat of secession or who could not believe that a civil war was close at hand had reacted to the outbreak of the war with enthusiasm, patriotism, and determination to save the Union.<sup>1</sup> Men volunteered and were rushed into the fighting in western Virginia, while at home citizens donated money and worked in various patriotic activities.

During the year 1861 forces released by war became noticeable. Following the Bull Run disaster (July, 1861) there was some disillusionment in Mishawaka, but there was also strong partisan reaction to peace meetings held in adjacent communities; and war hysteria and intolerance influenced some people. Rising demand for army wagons brought prosperity to the village. Factories worked at full capacity, while increased demand for foodstuffs raised the income of farmers. Inflation increased the hardship of the poor and of the soldiers' families. Gambling, drinking, and other forms of vice were more in evidence than formerly. The numbers of men volunteering for new regiments being formed in northern Indiana remained steady. Casualties on the battle fronts had touched few from the village; one man—Robert Boyd—had died from disease in western Virginia. After the volunteers had left the village for the fighting

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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.

front or their training camps, in many families there was the constant fear that sickness, permanent disability, or death would come to a loved one. Mishawakans had been sobered by developments during 1861, and there was little "flag waving" patriotism. As the year 1862 opened, however, there was a feeling of optimism among the citizens that their determination and sacrifices would help bring a successful end to the war and that the Union would be maintained.<sup>2</sup>

The village seemed empty with so many men in the army, for there was hardly a family that did not have a loved one in far off western Virginia or at Camp Ellis at near-by Goshen, Indiana. Active military movements of interest to local citizens had ceased during the winter months, and participation in local social events and finding solutions to community problems became the chief interest of Mishawakans during the early weeks of 1862.

An outbreak of smallpox in neighboring towns caused a scare in the village, and, although the disease did not make headway in Mishawaka, parents were advised by Dr. William Butterworth not to neglect to have their children vaccinated.<sup>3</sup> On January 7 the women's guild of the Episcopal Church gave an oyster supper at the Milburn House to raise money for their contingent expense fund. Tickets were available for 37½¢, and the public was invited. The supper was excellent, and the entertainment, which consisted of a "grab bag" mail delivery, provided an enjoyable evening for those attending.<sup>4</sup> The following week a donation party was held at the home of Reverend Jacob Merrifield. Ladies brought "piles of choice eatables," and monetary donations came to \$50. Much credit for the success of this party was given to Mr. Frank Butler, who used his team and buggy to transport unescorted ladies home from the party.<sup>5</sup>

Two robberies committed Sunday night, January 19, caused much excitement for the citizens. The post office and the grocery store of Stephen H. Judkins were entered and ransacked. At the post office, money and stamps were

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<sup>2</sup> For a description of Mishawakans' activities during the early months of the Civil War, see Ward Baker, "Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVI (June, 1960), 123-152.

<sup>3</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, January 4, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, January 11, 1862.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, January 18, 1862.

taken, but the amount stolen could not be determined. Letters were torn apart and their contents scattered over the floor; it was believed that \$25 were taken from one letter, \$15 from another, and a draft for \$80 from still another. The thief did not find much at the Judkins store—only two or three dollars in coppers and a counterfeit three-dollar bill were taken. No clues to the thief's identity were discovered; this type of robbery had occurred in the past, however, and the consensus was that the thief lived in town and committed a new robbery whenever he needed funds.<sup>6</sup>

One of the problems that confronted the citizens of Mishawaka during the early weeks of 1862 was keeping free schools open for their children. Mishawaka had acquired an enviable reputation for having good schools, and its citizens and teachers had been praised for their cooperation and support of education.<sup>7</sup> In 1848 the town board had levied a school tax of \$1.40 on each \$100 of property evaluation,<sup>8</sup> and in 1849 the first in a series of meetings was held that resulted in the formation in 1851 of the Northern Indiana Teachers' Institute, which became an association of importance for educators in the northern part of the state.<sup>9</sup> Prominent Indiana educators such as Rufas Patch were allowed to use the Mishawaka buildings to operate private schools.<sup>10</sup> The Mishawaka Normal and Academic Institution, a free grade school and a tuition normal school, soon acquired a good reputation throughout the surrounding areas for

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, January 25, 1862.

<sup>7</sup> *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), September 13, 27, October 18, 1849, May 22, 1851. The *Indiana Statesman* (Indianapolis, Ind.), quoted in the *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), April 24, 1851, stated: "The town [Mishawaka] has the best Common School House in the state, and the citizens exhibit a commendable spirit and zeal in the cause of education."

<sup>8</sup> *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), February 18, 1848.

<sup>9</sup> Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York, 1892), 441; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), September 13, 1849. At South Bend in 1853 the organization's name was changed to the Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan Teachers' Institute; Rufas Patch was elected the first president. Fassett A. Cotton, *Education in Indiana, 1793-1934* (Bluffton, Ind., 1934), 294-295.

<sup>10</sup> *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), October 4, 1849, lists Rufas Patch, with a master's degree from Western Reserve College, as principal of the Mishawaka Normal and Academic Institute. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana*, 65, includes Rufas Patch in a list of outstanding educators in Indiana and states: "These were men who gave character to the surviving educational sentiment of their respective neighborhoods; men who left enduring marks upon the local institutions, and made or reformed the communities' reputation."

academic excellence.<sup>11</sup> In 1857, when the Indiana Supreme Court ruled that incorporated towns could not levy a tax for tuition purposes, it became very difficult for Mishawaka to maintain its free schools.<sup>12</sup> Mishawaka had no winter term of free school in 1859, and the only schools open in the village were the Mishawaka Institute and private subscription schools.<sup>13</sup> In 1861 Robert Whitson, the Mishawaka school trustee, by spending money which he hoped to get from the next year's distribution of state common school funds and by borrowing from the local special school fund, was able to keep the schools open for a total of 133 days with an average daily attendance of 234 pupils.<sup>14</sup> An act passed by the general assembly in 1861 stopped this method of school financing by prohibiting school trustees from using anticipated revenue; therefore, when the money received by the town from the state common school fund was exhausted, free schools in Mishawaka were forced to close.<sup>15</sup>

Late in January, 1862, the *Enterprise* announced the closing of free schools in the village. School No. 2, on the north side of the St. Joseph River, under the supervision of Reverend Jacob Merrifield, had had a "very profitable and pleasant term," and on the last day of school, pupils were rewarded by a party at the home of Reverend Merrifield. The Mishawaka Academic and Normal Institute, Professor Lloyd D. Willard, principal, closed a few days later. The *Enterprise* stated that the Institute term had been beneficial for all who attended, that there had been no complaints, and that students had been satisfied with their teachers and courses of study.<sup>16</sup>

At a meeting held on January 26, at the Institute building, Mishawaka School Trustee Whitson reported:

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<sup>11</sup> Baker, "Mishawaka on the Eve of Conflict," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LV (March, 1959), 27.

<sup>12</sup> Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana*, 161-162.

<sup>13</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, November 5, 19, 26, December 3, 1859.

<sup>14</sup> An example of Whitson's financial maneuvering is shown in the village treasurer's report, April 29, 1859, which indicates that \$333.84 was borrowed from the special school fund for the common school fund. Teachers' salaries amounting to \$570.70 were then paid from the common school fund. Mishawaka, City Clerk's Office, Town Board Records, 1845-1892, Vol. I, 132. See Indiana, *Eleventh Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Indiana . . . 1861 and 1862* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1863), 51, for statistics on Mishawaka schools in 1861.

<sup>15</sup> Indiana, *Laws* (1861), 70; *Mishawaka Enterprise*, February 1, 1862.

<sup>16</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, January 25, 1862.

In the matter of this free school I have had it my own way, and so long as it is my duty to look after the welfare of the schools, I must have it my way. The school has been taught 82 days at a cost of \$757.68, which consumes all the money in my hands or to come for this winter. I received from appropriations \$817.84, but owing to overdrawing last winter, it made our school about ten days less than it would have been.<sup>17</sup>

Whitson announced that in 1861 the general assembly had passed a bill to amend the constitution so that incorporated towns would have power to raise revenue by taxation for tuition in addition to funds derived for that purpose from the state. He urged that "every one should use his influence to bring about so desirable a change." Before the meeting adjourned, citizens voted to continue the village schools in their graded form as long as money was available.<sup>18</sup>

Village social activities and problems were important to citizens, but their chief concern and worry was the welfare of the many volunteers from the community. The Ninth Indiana Infantry, of which Company I was made up of volunteers from Mishawaka and Penn Township, had spent the winter on top of Cheat Mountain in western Virginia. The experiences of the Ninth on Cheat Mountain had not been pleasant ones, for there had been much sickness in the regiment because of exposure to the terrible weather,<sup>19</sup> and home folks were relieved when news reached the village that the Ninth was to be moved to Louisville, Kentucky.<sup>20</sup>

On January 9, the regiment left Cheat Mountain with orders to proceed to Louisville.<sup>21</sup> The men were happy to leave their winter camp, and one Mishawaka volunteer stated in a letter home when "we left Cheat Mountain . . . we had been just three months and two days on the Mountain, and it was with glad hearts and joyful shouts that we left, for it had

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1862. See Indiana, *Eleventh Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Indiana . . . 1861 and 1862*, 119, for statistics on Mishawaka schools in 1862.

<sup>18</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, February 1, 1862. The amendment proposed by the general assembly of 1861 failed to receive support in the general assembly of 1863 and consequently was defeated. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana*, 232-233.

<sup>19</sup> Baker, "Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVI (June, 1960), 147-150.

<sup>20</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, January 18, 1862.

<sup>21</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1865-1869), II, 65.

been to us a prison."<sup>22</sup> On January 24, however, regimental orders were changed, and the regiment was detained in camp at Fetterman, Virginia.<sup>23</sup>

There was much sickness and a number of deaths while the regiment was at Fetterman, and the men became discouraged, for rumor had it that they were to be kept "among these miserable mountains."<sup>24</sup> On February 19 the regiment was ordered to Louisville and placed in Brigadier General William Nelson's division of Major General Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio. Early in March they were transported by steamboat to Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>25</sup>

Much closer to home, other Mishawaka volunteers in the Forty-eighth Indiana Volunteers were getting their first experience in army life at Camp Ellis, in Goshen.<sup>26</sup> The Forty-eighth Regiment had been handicapped in securing its necessary number of recruits. A new recruiting system, announced by General George B. McClellan on December 3, 1861, had implied that the Union army was large enough and that no additional volunteers were needed.<sup>27</sup> The unusually severe winter of 1861-1862 and the almost total lack of any preparation for the care of the enlisted men greatly retarded enlistment.<sup>28</sup> Also, the districts from which men to fill the regiment would be drawn had been well canvassed previously to secure

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<sup>22</sup> "Laurel," one of the Mishawaka volunteers, to Editor Alford Wheeler, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), February 6, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> U.S., War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series I, LI, 540; Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy to his wife Mary, January 19, 1862, Milroy Papers (Renesselaer Public Library, Renesselaer, Ind.). The Milroy Papers are mainly of a personal nature, including letters, clippings, and Milroy's diary for the year 1865.

<sup>24</sup> Baker, "Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVI (June, 1960), 150; Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy to his wife Mary, February 11, 1862, Milroy Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 65.

<sup>26</sup> See Baker, "Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVI (June, 1960), 150-151, for an account of the enlistment of the Mishawaka volunteers and their departure for Camp Ellis.

<sup>27</sup> U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series III, I, 722-723; William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York, 1948), 192.

<sup>28</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 17.

men for other regiments.<sup>29</sup> The result was that the prospect of filling the regiment had not been good, but the necessary number of volunteers was finally obtained, partly because of the popularity and hard work of Colonel Norman Eddy, of South Bend, and partly because of the enthusiastic support of Colonel Eddy's many friends in northern Indiana.<sup>30</sup>

To encourage enlistment, many patriotic meetings had been held in St. Joseph County. One held in Mishawaka on November 3, 1861, during which patriotic speeches were made by prominent citizens of the village, aroused enthusiasm for volunteering.<sup>31</sup> As a result of these many enlistment meetings, a large proportion of the officers and men of the Forty-eighth Regiment were from St. Joseph County, and the regiment became a favorite of the citizens of the county.<sup>32</sup> That the regiment was a favorite of Mishawaka citizens would account for the numerous gifts given to its officers by prominent Mishawakans. John Niles, owner of the St. Joseph Manufacturing Company, gave Colonel Eddy a "beautiful high mettled steed," and George Milburn, local wagon manufacturer, gave him a handsome saddle.<sup>33</sup> Later, Milburn presented Colonel Eddy, Captain Barnett Byrkit, and Lieutenants William A. Judkins and Crawford McDonald each "a most beautiful sword and belt." The *Enterprise* reported the gifts and then added: "We have no doubt but what Colonel Eddy

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<sup>29</sup> Elkhart *Review*, quoted in the *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), January 16, 1862. The following Indiana infantry regiments were mustered into the United States's service during the time the Forty-eighth Regiment was being recruited. The Ninth Indiana was mustered at La Porte on August 27, 1861; the Twenty-ninth Indiana at La Porte, August 27, 1861; the Thirtieth Indiana at Fort Wayne, September 24, 1861; the Forty-fourth Indiana at Fort Wayne, October 24, 1861; and the Forty-sixth Indiana at Logansport, October 4, 1861. Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 65, 288, 299, 438, 461.

<sup>30</sup> Elkhart *Review* quoted in the *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), January 16, 1862; Goshen *Times*, November 7, 1861.

<sup>31</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, November 2, 1861.

<sup>32</sup> Timothy Edward Howard, *A History of St. Joseph County, Indiana* (2 vols., Chicago, Ill., 1907), II, 722. The Forty-eighth Regiment was made up of volunteers from the northern part of the state. Company A was from Elkhart County, B from St. Joseph County, C from Marshall County, D from La Porte County, E and F from St. Joseph County, I from Elkhart County, and K from Jasper County. See Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, II, 472-479; and *ibid.*, V, 449-470. The officers of Company F, the Mishawaka company, were: Barnett Byrkit, of Mishawaka, captain; William A. Judkins, of Mishawaka, first lieutenant; Crawford McDonald, of Mishawaka, second lieutenant. *Ibid.*, II, 476.

<sup>33</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, January 11, 1862; *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), January 9, 1862; Goshen *Times*, January 9, 1862.

has by this time a good opinion of Mishawaka liberality as most of his presents in the line of equipment (horse, saddle and sword) have come from here."<sup>34</sup>

Goshen was not far away, so there were many opportunities for volunteers to come home and for citizens to visit Camp Ellis. Early in January, villagers were surprised to see Captain Byrkit and his company march into town. The men had hiked from Goshen in a half-day, and the consensus was that they made a very good and soldierly appearance as they arrived.<sup>35</sup> Individual soldiers also found the opportunity to visit the village on numerous occasions. One soldier recorded that he did the usual things while at home: dating, going to church, having tea with friends, sleigh riding to South Bend, and having a good time with the home folks.<sup>36</sup> On January 8 many Mishawaka citizens took advantage of a special railroad excursion fare of 40¢ to visit their men at Camp Ellis. Their special train of fourteen cars arrived in Goshen around noon. The volunteers were relieved of their military duties, and they and their visitors spent a pleasant afternoon and evening together. The editor of the *Goshen Times* stated that everything was fine except that a street fight was started by some of the "Bully's" from South Bend, but they were promptly thrown in jail by the town marshal.<sup>37</sup>

Not long after the excursion to Camp Ellis, a rumor was repeated in the village that many of the men in the Forty-eighth Regiment were sick with smallpox. This was disturbing news for home folks, especially when a later rumor had it that the citizens of Goshen, being afraid that the disease would spread among their families, were refusing to allow sick soldiers to remain in town.<sup>38</sup> Both rumors proved to be

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<sup>34</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, February 1, 1862. The *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), February 6, 1862, remarked that "Mishawaka is hard to beat in the way of patriotism and liberality."

<sup>35</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, January 4, 1862.

<sup>36</sup> William H. Judkins Diary, Vol. I, 3, 4, 11-13. 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 the date of Judkins' commission as quartermaster of the Forty-eighth Regiment.

<sup>37</sup> William H. Judkins Diary, I, 4; *Goshen Times*, January 9, 1862.

<sup>38</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, February 1, 1862.



false. There was sickness in the regiment, but no smallpox;<sup>39</sup> Captain Byrkit, a carpenter by profession, was ordered to have his men build a hospital at camp, and all sick soldiers were moved from Goshen when smallpox was found in the town.<sup>40</sup>

The men had little to complain about while at Camp Ellis. Their quarters were comfortable and food was plentiful; however, after the organization of the regiment was completed, the continuous drill and monotony of camp life was boring to men who were anxious to "pull trigger on the secesh."<sup>41</sup> At last, in the latter part of January, orders were received for the regiment to recall all absentees and to be ready to move in a few days.<sup>42</sup>

The news that the Forty-eighth would soon leave Goshen reached Mishawaka, and about fifty people decided to make a last visit to Camp Ellis. This time they traveled by sleigh, and since the snow was well packed, the journey took but three hours. The men were busy preparing for their departure, but the regiment was paraded for the visitors, and the Mishawaka people noted with some pride that Captain Byrkit was the largest captain in the regiment. After seeing all their friends at the camp, the Mishawaka folks returned to Goshen, where they had a late afternoon dinner before starting home. The journey back to Mishawaka was an enjoyable one; each sleighing party vied with the others in singing hymns and patriotic songs. All groups arrived safely in the village about eight o'clock.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Hospital Register, Camp Ellis, Goshen, Ind., December 24, 1861, to February 7, 1862, pp. 6-11. This is an unpublished, handwritten ledger which is in the Northern Indiana Historical Society Museum, South Bend, Ind. The register shows that during this time sixty-nine men of the regiment were admitted to the hospital; of these, fifty-one had measles. From January 23 to February 7 there was an outbreak of measles at Camp Ellis, and thirty-seven men were placed in the hospital because of this epidemic, which may account for the smallpox rumor received in Mishawaka.

<sup>40</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, February 1, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Regimental Order Book (An unpublished, handwritten ledger located in the Northern Indiana Historical Society Museum, South Bend, Ind.). Regimental Order No. 1, Camp Ellis, Goshen, January 18, 1862, pertains to care of quarters and distribution of rations. Regimental Order No. 2, Camp Ellis, Goshen, February 4, 1862, pertains to the organization of companies. *Goshen Times*, February 6, 1862.

<sup>42</sup> E. P. Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War* (South Bend, Ind., [1906?]), 7; *Goshen Times*, February 6, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 13.

<sup>43</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, February 8, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 12.

The Forty-eighth Regiment left Goshen on February 7. The men marched from Camp Ellis to the railroad station and were cheered by Goshen citizens who "thronged the streets," but the regimental historian stated: "In black overcoats and without arms our display was not strikingly military."<sup>44</sup> The troop trains were scheduled to arrive in Mishawaka at ten o'clock, and a large gathering of citizens was at the station with the military band to give the men a rousing send-off. The trains were late and many citizens, thinking the men were not coming, went home; however, when the trains did arrive at one o'clock, a large crowd was still at the station and the men were given a good farewell.<sup>45</sup> The journey to Cairo, Illinois, was interesting but tiring for the Hoosier boys. Some of them saw sand dunes and Lake Michigan for the first time, and the rocks and hills of the coal mining country in southern Illinois were also novel and exciting.<sup>46</sup> The men arrived in Cairo at five o'clock on February 8, and the next day they were transported by steamer to Paducah, Kentucky.<sup>47</sup> The regiment was under orders to proceed up the Tennessee River to Fort Donelson to reinforce General James B. McPherson. Not being completely armed, the regiment was held at Paducah; some companies were detailed to be trained as artillerists and others assigned to the provost marshal for guard duty.<sup>48</sup>

After the departure of the men from Camp Ellis, village events again became the chief concern and interest of Mishawaka citizens. Early in February a sharp rise in temperature melted the winter snow, and when heavy rains came, the village and surrounding country were in danger of floods. There was fear for a time that the high water would damage local factories, but serious flooding was averted when a fall in temperature caused the river and races to freeze. Water-

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<sup>44</sup> Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 7; Judkins Diary, I, 13-14.

<sup>45</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, February 8, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 13-14.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from "C," one of the Mishawaka volunteers, to Editor Archibald Beal, Mishawaka *Enterprise*, March 8, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 14.

<sup>47</sup> Judkins Diary, I, 14-15; Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 7-8, describes the group's cold night ride on the steamer *Empress* up the Tennessee River to Paducah.

<sup>48</sup> Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Regimental Order Book, Regimental Order No. 3, Paducah, Ky., February 10, 1862; U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, VII, 597-598.

wheels along both races were jammed by ice, and for over a week all manufacturing in the village ceased, but no permanent damage resulted from the high water.<sup>49</sup>

There was at this time an optimistic feeling in the village that the war would end in a few months. George Milburn, who had been in Washington negotiating for more government contracts for his wagons, reported to the editor of the *Enterprise* when he returned that the Army of the Potomac was about to move and that it was the consensus in Washington that "we have got the rebels into such a fix now that they must succumb soon."<sup>50</sup> A short time later the *Enterprise* carried an announcement that the last meeting of the Soldiers' Aid Society would be held at the home of Mr. Oliver T. Niles on Monday afternoon and evening, February 24. The local society had done a great amount of work since its organization in October, 1861.<sup>51</sup> The inactivity of the military forces during the past winter and the villagers' belief that the coming military campaigns of the Union armies would crush the rebellion caused a decline in enthusiasm for soldier relief work. Meetings of the society were poorly attended, and the organization was dying from lack of interest and support by local people.<sup>52</sup>

Union victories bolstered the belief that the rebellion would soon be crushed. The news of the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee by General Ulysses S. Grant in February created great excitement in Mishawaka. A crowd gathered at the depot to get the latest dispatches, and then

<sup>49</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, February 1, 8, 1862.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1862.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, February 22, 1862. See Baker, "Mishawaka and its Volunteers, Fort Sumter through 1862," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVI (June, 1960), 144-145, for information on the organization of the Soldiers' Aid Society in Mishawaka on October 14, 1861.

<sup>52</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, February 22, 1862. See *ibid.*, March 1, 1862, for the following report which indicates earlier achievements of the Soldiers' Aid Society: "The articles mentioned have been sent at different times during the winter, to Company I, 9th Regiment Indiana Infantry, and to the hospital of said regiment.

20 Pillows	188 Pairs of Socks
13 Pillow Ticks	50 Pairs of Drawers
74 Pairs of Mittens	54 Night Shirts
11 Pairs of Boots	19 Comfortables
14 Dressing Gowns	12 Towels
40 Bundles to individuals	6 Linen Handkerchiefs [sic]
22 Pillow Cases	26 Lbs. Dried Apples
5 Cans Jelly and Currants	1 Ream letter paper
1 Wood saw and two files	500 Envelopes"

men ran excitedly to spread the glorious news. Flags were run up on all important buildings, and the village assumed a festive air in celebration of the victories. In the evening, a number of men gathered to continue the celebration. A large demijohn of whiskey was placed in the center of Main Street and was named Fort Donelson. Men "surrounded it and made many furious onslaughts upon it with a view of capturing the contents . . . at last they succeeded in their object—taking the 'Fort.'"<sup>53</sup>

Neither Mishawaka company was with General Grant at Fort Donelson. The Ninth was still at Fetterman, Virginia, and the Forty-eighth was at Paducah, Kentucky. At Paducah, the experiences of the men of the Forty-eighth were not pleasant, for it was a time of much sickness, discouragement, and a lowering of morale. The delay in receiving its equipment kept the regiment on garrison duty, and even when finally supplied, four companies had to be content with old, inferior Belgian rifles.<sup>54</sup> The men were not kept together; four companies were detached for drill as artillerists, and several for duty as wharf and provost guards. These detachments hindered regimental drill and discipline, and there was little opportunity for officers and men to work together to develop *esprit de corps*.<sup>55</sup> It was also a time of short rations for commissioned officers; the paymaster had overlooked them, and officers did not have money to buy food for their mess.<sup>56</sup> The enlisted men were forced to live in old, rotten tents which gave little protection from rain and cold; this exposure increased sickness among the poorly disciplined and discouraged volunteers. While the men were at Paducah, 187 were hospitalized, and 26 died from measles, pneumonia,

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, February 22, 1862. See Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union: War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863* (2 vols., New York, 1960), II, 88-108, for a good discussion of the reasons for the optimism and cheerfulness of the northern people in the spring of 1862.

<sup>54</sup> Orderly Sergeant Newton Bingham, Mishawaka volunteer, to Editor Beal, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, March 1, 1862; letters from Regimental Surgeon Levi J. Ham to the editor, *Goshen Times*, February 27, March 13, 1862.

<sup>55</sup> Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 8; Judkins Diary, I, 18; Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Regimental Order Book, Regimental Order No. 3, Paducah, Ky., February 10, 1862.

<sup>56</sup> Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 8.

diarrhea, and fever.<sup>57</sup> Patrick Shields, Albert Corn, Lewis Andrews, Henry Cook, and William Rockwell from Company F, the Mishawaka company, were among those who died.<sup>58</sup>

In the latter part of March came disappointment. The regiment was ordered to join General William Tecumseh Sherman at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, but at the last moment orders were changed, and the Sixth Iowa Volunteers replaced the Indiana regiment. This was a bitter blow to morale, and several officers, believing that the war would be over before they would get away from Paducah, threatened to resign and then volunteer for duty with a regiment already at the front.<sup>59</sup> This change of orders was perhaps a fortunate one for the men of the Forty-eighth Regiment. The Sixth Iowa joined General Sherman, was heavily engaged at the battle of Shiloh, and sustained casualties of 183 men.<sup>60</sup>

In Mishawaka during March, the villagers experienced one of the worst storms of the year. It rained, sleeted, and then snowed to a depth of eight inches, causing very disagreeable conditions for a few days. Nonetheless, fine spring "sugar weather" soon arrived, and local farmers made large quantities of maple sugar which they sold to villagers for 10¢ a pound.<sup>61</sup> With the coming of spring, there was an increase of interesting activities for home folks. For example, young people started their popular pastime of night serenading; the editor of the *Enterprise* reported that young people serenaded him one night with his favorite Negro melodies and that he enjoyed the singing and wished the young people would come again soon.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*; letters from Regimental Surgeon Ham, *Goshen Times*, February 27, March 27, 1862; Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Hospital Register, Paducah, Ky., February 12 to April 15, 1862, 12-21.

<sup>58</sup> The Hospital Register, cited in note 57, shows that Patrick Shields, Albert Corn, and Henry Cook died of measles, Lewis Andrews of influenza, and William Rockwell of typhoid fever.

<sup>59</sup> Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 9; the *Elkhart Review*, April 5, 1862, printed a rumor that the Forty-eighth Regiment was to be disbanded and sent home. The editor of the *Review* stated however, that "we will bet our old hat that no regiment of as good soldiers as the 48th is composed of will ever be permitted to return home until it has had a chance to test its mettle."

<sup>60</sup> U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, p. 103.

<sup>61</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, March 22, 29, 1862.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, March 8, 15, 1862.

The *Enterprise* printed a report by School Trustee Whitson showing that the financial condition of the Mishawaka schools was not good. The common school fund had a balance of only \$3.32, while the special school fund had a deficit of \$149.22.<sup>63</sup> Later Whitson announced that the winter term of the Mishawaka Normal and Academic Institute would end on April 11. Examinations in the senior department would be held on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday; and in the primary department examinations would be on Thursday afternoon. On Friday, rhetorical exercises and singing would be given between classes, and the term would be concluded on Monday evening, April 14, with dialogues, declamations, and singing. All patrons and others interested in education were cordially invited to attend closing ceremonies.<sup>64</sup>

A farewell donation party for the Methodist minister, Reverend Mr. Thomas Stabler, who was being transferred, was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Fay and was an important social function. Seventy-one dollars was donated by guests, and a very nice evening was had by all. The following Sunday, the Reverend Mr. Stabler preached his last Mishawaka sermon, which he ended with these words: "When I came among you two years ago our country was at peace, now as I am about to leave you it is distracted by a civil war. My parting words are . . . stand by the flag of your country and the Cross of Jesus Christ."<sup>65</sup>

There was crime that spring. The smokehouse of Fred Maurer was entered, and sixteen hams and shoulders and a half-barrel of soap were taken. The *Enterprise* stated: "A search warrant and the closest scrutiny have failed, as yet, to discover their whereabouts or who the thieves are." Also, a man from South Bend, Charles Clemmens, was wounded by a shotgun blast. Clemmens had been drinking heavily at a "low doggery," called the "Break-o-Day," two miles west of Mishawaka. When refused any more to drink he started a fight, kicked down the stove, and beat the woman who ran the establishment. The woman's son grabbed a gun and wounded Clemmens in the back of the neck; fortunately, the gun was not heavily loaded, or Clemmens might have been killed. None of the people involved was arrested, and Clemmens was able to ride home the next day.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1862.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, April 5, 1862.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 29, April 5, 1862.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, March 29, 1862.

With the coming of spring and the increased activity of the Union armies, villagers showed renewed interest in the experiences of their volunteers. The Ninth Regiment was now at Nashville, Tennessee, and letters written home by some of the men were printed in local newspapers. Warren Giles wrote on March 9 that in a recent inspection Company I was commended by Colonel William B. Hazen, Nineteenth Brigade commander, for having the cleanest guns and quarters in the brigade. He added that this praise "made Captain Houghton feel very proud, and I guess the boys didn't feel bad about it either."<sup>67</sup> A letter printed by the *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend) told of a training march by General Nelson's division on which the men had a chance for some historical sight-seeing.

... we marched twelve miles on the Lebanon pike, to the old "Hermitage," once the residence of General Jackson, and saw the house in which he lived and died, and also his tomb; the house is in good condition though it has been standing for a good many years; the yard is fixed off in fine style, and looks beautiful. While we were marching round and looking at the tomb, the cannon fired a national salute of 34 guns; we wasted about two and a half hours and returned to camp, where we arrived at sundown, having marched 24 miles from six a.m. to this time.<sup>68</sup>

Sergeant William H. Criswell, of Company I, came home on recruiting service in March, but he had been home only a short time when all recruiting was stopped by order of the federal government, and recruiting officers were ordered to return to their regiments.<sup>69</sup> Criswell announced in the *Enterprise* that he would take back with him any letters or packages that home folks might wish to send to their loved ones. Before he could leave, however, news of a great battle in Tennessee reached the village, and it was rumored that the Ninth In-

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<sup>67</sup> Warren Giles, Mishawaka volunteer, to Editor Archibald Beal, *ibid.*, March 22, 1862.

<sup>68</sup> "Laurel," Mishawaka volunteer, to Editor Alford Wheeler, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), April 3, 1862.

<sup>69</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, April 12, 1862; Secretary of War Edwin B. Stanton issued a general order on April 3, 1862, stating that "the recruiting service for volunteers will be discontinued in every State from this date. The officers detached on volunteer recruiting service will join their regiments without delay. . . ." U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series III, II, 3. Fred A. Shannon, "State Rights and the Union Army," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (June, 1925), 65, states that Stanton's order stopping all recruiting was "one of the colossal blunders of the war."

diana was a part of the reinforcements brought in by General Buell.<sup>70</sup>

The Ninth Indiana was in Nelson's division of General Buell's Army of the Ohio that reinforced General Grant's hard-pressed men at Shiloh late Sunday evening, April 6. Nelson's division, the van of Buell's army, had left Nashville, Tennessee, on March 17, and had moved by easy marches westward.<sup>71</sup> On Sunday morning, April 6, they were fifteen miles from Savannah, Tennessee, and here General Nelson received Grant's first request for reinforcements.<sup>72</sup> Letters from men of the Ninth Infantry describe their experiences as they hurried to the scene of battle and their part in the severe fighting on Monday.

So they put us through about fifteen miles to Savannah by noon; here we stopped long enough to cook dinner, and then we had to go it at a run for 10 or 11 miles to the ferry by sundown, and by eight our Division—General Nelson's—was in line on the battlefield; we received orders to move forward and take up an advanced position, which we did at about 12 p.m. <sup>73</sup>

We reached the river opposite the battle-field just before dark; crossed over soon after on steamers to join in the conflict. Our men under General Grant had given way; and at dark when the firing ceased, prospects looked gloomy on our side. We drew up in line of battle, about one half mile from the landing, and came to a parade rest;—stood there and sat down occasionally during the night. Soon as day began to dawn we took up our march to confront our enemy. Shortly the woods commenced ringing with the sound of cannon and musketry. The enemy fell back to a strong position and the Ninth came to a halt

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<sup>70</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 12, 1862.

<sup>71</sup> General Halleck's orders to General Buell to concentrate the Army of the Ohio at Savannah, Tenn., were issued on March 16, 1862. U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 2, pp. 42-44. Colonel Jacob Ammen, commander of the Tenth Brigade of the Fourth Division (Nelson's) stated in his diary, "March 17: The 4th Division struck tents and took up the line of march. . . ." Colonel Ammen kept a good diary account of the Shiloh campaign. Extracts are printed in *ibid.*, X, pt. 1, 329-339. See Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War*, Vol. III, *Grant's First Year in the West* (New York, 1952), 324-337, for a discussion of General Buell's slow march from Nashville to Savannah, Tenn.

<sup>72</sup> General Nelson's report, U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, p. 323; Colonel Ammen's Diary, *ibid.*, 331; see *ibid.*, Series I, X, pt. 2, p. 95, for Grant's urgent request for Nelson to push his division forward.

<sup>73</sup> Amos Dayhoff, *Mishawaka* volunteer, convalescing in *Mishawaka* from wounds received at Shiloh, to Editor Alford Wheeler, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), April 24, 1862.



near a line of rail fence. We poured into them volley after volley while their deadly missiles were being hurled at us. We opened the battle on Monday morning and fired the first gun, stood longest in the field without relief.<sup>74</sup>

In the official reports of the Battle of Shiloh, the Ninth Indiana Volunteers were commended for their heroism and gallantry. Brigadier General Nelson, commander of the Fourth Division, stated in his report, "I refer the general to the reports of the brigade commanders for the part each regiment took in the action, reserving to myself only to mention that during the action I rode up and thanked the Ninth Indiana Regiment for its gallantry."<sup>75</sup> Later General Nelson presented the regiment with a splendid flag to show his regard for their brave and gallant service.<sup>76</sup> Colonel William B. Hazen, commander of the Nineteenth Brigade, reported, "It is proper here to say that the Ninth Indiana Volunteers, which lost one officer and several men in the morning's engagement, showed remarkable coolness and fortitude during the entire time."<sup>77</sup> Colonel Gideon C. Moody, colonel of the Ninth Indiana, described how the regiment actively engaged the enemy throughout the day, was in several charges, and engaged in a fire fight with the enemy for several hours.<sup>78</sup>

Probably the first newspaper in the North to print an account of the Battle of Shiloh was the New York *Herald*. This newspaper scored a "scoop" when it published on April 10 an eyewitness account of the battle written by an enterprising correspondent, W. C. Carroll. Carroll's dispatch was a brief, enthusiastic but inaccurate account of a great Union victory and contained a fantastic overstatement of the number of

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<sup>74</sup> John H. Violett, a Goshen volunteer in Company G, Ninth Indiana Infantry, dated Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., April 10, 1862, to the editor, *Goshen Times*, May 1, 1862. See U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, p. 331-335, for Colonel Ammen's good account of the forced march of Nelson's division to Pittsburg Landing on Sunday April 6, 1862.

<sup>75</sup> See *ibid.*, 325, for General Nelson's report.

<sup>76</sup> John W. Coons (comp.), *Indiana at Shiloh: Report of the Commission, Indiana Shiloh National Park Commission* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1904), 97; Francis Trevelyan Miller (ed.), *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols., New York, 1957), I, 207, has a picture of the Ninth Regiment Indiana Volunteers taken after the battle of Shiloh.

<sup>77</sup> U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, p. 341.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 342.

casualties. "The slaughter on both sides is immense. We have lost in killed, wounded and missing, from 18,000 to 21,000. That of the enemy is estimated at from 35,000 to 40,000."<sup>79</sup> The *Herald* story was published by the *Enterprise* on April 12.<sup>80</sup> On April 14 the *Cincinnati Gazette* published a long and more detailed story of the battle written by Whitelaw Reid, who used the pen name "Agate." Reid's story told of bloody and confused fighting, of a Union army surprised in its camp, and of incompetent and blundering Union commanders.<sup>81</sup> A large proportion of the men who fought at Shiloh were in regiments drawn from the western states.<sup>82</sup> First accounts of the battle, when reprinted by town and village newspapers throughout the West, caused a pall of concern and anxiety to settle over the people of this region, for

the shock to the community was one never to be forgotten. The high tension of feeling, the suppressed excitement and the awful suspense were oppressive, and it was days before the parents and relatives of the boys in the fight knew the fate of these boys so engaged.<sup>83</sup>

It was on April 14 that news concerning the men of Company I was received by villagers. Captain Houghton had been wounded while leading a charge against a battery of enemy guns, and Corporal Jesse Miller and Private Daniel Ungry were killed in the same charge. Eleven other men from the company had been wounded in the battle. Houghton died about twelve hours later, and citizens were saddened when they heard that his last words were, "Tell my wife that I

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<sup>79</sup> Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action* (New York, 1954), 99-100; Bruce Catton, *Grant Moves South* (Boston, 1960), 251-252.

<sup>80</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 12, 1862; *Elkhart Review*, April 12, 1862.

<sup>81</sup> Starr, *Bohemian Brigade*, 102-103; Catton, *Grant Moves South*, 252-254.

<sup>82</sup> There were 111 infantry regiments in Grant's and Buell's armies at the Battle of Shiloh. One hundred and seven of these regiments were from the western states. Illinois provided 27, Ohio 27, Indiana 17, Kentucky 12, Iowa 11, Missouri 6, Wisconsin 3, Michigan 3, and Nebraska 1. Of the remaining four regiments, one was from Pennsylvania and three were United States Regular Infantry. U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, pp. 100-108.

<sup>83</sup> Henry C. Barnett, "Civil War Recollections," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (March, 1942), 68-69. The *Cincinnati Gazette's* story of the Battle of Shiloh was reprinted in the *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 26, 1862.

tried to do my duty and die like a man." The *Enterprise* stated that the news "created a sensation of the deepest sorrow."<sup>84</sup>

The next day citizens gathered at the town hall to decide how they could help their sick and wounded men, and finally after much discussion definite plans were made. It was agreed that someone from the village should be sent at once to Shiloh, where he could ascertain what home folks could do for the men and while there arrange to have the bodies of the Mishawaka casualties sent home for burial. Two committees were formed: one to raise money for medicines and supplies, and another to make arrangements to receive the bodies of the dead and to make preparations for their burial in the village cemetery. Two hundred dollars were subscribed by citizens, and George Milburn was chosen to visit the men at Shiloh. Milburn left for Indianapolis that night.<sup>85</sup>

Milburn was a resourceful and energetic man, and he completed the task assigned by his fellow townsmen. While away from the village, he kept home folks informed by letters, which were published in the *Enterprise*, about his experiences and observations. He arrived in Indianapolis early Tuesday morning and found that a train carrying Indiana men wounded at Shiloh would soon arrive from Terre Haute.<sup>86</sup> He talked with the Mishawaka men who were on the train, and from them gathered more information concerning the wounded. William Gilman, Amos Dayhuff, Peter Cottrell, and Peter Sternberry were on the train being sent home. These men told him that Sherman Stebbins, Jonas Dressler, John Lunday, and William Giles had not been seriously

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<sup>84</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 19, 1862.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* Governor Morton throughout the war showed great concern for the welfare of Indiana troops in the field, but at no time were his exertions more earnest than after the Battle of Shiloh. William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, Including His Important Speeches* (2 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1899), I, 165; Olin D. Morrison, *Indiana's Care for Her Soldiers in the Field: 1861-1865 (Studies in American History, Indiana University Studies, Vol. XII, Nos. 66-68; Bloomington, Ind., 1926)*, 282-283. Later there was criticism leveled at Governor Morton by the United States Sanitary Commission, which charged that Indiana took care of only its own troops and did not cooperate with other states. Also, some generals claimed that the interference of Morton and the Indiana Sanitary Commission was demoralizing to the service. See *ibid.*, 284; and Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 334-341.

wounded and that they had remained with the regiment. Thomas Brown, wounded in the elbow, Samuel Tabor, wounded in the leg, and Hanson Beck, who had a fractured skull, had been sent to the government hospital at Evansville. Also, Milburn learned that Captain Houghton was buried near the river landing at Shiloh, and a marker had been placed on his grave. The bodies of Miller and Ungry had been buried in a mass grave, and there was nothing to distinguish their resting place.<sup>87</sup>

Convinced that he could do nothing more for the wounded at Indianapolis, Milburn left for Evansville at eleven o'clock the same day. He wrote two letters from this place, one on April 16 and another the following day. By this time many of the wounded Indiana men, who had been brought to Evansville from the battlefield, had been transferred to hospitals in other Indiana towns, but the Mishawaka men were too seriously injured to be moved.<sup>88</sup> Milburn wrote after he had visited them that he believed they were receiving good nursing and medical care. He also informed home folks that additional doctors and nurses were not needed at this time but suggested that the Ladies' Aid Society increase its efforts to gather needed supplies for the troops. While at Evansville, Milburn reported that a doctor from La Porte who had been at Shiloh had told him that Houghton's body could not be shipped home at this time. He was advised to have the grave well marked,

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<sup>87</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, April 19, 1862. Milburn telegraphed what he had learned about casualties in Company I to Editor Alford Wheeler, *St. Joseph Valley Register* (South Bend, Ind.), April 17, 1862.

<sup>88</sup> Mishawaka *Enterprise*, April 26, 1862. The heavy casualties at Shiloh and the speed with which Indiana men were transported home taxed the capacity of the Indiana river towns to care for the men. "After Shiloh, the river was filled with steamboats carrying the wounded. . . . Hospital boats with their yellow flags dotted the river from Cairo to Cincinnati." Milford M. Miller, "Evansville Steamboats During the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVII (December, 1941), 371-372. Morton reorganized the hospital service of the river towns and endeavored to see that all wounded would be well cared for. Morrison, *Indiana's Care for Her Soldiers in the Field: 1861-1865*, 282. For the response of citizens of Indiana river towns to these wounded men, see Joseph Herman Schauinger (ed.), "Some Letters of Judge Jeremiah C. Sullivan," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVII (September, 1941), 272; and Adah Jackson (ed.), "Glimpses of Civil War Newburgh: An Account of Eliza Bethell Warren's Girlhood in Newburgh, Indiana, 1855-1870," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLI (June, 1945), 178.

and perhaps later, during cold weather, the body could be shipped home for burial.<sup>89</sup>

While at Evansville, Milburn was unable to secure permission to visit the battlefield.<sup>90</sup> Being a resourceful man, however, he went on to Paducah to visit the Forty-eighth Regiment, and while there, with the assistance of Major DeWitt G. Rugg, secured the necessary pass.<sup>91</sup> At Shiloh he stayed several days with the Mishawaka men, many of whom he found to be sick and discouraged. There was little that could be done for them, but his visit and the knowledge that home folks were concerned about their welfare did ease their homesickness and raise their morale. While at the battlefield, Milburn became ill with diarrhea and soon after was forced to leave for home.<sup>92</sup> On the return trip he again visited the men at Paducah, and after a short stay there returned to Mishawaka on April 27, quite sick and very much exhausted from his travels.<sup>93</sup>

Meanwhile the Union army, now commanded by Major General Henry W. Halleck, was concentrating at Pittsburg Landing in preparation for an attack on Corinth, Mississippi.<sup>94</sup> On April 22, the Forty-eighth Regiment, still doing garrison duty at Paducah, was ordered to the front.<sup>95</sup> There was a great amount of singing and cheering in the regiment as the men made preparations to leave Paducah. The hardships and

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<sup>89</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 26, 1862. Captain Houghton's body was not shipped home for burial. During a visit to the Shiloh battlefield the author found that Houghton's grave is unknown. There are 1,234 known and 2,362 unknown graves in the Shiloh National Military Cemetery. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), 19.

<sup>90</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, April 26, 1862.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, May 3, 1862. Milburn arrived at Paducah on April 18—on his way to Pittsburg Landing. Judkins Diary, I, 34.

<sup>92</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 3, 1862.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* Milburn arrived back at Paducah on April 23—on his way to Mishawaka—and left for Mishawaka on April 25. Judkins Diary, I, 35-36.

<sup>94</sup> See U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 2, pp. 138, 144, for General Halleck's Special Orders Nos. 31 and 35, ordering the concentration and organization of the army for the Corinth campaign. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, III, 410-411, discusses General Halleck's concentration and reorganization of the Union army.

<sup>95</sup> Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Regimental Order Book, Special Order No. 253, Paducah, Ky., April 22, 1862.

disappointments were forgotten, and there was an immediate rise in spirit and morale at the prospect of active service. One volunteer described the excitement:

Marching orders. All is excitement. The companies are cooking and packing. The boys are cheering and singing. The 48th are in for the decisive battle which is to decide the contest in the Mississippi valley. All the troops of this place are bound for Corinth. Our trust is in God and the righteousness of our cause.<sup>96</sup>

On April 27 the men left Paducah, never to return again during the war. At Pittsburg Landing the regiment was placed in the First Brigade (Buford), Third Division (Hamilton), of the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by Major General John Pope.<sup>97</sup>

After Shiloh and before the impending battle at Corinth, Governor Morton saw a need for additional surgeons, and he secured permission from the War Department to send to each Indiana regiment in active service in Tennessee two additional assistant surgeons.<sup>98</sup> Morton at once selected surgeons of good standing and dispatched them to the field with instructions to remain as long as their services were required.<sup>99</sup> Dr. William Butterworth and Henry Towle, a young man who acted as his nurse, left Mishawaka in response to this call from Governor Morton.<sup>100</sup> They joined the Forty-eighth Regiment on May 9 and remained with it until after the fall of Corinth.<sup>101</sup> During the slow advance of the Union

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<sup>96</sup> Letter dated Paducah, Ky., April 22, from Regimental Surgeon Levi J. Ham to the editor, *Goshen Times*, May 1, 1862.

<sup>97</sup> Forty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Regimental Order Book, Special Order No. 277, Paducah, Ky., April 27, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 37; Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Volunteers*, 9; U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 2, p. 187.

<sup>98</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 351. See U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series III, II, 23, for Governor Morton's telegram to Secretary of War Stanton proposing "to send at once to each of them [the Indiana regiments] two additional assistant surgeons. . . ." See *ibid.*, 24, for a telegram from P. H. Watson, assistant secretary of war, to Morton granting permission to send "to each of the Indiana regiments in the field in Tennessee two additional assistant surgeons. . . ."

<sup>99</sup> Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General*, I, 351; Morrison, *Indiana's Care for Her Soldiers in the Field: 1861-1865*, 299.

<sup>100</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 3, 1862.

<sup>101</sup> Dr. Butterworth and Henry Towle joined the Forty-eighth Indiana Volunteers on May 9. Towle left for home on June 1, but Butterworth remained with the regiment until June 13, 1862. Judkins Diary, I, 44, 52.

army on Corinth, Dr. Butterworth and Towle had many opportunities to visit their friends in the Ninth Regiment. Most of the men of the Ninth had recovered from their terrible experiences at Shiloh and were in good spirits, but some of the Mishawaka boys were quite sick with dysentery. Dr. Butterworth tried to get permission to send the sick men home, but he was unsuccessful, and they remained with the regiment throughout the Corinth campaign.<sup>102</sup>

Following the occupation of Corinth on May 30, General Halleck, believing that the proper strategy was to control important railroads and occupy strategic cities, dispersed the large federal army that had been concentrated during the Corinth campaign.<sup>103</sup> The members of the Ninth Regiment, veterans of several hard campaigns, went with General Buell's Army of the Ohio in a drive towards Chattanooga, while the Forty-eighth Regiment, now with General W. S. Rosecrans' Army of the Mississippi, remained throughout the summer in Tishomingo County, Mississippi, guarding the railroad center at Cornith.<sup>104</sup> Dr. Butterworth and Towle, their services no longer needed by the army, returned to Mishawaka in June.<sup>105</sup>

The bloody fighting of the spring months had brought an abrupt change in the thinking of Mishawakans. They had

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-42. Dr. Butterworth to the editor, *Mishawaka Enterprise*, May 17, 1862. Major General Buell's report covering the Corinth campaign states: "The circumstances attending and following the battle of Shiloh subjected my troops to the greatest discomfort. . . . These privations produced a serious effect on the health of the troops, and dysentery of a threatening type prevailed very generally among the officers and men." U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 1, p. 672.

<sup>103</sup> On June 10, 1862, in Special Field Order No. 90, issued by General Halleck, Generals Grant, Buell, and Pope were ordered to resume command of their separate army corps. U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, X, pt. 2, p. 288. A good discussion of General Halleck's problems in the West following the fall of Corinth can be found in Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, III, 428-439.

<sup>104</sup> See General Halleck's report covering his operations in the West up to the time he was transferred to Washington in July, 1862. U.S., War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, XVI, pt. 1, p. 5. Stanfield, *The 48th Regiment Indiana Volunteers*, 11, records, "Here [Tishomingo County, Miss.] we spent the summer and part of the autumn of 1862."

<sup>105</sup> *Mishawaka Enterprise*, June 7, 1862; Judkins Diary, I, 49, 52. Dr. Butterworth later served as regimental surgeon of the Ninety-ninth Indiana Volunteers. Daniel R. Lucas, *History of the 99 Indiana Infantry: Containing a Diary of Marches, Incidents, Biography of Officers and Complete Rolls* (Lafayette, Ind., 1865), 91-92.

mourned their dead, and to the best of their ability had cared for the wounded; then, hiding their grief, villagers had resumed their ways of life. But the fighting had taken a terrible toll, and never again throughout the war would home folks be as optimistic about its outcome as they had been during the early months of the year. Before Shiloh, problems caused by the war had been regarded as troublesome but temporary ones which would be solved by the coming of peace; now these problems loomed larger and there was little hope of quick solutions. Trying to fill the new regiments when men would not volunteer, collecting money and supplies for the soldiers' families and the poor, combating the increase in drunkenness and crime, and forestalling inflation were no longer temporary problems. The dead and wounded men, casualties of the inconclusive fighting of the past months, had brought a grim realization that if the war was to be won and the Union restored, continued hard work and sacrifice would be required from all.