

AN AVERAGE REGIMENT:  
A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE 19TH INDIANA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY OF  
THE IRON BRIGADE

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## Acknowledgments

The origins of this thesis began in the first few years of the early 2000s when I first read Alan T. Nolan's *The Iron Brigade*. At this time, I already had an interest in the Civil War and military history in general. At IUPUI, I had the opportunity to examine one of the regiments of the Iron Brigade, the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment as an undergraduate. This regiment has been referred to as the "pet regiment" of Indiana's governor, Oliver P. Morton. As a graduate student and a long process of determining a thesis topic, I arrived at conducting a critical examination of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade.

A thesis requires a great deal of work to reach its completion. I would like to first thank my advisor Anita Morgan. Over the past five years as an undergraduate and graduate student she has nurtured an appreciation of history that has helped take this thesis from its original idea to its completed form. Also, I would like to thank the two other members of my committee Eric L. Saak and Stephen Towne. Their insights have also helped take this thesis to its completed form.

One thing that was required to complete the thesis is an extensive amount of research conducted at various repositories. Repositories visited include the Indiana State Archives, the Indiana State Library, the Indiana Historical Society, the Lilly Library at Indiana University, the Cincinnati History Library and Archive at the Cincinnati Museum Center, and the University Library at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis. The staff at these locations took an interest in what I was researching, provided assistance recommending material to examine, and put up with multiple visits from me over the course of this thesis.

My parents James and Delores Crocker assisted in innumerable and invaluable ways. Their support, assistance, and love ensured that I could get through the difficult period of earning degrees. Finally, I would like to thank my wonderful girlfriend, Brandi Elaine Banter. She has put up with this thesis through the entire process—and yet surprisingly, for some reason, still loves me.

Jared Anthony Crocker

AN AVERAGE REGIMENT: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE 19TH INDIANA VOLUNTEER  
INFANTRY OF THE IRON BRIGADE

The 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment is one of the most famous regiments of the Civil War through its membership in the Iron Brigade of the Union Army of the Potomac. This brigade has been hailed as an elite unit of the Civil War. This thesis is a regimental history which critically examines the socio-economic profile of the 19th Indiana and the combat record of the Iron Brigade. This thesis finds that the 19th Indiana is largely reflective of the rest of the Union Army in terms of its socio-economic profile. Also, the combat record of the brigade was not overly successful and not necessarily deserving of being singled out from among the hundreds of other brigades in the Civil War.

Anita Morgan, Ph.D., Chair

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## Introduction

On July 29, 1861, the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment marched off to war for three years. Over the course of the war, hundreds of regiments mobilized for service in the Union army; and hundreds of thousands of Union soldiers died, or were wounded on hundreds of battlefields, or died of disease while in camp. This regiment fought in thirteen battles, a number of skirmishes, and suffered heavy casualties. The regiment lost 316 men dead due to combat, disease, and accidents.<sup>1</sup> These losses are not substantially different from many other regiments; but the 19th Indiana has become one of the more famous regiments, due in large part to its association with one of the war's most iconic brigades—the Union Army of the Potomac's Iron Brigade.<sup>2</sup>

The Iron Brigade and its regiments are some of the most famous units in American military history. Historian Alan T. Nolan stated “the Iron Brigade frequently appears in books about the Civil War. Even writers of survey accounts mention the brigade in passing.”<sup>3</sup> The frequency with which this brigade is discussed in Civil War literature can be seen by the number of books and articles written about the Iron Brigade and the 19th Indiana since 1988. There have

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<sup>1</sup> “19<sup>th</sup> Regiment Engaged in,” unknown date, 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence Book, Indiana State Archives, Indiana Archives and Records Administration, Indianapolis, IN. Hereafter the Indiana Archives and Records Administration is cited as ISA and the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Correspondence Book is cited as 19th IVI Correspondence Book; William F. Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865: A Treatise on the extent and nature of the mortuary losses in the Union regiments, with full and exhaustive statistics compiled from the official records on file in the state military bureaus and at Washington* (Albany, NY: Brandow Publishing Company, 1889), 343.

<sup>2</sup> During the Civil War, two Union brigades were known as the Iron Brigade. The more famous of the two brigades originally contained the 19th Indiana and three Wisconsin regiments (the 2nd, 6th, and 7th, another regiment—the 24th Michigan—eventually joined the brigade), and can be called the Western Iron Brigade. The other brigade called the Iron Brigade also served in the Federal Army of the Potomac, and can be called the Eastern Iron Brigade. Whenever the term Iron Brigade is used here, it will refer to the Iron Brigade which contained the 19th Indiana. For further information on the Eastern Iron Brigade in the Union army refer to Thomas Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011). For more information on the Western Iron Brigade (up to Gettysburg), refer to Alan T. Nolan, *The Iron Brigade: A Military History* (1961; repr, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, xiii. Nolan might be referring here to the works written by Bruce Catton or Kenneth P. Williams. See Bruce Catton, *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (1951; repr., Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1962), 17-25, 40-41, 163, 173, 217, 238-239, 267, 272, 320; Bruce Catton, *Glory Road: The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1952), 10-14, 42, 46-48, 98, 141, 215, 217, 271, 273-274, 279-280, 282, 303, 323; Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1950), 320, 591, 683, 684, 687, 690.

been four books and one article written about the 19th Indiana; in addition there has been one edited collection of essays about the Iron Brigade and five books about the brigade.<sup>4</sup> The Iron Brigade was the only all western brigade in the Army of the Potomac and wore the iconic black Hardee Hat (given to them by one of its brigade commanders, John Gibbon in 1862). These black hats gave the brigade another name—the Black Hat Brigade.<sup>5</sup> Over the course of the war, the Iron Brigade suffered 1,131 men killed or mortally wounded—a number which represents the greatest numerical loss for a Union brigade in the entire war.<sup>6</sup> The Iron Brigade also fought two iconic Confederate brigades—the Stonewall and the Texas. Finally, the brigade fought in two of the bloodiest battles in American history—Antietam and Gettysburg. The brigade has been referred to qualitatively as “one of the best units in the army,” “the hardest-fighting outfit in the Army of the Potomac,” “shock troops,” possibly “the best combat infantry brigade of the American Civil War,” “a hard fighting outfit,” and a unit that won “special fame in the Union Army.”<sup>7</sup> Even though the Iron Brigade, and by extension the 19th Indiana, have received such accolades, this thesis will argue that the brigade and regiment are not as distinctive as these accolades make them

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<sup>4</sup> Craig L. Dunn, *Iron Men Iron Will: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment of the Iron Brigade* (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, 1995); Alan D. Gaff, *Brave Men's Tears: The Iron Brigade at Brawner Farm* (Dayton, OH: Morningside House, Inc., 1988); Alan D. Gaff, “‘Here Was Made Out Our Last and Hopeless Stand.’ The ‘Lost’ Gettysburg Reports of the Nineteenth Indiana,” *The Gettysburg Magazine* 2 (January 1990): 25-32; Alan D. Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); William E. Galyean, *They Nearly All Died: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment in the Civil War* (New York, NY: iUniverse, 2010); Alan T. Nolan and Sharon Eggleston Vipond, eds. *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats: Essays on the Iron Brigade*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Lance J. Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade in Civil War and Memory: The Black Hats from Bull Run to Appomattox and Thereafter* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2012); Lance J. Herdegen, *The Men Stood Like Iron: How the Iron Brigade Won its Name* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Lance J. Herdegen, *Those Damned Black Hats!: The Iron Brigade in the Gettysburg Campaign* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2008); Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*; William Thomas Venner, *Hoosiers' Honor: The Iron Brigade's 19th Indiana Regiment* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1998); Jeffrey Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor: The Common Soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, C.S.A., and the Iron Brigade, U.S.A* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> For details regarding the uniform of the Iron Brigade see Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 292-295.

<sup>6</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865*, 66 and 117.

<sup>7</sup> James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 528 and 654; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 142; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, xi; Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The First Day* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 70; Russell F. Weigley, *A Great Civil War: A Military and Political History, 1861-1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 139.

appear. The 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade were an average regiment and brigade that did an average job.

This thesis—as do all works on the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade—belongs in the field of military history. Military history is one of the oldest areas of historical study. The most basic definition of military history is the study of mankind at war. As Tami Davis Biddle and Robert M. Citino state, critics of military history wrongly see it as the deeds of the great commanders, the maneuvering of units and lines across a map, and/or the outright glorification of warfare.<sup>8</sup> Some critics of military history see the subject as not academically rigorous, adding little if anything to historical scholarship.<sup>9</sup> This perception is largely driven by the myriad of non-academic, popular military histories that can outnumber quality academic histories. These non-academic military histories give the entire field of military history the perception of amateurism—even though there are three broad categories of military history “popular, applied, and academic.”<sup>10</sup>

These are somewhat fluid categories and any military history work can find itself in more than one of these categories. Popular military history is what many people perceive as military history. This form of military history is aimed at a popular market. These works can be extensively researched and well written. Often though, they do not stand up to academic scrutiny,

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<sup>8</sup> Tami Davis Biddle and Robert M. Citino, “SMH White Paper: ‘The Role of Military History in the Contemporary Academy,’” 3, *Society of Military History*, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://www.smh-hq.org/whitepaper.html>.

<sup>9</sup> John A. Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe: The Purposes, Problems, and Prospects of Military History,” *Academic Questions* 21, no. 1 (2008): 31; Earl J. Hess, “Where Do We Stand?: A Critical Assessment of Civil War Studies in the Sesquicentennial Era,” *Civil War History* 60, no. 4 (2014): 372; Wayne E. Lee, “Mind and Matter—Cultural Analysis in American Military History: A Look at the State of the Field,” *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (March, 2007): 1116; John Whiteclay Chambers, “Conference Review Essay: The New Military History: Myth and Reality,” *Journal of Military History* 55, no. 3 (1991): 395.

<sup>10</sup> John A. Lynn initially divided military history into three categories he called professional, practical, and pragmatic. Wayne Lee then re-categorized these as academic, applied, and popular which Lynn preferred. See Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1116; Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shively Meir, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 4 (2014): 490; John A. Lynn, “Reflections on the History and Theory of Military Innovation and Diffusion,” in *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*, ed. Colan Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2001), 363-366; Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1116; Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 20.



which has made John A. Lynn call “popular military history . . . the male equivalent of the romance novel.”<sup>11</sup> Applied military history seeks to understand and draw lessons from the past that are applicable to contemporary issues.<sup>12</sup> Academic military history seeks to understand “the past for its own sake,” is written for “the community of historians,” and it “adheres to the highest scholarly and pedagogical standards.”<sup>13</sup> However, the inclination to not study military history, in American universities, dates from at least the first meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1884. At this meeting, AHA president Andrew D. White defended military history against Herbert Spencer’s allegation that the effort had “no redeeming value.”<sup>14</sup> Since then, “the community of scholars has generally ignored” military history.<sup>15</sup>

Modern military history writings—regardless of the category—can be found in two currents of historical inquiry. These are traditional and the “new military history.” Traditional military history seeks to understand the “hows and whys of actual warfare, strategy, and battle.”<sup>16</sup> New military history arose in the 1960s, as part of the wider shift in the historical community to issues that address the lives of the common people, instead of focusing on the great men of history or great historical events. This avenue of inquiry seeks to understand “the nexus between armies and the societies that spawn them.”<sup>17</sup>

Since military history—particularly traditional military history—is not in vogue in academia, some scholars have identified new military history as the potential savior for the

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<sup>11</sup> Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 21.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 23; Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1116.

<sup>14</sup> Edward M. Coffman, “The New American Military History,” *Military Affairs* 48, no. 1 (1984): 1.

<sup>15</sup> Coffman, “The New American Military History,” 1; Robert M. Citino, “Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (2007): 1070; Mark Moyar, “The Current State of Military History,” *Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2007): 225; Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 24, 29-32.

<sup>16</sup> Citino, “Military Histories Old and New,” 1070.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Bell Irvin Wiley’s *The Life of Billy Yank* is a “social history of men in arms” as opposed to a military history of combat. See Citino, “Military Histories Old and New,” 1070; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1952), 13.

discipline.<sup>18</sup> New military history offers “a particularly compelling way for students to learn about” war.<sup>19</sup> Earl J. Hess argued that new military history presents “many opportunities for new approaches” for military history—particularly in the examination of “social and cultural aspects of military service and the army-navy experience, including combat and campaigning in the field.”<sup>20</sup> Carol Reardon articulated the key questions of new military history as: who served and did not serve in the military, why people served, how men fared in military service and coped with their service, and how military service affected the rest of the serviceman’s life.<sup>21</sup> Even though Lynn stated that some view him as a “conservative, knuckle-dragging foe of gender studies,” he views issues regarding gender as particularly promising for military history.<sup>22</sup> Other avenues of approach for military history, proposed by Lynn and others, include intellectual issues, operational effectiveness, politics, civil-military relations, societal issues and relationships, medical issues, culture, the environment, state formation, race, class, sociology, communications, technology, and memory.<sup>23</sup> Mark Moyar cautioned that while “the methodologies applied by

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<sup>18</sup> John A. Lynn viewed military history as at great risk in the civilian academy. In “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” Lynn wrote that with academic military history under attack there were only two options, embrace aspects of the new military history or adopt a siege mentality. Under a siege mentality, Lynn painted a picture in which military historians would seek refuge in “war colleges and military historical services,” but in turn military historians themselves would ultimately harm military history as “academic military history would have to become more narrowly practical, and this would only make its position more tenuous in academia.” The end result inevitably would be the extermination of military history as an academic discipline. However, while Lynn embraced the promise of new military history, he felt his fellow academics still would not view military history as equal to other fields of history. Lynn attributed this to other historians disdaining “us [military historians] for who we are; that is, for our basic values and opinions.” The values and opinions the military historians hold, according to Lynn, are that “military institutions and the conduct of war . . . are fundamental to societies,” military historians see “war as an independent variable that must be understood in its own terms,” and “international violence . . . as inevitable in history . . . and it cannot simply be wished away.” See Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 32-33; Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 783.

<sup>19</sup> Carol Reardon, “View from the Ranks: Social and Cultural History of the American Armed Forces,” *OAH Magazine of History* 22, no 4 (2008): 11.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Citino concurred with Hess’s opinion on the value of new military history. Jeremy Black, however, viewed elements of new military history “has run its course.” See Hess, “Where Do We Stand?,” 372; Jeremy Black, *Rethinking Military History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 6.

<sup>21</sup> Reardon, “View from the Ranks,” 11.

<sup>22</sup> Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 784.

<sup>23</sup> Not all of these avenues can be explicitly labeled as new military history. Roger Spiller did not state any avenue of approach in particular, but he explained that military historians were now able to approach military history from a “dizzying variety of approaches, divided and subdivided into schools, camps, and tribes.” See Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 49-58, 104-124, 134-149; Moyar, “The Current State of

social and cultural historians . . . can be applied effectively to the military” the historian must also understand and take into account the “military’s idiosyncrasies.”<sup>24</sup>

The term new military history and its objectives are misleading. It implies military history did not take into account other aspects of history prior to the 1960s. It can also imply there is conflict between the study of new and traditional military history. In fact, military history has always included politics, economics, culture, society, and logistics “as far back as the fifth century BC, in the works of Thucydides and Herodotus and others.”<sup>25</sup> Robert Citino and Mark Moyar both explained that the best traditional military history has always considered aspects of new military history, such as society and culture.<sup>26</sup> Peter Paret went one step farther and called new military history only “a continuation, in some cases perhaps an expansion, of what has gone before.”<sup>27</sup> This sentiment is shared by the Society of Military History, which in its most recent white paper, stated that to truly understand military history “requires knowledge of their [military units] social composition, command hierarchies, and cultural codes, and relationships to non-military institutions.”<sup>28</sup> Roger Spiller explained that military historians are “as interested as ever in battles and leaders, but they are bringing to their work a sensibility that earlier work[s] did not possess.”<sup>29</sup>

While there are many who view traditional and new military history as similar fields, there are some who do caution against a tunneled vision focus on new military history. Roger Spiller stated that many of his colleagues believed military history has deserted the study of

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Military History,” 228, 230, 231, 237; Citino, “Military History Old and New,” 1070-1071, 1079; Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 26; Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 787-789; Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1117-1140; Roger Spiller, “Military History and Its Fictions,” *The Journal of Military History* 70, no. 4 (2006): 1084, 1089-1091.

<sup>24</sup> John A. Lynn likewise cautioned military historians from focusing too much on social issues as these have a tendency to distract the historian from “the essence of military history.” See Moyar, “The Current State of Military History,” 231; Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 783.

<sup>25</sup> Moyar, “The Current State of Military History,” 227-228; Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1140.

<sup>26</sup> Citino, “Military Histories Old and New,” 1070; Moyar, “The Current State of Military History,” 231.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Paret, “The New Military History,” *The U.S. Army War College Quarterly Parameters* 21, no. 3 (1991): 15.

<sup>28</sup> Biddle and Citino, “SMH White Paper,” 5.

<sup>29</sup> Spiller, “Military History and Its Fictions,” 1091.

battles, in favor of new military history.<sup>30</sup> The colleagues Spiller referenced are likely those who believe some practitioners of new military history have taken it to an extreme, by making it “any study of civilian society at war” that in essence “de-militarize[s] military history.”<sup>31</sup> Earl J. Hess viewed an expansive definition of new military history—what he labeled as “war studies”—as an alarming trend in Civil War scholarship.<sup>32</sup> John A. Lynn stated that for all the good that has come from new military history, its primary flaw has been “to downplay the central role of combat.”<sup>33</sup> While not necessarily addressing this expansive new military history directly, Michael Howard’s blunt statement “at the center of the history of war there must lie the study of military history” and at the center of military history is “the central activity of the armed forces, that is, *fighting*,” is an apt lesson for all who choose to study military history.<sup>34</sup>

Since 1961, the historiography of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade has been comprised predominantly of popular military histories, which typically have little or no academic value. Alan T. Nolan’s *The Iron Brigade: A Military History* is the foundational work on the Iron Brigade. Nolan was a native Hoosier, who prior to his death in 2008 was a lawyer with the Indianapolis based law firm, Ice Miller.<sup>35</sup> *The Iron Brigade* examined the brigade in depth from the start of the war through the Battle of Gettysburg—with a brief sketch of the brigade after Gettysburg. First published in 1961, *The Iron Brigade* has been reprinted in 1975, 1983, and again in 1994. This work has been hailed as “a classic of Civil War literature” by prominent Civil War historian Gary Gallagher and “unit history writing at its best” by historian T. Harry

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 6.

<sup>32</sup> Hess, “Where Do We Stand?,” 372.

<sup>33</sup> One topic that has been examined by new military history, but is not necessarily germane to combat and military history, is “wounded veterans and prisoners of war” as “pensioners and prisoners have ceased to be involved in combat.” See Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 25; Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Academic Military History,” 784.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Howard, “Military history and the history of war,” in *The Past as Prologue: The Importance of History to the Military Profession*, ed. Williamson Murray and Richard Hart Sinnreich (New York, NY City: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20.

<sup>35</sup> “Alan T. Nolan Obituary,” *Indianapolis Star*, August 5, 2008, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/indystar/obituary.aspx?n=alan-t-nolan&pid=144880646>.

Williams.<sup>36</sup> In the most recent edition of *The Iron Brigade*, Nolan included a forward by

Williams. Williams called *The Iron Brigade* a work which examined:

How the officers of the volunteer regiments were chosen, giving needed attention to the political influences that often played on the selections. He records finally how the volunteers were transported to camps and what they did when not fighting and what their reactions were to such issues as emancipation and the future of the black race. In short, in reciting the story of a brigade he also tells the story of a democracy at war, and he thereby demonstrates the validity of unit history.<sup>37</sup>

Gallagher agreed that Nolan did not “rush his regiments into the battlefield . . . he allocates more than a quarter of his attention to how they came into service, who commanded them, how politics intruded on the process of raising regiments, and other important topics divorced from combat.”<sup>38</sup>

While Nolan examined issues not directly related to combat, at its heart, *The Iron Brigade* is a book about combat. Nolan referred to the brigade as “shock troops,” likely for its “dogged, desperate fighting.”<sup>39</sup> The use of the term shock troops, however, is inappropriate for two reasons. First, the term shock troops originated in World War I with the German *Stoßtruppen*. The *Stoßtruppen* and other similar soldiers were “troops specially trained and equipped for carrying out sudden assaults, esp. against enemy strongholds.”<sup>40</sup> The term shock troops is thus anachronistic and wrong as the volunteer units of the Civil War were not trained in such a fashion.<sup>41</sup> Secondly, the term shock troops is inappropriate as “the driving force of an activity or

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<sup>36</sup> Gary W. Gallagher, forward to *The Iron Brigade*, xi; T. Harry Williams, review of Alan T. Nolan, *The Iron Brigade* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1961); Hans Christian Adamson, *Rebellion in Missouri: 1861* (Philadelphia, PA: Chilton Company, 1961); Henry Pleasants Jr. and George H. Straley, *Inferno at Petersburg* (Philadelphia, PA: Chilton Company, 1961); Fairfax Downey, *Storming of the Gateway* (New York, NY: David McKay Company, 1960); and Bartlett Malone, *Whipt 'em Everytime*, ed. William Whatley Pierson, Jr. (Jackson, TN: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1960), *Military Affairs* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1961): 106

<sup>37</sup> T. Harry Williams, introduction to *The Iron Brigade: A Military History*, by Alan T. Nolan (1961; repr., Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975), viii and ix. This is the only citation in the entire thesis for this edition of Alan T. Nolan's *The Iron Brigade*.

<sup>38</sup> Gallagher, forward to Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, xii.

<sup>39</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 142 and 259.

<sup>40</sup> “Shock troops,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed March 12, 2016, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.ulib.uit.siu.edu/view/Entry/413083?redirectedFrom=shock+troops#eid>.

<sup>41</sup> For the recruitment and training of Civil War armies see Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 4-28; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 322-327, 331-332; Catherine Merrill, *The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Merrill and Company, 1866), 13-15, 72-75, 135-137; Russell F. Weigley,

movement; a group leading a vigorous challenge or defense” describes any number of Civil War units, making the term effectively meaningless.<sup>42</sup> The section of Nolan’s book which examined the socio-economic background of the brigade’s regiments is rather brief.<sup>43</sup>

In a 1961 letter to Malcom Reiss, Nolan wrote about the distinctiveness of the brigade and the brigade’s appeal which explains why he and potentially others have written about the Iron Brigade. First, Nolan cited the brigade as possessing “a peculiar and colorful uniform.”<sup>44</sup> Second, the Iron Brigade suffered the most casualties for any Union brigade, fought in a number of battles, and was “virtually wiped out at Gettysburg.”<sup>45</sup> Third, the brigade was the only Union brigade comprised of western soldiers in the Eastern Theater of the Civil War.<sup>46</sup> Finally, in a separate article, Nolan noted the brigade had uniquely distinctive brigade commanders and the officers in the regiment were also unique.<sup>47</sup> While the brigade may have been distinctive, these distinctive traits are superficial.

Nolan, alongside Sharon Eggleston Vipond, edited a collection of essays entitled *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats: Essays on the Iron Brigade* which looked at the brigade’s actions in various engagements, famous individuals associated with the brigade, and other miscellaneous subjects associated with the brigade. Again, Nolan and Vipond described the brigade as “distinctive and distinguished.”<sup>48</sup> Also, through these collected essays, Nolan and Vipond state the reader will gain “a more authentic connection with those actions and motives we seek to understand: the black-hatted ‘giants’ of the Iron Brigade.”<sup>49</sup> There was no attempt in these essays

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*History of the United States Army*, enlarged edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 231; Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 55-58, 64-67.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 32-33.

<sup>44</sup> Alan T. Nolan to Malcom Reiss, letter dated October 10, 1961, Box 2, Folder 1, Alan T. Nolan Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana. Hereafter the Alan T. Nolan Papers are cited as ATNP and the Indiana Historical Society is cited as IHS.

<sup>45</sup> Nolan to Reiss, letter dated October 10, 1961, ATNP, IHS.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Alan T. Nolan, “Virginia’s Unwelcome Visitors,” in *Rally Once Again!: Selected Civil War Writings of Alan T. Nolan*, ed. Alan T. Nolan (Madison, WI: Madison House Publishers, 2000), 188-189.

<sup>48</sup> Sharon Eggleston Vipond and Alan T. Nolan, “Introduction” to *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats*, xi.

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

to describe the socio-economic profile of the men of the Iron Brigade; or why the reader should care more about this brigade than any other brigade in the Union Army. All works (including this thesis) written about the Iron Brigade and its component units are the intellectual descendants of Nolan's *The Iron Brigade*. However, many of the other works that Nolan has inspired have continued with many of the superficial elements that Nolan first identified.

Lance Herdegen's *The Iron Brigade in Civil War and Memory: The Black Hats from Bull Run to Appomattox and Thereafter* examined the Iron Brigade from its inception in 1861 through the end of the war. Herdegen laid out a series of questions he sought to answer about the Iron Brigade. These include what the soldiers thought during the Civil War, how they viewed their leaders, how they viewed slavery and the Confederates, how they experienced battle and being wounded, and finally what effects the war had on the soldiers.<sup>50</sup> Herdegen's weak thesis does not explain why he wrote about the Iron Brigade and not one of the dozens of other Union brigades—nor is it a statement that is particularly novel. Herdegen's thesis is that the men “who wore the famous black hats were real people caught up in a war of unexpected magnitude and hardship,” a statement that could describe every soldier regardless of rank, army, or allegiance in the Civil War or in any war at any time.<sup>51</sup>

Herdegen also wrote other books about the Iron Brigade. These focus more on narrow periods of the brigade's service. These works include *The Men Stood Like Iron: How the Iron Brigade Won its Name* and *Those Damned Black Hats!: The Iron Brigade in the Gettysburg Campaign*. The former works cover the service of the brigade from its formation to the Battle of Antietam, while the latter work concerns the actions of the brigade at Gettysburg.<sup>52</sup> Herdegen

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<sup>50</sup> Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, xii.

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

<sup>52</sup> While *The Men Stood Like Iron* purports to be about the Iron Brigade, it focusses on the three Wisconsin regiments in the brigade (the 2nd, 6th, and 7th). See Herdegen, *The Men Stood Like Iron*, 260.



does not provide a socio-economic profile of any regiment of the Iron Brigade. He also pays more attention to the Wisconsin regiments in the Iron Brigade than to the 19th Indiana.<sup>53</sup>

Jeffery Wert's *A Brotherhood of Valor: The Common Soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, C.S.A, and the Iron Brigade, U.S.A.* "is more of a dual history than a comparative study."<sup>54</sup> Wert stated that the Confederate Stonewall Brigade and the Union Iron Brigade are two of "the most renowned infantry commands of the conflict," and for this dual history, he lets the soldiers of these commands tell much of the story about their experiences in combat.<sup>55</sup> Wert justified his selection of the Stonewall and Iron Brigades. He cited the enticing nature of "their reputations as combat units," the preponderance of manuscript material left by the men of these brigades, that these brigades fought in many of the same battles in the Eastern Theater, and his ability to visit the battlefields where they fought.<sup>56</sup> Wert gives little attention to the socio-economic profile of the men who comprised the regiments of the Iron Brigade.

Other writers have focused on the 19th Indiana. William Thomas Venner, Craig L. Dunn, and William E. Galyean's books about the 19th Indiana are more narrative than analytical. Dunn's *Iron Men, Iron Will: The Nineteenth Indiana of the Iron Brigade* and Galyean's *They Nearly All Died: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment in the Civil War* examined the 19th Indiana from the inception of the regiment to its consolidation into the 20th Indiana. Venner's *Hoosiers' Honor: The Iron Brigade's 19th Indiana Regiment* examined the regiment's war record and concluded with the 1915 regimental reunion. Both Dunn and Galyean give high praise to the 19th Indiana without any apparent justification—aside from the number of casualties suffered by the Iron Brigade.<sup>57</sup> These three works lack discernible theses and the reasons for writing the books

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<sup>53</sup> For evidence refer to the index in Herdegen's *The Iron Brigade*. Here the three Wisconsin regiments of the brigade cover on average 54 lines of text each (for a total of 163 lines) in the table of contents, the 24th Michigan cover 20 lines of text in the table of contents, while the 19th Indiana cover 30 lines of text in the table of contents. See Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 645, 646, 648, 654-656.

<sup>54</sup> Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 9.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>57</sup> Dunn, *Iron Men, Iron Will*, 200; Galyean, *They Nearly all Died*, xi.



vary. Dunn noted his interest in the “character and military careers” of the regiment and being inspired by Nolan.<sup>58</sup> Galyean’s interest stemmed from being a descendant of one of the men of the 19th Indiana.<sup>59</sup> Venner, however, expressed no discernable reason why he wrote about the 19th Indiana. All of these writers focused on the combat history of the regiment and offered no real examination of the socio-economic background or history of the men in the regiment.<sup>60</sup>

Yet another work on the 19th Indiana is Alan D. Gaff’s *On Many a Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade*. Gaff charted the history of the 19th Indiana from its formation in the summer of 1861 through the mustering out of the 20th Indiana Infantry.<sup>61</sup> Gaff claimed he wrote an “objective” history about the military experience of the Civil War soldier, something historians, in his opinion, had yet been able to write.<sup>62</sup> Why Gaff chose to write about the 19th Indiana rather than any other Union regiment is left unstated.

Similar to Nolan and Herdegen, Gaff organized his book chronologically and only made a limited attempt to place the socio-economic profile of the 19th Indiana in the context of the Union army at large.<sup>63</sup> Gaff dedicated most of the book to military actions and the time between battles. He described the regiment as helping “Gibbon’s brigade win a nickname [the Iron Brigade] . . . given to soldiers by soldiers.”<sup>64</sup> This claim appeared to be the justification to claim the men of the 19th Indiana were better than the average Union soldier. Like Herdegen, Gaff also wrote other works about the Iron Brigade. These include *Brave Men’s Tears: The Iron Brigade at Brawner Farm* and “‘Here Was Made Out Our Last and Hopeless Stand:’ The ‘Lost’ Gettysburg Reports of the Nineteenth Indiana.” The former book concerned the actions of the brigade in its

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<sup>58</sup> Dunn, *Iron Men, Iron Will*, ix, x.

<sup>59</sup> Galyean, *They Nearly all Died*, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Venner came the closest as in his endnotes he provided some raw census information and bibliographical information for some men. For examples see Venner, *Hoosiers’ Honor*, 277-285; 288, n. 7; 290, n. 14; 291, n. 17; 301, n. 29; 303, n. 46; 304, n. 50.

<sup>61</sup> In the fall of 1864, the 19th Indiana was consolidated into the 20th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. See Winfield Scott Hancock to S. Williams, letter dated October 14, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 42, Part 3, 228.

<sup>62</sup> Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, xvii, xviii.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

first serious battle during the opening stages of the Battle of Second Bull Run, while the latter work discussed the after action report for the 19th Indiana at Gettysburg.

All these works about the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade have been more popular history than critical analysis. These popular histories are narrative and attempt to tell a good story. They focus on the superficial traits and leave the impression the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade were distinctive, and potentially successful, without explaining how, why, or with sufficient evidence to support the claim that these two units were distinctive.

This thesis seeks to be a critical examination of the regiment and the brigade and to answer the question: is the regiment's and brigade's fame and notoriety justified in comparison to other Civil War regiments and brigades? This work is necessary as the brigade does appear in survey accounts of the Civil War and other brigades—which were engaged in the same theater as the Iron Brigade or in other theaters of the war—have yet to receive treatment similar to that of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade.<sup>65</sup> This thesis finds the fame and notoriety of the regiment and brigade, to the point of calling them some of the best Union soldiers—which is just a way to call these units elite—is unjustified for three reasons. First, in terms of the socio-economic profile, the men in this regiment are little different from average Union soldiers. Second, the men of the Iron Brigade and the 19th Indiana are claimed to be some of the best soldiers of the war, due to their high casualty figures and their prowess on the battlefield. However, examination will show that the Iron Brigade failed to hold a position or take a position from the enemy on a major battlefield. Third, the related issue of casualties in the 19th Indiana will be examined to answer

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<sup>65</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 528, 654; Earl J. Hess, *Lee's Tar Heels: The Pettigrew-Kirkland-MacRae Brigade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), xiv-xv.

the question how high actually were the casualties of the regiment.<sup>66</sup> These illustrate that the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade were not elite or necessarily distinctive.<sup>67</sup>

The first chapter draws on new military history methodology to compare the socio-economic profile of the average Union soldier to a sample of the 19th Indiana. This study posits that there was little difference between this sample of the regiment and numerous studies about Union soldiers in terms of nativity, age, literacy, family condition, occupation, and wealth. In addition, using extant writings from many soldiers of the regiment, the answer to what motivated these men to fight was little different from the rest of the Union army. This chapter is modeled after Andrew Lang's article "The Bass Grays: An Economic, Social, and Demographic Profile of Company D, Seventh Texas Infantry," which examined such issues as "the overall economic-social structure of the company in terms of age, marital status, birth origins, pre-war professions, [and] wealth," if officers possessed "different social and economic characteristics from non-officer," and what may have influenced men to be promoted from the enlisted ranks to the officer corps.<sup>68</sup>

To examine the socio-economic profile of the 19th Indiana a sample of the regiment has been used. Indiana's adjutant general's report, the digitized collection of muster information on Indiana's Civil War soldiers at the Indiana State Archives, and the 1860 Census Schedule One

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<sup>66</sup> Casualties are "any person who is lost to the organization by having been declared dead, duty status - whereabouts unknown, missing, ill, or injured." Unless otherwise stated the term casualty will always follow this definition. See "Casualties," *Defense Technical Information Center*, accessed October 14, 2015, [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod\\_dictionary/](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/).

<sup>67</sup> Elite units that comprised armies though the start of World War I were units "based more on social exclusiveness than military worth" with men and particularly officers from the aristocracy or it also included units with a "battlefield achievement, military proficiency, or specialized military functions." See Martin Kitchen, "Elites in Military History" in *Elite Military Formations in War and Peace* ed. A Hamish Ion and Keith Neilson (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 21, 25; Douglass Porch, "The French Foreign Legion: The Mystique of Elitism," in *Elite Military Formations in War and Peace* ed. A Hamish Ion and Keith Neilson (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 117. For the recruitment and training of Civil War armies see Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 4-28; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 322-327, 331-332; Catherine Merrill, *The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Merrill and Company, 1866), 13-15, 72-75, 135-137; Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, enlarged edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 231; Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 55-58, 64-67.

<sup>68</sup> Andrew Lang, "The Bass Grays: An Economic, Social, and Demographic Profile of Company D, Seventh Texas Infantry," *East Texas Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2009): 72-73.

Manuscript for Indiana were used to gather the information for this sample. The sample was constructed using the following steps:

1. In the adjutant general's report there are four columns of information available: name and rank, residence, date of muster, and remarks—which provide the soldier's service record. Only those men who had information listed in the remarks section and a stated residency were chosen as part of the sample. This is to facilitate finding the soldier and as a way to generate a manageable sample of the 19th Indiana.
2. The next step was to find the age of these soldiers on the muster roll to facilitate finding the correct soldier in the 1860 Census. The ages were gathered using the Indiana State Archives' digital collection of Indiana Civil War soldiers' muster information.
3. The soldiers were found on the 1860 Census by using ancestry.com. Gathering the census information required the name of the soldier, the listed place of residence (typically the county) for the soldier in the adjutant general's report, and a birth year based on their age when they mustered into service. An attempt has been made to account for potential errors or differences that may have appeared in the adjutant general's report, the muster roll, or the 1860 Census. A  $5\pm$  year range, between the age of the soldier on the muster roll and the 1860 Census, has been used to account for any discrepancy between these two sources. Also, to find the soldier the search was conducted in the county listed in Terrell's Report and the nearby counties.<sup>69</sup> Finally, potential plausible differences in name spellings, between the muster roll and the census,

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<sup>69</sup> A soldier known to have resided in a state other than Indiana in 1860 has been included. The individual companies of the regiments were typically credited to a single county, but the place of origin listed on muster rolls was often “where the men were enlisted rather than where they lived, exaggerating the companies' geographic homogeneity . . . [but companies] often consisted of no more than two or three groups of local recruits, each from a nearby area.” Recruits, however, could potentially come from anywhere in the state or other places in the country. See W.H.H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Alexander H. Conner, 1869), 157, 60, 66; Gerald J. Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment: The Army of the Ohio, 1861-1862* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 197, n. 31.

have been taken into account. To be included in the sample a soldier needed to plausibly be the correct person in name, residence location, and age.<sup>70</sup>

Using these criteria, of the 1,246 men in the ten companies and staff component of the 19th Indiana, 292 men have been identified for inclusion in this sample.<sup>71</sup> This represents 23 percent of the men in the regiment and includes men with a variety of ranks and muster dates.<sup>72</sup>

It is important to note this sample is not proportional. A proportional sample would be difficult to compile.<sup>73</sup> Many men did not appear on the 1860 Census. Also, some men did appear on the census, but could not be positively identified and were thus excluded from inclusion in this sample. Men could not be positively identified as there were one or even two other men that matched the name of the soldier in the 19th Indiana and were within the 5± year range of the age on the muster. However, this sample does not disregard all statistical rules. This sample is an example of nonprobability sampling. The purpose of this sampling “is to make generalizations about a population sampled” when there is no “valid estimate” to measure the risk of error.<sup>74</sup> In this sample of the 19th Indiana, the attempt was to gather census information on all the men who had verifiable service records through the adjutant general’s report. Even if all the men in this chosen subset could be positively identified, it would be impossible to know if these men—or if the men found in the census—are a proportional subset of the regiment. For this reason, Hubert

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<sup>70</sup> There are some men who did not appear on the Indiana State Archive digital collection of muster information when this information was compiled. However, if one of these men could be found on the census with the correct name, residence, military age, and with no other likely choice, they have been included in this sample.

<sup>71</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 343. The writings of the following soldiers in this sample will be cited throughout this thesis: Solomon Meredith originally the colonel of the regiment, William Orr originally the second lieutenant of Company K, William Dudley originally the captain of Company B, and the enlisted men Thomas Hart Benton of Company B, Henry C. Marsh the regimental hospital steward, William Robey Moore of Company K, and William Nelson Jackson of Company A.

<sup>72</sup> This number is rounded to the nearest whole number as are all figures in this thesis—including those from sources. The exception is money which is rounded to the nearest hundredth place.

<sup>73</sup> In 1860, the census was conducted by marshals visiting individual households and recording the results of the visit. To then be recorded one needed to be at home at the time of the visit and all information was self-reported. It is also important to note not all men in the sample were included in each category being examined in this thesis. Men have been excluded occasionally in each category if what was recorded in the census was illegible, if nothing was recorded, or to avoid duplication of information.

<sup>74</sup> Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 527, 528.

M. Blalock, Jr., has stated that it is not legitimate to make a statistical inference from a nonprobability sample.<sup>75</sup> Even though this sample is not proportional, since there has been no other statistical study of the 19th Indiana and since this sample is 23 percent of the regiment and includes men of all ranks and muster dates in the regiment, it will be treated as a representative sample upon which generalizations can be based.<sup>76</sup>

The second chapter is a traditional military history and examines the battle record of the Iron Brigade—as the brigade was the primary fighting unit of the war—to test if this unit really was the best or at the very least one of the best. Being best at something carries the implication of success. The Iron Brigade fought in some of the most savage combat of the Civil War but the brigade never successfully defended a position from Confederate attack or successfully seized a Confederate position. This brings into question how they can be singled out and called one of best units in the Civil War.<sup>77</sup> Further, scholars and other writers use the qualitative word “high” to describe the casualties suffered by the Iron Brigade. Alan T. Nolan, for example, cited the high casualties of the Iron Brigade—which were the greatest for a single brigade in the Union army—as a reason why the Iron Brigade and its regiments are worthy of note.<sup>78</sup> However, while the casualties were high, the casualties were not quantitatively higher than other regiments.

The conclusion of this thesis recaps the findings of the first and second chapters, reiterating how the 19th Indiana is not a particularly unique regiment in terms of its socio-economic profile nor was the Iron Brigade necessarily a successful unit on the battlefield. I

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<sup>75</sup> Blalock, *Social Statistics*, 527.

<sup>76</sup> The raw data for this sample, references to the particular information for the soldiers mentioned in this chapter, and all references made to this sample at large can be found in the appendix.

<sup>77</sup> The issue of leadership and the belief that the Confederates were superior soldiers are issues that can explain the wider failure of the Union army in the Eastern Theater. These are issues that are not being considered in this thesis, but for a discussion of this issue refer to Michael C.C. Adams, *Fighting for Defeat: Union Military Failure in the East, 1861-1865* (1978; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

<sup>78</sup> “Untitled Essay,” p. 70, Box 5, Folder 10, ATNP, IHS; Nolan, “Virginia’s Unwelcome Visitors,” “*Rally Once Again*,” 185-186. It is important to note that the issue of casualties is an independent variable from the issue of if a unit is one of the best units of the Union army, elite, or successful in combat.

suggest why so much attention has been paid to the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade. Finally, the conclusion will point out how this thesis can be an example for future military history studies.

The study of military history in the academy is in a time of crisis regardless if one chooses to study traditional or new military history. The situation is especially dire for traditional military history.<sup>79</sup> Earl J. Hess has lamented that there are colleagues who can teach the Civil War era “without mentioning battles and campaigns.”<sup>80</sup>

I strike a more positive note than that of Lynn who laments that academic historians hold disdain for military history.<sup>81</sup> By incorporating both traditional and new military histories valuable contributions to scholarship can be made as noted by Mark Moyar and Wayne E. Lee.<sup>82</sup> A hybrid approach gives a fuller picture of the unit. Importantly, this thesis is a critical examination of the combat record of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade as opposed to simply describing their combat experience as has been done by previous writers.

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<sup>79</sup> Hess, “Where Do We Stand?,” 373-376; Gallagher and Meir, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” 489-490.

<sup>80</sup> Hess, “Where Do We Stand?,” 373-376.

<sup>81</sup> Lynn, “Breaching the Walls of Academe,” 32-33.

<sup>82</sup> Moyar, “The Current State of Military History,” 227-228; Lee, “Mind and Matter,” 1140.

## Chapter One: Socio-Economic Analysis of the 19th Indiana Infantry

### Introduction

Soon after the Confederacy fired on the Federal garrison in Charleston Harbor, William Orr let his father know that the Lincoln administration “has called for troops.”<sup>83</sup> This call set in motion the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of pre-war civilians—like the young blacksmith William Robey Moore, the aspiring lawyer Isaac May, and the politician Solomon Meredith—sweeping them into the great American tragedy—the Civil War.<sup>84</sup> These men and thousands of others produced possibly “the best fighters” in American military history, in the form of the volunteer armies of the Civil War.<sup>85</sup>

Historians have pondered what type of men comprised the Union Army and have created a general socio-economic profile of Union soldiers. The typical Union soldier was white, male, American born, in his late teens to mid-20s, and part of a farming household; he was also literate, unmarried, childless, likely from a middle class background (a household and/or individual whose total wealth was between \$500-\$19,999), and motivated to fight primarily for the preservation of the Union.<sup>86</sup> This chapter will examine the socio-economic profile of the men of one regiment in

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<sup>83</sup> William Orr to James Orr, April 16, 1861, Box 1, Folder 6, Orr Family Manuscripts, Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana. Hereafter the Orr Family Manuscripts are cited as OFM and the Lilly Library is cited as LL.

<sup>84</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 38, Box 1, Folder 2A, William Robey Moore Papers, IHS. Hereafter the William Robey Moore Papers are cited as WRMP; David Stevenson, *Indiana's Roll of Honor*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis, IN: self-published, 1864), 633; Theodore R. Scribner, *Indiana's Roll of Honor*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis, IN: A.D. Streight, 1866), 81.

<sup>85</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 122.

<sup>86</sup> This definition of middle class is taken from Richard B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), 46. For descriptions of Union soldiers, see Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 39, 40, 299, 303-306, 313, 428, n. 51; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 8, 10, 25; James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), viii, 11, 15, 16, 18, 28, 91, 98-100, 120, 182; James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 357-359; Amy E. Holmes, “‘Such is the Price We Pay:’ American Widows and the Civil War Pension System,” in *Toward a Social History of the Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 168 and 174, n. 17; Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 97; Gary Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 34, 66; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 32-33; Benjamin Anthonp Gould, *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers* (New York, NY City:



the Union Army—the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry. This regiment has received renown through association with one of the supposedly elite brigades of the Civil War—the Union Iron Brigade.

To examine these issues, a sample of the men of the 19th Indiana has been created to compare the regiment to various other studies of soldiers in the Union Army. These comparisons demonstrate that the profile of the 19th Indiana fits the socio-economic profile of the average Union soldier. Even sub-components of the sample, such as the original officer corps on the July 1861 muster, all of the sample's enlisted men regardless of when they joined the regiment, the sample's enlisted men on the July 1861 muster, the sample's enlisted recruits who joined the regiment after July 1861, and the sample's enlisted men who were promoted into the regimental officer corps at any time during their service are largely unremarkable. When differences do arise, they can usually be explained or could be the result of the small number of men under consideration.

Prior to actually looking at the socio-economic profile, it is important to outline a Civil War volunteer regiment. The antebellum regular army was woefully inadequate for the United States to conquer the seceded states in April of 1861. Less than 16,000 men of all ranks, garrisoned throughout the entirety of the United States, comprised the regular army. Many of the senior officers had been in the army since the War of 1812.<sup>87</sup> To suppress the rebellion, the United States rapidly expanded the size of the army, mainly through the mobilization of the militia—an auxiliary to the regular army mobilized by federal and state law to form the volunteer army.<sup>88</sup> The volunteer army was comprised of regiments raised by the states and mustered into

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Hurd and Houghton, 1869), 27, 38, 57, 209, 210, 211; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 14, No. 15, No. 17, p. 110-113.

<sup>87</sup> McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 163.

<sup>88</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 322-323. After the war, William Robey Moore wrote that many of the senior officers in the volunteer army were regular army officers. These officers expected the volunteer army to act and behave like the regular army. Moore claimed he and others—likely correctly—in the volunteer army “were in the army for business—that of putting down the rebellion . . . and we expected to

federal service.<sup>89</sup> This meant the individual regiments of the volunteer army were often bound together by “common geographic, social, cultural, or economic identities.”<sup>90</sup>

At full strength, a volunteer infantry regiment in the Union Army on paper contained between 866 and 1,046 men of all ranks.<sup>91</sup> Ten line companies comprised a volunteer regiment’s primary combat arm with a staff component—the regiment’s command unit which also provided administrative and logistical support. However, in reality, regiments would fall promptly under full strength because of death due to disease or combat. In addition, wounded men, early discharges, dismissals or resignations, detached assignments, and desertions reduced a regiment’s effective strength. These events occurred at a faster rate than recruits could join the unit.<sup>92</sup> The recruitment of men to fill the depleted ranks was the responsibility of each regiment. In Indiana, recruiting parties “detailed from most of the old organizations . . . were zealously engaged in all parts of the State.”<sup>93</sup>

Volunteer regiments recruited from a single state and the individual companies often from a single town, township, or county.<sup>94</sup> Delaware, Elkhart, Johnson, Madison, Marion, Owen,

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return to our homes, to our knitting, our plows, our shops, our counters, etc., and live in peace.” See Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 143-144, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>89</sup> During the war, Indiana attempted to institute an organized method of forming its regiments. Eleven camps were established—one per congressional district. Companies reported to the camp in their congressional district. The 19th Indiana organized early in the war, so this system of organizing regiments by congressional district had not yet firmly been established. For details regarding Indiana’s system of regiment formation in the volunteer army, see Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1, 16.

<sup>90</sup> Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 5.

<sup>91</sup> General Orders No. 15, May 4, 1861, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series 3, Volume 1: 151-152. The same general order allowed for a volunteer regiment to contain a minimum of 866 men.

<sup>92</sup> There are examples available to illustrate this point. Prior to the Battle of Fredericksburg, William Nelson Jackson reported the strength of Company E of the 19th Indiana as 23 men ready for duty, but there were “a great many at different hospitals.” Also, “very small, not more here for duty than 250 [men]” is how Jacob Ebersole described the 19th Indiana in January 1863. See William Nelson Jackson Diary, December 4, 1862, William Nelson Jackson Papers, IHS. Hereafter the William Nelson Jackson Papers are cited as WNJP; Jacob Ebersole to his wife, January 13, 1863, Box 1, Folder 31, Ebersole Family Papers, Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati, Ohio. Hereafter the Ebersole Family Papers are cited as EFP, and the Cincinnati Museum Center is cited as CMC.

<sup>93</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*, vol. 1, 57.

<sup>94</sup> It is possible to identify men from a county other than the one listed by Indiana’s adjutant general. For example, John Hawk of Company K—a company credited to Delaware County—is likely from neighboring Henry County, as in letters he made reference to Blountsville, a town in Henry County near the border with Delaware County. Terrell also stated the enlisted men in Company A of the 19th Indiana were from Delaware County. It is assumed Terrell made an error assigning this company to Delaware County.

Randolph, and Wayne Counties provided companies for the 19th Indiana. This meant, according to Gerald J. Prokopowicz, men of all ranks in any given company “generally know each other” and shared “common geographic, social, cultural, or economic identities.”<sup>95</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> Indiana, the men from Elkhart County may be the exception as Elkhart County—unlike the other counties providing men to the regiment—is in the northern part of Indiana. All officers of a volunteer regiment received their commissions from the governor, but at the company level this often simply meant confirming the results of a company election.<sup>96</sup> The leading men of a local community and/or the state often comprised much of a regiment’s original officer corps. As vacancies opened in the officer corps, these would often be filled from within the ranks of the regiment.<sup>97</sup>

### Nativity

In 1861, Indiana had been a state for less than fifty years. Its settlers came from throughout the United States, settled unevenly throughout the state, and gave the state the resemblance of an “ethnic and cultural checkerboard [more] than the proverbial melting pot.”<sup>98</sup> This checkerboard pattern of settlement occurred largely due to the pattern of immigration into

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Alan T. Nolan cited Company A, as deriving men from Madison County as well as Delaware County. Alan Gaff assigned the company only to Madison County. In this sample men were found to be mainly from Madison County. Gerald J. Prokopowicz stated the place of origin listed on muster rolls was often “where the men were enlisted rather than where they lived, exaggerating the companies’ geographic homogeneity . . . [but companies] often consisted of no more than two or three groups of local recruits, each from a nearby area.” See John Hawk to Father, letter dated December 27, 1861, Helen Hudson Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, IN. Hereafter the Helen Hudson Papers are cited as HHP and the Indiana State Library is cited as ISL; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1, 89; W.H.H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 4 (Indianapolis: Samuel M. Douglass, 1866), 390-392; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 284; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 16; and Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 197, n. 31.

<sup>95</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1, 87; Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 5.

<sup>96</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1, 85.

<sup>97</sup> This method of promotion—instead of by seniority regardless of regiment—was chosen as the promotion of outsiders into another regiment would be damaging to regimental morale. See Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1, 89; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section): No. 92, No. 93, No. 94, and No. 95, pp. 297- 298.

<sup>98</sup> Andrew R.L. Cayton and Peter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 25-42. For more information regarding migration into Indiana see Gregory S. Rose, “Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana’s United States-Born Population in 1850,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 81, no. 3 (September 1985): 201-231; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era: 1850-1880* (1966; repr., Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1995), 536-555.

the state. The southern and central parts of the state were settled early in the state's history, by settlers mainly from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and the Upper South.<sup>99</sup> Upland southerners arrived in large numbers and dominated Indiana early in the state's history.<sup>100</sup> Settlers from New York, Pennsylvania, and New England settled in Northern Indiana, later in the antebellum period.<sup>101</sup> However, in 1860, even with the influx of settlers from the Northeast, Indiana still drew the majority of its internal American immigrants from the states of the Upper South, the Mid-Atlantic, and Ohio.<sup>102</sup> Unlike other neighboring states, Indiana did not have a significant number of foreign-born immigrants in 1860.<sup>103</sup> Immigrants—both foreign and domestic—were a minority in the state, as the balance of Indiana's population increase for more than a decade had been due to natural population increase and not immigration.<sup>104</sup> Indiana's total population in 1860 was 1,350,428.<sup>105</sup>

Soldiers in the 19th Indiana reflected this migration pattern into Indiana. Officers Solomon Meredith, William Dudley, and William Orr can serve as useful case studies. North Carolinian Solomon Meredith, who was the regiment's first commander, immigrated to Indiana in 1829 and established himself in Wayne County alongside many other settlers from the Upper South.<sup>106</sup> Vermont born William Dudley grew up in New England and did not arrive in Indiana

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<sup>99</sup> Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 225, 228.

<sup>100</sup> Cayton and Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation*, 27.

<sup>101</sup> Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 225, 228; Cayton and Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation*, 27.

<sup>102</sup> Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1864), xxxiv. For details regarding the native origins of Indiana in 1860, see Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, 130.

<sup>103</sup> Indiana's foreign born population was small—only 9 percent—when compared to the number of foreign born immigrants in neighboring Ohio (14 percent) and Wisconsin (36 percent). See Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, 130, 398, 544.

<sup>104</sup> Fifty-seven percent of Indiana's population in 1860 were native Hoosiers. See Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 130; Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 211.

<sup>105</sup> Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, iv.

<sup>106</sup> Scribner, *Indiana's Roll of Honor*, vol. 2, 77, 82; Henry Clay Fox, *Memories of Wayne County and the City of Richmond Indiana: From the Earliest Historical Times Down to the Present, Including a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Representative Families in Wayne County* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Association, 1912), 27, 233-236.

until 1860, and began the war as the commander of the regiment's Company B.<sup>107</sup> Finally, Hoosier born William Orr, who started the war as second lieutenant of Company K, represented many Hoosiers of his generation, and his parents had immigrated to Indiana from Ohio.<sup>108</sup>

According to Benjamin Gould of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 75 percent of all Union soldiers were native born Americans and the remaining 25 percent were foreign born.<sup>109</sup> In Indiana, 91 percent of soldiers were native-born Americans and the remaining 9 percent were foreign born—mainly from the Germanic states and Ireland.<sup>110</sup> Adjutant General W.H.H. Terrell noted the native origins of Indiana's soldiers and this is compared with the native origins of the 19th Indiana sample.

Native Origins of Indiana Soldiers and Sample of the 19th Indiana<sup>111</sup>

| Native Origins                  | Terrell's Report | 19th Indiana Sample |
|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Indiana                         | 49%              | 62%                 |
| Ohio                            | 19%              | 18%                 |
| Middle Atlantic                 | 8%               | 6%                  |
| Tennessee and Kentucky          | 6%               | 4%                  |
| Other Slave States              | 5%               | 7%                  |
| Michigan, Illinois, & Wisconsin | 2%               | 0%                  |
| New England                     | 1%               | 1%                  |
| Other Free States               | >0%              | 0%                  |
| Germanic States                 | 4%               | 1%                  |
| Ireland                         | 3%               | >0%                 |
| Other Foreign                   | 2%               | 1%                  |

The sample largely conforms to the findings of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and Terrell's Report. There were only two truly anomalous results, which are easily explained. The first result

<sup>107</sup> Russel M. Seeds, ed., *History of the Republican Party of Indiana: Biographical Sketches of the Party Leaders*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana History Company, 1899), 356.

<sup>108</sup> The Orr family moved to Indiana from Ohio. Orr's father had previously resided in Virginia and his native Ireland. Orr Family History, Box 1, Folder 1, OFM, LL.

<sup>109</sup> Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 27.

<sup>110</sup> Terrell noted "the nativity of about one-fourth of the soldiers" was unknown leaving 155,578 men with verifiable nativities. Of this total the nativities of 37,324 men is only an estimate. For this reason these men with estimated nativities are not included in the percentage totals given in this section as it is unknown what enabled Terrell to estimate the men's nativities. See Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents), No. 15, p. 111; Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 37.

<sup>111</sup> The nativities of the men of this sample were taken from the 1860 Census as opposed to the nativities of the soldiers from the muster roll. This decision has been made as all other figures in this chapter are drawn from the 1860 Census and it is unlikely that there would be many if any differences between the two sources. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 15, p. 111.

is the high percentage (61 percent) of native Hoosiers in the ranks of the 19th Indiana. However, with the exception of Elkhart County, the regiment recruited from the central and southern portions of the state. These areas received settlers earlier in the state's history making the men recruited there more likely to be native-born Hoosiers. The other anomalous result, between the 19th Indiana's sample and Indiana soldiers as a whole, is the relative scarcity of foreign-born soldiers. This is due to two key facts: the regiments foreign-born soldiers joined and where in Indiana foreign-born soldiers lived.<sup>112</sup>

In the Civil War, ethnic minorities often formed companies comprised of their fellow nationals. These ethnic companies often joined together to form "ethnic regiments."<sup>113</sup> Regiments of ethnic Germans and Irish were common in the Union army. Occasionally these regiments could be grouped into larger units, like the Irish Brigade of the Army of the Potomac. Indiana provided two Irish regiments, the 35th and the short lived 61st.<sup>114</sup> Also, Indiana had one regiment comprised exclusively of Germans, the 32nd.<sup>115</sup> These ethnic regiments formed from a combination of factors, including ethnic nationalism which meant men wanted to serve with ethnic kinsmen.<sup>116</sup> In an area heavily settled by a specific ethnic group joining an ethnic regiment made logistical sense.<sup>117</sup> Ethnic regiments had greater visibility making it easier to solicit support for the regiment.<sup>118</sup> Finally, the presence of charismatic leaders encouraged their fellow immigrants to enlist so as to demonstrate loyalty to their adopted country.<sup>119</sup>

Non-native immigrants settled mainly in areas of the state that did not provide companies for the 19th Indiana. In 1860, the counties that provided companies for this regiment had foreign

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<sup>112</sup> It is useful to note, according to Bell Irvin Wiley, "as a general rule regiments organized in the East had a heavier admixture of foreign-born numbers than did those formed in the West." At this time Indiana was one of those western states that Wiley described. See Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 311.

<sup>113</sup> Wiley noted many immigrants and their descendants would serve in non-ethnic regiments. See Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 309.

<sup>114</sup> William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York, NY City: Fordham University, 1998), 141-142.

<sup>115</sup> Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, 81.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 51, 55.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 55, 57, 69.

born populations ranging from 2 to 16 percent.<sup>120</sup> This is in stark contrast to the counties where immigrants did settle in Indiana. In 1860, the top eight Indiana counties in terms of immigrant populations were Allen, Dearborn, Dubois, Floyd, La Porte, Lake, Perry, and Vanderburgh. These counties' immigrant populations ranged from 19 percent to 41 percent.<sup>121</sup> Since the counties which provided men for the 19th Indiana had comparatively few foreign-born residents, it is not surprising the regiment would have few foreign-born soldiers in its ranks.

When the sample of the 19th Indiana was broken into its component parts the results are:

Native Origins of 19th Indiana Sample

| Native Origins                  | Regimental Sample | Officers in July 1861 | All Enlisted Men | July 1861 Enlisted Men | Recruits | Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|--|
| Indiana                         | 62%               | 33%                   | 64%              | 64%                    | 62%      | 55%  |
| Ohio                            | 18%               | 10%                   | 18%              | 19%                    | 15%      | 28%  |
| Middle Atlantic                 | 6%                | 29%                   | 4%               | 4%                     | 7%       | 6%   |
| Tennessee and Kentucky          | 4%                | 9%                    | 4%               | 4%                     | 3%       | 5%   |
| Other Slave States              | 7%                | 14%                   | 7%               | 5%                     | 12%      | 0%   |
| Michigan, Illinois, & Wisconsin | 0%                | 0%                    | 0%               | 0%                     | 0%       | 0%   |
| New England                     | 1%                | 5%                    | >0%              | >0%                    | 0%       | 5%   |
| Other Free States               | 0%                | 0%                    | 0%               | 0%                     | 0%       | 0%   |
| Germanic States                 | 1%                | 0%                    | 1%               | 1%                     | 0%       | 0%   |
| Ireland                         | >0%               | 0%                    | 1%               | >0%                    | 0%       | 0%   |
| Other Foreign                   | 1%                | 0%                    | 1%               | 1%                     | 2%       | 0%   |

<sup>120</sup> The foreign born populations, for the counties that are credited with providing companies to the 19th Indiana, are as follows Delaware, Madison, Owen, and Randolph: 2 percent; Johnson: 3 percent; Elkhart: 7 percent; Wayne: 9 percent; Marion: 16 percent. See Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, 128 and 129.

<sup>121</sup> The top eight Indiana counties for residents with foreign nativities in 1860 were Allen County: 23 percent, Dearborn County: 24 percent, Dubois County: 27 percent, Floyd County: 19 percent, La Porte County: 22 percent, Lake County: 29 percent, Perry County: 24 percent, and Vanderburgh County: 41 percent. See Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, 128, 129.



In general, the various sub-components of the regimental sample align with the results of the entire sample, particularly all of the sample's enlisted men, the sample's enlisted men in July 1861, and the sample's recruits. The exceptions are the sample's officers and enlisted men promoted into the officer corps. The men in these categories were older than the enlisted men of the regiment, so this increases the likelihood the man in question would be born outside of Indiana and the small sample size could have affected results. These results make the 19th Indiana a rather unremarkable regiment in terms of the nativity of the soldiers, particularly in comparison to other soldiers from Indiana.

### Age

The younger the soldier, the more likely he would be a native born Hoosier. In the military, however, age is important beyond occasionally determining where its soldiers were born. One of the most important numbers is the number of military age men in the country. The number of men of military age gives an indication of the number of men who can be put into the army and ultimately the battlefield. There were 5,624,000 white men of military age between 18 and 45, in the North and South in 1860.<sup>122</sup> Indiana's share of this total was 265,295 men.<sup>123</sup> Soldiers were not supposed to be under the age of 18 when they enlisted, but soldiers under that age will be found in the ranks. William Robey Moore, an enlisted man in Company K, offered an excellent example of this phenomenon. Moore enlisted as a 16 year old in the summer of 1861.<sup>124</sup>

Moore, writing after the war, did not remember if he lied about his age or if a mustering officer simply wrote his age down as 18.<sup>125</sup> Moore suggested if the mustering officer wrote his age down as 18, he deceived "Uncle Sam" by being physically developed from his employment as a blacksmith.<sup>126</sup> It is, however, impossible to know how many men, like William Robey

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<sup>122</sup> Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, xvii.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

<sup>124</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 39 and 40, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.



Moore, enlisted under the age of 18. Bell Irvin Wiley stated many of the ages for soldiers on muster rolls were incorrect as soldiers were younger than they claimed.<sup>127</sup> The 19th Indiana perfectly illustrates this finding. In this regiment, only 1 percent of the men in the regiment sampled were under 18 using muster information; but using ages based on the 1860 census, 12 percent of the men were less than 18 years of age when they enlisted.<sup>128</sup> Using muster information, the U.S. Sanitary Commission calculated 1 percent of Union soldiers were under the age of 18 when they enlisted; while Wiley found 2 percent of soldiers were under the age of 18.<sup>129</sup> In Indiana, Adjutant General Terrell found that 0.008 percent of Indiana's soldiers were under 18 when they enlisted.<sup>130</sup>

The majority of soldiers in the Union Army, however, were over 18. Wiley stated the majority of Union soldiers “were neither very old nor very young” and James I. Robertson, Jr., stated most Union soldiers were “in the 18 to 29 age bracket.”<sup>131</sup> Terrell provided a mean age of 22 for Indiana soldiers.<sup>132</sup> The U.S. Sanitary Commission provided the mean age of Indiana soldiers as 24 and all enlisted Union soldiers as 25.<sup>133</sup> The same report found the mean age of Union officers was 30.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 299; George Langdon Kilmer, “Boys in the Union Army,” *Century Magazine* 70, no. 2 (June 1905): 269.

<sup>128</sup> This appears to be a high number. However, it is difficult to determine how atypical this number is without a much larger study of Union soldiers using the 1860 Census.

<sup>129</sup> Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 38, 57; Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 299.

<sup>130</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 14, p. 110. Figure rounded to the nearest thousandths place.

<sup>131</sup> Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 25.

<sup>132</sup> An exact number of men below the age of 17 or over the age of 31 are not provided by Terrell. These ages are lumped into three groups: “under 17 years,” “31-34 years,” and “35 years and over.” Since it is unknown how many men were each age in these groups it would not be acceptable to include these soldiers in the age calculations. See Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 14, p. 110.

<sup>133</sup> Gould lumped the men 50 years and older into a single category. For this reason, they have been excluded from the mean value given from Gould's Report. This group is in the distinct minority so it is highly unlikely it will significantly—if at all—change any mean value. See Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 38, 48.

<sup>134</sup> Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 57. Those men 50 years or older have been excluded as they have been lumped as one group. The numbers of men in this category are so small that even if they were included these would only marginally affect the mean age. If the two national results from Gould's report are combined, a mean age regardless of rank for Union soldiers would be 26. See Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 38, 57.

The ages of the sampled soldiers of the 19th Indiana and its component segments are as follows:

Mean Age of the 19th Indiana Sample

|                       | Regimental Sample | Officers in July 1861 | All Enlisted Men | July 1861 Enlisted Men | Recruits | Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|--|
| Age (Based on Census) | 23                | 32                    | 22               | 22                     | 23       | 25   |
| Age (Muster)          | 23                | 31                    | 22               | 22                     | 23       | 26   |

This sample of the 19th Indiana conforms to the findings of Gould, Terrell, Wiley, and Robertson. The entire sample and the sample of the enlisted men of the regiment are slightly younger than findings in most studies, but the difference is not significant. There is no difference in age for enlisted men regardless of when they were mustered into the regiment.<sup>135</sup> The mean age of the sampled enlisted men promoted into the officer corps is only slightly older than the enlisted men, but well within the ages found in other studies of Union soldiers. The sample's original officers were slightly older than the mean age of all Union officers. This indicates there is nothing necessarily unique in terms of age that can set the regimental sample apart from other Union regiments.

#### Literacy

The age of the soldiers leads one to speculate on the level of education of the men. This can be examined by looking at literacy rates. However, the 1860 Census only asked about literacy for people 20 years of age or older. Wiley and James McPherson have both estimated the number of illiterates in the Union Army. Wiley estimated there were only one to six illiterate soldiers in

<sup>135</sup> The mean age for the recruits are as follows (based from the census first and the muster second); those who enlisted in 1861 after the original muster: 20 and 20, those who enlisted in 1862: 25 and 25; those who enlisted in 1863: 31 and 32; those who enlisted in 1864: 22 and 22.

any given company while McPherson estimated illiteracy for white Union soldiers at less than 10 percent.<sup>136</sup>

Illiteracy in the 19th Indiana sample was as follows:

Mean Illiteracy of the 19th Indiana Sample<sup>137</sup>

|                 | Regimental Sample | Officers in July 1861 | All Enlisted Men | July 1861 Enlisted Men | Recruits | Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|--|
| Illiteracy Rate | 4%                | 0%                    | 5%               | 5%                     | 6%       | 0%   |

The sample of the regiment conformed perfectly to estimates of illiterate soldiers in the Union army whether taken as a whole or broken into groups. No officers—whether they were initially part of the regimental officer corps or were promoted into the corps—were illiterate. This is perfectly understandable. An officer needed to do more than wave a sword and inspire men on the battlefield to take a mountain pass or defend a ridge line. Being an officer required a large amount of paperwork, which would be difficult to complete if one were illiterate. Thus, in terms of literacy, the regiment is typical of the Union army.

### Family

In this youthful army, the men by and large were single and childless. Marriage could be a reason to explain why a soldier chose to not enlist into the army. This idea can be supported by looking at what William Orr and William Robey Moore wrote at the start of the war and decades after the war respectively. Orr told his father that since he had no family commitments, there was no reason why he could not enlist.<sup>138</sup> Moore stated his elder brother did not enlist in 1861 due to

<sup>136</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 305-306; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 11. Wiley's estimate of one to six illiterates in a company would mean approximately 1 percent to 6 percent of the Union army was illiterate.

<sup>137</sup> For the illiteracy rates given here for the 19th Indiana only those men there were 20 years or older were included.

<sup>138</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated April 16, 1861, Box 1, Folder 6, OFM, LL.

his family commitments.<sup>139</sup> This raises the question of how many Union soldiers and men in the 19th Indiana were married and/or had children at the time of their enlistment.

This is a difficult question to answer. Prior to 1890, the census did not question the marital relations of any member in a family.<sup>140</sup> The 1860 census simply asked if a person in a family had married in the year of the census. This is better than nothing, but tells much less than is desired. To be counted as verifiably married in 1860 a man needed to be “married during the year ending June 1, 1860,” nearly an entire year before the Civil War broke out in April 1861.<sup>141</sup> The percentage of the population married in the year of the census nationally and Indiana was 1 percent.<sup>142</sup> Scholars have attempted get a better understanding of marriage and the Union army, by estimating the percentage of Union soldiers who were married. Using his sample of soldiers in *For Cause and Comrades*, McPherson estimated 29 percent of Union soldiers were married during the Civil War.<sup>143</sup> Other examinations provided marriage estimates of 30 percent and 32 percent for Union soldiers.<sup>144</sup> Even though married men were a minority in the Union Army, it seems reasonable to estimate that approximately one-third of Union soldiers were married at the time of the war. The 1860 census stated the average family size in the United States and Indiana as 5 people.<sup>145</sup>

The marriage data and family size for the likely married men if they were a head of household for this sample of the 19th Indiana sample are as follows:

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<sup>139</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 74, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS. Moore did not specify the name of his elder brother, so it is unknown if this brother enlisted later during the war.

<sup>140</sup> Holmes, “Such is the Price We Pay,” 174, n. 17.

<sup>141</sup> Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, xxxvi.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi.

<sup>143</sup> McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, viii.

<sup>144</sup> Holmes, “Such is the Price We Pay,” 174; Emily J. Harris, “Sons and Soldiers: Deerfield, Massachusetts and the Civil War,” *Civil War History* 30, no. 2 (June 1984): 168. Holmes’s estimate for the percentage of married soldiers is based on the 1890 Census; while Harris’s estimate for the number of Union soldiers married is based on a study of just one community during the Civil War.

<sup>145</sup> *Statistics of the United States, (Including mortality, property, etc.) in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns and Being the Final Exhibit of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 351.

Mean Marriage and Family size of married men of the 19th Indiana Sample<sup>146</sup>

|  | Regimental Sample | Officers in July 1861 | All Enlisted Men | July 1861 Enlisted Men | Recruits | Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|--|
| Percentage married in the year of the census | 1%                | 0%                    | 1%               | 1%                     | 0%       | 0%   |
| Percentage likely married                    | 14%               | 52%                   | 11%              | 10%                    | 17%      | 28%  |
| If married how many in the family (mean)     | 5                 | 7                     | 4                | 4                      | 6        | 5  |

This sample of the 19th Indiana conforms somewhat to the available marriage and family data. One percent of the sampled men of the regiment married in the year of the census, as did two other categories. However, there are three categories of the sampled men of the regiment which recorded 0 percent marrying in the year of the census. This is not an unlikely result, since the 1860 Census asked if a man had been married in a rather narrow time period that ended nearly a year prior to the start of the war. The percentage of sampled men in the regiment married produced the most interesting results. In all categories of this sample, except for the regiment's original officers, there were significantly fewer married men than other estimates of married Union soldiers. The original officers, however, included more married men than other estimates of married Union soldiers.

It is difficult to know if these results are actually noteworthy until there are significantly more studies on the marriage rates in the Union army in individual regiments. Of the men in this

<sup>146</sup> In this sample, the men who are considered as married met the following criteria: 1) being in the same household as his likely spouse, 2) sharing the same surnames as his likely spouse, 3) both people were of marriageable age, 4) both people were approximately the same age, 5) there was no other plausible relationship between the two people. Here the number of people in a family is defined as those people who are part of the same numbered family and in Schedule One of the 1860 Census. Even though the people may be listed as part of the same family, it does not necessarily mean that all people are related. The 1860 Census did not ask for familial relations and members of some of these families (and in the same household) were noted to domestic servants or similar occupation. There may have also been other reasons that people listed in the same family are not necessarily related.

sample who were married, all were in families approximately in line with the average family size as found in the census. The greater number of people in the families of the officers can potentially be attributed to the presence of domestic help or other people residing in the household being considered as part of the family. In conclusion, in terms of marriage and family size, there is little that sets the 19th Indiana apart from other Union regiments.

### Occupation

Pre-war civilians overwhelmingly made up the volunteer army. It is not surprising, then, that Wiley could identify “more than 300 occupations and specialties” practiced by Union soldiers.<sup>147</sup> The 1860 census listed over 250 potential occupations in Indiana.<sup>148</sup> In the 19th Indiana sample, it is possible to find 39 occupations. Occupations ranged from a county clerk and lawyers to saddlers, blacksmiths, and farmers. Reflecting the civilian nature of the Union volunteer army none of the men in this sample were members of the antebellum U.S. Army in 1860. William Robey Moore likely spoke for many in the volunteer army when he stated he wished to suppress the Confederacy and go home to do other things, illustrating the civilian nature of the volunteer army.<sup>149</sup>

Bell Irvin Wiley found in his study of Union soldiers approximately half were farmers and common laborers “accounted for more than a tenth.”<sup>150</sup> Wiley listed a plethora of other occupations including soldiers, clerks, printers, teachers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, mechanics, machinists, masons, painters, soldiers, sailors, and teamsters. Wiley, however, does not provide any figures for the number of men in his sample that practiced these occupations.<sup>151</sup> Gould’s report for the Sanitary Commission, Indiana’s Adjutant General Terrell’s report on Indiana in the Civil War, and McPherson’s *For Cause and Comrades* all found:

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<sup>147</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 304.

<sup>148</sup> Kennedy, *Population of the United States*, 130-131.

<sup>149</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 101, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>150</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 304.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

Mean Occupations of Union Soldiers<sup>152</sup>

| Occupational Category                     | Professional | White Collar | Skilled | Unskilled | Farmers |
|---|--------------|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| National (Gould)                          | 2%           | 4%           | 26%     | 17%       | 51%     |
| Indiana Volunteers and Recruits (Gould)   | 2%           | 2%           | 18%     | 5%        | 73%     |
| Indiana Volunteers (Gould)                | 2%           | 2%           | 18%     | 5%        | 73%     |
| Indiana Recruits (Gould)                  | 1%           | 1%           | 14%     | 7%        | 77%     |
| Indiana Volunteers and Recruits (Terrell) | 1%           | 7%           | 17%     | 2%        | 73%     |
| Indiana Volunteers (Terrell)              | 2%           | 3%           | 18%     | 5%        | 73%     |
| Indiana Recruits (Terrell)                | 1%           | 1%           | 14%     | 7%        | 77%     |
| Enlisted Men (McPherson)                  | 3%           | 22%          | 19%     | 4%        | 53%     |
| Officers (McPherson)                      | 34%          | 46%          | 5%      | 0%        | 15%     |

<sup>152</sup> These broad occupational categories are the same categories used by McPherson in *For Cause and Comrades*. McPherson differentiated professional and white collar workers. Professionals were men employed in fields such as the law, medical, education, military officers, and engineers. White collar occupations included commercial pursuits, educators, press, financial, and clerical. In Gould's study the occupations he listed falls into McPherson's categories as follows: professional: professional and printer; white collar: commercial; skilled: mechanic; unskilled: laborers; and farmers: agriculture. Gould's category of miscellaneous has been left out as it is a catch all category. Men in this group cannot be easily assigned to any occupational category. Terrell listed the occupations of 86,601 Hoosier soldiers. The occupational categories listed by Terrell are: agricultural, mechanic, commercial, professional, printers, laborers, miscellaneous, and not given. The occupations Terrell listed falls into McPherson's categories as follows; professional: professional; white collar: printers and commercial; skilled: mechanics; unskilled: laborers; farmers: agricultural. Miscellaneous and not given are not given as it is not known in what category these men could be assigned to. As a final note, occupational categories are somewhat fluid. Each person who writes about Civil War soldiers and their occupations can assign men to categories that best serve their purposes, thus there can be discrepancies between studies. For example, McPherson stated it is possible a master cooper and master cabinet maker could be white collar—if he owned his own shop—or in the skilled labor category—if they did not. However, it can be difficult to ascertain if a man owned his own shop or not making it difficult to know which category would be the most applicable. See McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 182; Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 210, 211; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 17, pp. 112-113.

What becomes clear regardless of whether the study was conducted immediately after the war or in the twentieth century is that the majority of Union soldiers were employed in agriculture. The exception is McPherson's study of officers.<sup>153</sup> Officers were employed in occupations that required more education than the majority of Union soldiers. According to the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the majority of the original officers in Union regiments were employed in professional pursuits.<sup>154</sup>

The occupational breakdown for the 19th Indiana sample is as follows:

Occupations of the 19th Indiana Sample<sup>155</sup>

| Occupational Category                        | Professional | White Collar | Skilled Laborers | Unskilled Laborers | Farmers |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|---------|
| Regimental Sample                            | 4%           | 4%           | 9%               | 25%                | 57%     |
| All Enlisted Men                             | 2%           | 2%           | 9%               | 27%                | 61%     |
| July 1861 Enlisted Men                       | 2%           | 3%           | 9%               | 26%                | 60%     |
| Recruits                                     | 0%           | 0%           | 6%               | 30%                | 64%     |
| Officers in July 1861                        | 30%          | 30%          | 25%              | 0%                 | 15%     |
| Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps | 17%          | 17%          | 17%              | 17%                | 33%     |

These results largely conform to the findings of other studies about the occupations of Union soldiers. The only anomalous result is the larger number of unskilled soldiers and the smaller number of those employed in the agricultural sector in the ranks. Even though this sample

<sup>153</sup> Any reference to McPherson's study should have an asterisk next to it because he admits his study has a bias that can and likely does skew results. McPherson's admitted bias is "toward native-born soldiers from middle and upper classes who enlisted early in the war" as they "were more likely to write letters or keep diaries and their descendants were more likely to preserve them" than other soldiers who comprised the Union Army. See McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, ix

<sup>154</sup> Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 209.

<sup>155</sup> In this sample there were 39 occupations of the soldiers in the sample. These occupations are organized into the following occupational categories: Professional: cadet, court clerk, lawyer, law student, physician, teacher, and school teacher; White Collar: book keeper, clerk, post master, and trader; Skilled: blacksmith apprentice, miller, mill wright, blacksmith, carpenter, cooper, machinist, mason, master cabinet maker, saddler, shoe maker, tailor, and wagon maker; Unskilled: brick maker, butcher, day laborer, laborer, painter, artist, potter, teamster, servant, rail road hand, and wood chopper; Agricultural: gardener, farmer, farm hand, and farm laborer. If no occupation was listed for a person, but the head of household is a farmer, the person has been labeled as a farm laborer. For all others with no occupation or it was illegible they have been left out of the statistics for this subchapter.



contained fewer men employed in the agricultural category it still is a clear majority—or in the case of one category a plurality—of men employed. Thus, in terms of occupation, there is little that sets the 19th Indiana apart from other regiments in the Union Army.

### Wealth

With employment naturally comes wealth. One way to look at wealth is not through a raw number, but through translating the wealth of individuals into social classes. Class here is divided into three categories based on the sum of household real estate and personal wealth: poor (\$0-\$499), middle (\$500-\$19,999), and wealthy (\$20,000 and higher).<sup>156</sup> Both the United States and Indiana were distinctly middle class in 1860, with mean total wealth of \$2,319.10 and \$1,653.00 respectively.<sup>157</sup> For the 19th Indiana sample the following wealth breakdown is found:

Social Class of the 19th Indiana Sample<sup>158</sup>

| Class       | Regimental Sample | Officers in July 1861 | All Enlisted Men | July 1861 Enlisted Men | Recruits   | Enlisted Men Promoted into the Officer Corps |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|--|
| Upper       | 3%                | 14%                   | 2%               | 3%                     | 0%         | 0%   |
| Middle      | 71%               | 62%                   | 72%              | 71%                    | 74%        | 59%  |
| Lower       | 26%               | 24%                   | 26%              | 26%                    | 26%        | 31%  |
| Mean Wealth | \$4,280.18        | \$9,020.57            | \$3,875.70       | \$4,191.50             | \$2,725.34 | \$3,269.82                                   |

<sup>156</sup> The class brackets used here are taken from Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power*, 46. *Wealth and Power* has been chosen to provide a general idea of the class structure present at the time of the Civil War. It is not meant to be the definitive guide to social classes. For example, others scholars may use different wealth numbers for each of the three classes. However, it is likely the middle class category would cover a significant expanse of wealth. It is likely that the middle class could be broken up into smaller subcategories to better differentiate those in the middle class with a significant amount of wealth and those with less wealth.

<sup>157</sup> This is found by using the following formula: total personal & real estate wealth/total number of families=mean household wealth. For the numbers used, see *Statistics of the United States*, 294, 351. It is unknown what the percentage of households in the United States and Indiana fit into each of the three social classes so it cannot be determined similar or different the 19th Indiana is from the rest of Indiana or the United States.

<sup>158</sup> The wealth for the individual soldiers are calculated by adding the total personal wealth and the total real estate wealth of the household. The exception is made if the census noted the man is a boarder and thus has no relation to the head of household. Here if the boarder's own wealth is given it has been used, but if no wealth is given the soldier has been excluded. In calculating the figures for this chart if no wealth was given for the head of household or the soldier in question then the soldier has been excluded from these calculations. Finally, if two soldiers in this sample resided in the same household only the head of household or the eldest of the two soldiers were counted for these statistics.

An average sampled soldier—regardless of rank or when he entered the regiment—was from a middle class household. There are only two irregular results present in the subcategories. The first is the relatively high number of men belonging to the wealthy class in the original officer corps. The men of the regiment elected many of their original officers and the officers were appointed by the governor. In James McPherson’s discussion of Confederate units, he stated that these elections were “often a *pro forma* ratification” of a prominent and potentially wealthy individual who played an important role in “recruiting a company or regiment.”<sup>159</sup> The Northern experience was similar to that of the Confederacy. This increases the likelihood of an original officer in the 19th Indiana being a member of the wealthy class. What is most interesting is the second anomaly, the comparison between the sampled enlisted men promoted into the officer corps and the sample at large. A significant minority—39 percent of the total sample—of the men in this category were poor. This demonstrates that class played little or no role in the promotion of men into the officer corps.

The issue of wealth is an important one. Scholars such as Wiley and Robertson have asserted that the potential to acquire wealth and economic gain induced men to enlist in the Union Army.<sup>160</sup> McPherson, however, disagreed with this theory. McPherson asserted economic gain did not play a role in inducing men to enlist, even after the federal and state governments began to offer increasingly large bounties.<sup>161</sup>

McPherson’s assertion is supported by examining the pay of a Union private.<sup>162</sup> Pay for a Union private was \$13 a month.<sup>163</sup> In a 30-day month this factors out to 43 cents a day. In

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<sup>159</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 318.

<sup>160</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 37; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 8.

<sup>161</sup> McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 5.

<sup>162</sup> The pay for a private has been used as the benchmark for wage discussions. Most men joined the war as privates and left as privates. The other enlisted ranks were paid only slightly higher than privates, thus not changing the underlying point of this wage discussion. Officers had higher pay, but these men formed a different military class than their men and were potentially less likely to be influenced by any monetary benefits that military service could bring. Pay for enlisted soldiers in the Union Army ranged from \$13.00-\$21.00 a month; and the salaries for commissioned officer ranged from \$105.50-\$758.00 a month. The monthly pay of officers “include some, but not all benefits, such as additional ration[s], forage, and fuel

addition, the federal government issued a \$100 bounty to a newly enlisted soldier, in July 1861, to include those that had already enlisted in the preceding months.<sup>164</sup> If this \$100 bounty were paid out proportionally every day for three years—the length of enlistment for the 19th Indiana—daily pay for a soldier increased by 9 cents, making a total daily pay of 52 cents for a Union private. In 1860, the national mean wage for a farm hand with board was \$18.80 per month, which factors to 62 cents a day in a 30-day month.<sup>165</sup> Nationally, laborers with board, laborers without board, and carpenters without board were paid wages ranging from \$1 to \$2.43 a day or monthly pay of \$30 to \$72.90 in a 30-day month.<sup>166</sup> In Indiana, wages were less than the national average. Mean wages for farm hands with board was \$13.71 a month or 45 cents a day in a 30-day month.<sup>167</sup> For laborers with board, laborers without board, and carpenters without board wages range from 73 cents to \$1.65 or monthly pay of \$21.90 to \$49.50 in a 30-day month.<sup>168</sup>

Hoosier farm laborers could make more by enlisting in 1861, or later in the war, as bounties increased beyond the original \$100.<sup>169</sup> However, it is unlikely that many Hoosier farm laborers joined the army for financial gain, either early in the war or in the months that followed, even as bounties exceeded \$100. First, Congress approved the issuing of a \$100 bounty to men who enlisted in the army on July 22, 1861—just one week prior to the 19th Indiana’s muster date of July 29, 1861.<sup>170</sup> This means the promise of a bounty could not explain the enlistments of the

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allowances, usually commuted in cash.” See Albert A. Nofi, *A Civil War Treasury: Being a Miscellany of Arms and Artillery, Facts and Figures, Legends, and Lore, Muses and Minstrels, and Personalities and People* (1992; repr., Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 1995), 381.

<sup>163</sup> Nofi, *A Civil War Treasury*, 381.

<sup>164</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 13, p. 109.

<sup>165</sup> *Statistics of the United States*, 512.

<sup>166</sup> *Statistics of the United States*, 512. For information regarding wages in the industrial sector refer to Clarence D. Long, *Wages and Earnings in the United States, 1860-1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 70.

<sup>167</sup> *Statistics of the United States*, 512.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 13, p. 109.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

original men of the regiment as many of the companies of the 19th Indiana formed weeks prior to the regiment's actual muster date.<sup>171</sup>

The pay increase for the men of the regiment was rather negligible and not significant enough to sway many men, even if the bounty pay exceeded \$100. A man was unlikely to risk his life in battle or the myriad other ways a man could die in the army, for a few additional cents a day. If a man only wanted to improve his economic condition there were other opportunities available to him during the Civil War. The Homestead Act opened up millions of acres of land in the West essentially for free, new gold strikes in Colorado and Montana beckoned, and wartime industries required labor and paid higher wages. Thus, men had options for financial gain.<sup>172</sup> Finally, while on paper it appeared that enlisting in the army could increase an individual's wealth, this may not have been fact as the families of soldiers did suffer hardships when the men of the household went to war.

McPherson noted that many—if not the majority—of Union soldiers made economic sacrifices to serve their country.<sup>173</sup> During the war, many men in the 19th Indiana identified economic hardships they and their families suffered or stressed that their service was for selfless motives. Solomon Meredith—one of the wealthiest men in the regiment—in a letter stated, “I have acted from the purest and most patriotic motives.”<sup>174</sup> In response to his wife requesting money, John Hawk—an enlisted man in Company K—said, “the officers and men are all out of money,” thus he could not send any as he had “not been paid” nor did he know when he would be paid.<sup>175</sup> Adam Gisse—an enlisted man in Company A—wrote to Indiana's governor requesting

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<sup>171</sup> For examples, see Company Election Results of the Spencer Grays, June 22, 1861, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA; Company Election results of the Selma Legion, July 3, 1861, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA; Company Election results of the Meredith Guards, July 4, 1861, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA; Company election results of the Edinburgh Guards, July 9, 1861, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA.

<sup>172</sup> For further information regarding wages in the industrial sector in 1860 refer to Long, *Wages and Earnings in the United States*, 70.

<sup>173</sup> McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 5.

<sup>174</sup> Solomon Meredith to Anna [presumed Meredith], letter dated May 22, 1863, Box 1, Folder 3, Solomon Meredith Papers, IHS. Hereafter the Solomon Meredith Papers are cited as SMP.

<sup>175</sup> John Hawk to Wife, letter dated July 5, 1864, HHP, ISL.

aide as he had difficulty supporting his family on his inadequate monthly pay as a soldier.<sup>176</sup> Rhonda Nicholson—the wife of John Nicholson an enlisted man in Company E—claimed relief as her husband’s military pay was her and her child’s sole means of supports.<sup>177</sup> Other families of men in the 19th Indiana made economic sacrifices during the war. At the end of the war, a number of soldiers in Companies A, E, and K filed with Madison and Delaware counties to receive poor relief. Farm laborer, Milton L. Bock of Company K, for example requested \$44.33.<sup>178</sup> After the war, dozens of men filed to receive bounties and pensions —the latter in compensation for injuries, such as the loss of an arm or leg, received during the war which would adversely affect their economic standing for the rest of their lives.<sup>179</sup>

Only the regimental hospital steward, Henry C. Marsh, suggested that the possibility of economic gain induced him to reenlist in the 19th Indiana. Marsh hoped to be able to purchase a farm with his reenlistment bounty money.<sup>180</sup> It is also important to note that economic gain was not the first or only reason Marsh re-enlisted. By re-enlisting Marsh would be able to enjoy continuing as a hospital steward as opposed to being “reduced to the ranks and have to serve out my 10 months.”<sup>181</sup> Marsh also thought the war would be over in less than a year, so by re-enlisting he received an additional \$402, without necessarily serving any part of his second term of enlistment.<sup>182</sup> This illustrates that economic gain was an unlikely reason to lead men to enlist.

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<sup>176</sup> Adam Gisse to Oliver P. Morton, letter dated July 18, 1862, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA.

<sup>177</sup> List of relief payments to the families of volunteer soldiers credited to Delaware County, undated, Civil War Records, Delaware County, 1861-1890, Ball State University, University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, Muncie, IN. Hereafter the Ball State Library is cited as BSUL.

<sup>178</sup> Letter regarding Relief of Soldiers Families claim for Milton L. Brock, undated, Civil War Records, Delaware County, 1861-1890, BSUL.

<sup>179</sup> For the certificates of men filing for soldier’s families, see Relief of Soldiers Families certificates for David H. Holdron, William Burt, Oliver Love, George W. Collins, Mason Hitchcock, James Fiers, Lewis Fiers, James Payton, Franklin L. Keever, Eilhu J. Whiccar, James B. Jones, Jacob Y. Jones, William Orr, David P. Orr, David Lennon, James B. Knight, George W. Bell, George W. Taylor, John Collins, Joseph Garrand, James Love, Jacob Gump, Isaac Smith, Enon Thayer, James Galbreath, George W. Smith, Absalom Shroyer, John Gump, Joseph Collins, Larry Richey, and Isaac Branson, Civil War Records, Delaware County, 1861-1865, BSUL.

<sup>180</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated October 8, 1863, Box 1, Folder 5, Henry C. Marsh Papers, ISL. Hereafter the Henry C. Marsh Papers are cited as HCMP.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

## Motivation

If the men of the 19th Indiana were unlikely to benefit financially from enlisting, the question why men enlisted is difficult to determine. Some soldiers, even if they left written records behind, had difficulty explaining why they enlisted. For example, William Robey Moore reflected decades after the war that he was unsure if he enlisted for patriotic motives or if he enlisted to go “on a frolic.”<sup>183</sup> If Moore enlisted to go “on a frolic” this would support historian Bell Irvin Wiley’s assertion the majority of men were “little concerned with ideological issues.”<sup>184</sup> However, historian James McPherson commented that the men of Civil War armies did express ideological reasons to enlist.<sup>185</sup> The three most prominent ideological reasons for a Civil War soldier to enlist were a desire to end the expansion of slavery, the desire to entirely end slavery, or the desire to reunify the country.

Even though in our contemporary society many view the primary objective of the Union as the abolition of slavery, for Union soldiers, this is an unlikely reason to explain their enlistments. Wiley and Robertson stated that men who fought for abolition “comprised only a small part of the fighting forces” and for every soldier who did fight for the abolition of slavery “a dozen disclaimers could be heard.”<sup>186</sup> In Indiana, such anti-abolition views were prevalent. Historian Emma Lou Thornbrough described the pre-dominant view among Hoosiers as “anti-Negro” to the point of “Negrophobia.”<sup>187</sup>

No soldier in the 19th Indiana explained in 1861 his own views on emancipation or abolition. However, after the Emancipation Proclamation was announced in the fall of 1862 and went into effect in January 1863, many soldiers began to reflect on their views. Writing home in

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<sup>183</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 80, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>184</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 39-40.

<sup>185</sup> McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 15-16.

<sup>186</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 40; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 8.

<sup>187</sup> Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 13, 111. For details regarding the conflicted views shared by Hoosiers regarding the issue of abolition, emancipation, and other related political issues, refer to the following Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War* (1949; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 9, 22, 26, 32, 33, 58-59, 81, 135, 137, 145-148, 222; Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 12-28, 45-57, 61-67, 69-75, 79-84, 97-98, 102-103, 111-114, 121-122, 185, 196-200.

January 1863, Henry C. Marsh stated he “hated the sin of slavery all my life” and “that until slavery is put down the rebellion will not be” after previously writing he considered slavery “the great sin of this nation.”<sup>188</sup> In June 1863, Marsh described Sergeant Michner—of Company E—to his father as “the strongest Abolitionist I have met in the army.”<sup>189</sup> For men such as Marsh and Michner, slavery was at the heart of the rebellion, and to end the Civil War slavery needed to end as well. However, this was a minority opinion in the 19th Indiana. Allen W. Galyean—of Company K—complained he now fought “for the negros.”<sup>190</sup> Speaking for himself and others, John Hawk stated they “never came here to free the negros.”<sup>191</sup> George Edward Finney—originally an enlisted man in Company H until his promotion into the officer corps—stated emancipation was a distraction for the Union war effort and if the government would cease this distraction “we would sooner have peace.”<sup>192</sup> This view was shared by Solomon Meredith, an ally of Indiana’s Republican governor. Meredith complained that with a focus on emancipation, the war was needlessly prolonged and made it more difficult for the country to reunite.<sup>193</sup> William Orr in December 1862 contemplated resigning his commission as the “object” of the war was now “the abolition of slavery.”<sup>194</sup>

Historian Gary Gallagher commented that most Northern men enlisted for the cause of the Union.<sup>195</sup> Earl J. Hess supported this claim and stated that the cause of the Union played “a

<sup>188</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated May 17, 1862, Box 1, Folder 2, HCMP, ISL; Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated January 30, 1863, Box 1, Folder 4, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>189</sup> Henry C. Marsh to Father, letter dated June 8, 1863, Box 1, Folder 4, HCMP, ISL. Marsh appeared to have written the surname as “Matchnes,” a name that is not in the 19th Indiana. It is assumed Marsh was referring to Sergeant Thomas K. Michner. See Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General* vol. 4, 398.

<sup>190</sup> Allen W. Galyean to Kate Hawk, letter dated June 2, no year, HHP, ISL. All letters from the Helen Hudson Papers are transcriptions. This letter from Allen W. Galyean to Kate Hawk is dated as June 2 and is filed with other letters from 1862. However, the context of the letter, for example referencing snow and the removal of Major Generals Ambrose Burnside and William Franklin from their commands, indicates that this letter is more likely from January 1863.

<sup>191</sup> John Hawk to Father, letter dated January 9, 1863, HHP, ISL.

<sup>192</sup> George Edward Finney Diary, January 9, 1863, George Edward Finney Papers, ISL. Hereafter the George Edward Finney Papers are cited as GEFP.

<sup>193</sup> Solomon Meredith to Anna [presumed Meredith], letter dated May 22, 1863, SMP, IHS.

<sup>194</sup> William Orr to Wife, letter dated December 21, 1862, Box 2, Folder 2, OFM, LL; William Orr to Father, letter dated September 16, 1864, Box 2, Folder 4, OFM, LL.

<sup>195</sup> Gallagher, *The Union War*, 66.



huge role in motivating Northerners to . . . join the army” to preserve what Robertson termed the “world’s greatest experiment in freedom and democracy.”<sup>196</sup> A defeat of the Union in the Civil War would be a *de facto* defeat for this experiment. Many men indicated their belief in the Union by invoking “the legacy of the Founding Fathers” or other patriotic motifs in their writings.<sup>197</sup>

In April 1861, William Orr explained that a company was forming in Selma, Indiana, “for the defense of the Laws of the Constitution and the Union” and that he needed to “answer my country’s call.”<sup>198</sup> Over three years later, in a letter to his father, he still believed he was fighting a war for “an honorable peace on the basis of the union.”<sup>199</sup> Solomon Meredith, John Hawk, and regimental chaplain Lewis Dale echoed these sentiments, by reflecting on why they fought in the months after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. Meredith needed to redeem the United States.<sup>200</sup> Hawk stated that he fought for “the restoration of the union.”<sup>201</sup> Dale shared similar sentiments in a letter to the *New Castle Courier*.<sup>202</sup> Decades after the war Moore reflected that he had desired to put “down the rebellion.”<sup>203</sup> Patriotic motifs were also found in the writings of soldiers in the 19th Indiana. In the first few months of the war, one soldier of the 19th Indiana described the war as the “momentous struggle for the perpetuation of the best government upon which the sun shines.”<sup>204</sup> Other soldiers also made reference to fighting “for the old flag.”<sup>205</sup> These writings indicate that, like most Union soldiers, many men in the 19th Indiana either

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<sup>196</sup> Hess, *The Union Soldier*, 97, 102; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 10.

<sup>197</sup> Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 10; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 18-19, 98-100.

<sup>198</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated April 16, 1861, OFM, LL.

<sup>199</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated September 16, 1864, Box 2, Folder 4, OFM, LL.

<sup>200</sup> Solomon Meredith to Anna [presumed Meredith], letter dated May 22, 1863, SMP, IHS.

<sup>201</sup> John Hawk to Father and Sister, letter dated January 9, 1863, HHP, ISL.

<sup>202</sup> Lewis Dale, “Letter from the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment,” *New Castle Courier*, New Castle, Indiana, March 5, 1863, ISL.

<sup>203</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 75, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>204</sup> John Leander Yaryan to [illegible] Carr, August 18, 1861, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA. The name on the 19th Indiana roll stated the name Leander Morgan, but after this man resigned to become adjutant in the Fifty-Eighth Indiana the name appeared as John L. Yaryan. See W.H.H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*, vol. 2: 173, 559.

<sup>205</sup> Allen W. Galyean to Kate Hawk, letter dated January 2, 1863, HHP, ISL; Thomas Hart Benton to Sister, letter dated July 18, 1862, Thomas Hart Benton Papers, IHS. Hereafter the Thomas Hart Benton Papers are cited as THBP.



enlisted to fight or recalled that they enlisted to fight for the Union and to suppress a rebellion, not to fight for the end of slavery.

### Conclusion

Was the composition of the 19th Indiana typical of Civil War regiments in terms of its socio-economic profile based on the available literature regarding Union Civil War soldiers? The answer is simple: yes. The sampled men of the 19th Indiana were overwhelmingly comprised of native born Hoosiers, the sampled men had a mean age of 23, 57 percent of the sampled were employed in the agricultural sector, the sampled men were middle class, only 4 percent of the sampled men were illiterate, only 14 percent of the sampled men were married, and the predominant mention of motives by the men who left records was defense of the Union. This is significant because the men of the regiment were reflective of, and there was nothing that set these men apart from, the Union army.

Slight differences do arise, notably when the regimental sample is split into component parts such as enlisted men and officers. These differences make sense. For example, officers, particularly early in the war, would be older than their enlisted men as they were the leading men of their community, but the average age of officer corps would decline as the war progressed and as enlisted men in the regiment were promoted. If the reason for the difference is not so obvious, it usually can be explained why this is the case. The best example of this idea lies in the native origins of the regiment. In terms of Indiana's overall population, the 19th Indiana had a greater share of native born Hoosiers and fewer foreign born soldiers than the mean for the state suggests would happen. If one considers the youthfulness of the regiment and the fact immigrants typically did not settle in counties home to most soldiers in the 19th Indiana—the result is not surprising. Even though these and other anomalies and differences exist the 19th Indiana was simply an average regiment in the Union army.

## Chapter Two: Combat Analysis of the 19th Indiana Infantry

### Introduction

On August 28, 1863, regimental surgeon Jacob Ebersole noted this was the “terrible anniversary” of the 19th Indiana’s “first bloody destructive” battle at Gainesville near Manassas, Virginia.<sup>206</sup> Between August 28, 1862, and August 28, 1863, this regiment participated in a number of major battles and several skirmishes—including Second Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg.<sup>207</sup> For the 19th Indiana, this year of combat likely over compensated for its idle first year in the Union army. In this first year the regiment drilled, marched, and performed other non-combat activities. Ebersole recoiled “from the thoughts of passing through in the coming year what we have in the past.”<sup>208</sup> He may have feared that the coming year likely would be as bloody as the last, and continue to make a mockery of the name the “Bloody Nineteenth,” that the regiment had earned at Lewinsville when it suffered only 5 casualties.<sup>209</sup>

Even though, as Ebersole noted, the 19th Indiana had participated in difficult fighting, this chapter will argue that the record of the Iron Brigade is exaggerated and calls into question the accolades that have been attached to it. The focus of this chapter will be on the Iron Brigade, as the brigade was the primary combat unit of the Civil War. The record shows that the Iron Brigade, in a major engagement, never successfully took a position in an attack, never successfully defended a position, and the 19th Indiana—and other regiments of the Iron Brigade—suffered fewer casualties than other regiments in the Union Army. The failure of the Iron Brigade to take a position will be established by looking at the Maryland, Overland, and Petersburg Campaigns. The brigade’s inability to defend a position will be established by looking

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<sup>206</sup> Jacob Ebersole to his wife, letter dated August 28, 1863, Box 2, Folder 1, EFP, CMC. Alan T. Nolan and later writers refer to the Battle of Gainesville as the Battle of Brawner’s Farm. Nolan started calling the battle Brawner’s Farm, to give the battle a “distinctive” name which would avoid “confusion with [the] other days’ events,” and to give the battle a name which was “geographically accurate” as the battle was fought “on the farm of the Brawner family.” In this chapter the battle will be referred to as the Battle of Gainesville as that is how it appeared in the *Official Records*. See Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 315, n. 1.

<sup>207</sup> “19<sup>th</sup> Regiment Engaged In,” unknown date, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA.

<sup>208</sup> Jacob Ebersole to his wife, letter August 28, 1863, Box 2, Folder 1, EFP, CMC.

<sup>209</sup> R.T.P., “Our Army Correspondence,” *Centerville True Republican*, Centerville, Indiana, November 28, 1861, ISL; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 23.

at the Gettysburg Campaign. Only in the Northern Virginia Campaign can the brigade be said to have been successful on the battlefield, but even this success can be disputed. Even though the Iron Brigade participated in the Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville Campaigns, it did not take a central role in the battles. Finally, the issue of casualties is important to examine so as to fully understand the combat history of the Iron Brigade. Alan T. Nolan credited the high casualties the brigade suffered as a reason many scholars have such high opinions of the Iron Brigade and its place in Civil War historiography.<sup>210</sup>

#### First Year of Service (July 29, 1861-July 31, 1862)

After being mustered into service on July 29, 1861, the 19th Indiana joined the soon to be named Army of the Potomac, gathering around Washington, D.C., under Major General George B. McClellan.<sup>211</sup> The 19th Indiana became part of an infantry brigade that included 3 Wisconsin regiments—the 2nd, 6th, and 7th—under Brigadier General Rufus King on August 9, 1861.<sup>212</sup> After being assigned to this brigade, the 19th Indiana fought at Lewinsville. Decades after the war, an enlisted man in Company K, William Robey Moore, described the battle as only “a little brush” with the Confederates.<sup>213</sup>

After the Battle of Lewinsville, King’s brigade settled in for a lengthy period of marching and training.<sup>214</sup> In March 1862, King’s brigade along with its corps—the First Corps—were left to guard Washington, D.C., while the rest of McClellan’s army landed on the Virginia Peninsula, to capture the Confederate capital in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>215</sup> Writing home in April and May 1862, John C. Rardin—an enlisted man in Company F—described the movements of the brigade after they left winter quarters at Fort Craig near Washington, D.C. In April, he believed the

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<sup>210</sup> “Untitled Essay,” p. 70, Box 5, Folder 10, ATNP, IHS.

<sup>211</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 22.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. The 5th Wisconsin briefly belonged to this brigade; but was transferred to another brigade upon the arrival of the 7th Wisconsin in October 1861. See Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 28.

<sup>213</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 106, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>214</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 36; Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 231; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 349.

<sup>215</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 122-123.

movement would “bring us in collision with the enemy,” but after marching “23 miles” they found the enemy had already left the area.<sup>216</sup> In May, Rardin noted that the brigade marched to Potomac Creek Station “for the purpose of building a bridge, which the rebels had burned in their flight.”<sup>217</sup> Even in August, the brigade participated in “reconnoitering expedition[s]” and still did not engage the Confederates.<sup>218</sup>

Aside from these assignments, the brigade drilled under the eye of Brigadier General John Gibbon—an 1847 graduate of West Point, a career officer in the Regular Army, and a North Carolinian who stayed loyal to the Union—who received command of the brigade on May 8, 1862.<sup>219</sup> Gibbon recalled in his memoir that all his regiments needed “discipline and drill to make them first class soldiers,” but two of his regiments, the 19th Indiana being one, were in particular need of this attention.<sup>220</sup> Previously, Major General Irvin McDowell, who reviewed the 19th Indiana in January 1862, noted that the 19th Indiana was the least disciplined regiment in King’s brigade.<sup>221</sup>

According to historian Russel F. Weigley, “the essence of military training in the 1860s was drill—drill designed to permit officers to move their regiments quickly from column of march into line of battle, and to keep their battle lines under disciplined control in close-order fighting.”<sup>222</sup> Gibbon stated he instituted “regular drills” whose primary benefit aside from “the mere efficiency in drill” instituted “the habit of obedience and subjection to the will of another, so difficult to install into the minds of free and independent men.”<sup>223</sup> An enlisted man in the 19th Indiana’s Company G, Hank Gaylord, wrote home “our only fault with him [Gibbon] is he is a

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<sup>216</sup> John C. Rardin, “Army Correspondence,” *Hancock Democrat*, Greenfield, Indiana, May 21, 1862, ISL.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> Hank Gaylord, “From the 19th Indiana,” *Steuben Republican*, Angola, Indiana, September 13, 1862, ISL.

<sup>219</sup> John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928), 27; Dennis S. Levery and Mark H. Jordan, *Iron Brigade General: A Rebel General in Blue* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 13-34.

<sup>220</sup> Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 27.

<sup>221</sup> Report of Irvin McDowell, January 26, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 5: 708.

<sup>222</sup> Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 231.

<sup>223</sup> Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 31, 40.

little too strict to suit us.”<sup>224</sup> Other men in the regiment were blunter with their opinions of Gibbon. After the war, William Robey Moore recalled that Gibbon and other regular army officers commanding volunteer units attempted to make the volunteers like the regular army.<sup>225</sup> Moore viewed this as unnecessary since the men wanted merely to suppress the rebellion and then return home.<sup>226</sup> For example, Gibbon enforced the regulation against the destruction and the burning of fence rails owned by Virginia farmers by ordering “the command camped near it [the destroyed fences] was required to rebuild it.”<sup>227</sup> Gibbon’s belief in treating the property of Confederate civilians with respect may also have stemmed from his status as a Democrat and an ally of George B. McClellan.<sup>228</sup>

Nevertheless, Hank Gaylord admitted Gibbon’s strictness was “none too much for our own good.”<sup>229</sup> Rufus Dawes, an officer in the Iron Brigade’s 6th Wisconsin, also commented that Gibbon was “an exacting disciplinarian,” but “his administration of the command left a lasting impression for good upon the character and military tone of the brigade.”<sup>230</sup> Historian Alan T. Nolan agreed that Gibbon’s strictness and drilling proved to be beneficial for the 19th Indiana’s and Iron Brigade’s future service. Nolan credited the period of training with making the brigade superior soldiers.<sup>231</sup> However, Gibbon’s drill regimen did not make the regiment and brigade successful in combat. In fact, Weigley pointed out “it is difficult to believe” that the extended periods of close-order drill substantially helped the volunteer regiments, since the Confederates

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<sup>224</sup> Hank Gaylord, “From the 19th Indiana,” *Steuben Republican*, Angola, Indiana, September 13, 1862, ISL.

<sup>225</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 143-144, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 31.

<sup>228</sup> Lavery and Jordan, *Iron Brigade General*, 31, 68-69, 179-180.

<sup>229</sup> Hank Gaylord, “From the 19th Indiana,” *Steuben Republican*, Angola, Indiana, September 13, 1862, ISL.

<sup>230</sup> Rufus R. Dawes, *Service with the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers* (Marietta, OH: E.R. Alderman & Sons, 1890), 43.

<sup>231</sup> Nolan, “Virginian’s Unwelcome Visitors,” 187-190.

were “no more professional” than the Union army, and “in World War II a more complex basic training consumed only about three months.”<sup>232</sup>

While the regiment marched around through northern Virginia, the men of the Iron Brigade were “spoiling for a fight.”<sup>233</sup> Thomas Hart Benton—an enlisted man in Company B—wrote in July 1862 that since the Army of the Potomac was poised to capture Richmond, he feared that the war would soon be over.<sup>234</sup> McClellan’s Army of the Potomac, however, failed to capture Richmond, prolonging the war. Also, the regimental hospital steward Henry C. Marsh, thought the brigade had “some prospect of seeing a fight” when the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac had been reassigned as the Third Corps of the Army of Virginia under Major General John Pope, a man Marsh was happy to serve under.<sup>235</sup>

#### The Northern Virginia Campaign (August 1, 1862-August 31, 1862)

In the final week of August 1862, the Iron Brigade finally saw major action. They fought at Gainesville and at Second Bull Run. In these battles, the brigade failed to defend its position, though not through any fault of its own and took high casualties, but not the greatest during the campaign.<sup>236</sup>

Gibbon’s brigade marched to the concentration point of the Army of Virginia and elements of the Army of the Potomac in northern Virginia.<sup>237</sup> At Gainesville—near the previous year’s battle at Bull Run—the Left Wing of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia (the

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<sup>232</sup> Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 231.

<sup>233</sup> Henry C. Marsh Diary, July 4, 1862, Box 1, Folder 1, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>234</sup> Thomas Hart Benton to Sister, letter dated July 2, 1862, THBP, IHS.

<sup>235</sup> Henry C. Marsh to Father, letter dated August 25, 1862, Box 1, Folder 3, HCMP, ISL; Henry C. Marsh to friend, letter dated July 11, 1862, Box 1, Folder 3, HCMP, ISL; Henry C. Marsh to Father, letter dated July 25, 1862, Box 1, Folder 3, HCMP, ISL; Abraham Lincoln, June 26, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 1: 169. The Army of Virginia was originally formed “to march overland to help McClellan,” but its role took on potentially greater importance when the army chief of staff, Major General Henry Halleck, ordered the recall of the Army of the Potomac from the Virginia Peninsula. This greater role meant the Union Army of Virginia would need to contend with the Army of Northern Virginia alone until the arrival of the Army of the Potomac in northern Virginia. See Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 135-136; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 524.

<sup>236</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 2: 249-262.

<sup>237</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 377. For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Map One.

principal Confederate army in the Eastern Theater) under the command of Major General Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson moved to intercept the Federals. In the early evening of August 28, 1862, as John Gibbon’s brigade marched by John Brawner’s farm, Jackson attacked the exposed flank of the Union column.<sup>238</sup>

Other Union units had already marched past Brawner’s Farm, so Gibbon did not expect the ambush set by Confederate infantry.<sup>239</sup> Even though they were outnumbered, and other Union brigades were nearby, Gibbon’s brigade received little support from its divisional commander, Brigadier General Rufus King.<sup>240</sup> Another brigade commander, on his own initiative, came to support John Gibbon during the battle.<sup>241</sup> Years after the war, William Robey Moore recalled possibly one of the most perilous moments of the battle for the 19th Indiana, stationed on the extreme left of the Union line. Moore stated the Confederates attempted to put “two loaded cannons right up to within fifty yards of our left wing and had them trained to enfilade us,” but before this could happen “the captain of Company G . . . discovered them . . . and picked off the cannonries.”<sup>242</sup> Henry C. Marsh recalled the fight as lasting “130 minutes” and “our brigade fought . . . the best troops in the rebel service.”<sup>243</sup> The Confederates Marsh referred to were the veterans of “Stonewall” Jackson’s 1862 campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, namely the Stonewall Brigade. One Confederate general stated “the enemy . . . withstood with great

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<sup>238</sup> Report of Thomas Johnathan Jackson, April 27, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 2: 644-645.

<sup>239</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378.

<sup>240</sup> On the day of the Battle of Gainesville, King was ill; however he retained command of the division, instead of temporarily ceding command to the senior brigadier general in the division. This can explain why King did not attempt to bring the rest of his division to the assistance of Gibbon’s beleaguered men. See Record of the McDowall Court of Inquiry (Day 54), January 27, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 1: 255; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 87, 89, 92.

<sup>241</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378. For a detailed account of the Battle of Gainesville and the subsequent Battle of Second Manassas, see Gaff, *Brave Men’s Tears*; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody*, 151-166; Herdegen, *The Men Stood Like Iron*, 87-132; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 80-112; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 142-162.

<sup>242</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 124, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS. Enfilade fire refers to be in a position “to ‘rake’ or to be in a position to ‘rake.’” See “Enfilade,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.ulib.uits.iu.edu/view/Entry/62142?rskey=VvsFJ6&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

<sup>243</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated September 6, 1862, Box 1, Folder 3, HCMP, ISL.



determination the terrible fire which our lines poured upon them.”<sup>244</sup> Also, Stonewall Jackson credited Gibbon’s brigade with putting up “obstinate resistance.”<sup>245</sup>

Even though Gibbon’s brigade put up a strong defense, they conceded the field to the Confederates. Confederate Brigadier General William B. Taliaferro noted that the Federals retreated “slowly and sullenly.”<sup>246</sup> Gibbon’s brigade fought outnumbered and received praise from their Confederate foes, but the late time of the attack undoubtedly helped the brigade avoid a disorganized retreat from the field.<sup>247</sup>

Over the next two days—August 29 and 30—the Union and Confederate armies again clashed near and on the old battlefield of First Bull Run.<sup>248</sup> During the Second Battle of Bull Run, elements of John Pope’s Army of Virginia and reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac attacked Jackson’s Confederates on August 29. Gibbon’s brigade missed these attacks and remained in a reserve position. On August 30, Pope ordered an assault by most of his army with Gibbon’s brigade in one of the reserve lines.<sup>249</sup> During the assault, the Right Wing of the Army of Northern Virginia launched an attack on the Union left flank, overwhelmed it, and compelled the retreat of the entire Union army under Pope.<sup>250</sup>

Since Gibbon’s brigade had yet to be fully committed, it found itself with two other divisions covering the retreat of the Federal army.<sup>251</sup> John Gibbon did not describe desperate fighting as part of the rear guard; nor did William Robey Moore who remembered that “we did

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<sup>244</sup> Report of William, B. Taliaferro, September 16, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 657.

<sup>245</sup> Report of Thomas Johnathan Jackson, April 27, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 2, 645.

<sup>246</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378; Report of William, B. Taliaferro, September 16, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 657.

<sup>247</sup> It has also been proposed Jackson did not actually want to decisively defeat Union forces at Gainesville. Jackson supposedly wanted to fix the Union forces to the area around Manassas Junction for battle. See Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 82.

<sup>248</sup> For maps of the battle see Appendix Two, Map Two and Three.

<sup>249</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 379.

<sup>250</sup> Weigely, *A Great Civil War*, 141.

<sup>251</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378; Report of Philp Kearny, August 31, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 416.



not move . . . until it came our turn” to retreat.<sup>252</sup> Moore did remember that other units of the rear guard, on either flank of Gibbon’s brigade, were engaged.<sup>253</sup> Also, the brigade took no part in the Battle of Chantilly, on September 1, between the Union rear guard and pursuing Confederate soldiers.<sup>254</sup> The men under Pope’s command successfully retreated to the immediate vicinity of Washington, D.C., but on September 2, Pope was reassigned to suppress Indians in Minnesota.<sup>255</sup> Pope’s retreat conceded northern Virginia to the Confederacy and allowed Lee on September 4, to cross the Potomac River west of Washington, D.C.<sup>256</sup> Lee did this so he could seek a victory on northern soil, which he hoped would compel the Lincoln administration to recognize Confederate independence.

All in all, Gibbon’s brigade had performed well. Writing immediately after the battle to his father, William Orr did not go into any great detail about the battles at Gainesville or Second Bull Run as he would “leave it to others to speak of the way the 19th [Indiana] fought,” but he said “we have not disgraced the fair fame of the State of Ind.”<sup>257</sup> John Gibbon praised his brigade and stated “it is only necessary for me to state that it nobly maintained its position against heavy odds.”<sup>258</sup> Henry C. Marsh boasted the brigade stood firm and fought “the best troops in the rebel service.”<sup>259</sup> While Orr, Gibbon, and Henry C. Marsh proudly boasted of the brigade in combat, William Robey Moore was less boastful years after the war. Moore recalled they fought “a whole division of ‘Stonewall’ Jackson’s famous fighters, and were outnumbered” at Gainesville, but it was ignorance they were outnumbered and fighting Jackson which “possibly saved us from

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<sup>252</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378; Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 132, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>253</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 132, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>254</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 377-378.

<sup>255</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 142-143; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 533.

<sup>256</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 534-535.

<sup>257</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated August 31, 1862, Box 2, Folder 2, OFM, LL.

<sup>258</sup> Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378.

<sup>259</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated September 6, 1862, HCMP, ISL.

skedaddling and brought upon us ignorminy [sic] instead of honor.”<sup>260</sup> At Gainesville and Second Bull Run, Gibbon’s brigade suffered 894 casualties; the 19th Indiana suffered 259 of these casualties.<sup>261</sup> Numerically, for a brigade and a regiment in the Union army, these were some of the highest during the entire campaign in northern Virginia in August 1862.<sup>262</sup>

However, in neither of these two fights did the brigade fight alone nor did they successfully hold or take a position from the enemy. Also, after the conclusion of the Northern Virginia Campaign, Lee was able to lead his army onto northern soil. So after their first major combat experience, the regiment and brigade had yet to accomplish a remarkable military act to warrant their name being heralded in the annals of military history.

#### The Maryland Campaign (September 1, 1862-October 31, 1862)

The bloodiest single day in American history occurred at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862, the culminating battle of a campaign in Maryland. Gibbon’s brigade played prominent roles throughout the campaign—in fact Gibbon’s brigade earned the name “Iron Brigade” during this campaign. However, how this name was earned is debated. What is important is that while the brigade earned the name “Iron Brigade” in this campaign, they formed just a small part of two different failed attacks that did not force the enemy from its position. Further, other regiments in the Union army took greater casualties.<sup>263</sup>

After the Union defeat at the Battle of Second Bull Run, the Union Army of Virginia was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac under the latter’s commander, Major General George

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<sup>260</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated August 31, 1862, OFM, LL; Report of John Gibbon, September 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 12, Part 2: 378; Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated September 6, 1862, HCMP, ISL; Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 125, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>261</sup> The casualties for the 19th Indiana were divided as follows: 47 killed, 168 wounded, and 44 missing or captured. See Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 2: 254.

<sup>262</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 12, Part 2: 249-262.

<sup>263</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 189-200. This statement is just for casualties suffered at the Battle of Antietam. It excludes regiments engaged other battles during the campaign in Maryland.

B. McClellan.<sup>264</sup> At the same time, General Robert E. Lee led the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia across the Potomac River into Union territory. McClellan had an opportunity to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia, since Corporal Burton W. Mitchell of the 27th Indiana found Lee's Special Orders 191 stating the locations of Lee's widely dispersed army, on September 13.<sup>265</sup> The lightly defended South Mountain was all that stood between McClellan's army and Lee's army. The battle for possession of South Mountain occurred on September 14.

South Mountain is more akin to a ridge line than a single mountain. Three gaps from north to south—Turner's, Fox's, and Crampton's—were the battle sites.<sup>266</sup> McClellan ordered the Union First and Ninth Corps to operate under the command of Major General Ambrose Burnside with orders to seize Turner's and Fox's Gaps.<sup>267</sup> Another element of the Army of the Potomac, under the command of Major General William Franklin, received orders to seize Crampton's Gap. Union possession of Crampton's Gap would allow Franklin's men to attack the divisions of Confederate Stonewall Jackson's detachment besieging Harpers Ferry, while seizing Turner's and Fox's Gap would open up the opportunity to defeat in detail Confederate Major General James Longstreet's divisions.<sup>268</sup> At the end of the day, however, at the cost of 2,346 Union casualties, only Crampton's and Fox's Gaps were firmly in the hands of the Army of the Potomac.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> With the elimination of the Army of Virginia the 19th Indiana's corps—the Third Corps of the Army of Virginia—once again became the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac. See General Orders No. 129, September 12, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 19, Part 2: 279.

<sup>265</sup> George B. McClellan told John Gibbon that with Lee's orders in his hand he could defeat Lee. See Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 73; Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red* (1983; repr., Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 112.

<sup>266</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 149.

<sup>267</sup> For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Map Four.

<sup>268</sup> Defeat in detail is a "military term that means to defeat an enemy by destroying small portions of its armies instead of engaging its entire strength. Practically speaking, this happens when the mass or weight of one army is brought to bear against smaller portions of an opposing army, thereby achieving decisive superiority." See Edward J. Erikson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-1913* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), xvii.

<sup>269</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 183-187; Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 149-150. For a detailed account of the Battle of South Mountain and the wider Maryland Campaign prior to the Battle of Antietam refer to D. Scott Hartwig, *To Antietam Creek: The Maryland Campaign of September 1862* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Gibbon's men did not advance with the rest of its division—on the right flank of the Union line—during the assault on Turner's Gap. Instead, the brigade—possibly since it was the largest brigade in the division—conducted “a demonstration of the Confederate center at Turner's Gap.”<sup>270</sup> This demonstration placed the brigade in the center of the two Union corps—in effect operating as the link connecting the First and Ninth Corps. As the Ninth Corps and the rest of the First Corps assaulted on the left and right flanks respectively, Gibbon's brigade did not initiate their attack until approximately four o'clock in the afternoon.<sup>271</sup> When they attacked, Gibbon's brigade fought a Confederate brigade, under Brigadier General Alfred Colquitt, until dark. While the brigade held the limited amount of ground they seized, its attack did not drive the Confederates from Turner's Gap.<sup>272</sup>

Former National Park Service historian, D. Scott Hartwig, said that while “Gibbon's men claimed victory, since the Confederates left the field,” Colquitt's Confederates, however, had checked their “advance against the Confederate center.”<sup>273</sup> However, the Confederates only left the field as they had accomplished their objective in checking the Union army.<sup>274</sup> This gave time for other elements of the Confederate army to capture Harpers Ferry, in present day West Virginia, and for the entire Confederate army to concentrate for a stand outside of Sharpsburg, Maryland.<sup>275</sup> Further, although Gibbon's men suffered high casualties, they inflicted “relatively light” casualties and the brigade did “not cause a single Rebel soldier to be shifted to” the area being attacked by Gibbon's men, meaning the brigade “accomplished relatively little.”<sup>276</sup> The failure of Gibbon's men to bring Confederate reinforcements to their sector of the field is

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<sup>270</sup> The U.S. Department of Defense defines a demonstration as “an attack or show of force” made to deceive an enemy from your real intentions. See Report of John Gibbon, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 247; Report of John Hatch, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 220; Hartwig, *To Antietam Creek*, 380; “Demonstration,” *Defense Technical Information Center*, accessed October 14, 2015, [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod\\_dictionary/](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/).

<sup>271</sup> Report of Alfred Colquitt, October 13, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 1053.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> Hartwig, *To Antietam Creek*, 427.

<sup>274</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 150.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>276</sup> Hartwig, *To Antietam Creek*, 427-428.

important. A demonstration should have reduced the strength of the Confederates on their flanks, allowing for a breakthrough by the First and Ninth Corps, something that did not happen. In total, the 19th Indiana suffered 53 casualties, and the brigade suffered 318 casualties, which represented approximately a quarter of the brigade's strength.<sup>277</sup> In comparison, Colquitt's brigade suffered only 109 casualties.<sup>278</sup>

The Battle of South Mountain is significant for Gibbon's brigade. Here they became known as the "Iron Brigade," even though there was another brigade called the Iron Brigade, commanded by Union Brigadier General John P. Hatch. Hatch's brigade earned the name, for a "prodigious march . . . from Catlett's Station to Falmouth" Virginia earlier in 1862.<sup>279</sup> William F. Fox, a former Union officer who wrote a study of casualties in the Civil War, noted that "it seems strange that two brigades in the same division should adopt like synonyms; but in justice to Hatch's Brigade it should be stated that it was the original Iron Brigade."<sup>280</sup> How Gibbon's brigade received this new name is shrouded in mystery. In one version of the story, George McClellan remarked to Major General Joseph Hooker—the commander of the Union First Corps—"if I had an Iron Brigade I could pierce the enemy's center" to which Hooker replied "I have that brigade in my command," which led to Gibbon's brigade being detached for the assault.<sup>281</sup> In another version of the story, Hooker called the brigade the "Iron Brigade" after McClellan remarked the men were made of iron and Hooker replied if McClellan "had seen them at Bull Run . . . you would know them to be iron."<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 184.

<sup>278</sup> Hartwig, *To Antietam Creek*, 427.

<sup>279</sup> Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 57-58.

<sup>280</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 117.

<sup>281</sup> Indiana Antietam Monument Commission, *Indiana at Antietam: Report of the Indiana Antietam Monument Commission and Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monument in commemoration of the services of her soldiers who fell there together with history of events leading up to the Battle of Antietam; the report of General George B. McClellan, of the battle; the formation of the Army of the Potomac, at the battle; and the histories of the five Indiana regiments engaged* (Indianapolis, IN: Aetna Press, 1911), 111. Even if these stories were true it should be noted the brigade failed to pierce the center of the Confederate line, thus calling into question why the brigade then should be known as an "Iron Brigade."

<sup>282</sup> Indiana Antietam Monument Commission, *Indiana at Antietam*, 111.

It is impossible to know if either of these stories is true. Alan T. Nolan gave credence to the idea these stories have an element of truth, “as there is no sound basis for rejecting the incident entirely,” even though the “story . . . is a little too pat to be accepted as literally true” as the letter these stories were based on was written “years after the war.”<sup>283</sup> Nolan also noted there is a contemporary letter which claimed McClellan gave the brigade the name “Iron Brigade,” and two other members of the Iron Brigade claimed McClellan gave the brigade its name.<sup>284</sup> There is room to doubt the truth of these stories. First, Joseph Hooker commanded the First Corps for only a week making it unlikely he intimately knew the capabilities of the men under his command.<sup>285</sup> Also, in George McClellan’s autobiography he did not take credit for naming the brigade nor did he refer to it as the “Iron Brigade” when discussing the Battle of South Mountain.<sup>286</sup>

John Gibbon became aware his brigade had been referred to as an “iron brigade” sometime after the Battle of Antietam.<sup>287</sup> Fox noted that Gibbon’s brigade became known as the “Iron Brigade” only “after Antietam, at which time it was so designated by a war correspondent, who was apparently unaware of his lack of originality.”<sup>288</sup> After the war, in the *National Tribune*—a “monthly newspaper for Civil War veterans and their families”—soldiers of both Iron Brigades wrote competing articles to claim which brigade was the legitimate Iron Brigade.<sup>289</sup> In

<sup>283</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 336, n. 50.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Special Orders No. 3, September 6, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 2: 198.

<sup>286</sup> George B. McClellan, *McClellan’s Own Story: The War for the Union, the Soldiers who Fought it, the Civilians who Directed it, and his Relations to it and to Them* (New York, NY City: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1887), 581-582.

<sup>287</sup> Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 93.

<sup>288</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 117.

<sup>289</sup> “About the National Tribune,” *Library of Congress*, accessed March 11, 2016,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/>; “In the Thick of It,” *National Tribune*, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1895, accessed January 29, 2016,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1895-10-17/ed-1/seq-1/>; Van O’ Linda Gordon, “The Iron Brigade,” Washington, D.C., November 24, 1892, accessed January 29, 2016,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1892-11-24/ed-1/seq-4/>; O.B. Curtis, “No Reason for Dispute,” *National Tribune*; Washington, D.C., November 28, 1895, accessed January 29, 2016,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1895-11-28/ed-1/seq-3/>; S.E. Chandler, “Fighting Them Over,” *National Tribune*, Washington, D.C., November 2, 1899, accessed January 29, 2016,

the opinion of Thomas Reed, a legal scholar and author of *The Original Iron Brigade*, Gibbon's brigade only assumed the new name after the regiments of the original Iron Brigade mustered out or received new assignments after the Battle of Chancellorsville.<sup>290</sup>

Regardless of how the brigade won its newest nickname, Robert E. Lee concentrated his Army of Northern Virginia near Sharpsburg, after retreating from his position on South Mountain. Lee's line stretched from its left flank on Nicodemus Heights in the north to a position south of the town. On the evening of September 16, McClellan formulated a plan of attack for the next day, September 17. The Union First and Twelfth Corps were to attack the Confederate left at dawn "to create a diversion in favor of the main attack" while other elements of the army would attack the Confederate right "and as soon as one or both of the flank movements were fully successful, to attack their center with any reserve."<sup>291</sup> Historian Jeffrey Wert described the area the First and Twelfth Corps attacked as a "benign landscape" encompassing an area of "less than two square miles, and within its confines, men turned it into a slaughterhouse."<sup>292</sup>

Gibbon's brigade, as part of the First Corps, took part in the attack on the Confederate left.<sup>293</sup> According to Captain William W. Dudley, the senior officer in the 19th Indiana after Antietam, the regiment attacked a group of Confederates in their flank and pursued them to the

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<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1899-11-02/ed-1/seq-3/>; Edw. S. Bragg, "The Iron Brigade," *National Tribune*, Washington, D.C., March 6, 1902, accessed January 29, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1902-03-06/ed-1/seq-2/>; "Picket Shots," *National Tribune*, July 14, 1904, Washington, D.C., accessed January 29, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1904-07-14/ed-1/seq-3/>; "Picket Shots," *National Tribune*, August 11, 1904, Washington, D.C., accessed January 29, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1904-08-11/ed-1/seq-3/>; Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 146-148.

<sup>290</sup> Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 147-148.

<sup>291</sup> Report of George B. McClellan, October 15, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 30. However the battle became an *echelon* attack that started on the Federal right, then the center, and finally the left.

<sup>292</sup> For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Map Five. Jeffrey Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln: The Army of the Potomac* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 159.

<sup>293</sup> For a detailed account of the role of Gibbon's brigade in the Battle of Antietam refer to Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 176-190; D. Scott Hartwig, "'I Dread the Thought of the Place: The Iron Brigade at Antietam,'" in *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats*, 30-51; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 249-282; Herdegen, *The Men Stood Like Iron*, 154-195; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 131-148; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 165-173 and 175-185.



Confederate line.<sup>294</sup> During the charge, however, the regiment “received an enfilading fire” in addition to fire received from their front, halting the charge, and forcing the 19th Indiana to retreat.<sup>295</sup> One soldier, in the 19th Indiana, recalled that he would never forget following the “young, tall athletic form” of Lieutenant Colonel Alois O. Bachman—the ranking officer of the regiment at Antietam—in the charge after in “his deep bass voice” he shouted “Boys the command is no longer forward, but now it is follow me.”<sup>296</sup> The Confederates they faced included the Texas Brigade—one of the premier combat brigades of the war. The commander of the Confederate 1st Texas Volunteer Infantry Regiment credited the “obstinate and stubborn resistance from a superior force,” which included the 19th Indiana, for the failure of his regiment to receive assistance in seizing a position which would, in his opinion, have driven back the enemy directly facing the Confederate left.<sup>297</sup> “Badly cut up” is how Henry C. Marsh described the Iron Brigade.<sup>298</sup> The 19th Indiana reported 13 men killed and 59 men wounded.<sup>299</sup> In total, the brigade suffered 348 casualties, but other regiments and brigades—including in the First Corps—suffered higher casualties.<sup>300</sup> It is this service at Antietam that led Nolan to anachronistically call the brigade “shock troops.”<sup>301</sup>

The attack by the First Corps involved more than just the Iron Brigade. In a span of three hours, in some of the most savage combat of the war, a third of all men engaged became casualties in a failed Union attack.<sup>302</sup> A month after the Battle of Antietam, John Hawk stated that since Gainesville he had seen “some pretty hard times and some very hard sights, such as I hope to never see again.”<sup>303</sup> Hawk gave no opinion on if he thought the enemy had been decisively

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<sup>294</sup> Report of William W. Dudley, September 21, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 251.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 251-252.

<sup>296</sup> Personal Recollections of the Scenes and Incidents of the Battle of Antietam, Box 1, Folder 7, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>297</sup> Report of P.A. Work, September 23, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 934.

<sup>298</sup> Henry Marsh Diary, September 17, 1862, Box 1, Folder 1 HCMP, ISL

<sup>299</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 19, Part 1: 189.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-200.

<sup>301</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 142.

<sup>302</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 160.

<sup>303</sup> John Hawk to Father and Sister, letter dated October 24, 1862, HHP, ISL.



defeated. However, William Nelson Jackson—an enlisted man in the 19th Indiana's Company E—wrote just days after the battle that the more he heard of the battle “the greater appears our victory” as the Confederate army was “completely demoralized.”<sup>304</sup> Jackson was wrong. The Confederates were not demoralized. The entire Union First Corps had failed to dislodge the Confederates, thus making its sacrifice for naught. Other attacks on the Confederate center and right also failed. At the end of the day, the battle was a draw. The Confederates retreated from their position, on the evening of September 18, back across the Potomac River to Virginia, after daring McClellan to renew the battle during the day.<sup>305</sup> Thus, the Iron Brigade failed to play a decisive role in the battle. In fact, the brigade's service was little different from that of dozens of other brigades on the battlefield as they all failed to seize the Confederate position.

At the end of the Maryland Campaign, the Army of the Potomac went through a number of reorganizations at various levels of command. John Gibbon received command of another division of the First Corps.<sup>306</sup> In Gibbon's place the 19th Indiana's commander, Colonel Solomon Meredith, received command of the Iron Brigade.<sup>307</sup> The regiment lost its colonel to promotion, after both the major and lieutenant colonel were killed at Gainesville and Antietam respectively. This necessitated the promotion of new field officers from among the surviving captains of the regiment for the positions of colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major.<sup>308</sup> The Iron Brigade also received reinforcements in the form of the 24th Michigan Volunteer Infantry Regiment.<sup>309</sup> Finally, Abraham Lincoln relieved George B. McClellan of command of the Army of the Potomac.<sup>310</sup>

The record of the Iron Brigade in the Maryland Campaign demonstrates that while the brigade could suffer casualties and hold their own in a fight, they were not successful in either of

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<sup>304</sup> William Nelson Jackson Diary, September 19, 1862, WNJP, IHS.

<sup>305</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 154.

<sup>306</sup> Levery and Jordan, *Iron Brigade General*, 67.

<sup>307</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 171.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 91, 141, 163-164, 172-175.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>310</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 161.

these battles. It did seize a position occupied previously by the Confederates in either battle. At South Mountain, the Iron Brigade did not drive the Confederates off Turner's Gap, allowing their adversaries the time to concentrate in Sharpsburg, Maryland. Then, at the Battle of Antietam, the brigade again failed to drive the enemy from its position. Also, in neither of these battles did the brigade assist in achieving a breakthrough at another sector of the battle by diverting Confederate reserves.

#### The Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville Campaign (November 1, 1862-May 31, 1863)

The strategic situation in Virginia remained largely unchanged from November 1862 to the end of May 1863. Battle lines remained static on the banks of the Rappahannock River even after major battles at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. In these battles, the Iron Brigade served in minor and/or secondary roles away from the main combat and suffered minor casualties. In comparison, dozens of other regiments suffered higher casualties and earned fame or infamy in battles, thus making the service of the Iron Brigade in these battles rather forgettable.<sup>311</sup>

McClellan, after his removal from command, asked the Army of the Potomac to faithfully serve its new commander, Ambrose Burnside, who led them into battle at Fredericksburg, Virginia, on December 13, 1862.<sup>312</sup> Stationed on the extreme left flank of the Union line, the Iron Brigade played a minor role during the battle. William Nelson Jackson stated, in his diary, the Iron Brigade were "to prevent the enemy from turning our left flank, and not bring on a general engagement;" as such they were "not much engaged," according to Henry C. Marsh.<sup>313</sup> Allen W. Galyean—an enlisted man in the 19th Indiana's Company K—stated they

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<sup>311</sup> Return of Casualties in the Union forces commanded by Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside, U.S. Army, at the battle of Fredericksburg, Va., December 11-15, 1862, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 129-142; Returns of Casualties in the Union forces during the Chancellorsville Campaign, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 25, Part 1: 172-185

<sup>312</sup> George Ticknor Curtis, *McClellan's Last Service to the Republic, Together with a Tribute to his Memory* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1885), 81-82.

<sup>313</sup> For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Map Six. A secure flank was important for the Army of the Potomac as it was hemmed in between the Confederates in its front and the Rappahannock River to its rear.

only participated in skirmishing; and the skirmishers occasionally ceased firing at each other to “trade coffee for whiskey.”<sup>314</sup> Other units from the Federal army—primarily those on the right flank—who attacked the entrenched Confederates were not so lucky. William Orr called the Union attacks on that flank “insane” and the men killed in the attacks were “murdered in cold blood.”<sup>315</sup>

The Army of the Potomac retreated across the Rappahannock River on December 15, 1862, conceding defeat.<sup>316</sup> The outer pickets that day—for the left flank, the 19th Indiana—did not receive notification of this retreat as they were “miles from the [pontoon] bridges” and senior commanders feared “betraying our movement to the enemy.”<sup>317</sup> Henry C. Marsh recalled this retreat as one in which “the Old 19<sup>th</sup> was to be sacrificed to save the rest of the army.”<sup>318</sup> Colonel Lysander Cutler, temporarily commanding the Iron Brigade, ensured the 19th Indiana would not be needlessly sacrificed.<sup>319</sup> Two of Cutler’s aides guided the regiment to the pontoon bridge, guarded by a single regiment, making the 19th Indiana one of the last regiments, if not the last, to cross back over the Rappahannock River.<sup>320</sup> Henry C. Marsh said “God bless” and William Nelson Jackson thanked the generals who “took a second thought” and decided to save the 19th

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A turned flank could deprive the Army of the Potomac of crossing points for a retreat. See William Nelson Jackson Diary, December 13, 1862, WNJP, IHS; Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated December 15, 1862, HCMP, ISL. For a detailed account of the role of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade at Fredericksburg see Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 168-188; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 316-324; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 199-213; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 205-208.

<sup>314</sup> Allen W. Galyean to Catherine Hawk, letter dated December 18, 1862, HHP, ISL.

<sup>315</sup> William Orr to Wife, letter dated December 21, 1862, Box 2, Folder 2, OFM, LL.

<sup>316</sup> The subject that the 19th Indiana being sacrificed is a topic discussed in works regarding the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade see Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 184-187; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 211-212.

<sup>317</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated December 15, 1862, HCMP, ISL; Report of Lysander Cutler, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 478.

<sup>318</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated December 15, 1862, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>319</sup> Abner Doubleday, whose division the Iron Brigade was a part of, temporarily relieved Solomon Meredith of command of the brigade. Meredith allegedly failed to execute an order in a timely manner that Doubleday had issued. Alan T. Nolan noted though that it is debatable if Meredith was actually disregarding an order or if he had just misunderstood the order. See Report of Abner Doubleday, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 463; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 183-184.

<sup>320</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated December 15, 1862, HCMP, ISL; Report of Lysander Cutler, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 478. Solomon Meredith had been temporarily suspended from command of the Iron Brigade. See Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 184-185.

Indiana.<sup>321</sup> Cutler himself praised Colonel Samuel Williams of the 19th Indiana for his role in “saving one of the best regiments in the service,” an accolade any commander would give one of his units.<sup>322</sup>

A rear guard faces the potential risk of being sacrificed to ensure the safety of a retreating army. The 19th Indiana had an opportunity to play a solo role that would set them apart—potentially giving the regiment fame and renown—as one soldier believed the regiment would fight till its annihilation rather than surrender.<sup>323</sup> However, the Army of Northern Virginia did not press the retreating 19th Indiana, allowing the regiment to be the “last [regiment] to cross the river.”<sup>324</sup> George W. Gibson—an enlisted man in Company A—did not even report this retreat in his diary making the entire event rather anti-climactic.<sup>325</sup>

Major General Joseph Hooker—who replaced Ambrose Burnside in January 1863—restored morale in the Army of the Potomac, after it had sunk to dangerously low levels after the Battle of Fredericksburg.<sup>326</sup> By March, Jacob Ebersole claimed morale was “excellent,” the army “never was in a better condition,” and “all have great confidence in Gen. Hooker—the soldiers will fight desperately under his lead.”<sup>327</sup> Hooker put this confidence to the test by launching his own campaign to seize Richmond in late April 1863. Hooker’s army outnumbered Lee’s army at ratio of more than 2:1 and Hooker devised a series of feinting operations by various corps to

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<sup>321</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated December 15, 1862, HCMP, ISL; William Nelson Jackson Diary, December 16, 1862, WNJP, IHS.

<sup>322</sup> Report of Lysander Cutler, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 479.

<sup>323</sup> William Nelson Jackson Diary, December 16, 1862, WNJP, IHS.

<sup>324</sup> Report of Abner Doubleday, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 21: 464.

<sup>325</sup> George W. Gibson Diary, December 16, 1862, U.S. Civil War Resources for East Central Indiana, Muncie Public Library, Muncie, Indiana. Hereafter the Muncie Public Library is cited as MPL.

<sup>326</sup> For an example of low morale in the Army of the Potomac refer to the December 21, 1862 letter that William Orr wrote to his wife. In this letter Orr lashed out of the government and the press. He also considered resigning his commission. See William Orr to Wife, letter dated December 21, 1862, OFM, LL.

<sup>327</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 585; Jacob Ebersole to Wife, letter dated March 12, 1863, Box 1, Folder 32, EFP, CMC.

deceive Lee, while the main body of the army crossed the Rappahannock River above Fredericksburg.<sup>328</sup>

The First Corps, with the Iron Brigade, conducted one of the feinting operations. They were to cross the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg at Fitzhugh's Crossing before dawn on April 29.<sup>329</sup> The ford was not in Union hands before dawn, and the Iron Brigade ultimately forced a crossing, when two of its regiments crossed in boats and the other three regiments (including the 19th Indiana) provided covering fire.<sup>330</sup> The 19th Indiana sustained only 5 casualties and otherwise played a rather limited role.<sup>331</sup>

According to Henry C. Marsh, for the rest of the campaign the Iron Brigade and the 19th Indiana suffered no casualties and were not engaged.<sup>332</sup> From May 1-7, the brigade put up breastworks or marched from one end of the line to the other all the while "not a gun [was] fired [by the regiment]" according to the 19th Indiana's adjutant.<sup>333</sup> After five days of battle, the Army of the Potomac retreated to the north bank of the Rappahannock, giving Lee another victory and allowing Lee to once again lead his army into Union territory.<sup>334</sup> The Iron Brigade remained on the line nearly every day, but failed to fight in the primary engagements in the Battle of Chancellorsville. In two battles in a row, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the Iron Brigade missed the primary area of battle and suffered minimal casualties.

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<sup>328</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 225. For the various movements of the Army of the Potomac and its component units refer to McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 639.

<sup>329</sup> For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Map Seven. Other units of the First Corps assisted in the assault on Fitzhugh's Crossing. The Sixth Corps crossed the Rappahannock slightly north of Fitzhugh's Crossing. See Report of John Reynolds, May 1863, Series 1, Volume 25, Part 1: 253-254; Report of John Sedgwick, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 25: Part 1, 557. For details of these operations see Stephen W. Sears, *Chancellorsville* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 153-159; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 210-215; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 236-239; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 333-343; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 221-225.

<sup>330</sup> Report of Solomon Meredith, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 25, Part I: 267.

<sup>331</sup> Returns of Casualties in the Union forces during the Chancellorsville Campaign, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 25, Part 1: 173; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 238. In the subsequent Battle of Chancellorsville the 19th Indiana (and the rest of the Iron Brigade) suffered 0 casualties see Returns of Casualties in the Union forces during the Chancellorsville Campaign, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 25, Part 1: 174-175.

<sup>332</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated May 8, 1863, Box 1, Folder 4, HCMP, ISL

<sup>333</sup> George Edward Finney Diary, April 30, 1863-May 7, 1863, GEFP, ISL.

<sup>334</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 228.

### The Gettysburg Campaign (June 1, 1863-July 31, 1863)

After the Union defeat at Chancellorsville, one of the most famous battles in American history was fought at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on the first three days of July 1863. On the first day of the battle, the Iron Brigade had its finest moment of the war, but even that is not enough to earn them its current accolades. The outnumbered brigade battled the Confederates for a few hours, but ultimately failed to defend its position. In return, the brigade took such high casualties that it was ruined beyond repair. Even though the Iron Brigade took great casualties, other Union regiments suffered more casualties on a numerical basis than the regiments in the brigade.<sup>335</sup>

In a repeat of the previous September, Robert E. Lee once again led his Army of Northern Virginia into Union territory by crossing the Potomac River. Lee led his army north in an attempt to relieve the pressure the Confederacy was under in the Western Theater.<sup>336</sup> While marching in pursuit of Lee, the Army of the Potomac received a new commander, Major General George Meade, after Hooker resigned his command.<sup>337</sup> Prior to Hooker's resignation, the Army of the Potomac reorganized, as many regiments had reached the end of their terms of enlistment, and this reorganization meant more than just another change in army commanders for the Iron Brigade.<sup>338</sup> The Iron Brigade received a new official designation. By chance, instead of being the Fourth Brigade, First Division, First Corps, the unit was now the First Brigade, First Division, First Corps, of the Army of the Potomac. Henry C. Marsh proudly boasted the Iron Brigade was "now the 1st in the service."<sup>339</sup> Alan T. Nolan opined that the new official designation was a

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<sup>335</sup> Return of Casualties in the Union forces, commanded by Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, U.S. Army, at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa., July 1-3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 173-187. Regiments that suffered more numerical casualties than the 19th Indiana are twenty infantry regiments not in the Iron Brigade, two regiments in the Iron Brigade, and one cavalry regiment.

<sup>336</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 646-647.

<sup>337</sup> Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 8-9.

<sup>338</sup> For details on the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac after the Battle of Chancellorsville refer to Stephen Sears, *Gettysburg* (2004; repr., Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 29-30.

<sup>339</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated June 5, 1863, Box 1, Folder 4, HCMP, ISL. Henry C. Marsh stated "the Brooklyn 14<sup>th</sup> is quite put out because they are put in the 2<sup>nd</sup> [brigade as was the Indiana] 7<sup>th</sup> they were in the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade which is broken up as several regts have gone home." The former First Brigade which contained the 14th New York, was the original Iron Brigade. For details on the regiments in this Iron Brigade see Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 3-33. Under linear tactics—which was the tactical paradigm

designation Marsh and others “naively claimed as an honor they had earned.”<sup>340</sup> Needless to say, this change inflated the ego of the 19th Indiana as they marched into Pennsylvania in pursuit of the Confederates.

On the evening of June 30, 1863, Brigadier General John Buford positioned his Federal cavalry division on McPherson’s Ridge just to the west of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Buford’s division, the lead element of the Union army, had found Lee’s army which was moving to concentrate in the vicinity of Gettysburg.<sup>341</sup> In this position on McPherson’s Ridge, Buford guarded the tactically advantageous defensive ground located south and southeast of the town. To ensure this ground would not fall into the hands of the Confederacy, Buford needed infantry support. The nearest infantry was the Union First and Eleventh Corps, both operating under the command of First Corps commander Major General John Reynolds.<sup>342</sup> William Nelson Jackson wrote that on the evening of June 30, the Iron Brigade was only four miles away from Gettysburg.<sup>343</sup>

The Battle of Gettysburg opened early on July 1, when Major General Henry Heth’s Confederate division attacked Buford’s Union cavalry. Buford’s cavalry held its position until mid-morning when the Union First Corps arrived at Gettysburg with the Iron Brigade, the second infantry brigade to arrive.<sup>344</sup> The Iron Brigade took its position on the left of the Union line—with

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for the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century—tradition stated the most senior unit was placed at the position of honor, the right flank. By calling the Iron Brigade the “1st in the service,” Marsh likely claimed the title of the most senior brigade in the Union army, to reserve the point of honor, for the Iron Brigade. See Earl J. Hess, *Civil War Infantry Tactics: Training, Combat, and Small-Unit Effectiveness* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 3.

<sup>340</sup> “The Brigade’s Career to Appomattox,” p. 29, Box 5, Folder 9, ATNP, IHS.

<sup>341</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 241; Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 21.

<sup>342</sup> Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 8.

<sup>343</sup> William Nelson Jackson Diary, Distances marched from Sep 6th 1862 by the 19th Ind Vols, WNJP, IHS.

<sup>344</sup> For maps of the battle see Appendix Two, Maps Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven, and Twelve. On June 30 Wadsworth’s Division of the First Corps was the lead division in the corps. By convention, this division was to be rotated to the rear of the column on July 1. However, as Wadsworth’s Division was the closest to Gettysburg, John Reynolds wanted this division to not wait for the other two divisions of the corps to pass by as this would be a needless delay. The brigade of Lysander Cutler led Wadsworth’s Division to Gettysburg as “it was ready to go when the order came to move out, and the Iron Brigade was not” in spite



the 24th Michigan on the very end of the brigade's line and the 19th Indiana to that regiment's right. During the fighting on McPherson's Ridge, legend has it that Confederates saw the black hats of the Iron Brigade and cried out something to the effect of "it's those black hats that ain't no militia it's the Army of the Potomac."<sup>345</sup> To the lay reader, this can be interpreted as a cry of fear from Confederate soldiers. This is likely not the case. During the Gettysburg Campaign, the Confederacy suffered a chronic lack of accurate intelligence as to the location of the Army of the Potomac. In fact, on the morning of July 1, a number of Confederate commanders believed they would only engage Union cavalry possibly supported by local militia—as militia had previously been in the area of Gettysburg.<sup>346</sup> Cavalry and militia could only be on the firing line for a limited time against opposing infantry without support from their own infantry. Operating under the belief they would engage cavalry and militia, the Confederates may have expected to have possession of the town before noon. This belief would have been shattered upon seeing the black Hardee Hats of the Iron Brigade. The black hats gave the Confederates clear intelligence that veteran infantry from the Army of the Potomac were closer to Gettysburg than previously thought. However, there was no mention of the Iron Brigade in the reports, available in the *Official Records*, from Confederate Lieutenant General A.P. Hill or the officers of Henry Heth's division during the Gettysburg Campaign.<sup>347</sup>

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of the fact the Iron Brigade was at the front of Wadsworth's Division on June 30, see Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 70-72.

<sup>345</sup> Robert K. Beecham, *Gettysburg: The Pivotal Battle and the Civil War* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg, 1911), 65; Philip Cheek and Mair Pointon, *History of the Sauk County Riflemen Known as Company "A," Sixth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry 1861-1865* (self-published, 1909), 73; *The Society of the Army of the Potomac: Report of the Twenty-fourth Annual Re-Union at Boston, Mass. June 27th and 28th, 1893* (New York, NY: MacGowan and Slipper, 1893), 14; Abner Doubleday, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, vol. 6 of *Campaigns of the Civil War* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 132.

<sup>346</sup> Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 14, 21, 26-28, 51-52.

<sup>347</sup> Report of Ambrose P. Hill, November 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 606-609; Report of Henry Heth, September 13, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 637-639; Report of Henry Heth, October 3, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 639-642; Report of J. Jones, August 9, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 642-644; Report of J.J. Young, July 4, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 645-646; Report of S.G. Shepard, August 10, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 646-648; Report of Joseph R. Davis, August 26, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 648-650; Report of Joseph R. Davis, August 22, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 650-651; Report of John J. Garnett, August 2, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume



While the line “it’s those black hats that ain’t no militia it’s the Army of the Potomac” has been cited by a number of historians and other writers—including D. Scott Hartwig, Allen C. Guelzo, David G. Martin, Lance Herdegen, and Alan T. Nolan—there is debate on the validity of the cry.<sup>348</sup> While Herdegen appeared to accept the cry without any appearance of doubt, a skeptical view is likely the correct interpretation, as the original source has “never [been] identified.”<sup>349</sup> Hartwig opined a soldier from the 2nd Wisconsin only “thought he heard” a Confederate soldier remark on who the Confederates were fighting.<sup>350</sup> Hartwig did not specify how far away the Confederates were when the Union soldier supposedly heard the cry. However, he said the 2nd Wisconsin received fire at a distance of 50 yards and Colonel Samuel Williams, of the 19th Indiana, stated his regiment began to engage Brigadier General James Archer’s Confederate infantry brigade when they were “not more than 75 yards distant.”<sup>351</sup> In the din and heat of battle it was difficult to hear what was shouted by comrades and others in the line, let alone what is being shouted by foes in the opposing battle line, thus calling into the question the validity of this cry, as the source is Union soldiers and dates nineteen or more years after the battle.

The Iron Brigade, on the left of the Union line, fighting on McPherson’s Ridge, held its ground against an initial Confederate attack. Early on, elements of the Iron Brigade captured most of Archer’s Brigade. Henry C. Marsh credited his regiment with capturing 350 Confederates.<sup>352</sup> As the rest of the Union First Corps arrived on the field, these brigades formed to the right and

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27, Part 1: 652-654; Report of Charles Richardson, August 2, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 654-656.

<sup>348</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 233; Guelzo, *Gettysburg*, 149; David G. Martin, *Gettysburg July 1* (1995; repr., Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003), 156; D. Scott Hartwig, “I Have Never Seen the Like Before:” Herbst Woods, July 1, 1863” in *This Has Been a Terrible Ordeal The Gettysburg Campaign and First Day of the Battle: Papers of the Tenth Gettysburg National Military Park Seminar* (National Park Service, 2005), 166; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 368.

<sup>349</sup> Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 368; Martin, *Gettysburg*, 156.

<sup>350</sup> Beecham, *Gettysburg*, 65; Hartwig, “I Have Never Seen the Like Before,” 166.

<sup>351</sup> Hartwig, “I Have Never Seen the Like Before,” 166; Samuel J. Williams to J.D. Wood, letter dated August 1, 1863, Box 1, Folder 37, EFP, CMC.

<sup>352</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated July 13, 1863, Box 1, Folder 4, HCMP, ISL; George W. Gibson stated the regiment captured 300 men. See George W. Gibson Diary, July 1, 1863, U.S. Civil War Resources for East Central Indiana, MPL.

left of the Iron Brigade and connected to the Eleventh Corps which guarded the northern approach into the town. Confederates attacked all along the line. Marsh wrote that the Iron Brigade held its ground even though its numbers were few “and [were] with out [sic] any support at all” as was the entire Union force at Gettysburg.<sup>353</sup> When the Confederates, with superior numbers, threatened both flanks of the Eleventh Corps, this corps began to retreat which also forced the exposed First Corps to retreat.<sup>354</sup>

It had only been a matter of luck that the Union line did not give way at or near the position of the Iron Brigade, even though the First Corps had begun to give ground in the face of superior Confederate numbers.<sup>355</sup> In later years, William Robey Moore recognized this and stated that all the Union forces could do was put “up the best fight it was in our power to give” and hope for the best.<sup>356</sup> Thus, it would have been impossible for mortal “men to do more” than the two Union corps did on the first day.<sup>357</sup>

The Union First and Eleventh Corps retreated through the town and rallied on high ground southeast of Gettysburg.<sup>358</sup> As they were in a perilous state, the two corps likely expected a renewed Confederate attack on their new positions—an attack that inexplicably never materialized.<sup>359</sup> For the Iron Brigade, the Battle of Gettysburg concluded on the afternoon of July 1. For the rest of the battle, the Iron Brigade were essentially spectators to the battle occurring all around them. The 19th Indiana’s adjutant reported on July 2 “our regt was not engaged,” and on July 3 there is no mention of the regiment being engaged, but “the day closed upon the greatest

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<sup>353</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated July 13, 1863, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>354</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 244.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 162, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS.

<sup>357</sup> Henry Marsh to Father, letter dated July 13, 1863, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>358</sup> For details regarding the actions of the Iron Brigade, the Army of the Potomac’s defense outside of the town of Gettysburg, and the activities of the Army of Northern Virginia on the first day of the battle refer to Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 255-279; Guelzo, *Gettysburg*, 139-211; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 355-441; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 233-262; Pfanz, *Gettysburg*; Sears, *Gettysburg*, 154-225; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 247-265; Herdegen, *Those Damned Black Hats!*, 81-178.

<sup>359</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 244-245; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 654-655.

and most complete victory ever gained by the Army of the Potomac.”<sup>360</sup> After July 3, Lee conceded defeat and ordered the retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia from Pennsylvania and led it successfully back across the Potomac River to Virginia.<sup>361</sup>

In the Battle of Gettysburg, the 19th Indiana suffered tremendously: 210 casualties. Of these, 41 were killed or mortally wounded.<sup>362</sup> The rest of the Iron Brigade suffered an additional 943 casualties.<sup>363</sup> The *Official Records* includes no report from the 19th Indiana or the Iron Brigade.<sup>364</sup> However, Union Major General Abner Doubleday cited a number of men in the

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<sup>360</sup> George Edward Finney Diary, July 3, 1863, GEFP, ISL.

<sup>361</sup> Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 256.

<sup>362</sup> Report of Abner Doubleday, December 13, 1863, OR, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1, Page 254; Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 343; Return of Casualties in the Union forces, commanded by Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, U.S. Army, at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa., July 1-3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 173. The return of casualties in the *Official Records* credited the 19th Indiana with only suffering 27 men killed in combat. The number discrepancy in killed may be as a result of wounded men dying after the casualty return was filed or some of the men captured or missing were counted as part of the death total.

<sup>363</sup> Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 173. A number of other regiments suffered a greater number of casualties than the 19th Indiana at the Battle of Gettysburg. See Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 173-187.

<sup>364</sup> In the *Official Records* there is no report from the Iron Brigade or the 19th Indiana. This does not mean that no reports existed. In the *Official Records* the other four regiments in the brigade have reports that were included. William W. Dudley, formerly the lieutenant colonel of the 19th Indiana at Gettysburg, provided in 1878 to E.D. Townsend, the U.S. Army’s adjutant general, a report on the actions of the Iron Brigade at Gettysburg. In this report, Dudley referenced having reports from all five regiments of the brigade, including the 19th Indiana. There are currently three extant reports from the 19th Indiana. A report written by Colonel Samuel Williams to Governor Morton regarding the casualties and the bare battle details were published in the *Indianapolis Daily Journal* on August 13, 1863. In the Ebersole Family Papers, at the Cincinnati Museum Center, there is a report written by Samuel Williams which described the actions of the 19th Indiana at Gettysburg. In this report, Williams expressed he would be remiss if he did not “express my thanks to and admiration of the officers and men of my command for the gallant conduct during the trying process through which they passed.” Alan D. Gaff claimed he had definitively found the report of the 19th Indiana for Gettysburg—a report Gaff claimed has never been lost—in the Orr Family Manuscripts at the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. These two reports—the one found in Cincinnati and the one Gaff quoted in his article—are substantively the same, only an occasional word was added or missing, but with one important difference. The report in the Orr Family Manuscripts is dated November 16, 1863; however, the report in the Ebersole Family Papers is dated on August 1, 1863. See William Wade Dudley, *The Iron Brigade at Gettysburg: Official Report of the Part Borne by the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Army Corp Army of the Potomac, In Action at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, 1863* (Cincinnati, OH: Privately printed, 1879); “The 19th Regiment at Gettysburg,” *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, August 13, 1863, ISL; Samuel J. Williams to J.D. Wood, letter dated August 1, 1863, Box 1, Folder 37, EFP, CMC; Gaff, ““Here Was Made Out Our Last and Hopeless Stand,”” 25-32.

regiment and credited Colonel Samuel J. Williams with “increasing the high reputation of the 19th Indiana.”<sup>365</sup>

Did the Iron Brigade accomplish anything at Gettysburg? The two Union corps on the field failed to defend their positions on the ridges and hills to the west and northwest of Gettysburg on July 1. Doubleday’s report on Gettysburg stated it appeared this had been the intention of his immediate superior, Major General John Reynolds.<sup>366</sup> If Reynolds’s intention had been to defend the town, it would have been in violation of the intentions of George Meade.<sup>367</sup> The result of Reynolds’s violation led to the destruction beyond repair of two Union corps and their component units. It is possible to argue the sacrifice of the First and Eleventh Corps allowed the Army of the Potomac to concentrate and successfully defend the tactically advantageous ground south and southeast of Gettysburg.<sup>368</sup> This argument falls apart when one considers what historian Allen C. Guelzo called “the most sensational Confederate misjudgment of the war”—the failure of the Confederate army to press the attack on the afternoon of July 1. In fact, the battle of Gettysburg was close on July 2 and 3. Only actually the repulse of the Confederate attack on the Union center, popularly known as Pickett’s Charge, on July 3 did it become

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<sup>365</sup> Abner Doubleday commanded the Third Division of the First Corps at Gettysburg, but he briefly commanded the First Corps after Major General John F. Reynolds, was killed early on July 1 on McPherson’s Ridge. Of the men that Doubleday named the following can also be found in the sample: Samuel J. Williams, William W. Dudley, John Lindley, David S. Holloway, John W. Shafer, Patrick H. Hart, Alonzo J. Makepeace, George W. Green, William H. Campbell, Issac W. Whitemeyer, William W. Macy, James R. Nash, Crockett East, James Stickley, and Thomas Winset. See Report of Abner Doubleday, December 13, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 2: 254. For further detail of the praise Doubleday paid to the First Corps at Gettysburg and for the role of the First Corps at Gettysburg, see Report of Abner Doubleday, December 13, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 243-260.

<sup>366</sup> Report of Abner Doubleday, December 13, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 1: 244.

<sup>367</sup> George Meade likely wanted to lure Lee to attack him along a line on Pipe Creek in Maryland. See Circular, July 1, *O.R.*, Series 1 Volume 27, Part 3, 458-459. For a discussion regarding the idea of Reynold’s decision to defend Gettysburg and not follow Meade’s orders to defend Pipe Creek see Guelzo, *Gettysburg*, 117-127

<sup>368</sup> Allen C. Guelzo noted since John F. Reynolds desired to force the entire Army of the Potomac into a general engagement at Gettysburg, Reynolds needed to hold the Confederates back from entering the town. Guelzo went on to say if the First and Eleventh Corps was forced into the town they would barricade the streets to hold on until reinforcements could arrive. This can be interpreted to also mean that Reynolds, if he proved unable to keep the Confederates out of the town, could buy time for reinforcements to place themselves on the hills and ridges south and east of Gettysburg. See Guelzo, *Gettysburg*, 143-144.

apparent the Army of the Potomac had won its “first clear-cut victory.”<sup>369</sup> Thus, what Brigadier General James Wadsworth said of his division (which included the Iron Brigade) at Gettysburg can describe all Union units on the field of battle on the first day: they all “performed their whole duty without an exception . . . [none can be] particularly commend[ed] . . . without doing injustice to others equally meritorious” as all the men on the field did more than what could have been expected of them.<sup>370</sup>

#### The Overland and Petersburg Campaigns (August 1, 1863 to October 12, 1864)

The Battle of Gettysburg was the apex of the fighting record of the Iron Brigade. Alan T. Nolan ended his work on the Iron Brigade here. He opined the brigade and its regiments were not the same after Gettysburg and ceased to be unique and effective.<sup>371</sup> He cited the introduction of non-western regiments into the ranks of the brigade and the infusion of recruits into the ranks of all the regiments.<sup>372</sup> However, to gain a full understanding of the Iron Brigade it is necessary to examine its record after Gettysburg. They participated in the Overland Campaign to seize Richmond in the spring and summer of 1864, but continued to not be as successful as the legend implies. In fact, they were possibly routed three times during the campaign and other regiments suffered more casualties than the regiments of the Iron Brigade.<sup>373</sup>

After Gettysburg, the Army of the Potomac participated in no major battle for months. Jacob Ebersole wrote in September that “all is dull and slow” and the men of the regiment are “beginning [to] count the days to the time of their discharge” which was “less than a year” away.<sup>374</sup> Before this time of discharge the 19th Indiana was a part of two organizational changes in the Union Army. First, the regiment in the winter of 1863 did not reenlist enough men to

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<sup>369</sup> Guelzo, *Gettysburg*, 216 and 432-433. For information regarding how close the battle was at the Battle of Gettysburg refer to Guelzo, *Gettysburg*; Sears, *Gettysburg*.

<sup>370</sup> Report of James Wadsworth, July 4, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 1: 267.

<sup>371</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 264-267.

<sup>372</sup> Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 263-264, 266-267.

<sup>373</sup> Return of Casualties in the Union forces, commanded by Lieut. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, from the Rapidan to the James River, May-June, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 119-87. This casualty listing does not include those suffered during the siege operations around Richmond and Petersburg, as the 19th Indiana did not serve in the army after October 1864.

<sup>374</sup> Jacob Ebersole to Wife, letter dated September 6, 1863, Box 2, Folder 1, EFP, CMC.

become a veteran regiment. The second change was the consolidation of the regiment's corps (the First Corps) into another corps in the spring of 1864.

The idea of the veteran regiment emerged in the summer of 1863. Earlier that year, dozens of Union regiments raised for nine months or two years' service reached the end of their terms of enlistment and were mustered out. According to Solomon Meredith, the Army of the Potomac lost 40,000 men through this demobilization.<sup>375</sup> Many three-year regiments, like the 19th Indiana, were to muster out in the spring, summer, and fall of 1864. To avoid the loss of tens of thousands of experienced soldiers, the War Department devised a plan that gave any man who reenlisted for another three years a \$400 bounty, a month's furlough, and if 75 percent of eligible soldiers in a regiment reenlisted, the integrity of the regiment would be maintained.<sup>376</sup> Convincing men to reenlist was likely difficult. In June 1863, John Hawk wrote to his father and sister that he did not "see the pleasure in the army" and at the end of July 1864 "we can return home again."<sup>377</sup> At the end of 1863, only 213 eligible men from the 19th Indiana reenlisted, a number just short of the required 75 percent—this meant it could be consolidated into another regiment after July 1864.<sup>378</sup> The fact that the 19th Indiana did not become a veteran regiment does not necessarily say

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<sup>375</sup> Solomon Meredith to Anna [presumed Meredith], letter dated May 22, 1863, SMP, IHS.

<sup>376</sup> General Orders No. 191, June 25, 1863, *O.R.* Series 3, Volume 3: 414-416; General Orders No. 216, July 14, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 3, Volume 3: 486-487; General Orders No. 305, September 11, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 3, Part 3: 785; General Orders No. 324, September 28, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 3, Volume 3: 844; General Orders No. 359, November 6, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 3, Volume 3: 997-999; General Orders No. 376, November 21, 1863, *O.R.*, Series 3, Series 3: 1084. If a regiment failed to reach the three-fourths benchmark the re-enlisted men—and the men not eligible for becoming veterans—could be dispersed into other regiments.

<sup>377</sup> John Hawk to Father and Catherine, letter dated June 10, 1863, HHP, ISL.

<sup>378</sup> Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 1, p. 3. Alan T. Nolan noted there is no formal strength list of the 19th Indiana "thus the precise extent by which they [the 19th Indiana and the 2nd Wisconsin] missed the quota is unknown." In the Union Army there were approximately 236,000 eligible soldiers to re-enlist in the Union Army. Of these 136,000 soldiers chose to reenlist. In the Army of the Potomac little more than half of all eligible soldiers chose to re-enlist. The failure of the 19th Indiana to reenlist does not tell us anything in particular about these men as so many other eligible Union soldiers also did not reenlist. See Nolan, *Iron Brigade*, 372, n. 22; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 720.

anything about the elite nature of the regiment. Many other regiments in the Union army and even another regiment in the Iron Brigade—the 2nd Wisconsin—did not become veteran regiments.<sup>379</sup>

In the spring of 1864, the five corps of the Army of the Potomac consolidated into three corps. The First Corps being one of the eliminated corps.<sup>380</sup> The Iron Brigade in the new Fifth Corps became officially the First Brigade, Fourth Division, a situation Captain William Orr—and likely many others in the regiment and brigade—did “not like . . . a bit,” but the war had to go on.<sup>381</sup>

In September 1863, Jacob Ebersole confidently claimed in a letter to his wife “the Rebellion will be played out” soon, but the campaign season starting in May 1864 demonstrated the inaccuracy of Ebersole’s prediction.<sup>382</sup> The Army of the Potomac crossed the Rappahannock River above Fredericksburg, to maneuver Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia out of its fortified line into open country, where the larger and better equipped Union army could destroy Lee’s army.<sup>383</sup> To accomplish this objective, the Army of the Potomac marched into the tangle of woods and swamps called the Wilderness, in the same area in which the Battle of Chancellorsville had been fought the previous year. Decades after the war, Abram Buckles, an enlisted man of the 19th Indiana’s Company K, recalled the Wilderness was “so dense” with “trees and underbrush that I was unable to unfurl the flag.”<sup>384</sup>

The Fifth Corps crossed the Rappahannock River at Germania Ford and advanced to Wilderness Tavern where it bivouacked on May 4.<sup>385</sup> Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant wished to be through the Wilderness before the Confederate army arrived in force to stop the Union

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<sup>379</sup> Nolan, *Iron Brigade*, 270.

<sup>380</sup> General Orders No. 10, March 24, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 33: 722-723.

<sup>381</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated March 28, 1864, Box 2, Folder 4, OFM, LL.

<sup>382</sup> Jacob Ebersole to Wife, letter dated September 13, 1863, Box 2, Folder 1, EFP, CMC.

<sup>383</sup> Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness May 5-6, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 51 and 53. For information regarding the role of the 19th Indiana in the Overland Campaign and the subsequent Siege of Petersburg refer to Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 271-278; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 479-539; Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field*, 336-385.

<sup>384</sup> A Paper written by A.J. Buckles to be read at the Reunion of the 19th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, September 17, 1912, Box 1, Folder 7, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>385</sup> For a map of the battle see Appendix Two, Maps Thirteen, Fourteen, and Fifteen. Journal of Gouverneur K. Warren, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 539.



army. This did not happen. On May 5, the Iron Brigade and the rest of the Fifth Corps attacked the Confederate line, drove the Confederates “nearly a mile,” and captured “289 prisoners and three battle-flags,” but a Confederate counter attack inflicted heavy casualties and routed the brigade.<sup>386</sup> During this fight, when no officer was present, Abram Buckles “unfurled our battered and torn flag” and led an attack into “a murderous fire” until he was wounded.<sup>387</sup> He received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1893 with the following citation: “though suffering from an open wound, [he] carried the regimental colors until again wounded.”<sup>388</sup> He was the only man in the 19th Indiana to receive the Medal of Honor.

On May 6, the Iron Brigade and the Fifth Corps advanced in support of the Union Second Corps, but in this advance through the Wilderness, the Iron Brigade—and other brigades in the Union attack—were “furiously attacked by [Confederate] infantry and artillery, driven back, and badly scattered.”<sup>389</sup> The men rallied, but did not play a major role in the rest of the battle.

During the Battle of the Wilderness, the enemy twice routed the Iron Brigade; the first real and major humiliation for the brigade.<sup>390</sup> The Wilderness was difficult terrain to fight in and Union attacks were not well coordinated, due to the difficult terrain, but the Iron Brigade also was not the same as it was from May 1862-July 1863. The inclusion of dozens of new men potentially reduced effectiveness. These men had yet to acquire the necessary experience or *esprit de corps* making their transition to military life “a much more difficult transition” than those who joined in

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<sup>386</sup> Report of Lysander Cutler, August 31, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 610. Cutler does not use the term routed in his report.

<sup>387</sup> “A Paper written by A.J. Buckles to be read at the Reunion of the 19th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers,” September 17, 1912, Box 1, Folder 7, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>388</sup> “Medal of Honor Recipients: Civil War (A-F),” *U.S. Army Center of Military History*, accessed September 18, 2015, [http://www.history.army.mil/moh/civilwar\\_af.html#BUCKLES](http://www.history.army.mil/moh/civilwar_af.html#BUCKLES).

<sup>389</sup> Report of Lysander Cutler, August 13, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 611.

<sup>390</sup> Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness*, 161; Robert Garth Scott, *Into the Wilderness with the Army of the Potomac* (1985; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 62 and 132; Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor*, 292 and 297; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, 483 and 490. Sharon Eggleston Vipond insisted the Iron Brigade never broke or needed to be rallied at any time during the Battle of the Wilderness, See Sharon Eggleston Vipond, “‘A New Kind of Murder:’ The Iron Brigade in the Wilderness,” in *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats*, 129-137.



1861.<sup>391</sup> Further, many men in the 19th Indiana had not reenlisted the previous winter and obviously did not want to become casualties in the waning days of their enlistments.<sup>392</sup> Finally, it cannot be discounted that many men, even if they did re-enlist, became less reckless and aggressive in battle, making retreat an option. However, even though the brigade was humiliated at the Wilderness, it was more of a continuation of its previous service—hard fighting, but little success.

During the Battle of the Wilderness, the 19th Indiana lost 14 men killed and an additional 89 other casualties.<sup>393</sup> This battle was only the opening stage of the Overland Campaign, a grueling two month ordeal; William Orr called it “the greatest campaign of the war.”<sup>394</sup> The Army of the Potomac charged “the reb works frequently” and before the end of May, Orr estimated the losses for the Army of the Potomac likely exceeded 40,000 men.<sup>395</sup> One of the wounded men during the campaign was Allen W. Galyean. Writing from a hospital he admitted it was not of “any use to say anything a bout [sic] one gitting [sic] hurt” since there were many wounded men, but he was “glad I got shot” since he was out of combat and was under the care of

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<sup>391</sup> Even though Joseph Glatthaar was discussing Confederate soldiers who joined the Army of Northern Virginia in 1862 it accurately describes those men who joined both Union and Confederate armies after the initial recruitment in 1861. See Joseph Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York, NY, NY: Free Press, 2008), 205.

<sup>392</sup> In *Battle Cry of Freedom*, James McPherson made note of this phenomenon. McPherson stated men who did not re-enlist were averse to taking risks and the presence of thousands of “conscripts, substitutes, and bounty men” in addition to the typical recruits limited the “combat capacity” of the Union army “at crucial times during the summer of 1864.” See McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 720.

<sup>393</sup> In addition to the losses in the 19th Indiana the Iron Brigade suffered an additional 621 casualties. See Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 125 and 133. A Number of other regiments in the Union forces in the Battle of the Wilderness suffered a greater number of casualties than the 19th Indiana. See Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 119-133.

<sup>394</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated May 26, 1864, Box 2, Folder 4, OFM, LL.

<sup>395</sup> William Nelson Jackson Diary, May 9 and 10, 1864, WNJP, IHS; William Orr to Father, letter dated May 26, 1864, OFM, LL. Orr wrote the Fifth Corps lost 12,000 men; the Fourth Division, Fifth Corps lost 4,000 men; the First Brigade, Fourth Division lost 1,200 men; and the 19th Indiana lost 140 men. According to the returns of casualties of the Army of the Potomac from May 5-June 1, 1864 the Army of the Potomac (and the Ninth Corps operating independently from this army) suffered 40,051 casualties; the Fifth Corps suffered 10,693 casualties; the Fourth Division, Fifth Corps suffered 3,258; the First Brigade, Fourth Corps suffered 1,185 casualties; and the 19th Indiana suffered 155 casualties. Even though these casualties were heavy Michael C.C. Adams pointed out that in the eleven months between the Battle of the Wilderness and the surrender of Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court House, Virginia in April 1865 the “average of killed and wounded per engagement” was “slightly lower than the Federal average for the whole war.” See Return of Casualties, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 36, Part 1: 125, 133, 143, 144, 149, 158, 159, 164; Adams, *Fighting for Defeat*, 159.

“the Sisters of Charity.”<sup>396</sup> In a subsequent letter, Galyean said he was “not sorry” his shoulder had not healed, since he wanted to stay away from “those bombshells” as he had had his “fill of them.”<sup>397</sup> At the Battle of North Anna, the Iron Brigade again were driven back before a Confederate attack when the Confederates struck the brigade’s exposed right flank.<sup>398</sup> The commander of the Fifth Corps artillery recalled, although the Iron Brigade was pre-eminent “in the old First Corps . . . one-half of it ran clear without firing a shot, and two-thirds of the other half were brought back with difficulty by their officers to support the batteries.”<sup>399</sup>

Eventually, after tremendous bloodshed, the Army of the Potomac laid siege to Richmond and its railroad link to the rest of the Confederacy, Petersburg, in mid-June of 1864. Before besieging these cities the Union armies, under Grant, attempted to storm the Confederate fortifications, but failed. William Orr explained the failure. The men suffered so much “exposure and fatigue” they could no longer “endure” attacking yet another line of field works—even the lightly defended ones early in the siege.<sup>400</sup> Orr possibly expressed a trait historian Michael C.C. Adams attributed to the Army of the Potomac in 1864. This impression was that Grant used the Army of the Potomac to club what were perceived as Lee’s superior soldiers “into the ground.”<sup>401</sup> This perception that the Army of the Potomac was being used to bludgeon Lee’s army caused

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<sup>396</sup> Allen W. Galyean to Miss C. Hawk, letter dated June 23, 1864, HHP, ISL.

<sup>397</sup> Allen W. Galyean to Miss C. Hawk, letter dated September 5, 1864, HHP, ISL.

<sup>398</sup> Gordon C. Rhea, *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13-25, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2005), 308-309.

<sup>399</sup> Charles S. Wainwright, *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright 1861-1865*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 386. William Orr remembered the event somewhat differently. Orr acknowledged while A.P. Hill’s attack on the Fifth Corps “at first drove us” back the “men rallied at our batteries and repulsed the rebels with great slaughter.” See William Orr to Father, letter dated May 26, 1864, OFM, LL.

<sup>400</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated May 26, 1864, OFM, LL; Earl J. Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg: Field Fortifications and Confederate Defeat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 9-37. McPherson noted the Army of the Potomac in the first weeks of the Siege of Petersburg did not fight with the same “vigor and force” as it had shown on previous fields. He stated the Army of the Potomac was never the same after Gettysburg and particularly the Overland Campaign. This was due to horrendous casualties the army suffered and the loss of men whose enlistments had expired. See McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 741, 742, and 756.

<sup>401</sup> Adams, *Fighting for Defeat*, 152.

“the north to reel under the weight of the casualty lists from Virginia.”<sup>402</sup> For the majority of the siege, the Iron Brigade took part in attacks on the Confederate line and spent time in the trenches. The siege only added to the regiment’s casualty list. In the trenches the men were compelled to lay “terrible low” and if a man needed to leave a trench during daylight—at least early in the siege—“for any purpose he goes at the run and bent low,” in the hope of not being killed by “minie balls . . . flying very fast and thick.”<sup>403</sup>

### Casualties

Casualties do not indicate whether or not a unit was successful in combat, but the Civil War produced a casualty rate that is unparalleled in American military history. Units that suffered high casualties are often singled out in later generations since these units had participated in areas of particularly intense combat. Union and Confederate regiments suffered between 620,000 and 851,000 men killed over the course of the war with “the most probable number of deaths . . . [being] 752,000.”<sup>404</sup> The majority of these men actually died of disease, not combat. It is estimated for every 3 men killed in combat an additional 5 died of disease.<sup>405</sup>

In spite of a greater number of men dying of disease, Civil War armies developed a reputation for their ability to “absorb enormous punishment on the battlefield without breaking.”<sup>406</sup> Historian Gerald J. Prokopowicz noted, American regiments in the Civil War, due to “strong internal cohesion,” were able to survive casualty rates which would have shattered the organization of their European contemporaries, citing at least 60 Union regiments which lost more than 50 percent of their numbers in a single battle and yet kept fighting.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>403</sup> William Orr to Father, letter dated June 20, 1864, Box 2, Folder 4, OFM, LL.

<sup>404</sup> J. David Hacker, “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead,” *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (December 2011): 307.

<sup>405</sup> “Civil War Casualties,” *Civil War Trust*, accessed September 18, 2015, <http://www.civilwar.org/education/civil-war-casualties.html>.

<sup>406</sup> Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 4.

<sup>407</sup> Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 5-6. In contemporary European conflicts, European armies typically did not have casualty rates as high as the Union and Confederate armies in the American Civil War. The only explanation William F. Fox suggested for this phenomenon was the brief duration of some contemporary European conflicts. However, battles in the Civil War could be bloodier than some of the

While Civil War regiments did “absorb enormous punishment,” the loss of men through death or wounding in combat was a tragedy for the soldier, his family, and his regiment. William Robey Moore reflected he had “self-sentenced” himself to wounding or death after he picked up the flag at Gettysburg.<sup>408</sup> Gangrene set into Moore’s wound requiring the amputation of a finger. Complications from the surgery likely kept Moore from returning to the 19th Indiana.<sup>409</sup> Moore counted himself one of the lucky men wounded during the war. A finger being shot off from a minié ball coming at an angle was minor in comparison to what could have happened, such as the ball passing “through my hand, the flagstaff, and my body.”<sup>410</sup> Thomas Hart Benton represented one of the worst wounds soldiers could suffer. He was shot twice; once through the “hips and bowels” and a second wound “through the lungs” at the Battle of Gainesville.<sup>411</sup> Once in a hospital, Benton confidently wrote to his father that he would recover, but just over a month later a nurse at the hospital notified Benton’s father that he had succumbed to his wounds and died.<sup>412</sup> Henry C. Marsh summed up the loss of men to his father as “we seem as Bros you know not [how] dear we soldiers [be]come to each other. When one of our intimate friends die its seems as a Bro.”<sup>413</sup>

Much of the fame of the Iron Brigade, explained by writers, stems from the high number of casualties they accumulated on the battlefield. The Iron Brigade suffered 1,131 men killed or mortally wounded—a number William Fox credited as the greatest for any brigade in the war.<sup>414</sup> The 19th Indiana in thirty-nine months of service fought in 13 battles “and in numerous

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great Napoleonic War battles; and in 6 months after May 4, 1864, the Union Army suffered more casualties than the Germans did during the entire Franco-Prussian War. See Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 46-47.

<sup>408</sup> Autobiographical manuscript, vol. 1, 162, 163, Box 1, Folder 2A, WRMP, IHS. Gerald J. Prokopowicz stated that men who carried a regiment’s colors or served as part of the regiment’s color guard suffered a high casualty rate. This high casualty rate occurred due to the visibility of the colors and the importance of a regiment’s colors to its moral and unit cohesion. See Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment*, 106-107.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, 170-172.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>411</sup> R.O. Donner to Mr. Benton, letter dated September 2, 1862, THBP, IHS.

<sup>412</sup> Thomas Benton to parents, letter dated September 11, 1862, THBP, IHS; Mrs. Roche to Mr. Benton, letter dated October 20, 1862, THBP, IHS.

<sup>413</sup> Henry C. Marsh to Father, letter dated August 3, 1863, Box 1, Folder 5, HCMP, ISL.

<sup>414</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 66, 117.

skirmishes” suffering 199 men killed in combat.<sup>415</sup> While horrendous, these numbers are not as staggering when seen in context. The greatest number of killed or wounded taken in one battle by the 19th Indiana occurred during the campaign in northern Virginia (casualties for Gainesville and Second Bull Run combined) where the regiment suffered a loss of 62 men killed or mortally wounded.<sup>416</sup> Excluding heavy artillery regiments serving as infantry, the 5th New York Infantry suffered the most numerical killed or mortally wounded, suffering the loss of 117 men at Second Bull Run.<sup>417</sup> In terms of total numerical killed or mortally wounded throughout the war, 122 infantry regiments (excluding heavy artillery regiments serving as infantry) suffered more killed or mortally wounded in a single battle than the 19th Indiana.<sup>418</sup>

Raw numbers only tell part of the story. In fact, raw numbers can mislead anyone who looks at these figures if they are unaware of the context in which these casualties were suffered.<sup>419</sup> A much better metric to use is the total percentage of men a regiment lost through combat during the regiment’s time of service. The 19th Indiana suffered 15.9 percent of its numbers killed or mortally wounded throughout the war.<sup>420</sup> This does increase substantially the placement of the regiment in a list of Union regiments by mortality in the entire war. Nevertheless, the 19th Indiana is still only eleventh in terms of total percentage loss by mortality over the course of the entire war.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> “19<sup>th</sup> Regiment Engaged in,” unknown date, 19th IVI Correspondence Book, ISA; Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 343. A further 117 died of non-combat related causes for a new number killed or wounded throughout the war as 376.

<sup>416</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 343.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>418</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 3, 17-21.

<sup>419</sup> For example, a hypothetical regiment has 1,000 men in its ranks and suffered 75 casualties; while another hypothetical regiment of 300 men in its ranks suffered 50 casualties. The larger regiment rightly will be credited for suffering more numerical casualties, but this regiment would be in much better shape than the smaller regiment, who suffered less numerical casualties.

<sup>420</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 8.

<sup>421</sup> The regiments that suffered the highest casualties by percentage are (in descending order): the 2nd Wisconsin, the 1st Maine Heavy Artillery, the 57th Massachusetts, the 140th Pennsylvania, the 26th Wisconsin, the 7th Wisconsin, the 69th New York, NY, the 11th Pennsylvania Reserves, the 142nd Pennsylvania, and the 101st Pennsylvania. The 2nd and 7th Wisconsin were part of the Iron Brigade with the 19th Indiana. See Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 8.

In a single battle the highest percentage of killed and mortally wounded in the 19th Indiana was 14 percent, but 102 regiments, regardless of the branch of service, suffered 15 percent or more killed or mortally wounded in a single battle.<sup>422</sup> Even looking at total percentage casualties in a single battle (this being killed, mortally wounded, wounded, captured, and missing) the regiment ranks as twenty-first with 61.2 percent at Gettysburg.<sup>423</sup> The regiment that suffered the most casualties in a single battle is the 1st Minnesota which suffered 82 percent in a solo suicidal attack at Gettysburg—a feat the 19th Indiana never performed.<sup>424</sup> What is seen here is while the 19th Indiana and the other regiments of the Iron Brigade did suffer high casualties, they were not the greatest number in the Union Army.

### Conclusion

The failure of the 19th Indiana to become a veteran regiment in the winter of 1863 came to haunt the men who re-enlisted in the Fall of 1864. Between the Battle of the Wilderness in May and mid-October 1864, the 19th Indiana suffered fifty men killed or mortally wounded without counting the men discharged or wounded.<sup>425</sup> On October 14, 1864, the 19th Indiana was consolidated into the 20th Indiana Volunteer Infantry in the Union Second Corps as the regiment failed to become a veteran regiment the previous December.<sup>426</sup> William Nelson Jackson called the order of consolidation “a most astounding order.”<sup>427</sup> Thus on October 13, 1864, after thirty-nine months in the service of the United States, the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry ceased to exist. Men of the old 19th Indiana were present on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House when Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant. Over the following weeks, other

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<sup>422</sup> With all that said the 19th Indiana was the only regiment in the Iron Brigade to suffer in 3 different battles a mortality rate equal to or in excess of 10 percent. This was a feat only equaled or exceeded by 2 other regiments in the Union army. This then does give the regiment some small form of distinction. See Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 28-34.

<sup>423</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 36.

<sup>424</sup> The 19th Indiana also appears as number 50 on this list. See Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 36 and 37.

<sup>425</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 343.

<sup>426</sup> Winfield Scott Hancock to S. Williams, letter dated October 14, 1864, *O.R.*, Series 1, Volume 42, Part 3, 228.

<sup>427</sup> William Nelson Jackson Diary, October 13, 1864, WNJP, IHS.

Confederate armies in the field surrendered to the Union Army, bringing the great American tragedy to an end.

For a regiment and its associated brigade who have received such renown, the evidence shows that historians and writers have exaggerated their fighting prowess. On a major battlefield the most success the Iron Brigade could claim was to stand on the firing line for a few hours against heavy odds. These units never successfully defended or took a position in a major battle, nor did they ever perform a solo act without the assistance of other units. When casualty rates—particularly those killed or mortally wounded—are considered, the Iron Brigade did suffer the highest numbers of the war. However, if casualties and particularly mortality are considered in isolation, the casualties suffered by the Iron Brigade are not as horrendous as it can first appear.



## Conclusion

Historians and other writers have concluded the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment and the Iron Brigade were the elite or the best soldiers of the Union Army.<sup>428</sup> Were the men of these units similar, in terms of the socio-economic makeup, to the rest of the men of the Union Army—or were they actually different? Most importantly, were they actually as successful as their legend implies? If these units were different from the rest of the Union soldiers and/or if these units were successful on the battlefield this would likely explain why these two units have been singled out for high praise by historians. This thesis has demonstrated, in reality, the 19th Indiana in socio-economic terms was not substantially different from the average Union soldier and the Iron Brigade was not truly successful on the battlefield. They were average soldiers who did an average job.

The average and generic Union soldier of the Union Army was white, male, native born, in his late teens to mid-20s, and part of a farming household. He was also literate, unmarried, with no children, likely from a middle class background, and motivated to fight primarily for the Union.<sup>429</sup> The average soldier of the 19th Indiana fits this description perfectly. The 19th Indiana was overwhelmingly comprised of native born Hoosiers, the regiment had a mean age of 23, 57 percent of the regiment was employed in the agricultural sector, the regiment was middle class, only 4 percent of the regiment was illiterate, only 14 percent were married, and the predominant motive for fighting was defense of the Union.

To determine the generic soldier of the 19th Indiana a sample, totaling 23 percent of the men, was taken from the regiment to include men of all ranks and muster dates. This was done to

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<sup>428</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 528 and 654; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 142; Herdegen, *The Iron Brigade*, xi; Pfanz, *Gettysburg*, 70; Weigley, *A Great Civil War*, 139.

<sup>429</sup> For descriptions of Union soldiers see Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 39, 40, 299, 303-306, 313, 428, n. 51; James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 8, 10, 25; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, viii, 11, 15, 16, 18, 28, 91, 98-100, 120, 182; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 357-359; Holmes, “Such is the Price We Pay:” 168, 174, n. 17; Hess, *The Union Soldier*, 97; Gallagher, *The Union War*, 34, 66; Nolan, *The Iron Brigade*, 32 and 33; Gould, *Investigations in the Military*, 27, 38, 57, 209-211; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 1 (Statistics and Documents section), No. 14, No. 15, p. 110-111.



gain the fullest picture of the men of the 19th Indiana as possible. In fact, when the regimental sample was divided into the following categories—original commissioned officers on the July 1861 muster, all enlisted men regardless of muster date, the enlisted men on the July 1861 muster, enlisted men recruited into the regiment after July 1861, and the enlisted men promoted into the regiment's officer corps—they still generally match the description of the average Union soldier. Anomalous results appear either in the sample as a whole or in the above listed categories. However, these can generally be explained and attributed to the small number of men in the categories or features that were unique to Indiana in the years preceding or during the war. Since the regimental sample was made up of average soldiers, we can begin to question the uniqueness and the reason to single out the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade.

Combat, however, is where the Iron Brigade's and its regiments main fame and renown lie. The Iron Brigade fought in some of the sanguinary battles in the Eastern Theater, including Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. In these and other engagements, the Iron Brigade suffered greatly. For example, at Gettysburg, the 19th Indiana alone lost 61.2 percent of its men as casualties.<sup>430</sup> In total, the Iron Brigade lost 1,131 men killed or mortally wounded making it the greatest numerical loss of life for any single Union brigade during the entire war.<sup>431</sup>

For such a casualty record, one would expect the Iron Brigade to boast a real record of achievement and success—playing prominent roles in many battles, such as seizing positions from the enemy and withstanding and stopping Confederate attacks. However, the Iron Brigade did not have such an illustrious record. At Second Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, the brigade played minor and ancillary roles. At South Mountain and Antietam, the brigade failed to drive its adversaries from its position. At Gettysburg, the brigade failed to defend its position. Finally, during the Overland Campaign, the brigade actually was routed or driven back three times in battle and did not drive the Confederates from the field. Failure

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<sup>430</sup> Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War*, 36.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 66, 117.

followed failure in major battles. Even the casualty record of the Iron Brigade is not as noteworthy as it first appears. A number of other regiments not in the Iron Brigade suffered greater numbers of casualties or percentage lost in a battle and over their entire length of service.<sup>432</sup>

The great fame that the Iron Brigade and its regiments enjoy does not date from the time of the Civil War. A soldier in the 19th Indiana who called himself simply “One of old Water’s Sons” complained that the readers of the *Richmond Palladium*—if not Hoosiers in general—would not know that a 19th Indiana existed as “not one word about the 19th” was being written or spoken about it in that newspaper.<sup>433</sup> Even for many years after the war, the regiment and the brigade did not enjoy particular fame, as there was an active debate between veterans as to which brigade was the Iron Brigade in the old Army of the Potomac.

Noteworthy fame came long after the war. At the time of the Civil War’s centennial, in the 1960s, Bruce Catton wrote to Alan T. Nolan stating he was glad Nolan wrote a book on the Iron Brigade as he (Catton) had been hoping someone would write about it and he had even thought of discarding “*Mr. Lincoln’s Army* . . . halfway through, to do the Iron Brigade.”<sup>434</sup> Thomas Reed theorizes that the fame of the Iron Brigade arose because these units “had a scribe . . . attorney Alan Nolan, who published a well-done history of the western unit.”<sup>435</sup> Since then, he adds, “a flurry of books have been published about the Western Iron Brigade and its regiments.”<sup>436</sup> Indeed, Nolan’s work is well written and accessible. This is attested to as it has been reprinted four times and has been praised by eminent historians, such as T. Harry Williams and Garry Gallagher. It is not surprising that others followed the path that he first charted and wrote their own books about the Iron Brigade and its regiments.

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<sup>432</sup> Ibid., 3, 6, 8, 17-21.

<sup>433</sup> One of old Water’s Sons, “Army Correspondence,” *Richmond Palladium*, May 8, 1863, ISL.

<sup>434</sup> Bruce Catton to Alan T. Nolan, August 1, 1961. Box 2 Folder 1. ATNP, IHS.

<sup>435</sup> Reed, *The Original Iron Brigade*, 148.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid., 148.

This, though, does not explain fully why the Iron Brigade and its regiments and not some other units attained such fame. By definition, anomalies stand out from everything around them. This leads researchers and the general public to notice them. An anomaly is what the Iron Brigade and its regiments were. Alan T. Nolan himself stated the Iron Brigade was interesting and anomalous.<sup>437</sup> It is these anomalies and interesting features that can go a long way to explaining why Nolan and others wrote about this brigade.

Nolan stated the brigade had “a peculiar and colorful uniform,” had the highest “percentage of battle deaths” for all Union brigades, the brigade fought in some of the Civil War’s greatest battles, “and was virtually wiped out” at Gettysburg, it was the only all western brigade in the Army of the Potomac, and the brigade’s “first commander Rufus King, was the grandson of a Massachusetts delegate to the Continental Congress.”<sup>438</sup> Also, the brigade’s second commander—North Carolinian John Gibbon—stayed loyal to the Union instead of joining the Confederate Army, and among the officers of the Wisconsin regiments there was a grandson of Alexander Hamilton and Rufus R. Dawes—the great-great grandson of William Dawes, who rode with Paul Revere, and the father of Vice President Charles G. Dawes.<sup>439</sup>

These are true and interesting facts, but could also describe other Civil War units. Other units had unique uniforms, other regiments in the Union Army suffered greater numerical and percentage casualties, other Union brigades fought in major battles, and were virtually wiped out at Gettysburg or other battles. While no other Western brigade served in the Army of the Potomac, other Western regiments served in the Army of the Potomac and brigades comprised of eastern regiments served in the western armies. Other units had descendants of Founding Fathers in their ranks or ancestors of future leaders of the United States and other native Southerners stayed loyal to the Union. What makes the Iron Brigade and by extension the 19th Indiana interesting is that it has not just one unique feature, but seven and potentially more that can be

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<sup>437</sup> Alan T. Nolan to Malcom Reiss, October 10, 1961, Box 2 Folder 1, ATNP, IHS.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid.

attributed to them. That in and of itself is interesting and justifies why people choose to write about the Iron Brigade and its regiments.

While future historians should be more careful in their choice of adjectives to describe the Iron Brigade and its units, this does not mean that all writing about the Iron Brigade or the 19th Indiana should cease. The fame of the 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade—whatever the origin of their fame or its endearing nature—can help ensure that there is a place for military history in the academy, where its survival and relevancy is in jeopardy. According to John A. Lynn, military history is not only important, but it is essential and relevant to understanding man's humanity.<sup>440</sup> The 19th Indiana and the Iron Brigade (or any other famous unit) can serve as useful case studies for future works on Civil War units. People, whether they are Civil War history buffs or academics, read those case studies that would hopefully integrate traditional and new military histories—particularly for works that examine the full sweep of the history of these units or any other military unit.<sup>441</sup>

New military history should continue to be integrated into unit histories. These military units were a collection of men who were a product of their era and origin. It is possible to chart their lives before and after the war so as to gain a greater understanding of their world by studying them. It is this greater understanding which would be of interest to social historians as military units provide readily accessible samples. It is possible, by studying information derived from the census, to find out migration patterns, age, socio-economic standing in a community, and occupations.<sup>442</sup> These findings can then be compared to studies of the military or, alternatively, these can be compared to regional studies. Also, since many soldiers left published and unpublished accounts, of the war, it is possible to gain a more personal account of their lives

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<sup>440</sup> Lynn, "Breaching the Walls of Academe," 29-32; Lynn, "The Embattled Future of Academic Military History," 782-783.

<sup>441</sup> While speaking about the Civil War, such an approach should be applied to the examination of any military unit in any war.

<sup>442</sup> Depending upon the census that is being used, even more information is available for the researcher.

during the war—and possibly before and after the war—to enhance what may be considered a rather dry and boring quantitative study.

While traditional and new military history needs to be integrated, it is dangerous to the discipline if military history becomes a study of war and society making the military “a social institution” and neglecting or even denying “its combative essence.”<sup>443</sup> As Michael Howard correctly stated, military units were and still are, created for “the central activity of the armed forces, that is, *fighting*.”<sup>444</sup> The best way to keep the battlefield as the central focus of military history is to not reduce it to a simple story about how military units engaged in and perceived battles. It is to actually critically examine units on the battlefield. Such a critical analysis would satisfy traditional military historians. They have done such rigorous studies all along. When integrated with new military history, this approach would demonstrate to social and other historians the rigorous academic nature of traditional military history. Kenneth W. Noe called writing traditional military history one of “the hardest, most mentally taxing work of one’s career.”<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> Ibid., 784.

<sup>444</sup> Howard, “Military history and the history of war,” 20.

<sup>445</sup> Kenneth W. Noe, “Jigsaw Puzzles, Mosaics, and Civil War Battle Narratives,” *Civil War History* 53, no. 3 (Sep. 2007): 237.

**Appendix One, Part A  
Information from the 1860 Census**

| <u>Name</u>          | <u>Census Age</u> | <u>Age of the man in 1861</u> | <u>Occupation</u>           | <u>Value of Real estate</u> | <u>Value of Personal estate</u> | <u>Sum of Real Estate and Personal Estate</u> | <u>Nativity</u> | <u>Married in the census year</u> | <u>Married at the census and family size</u> | <u>Illiterate over 20</u> | <u>Reside in the Census</u>    |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Meredith, Solomon    | 48                | 49                            | Court Clerk                 | \$30,000                    | \$15,000                        | \$45,000                                      | NC              | N/A                               | 8  | N/A                       | Centre Township, Wayne County  |
| Cameron, Robert A.   | 32                | 33                            | Physician                   | \$1,800                     | \$1,000                         | \$2,800                                       | NY              | N/A                               | 9  | N/A                       | Valparaiso, Porter County      |
| Bachman, Alois O.    | 20                | 21                            | Cadet KY Military Institute | \$34,150                    | \$2,060                         | \$36,210                                      | IN              | N/A                               | N/A  | N/A                       | Madison, Jefferson County      |
| Woods, Calvin J.     | 40                | 41                            | Physician                   | \$500                       | \$1,000                         | \$1,500                                       | TN              | N/A                               | 5  | N/A                       | Centre Township, Wayne County  |
| Meredith, Samuel H.  | 21                | 22                            | Law Student                 | \$0                         | \$0                             | \$0   | IN              | N/A                               | N/A  | N/A                       | Centre Township, Wayne County  |
| Makepeace, Alonzo J. | 27                | 28                            | Carpenter                   | \$2,000                     | \$1,000                         | \$3,000                                       | IN              | N/A                               | 3  | N/A                       | Anderson, Madison County       |
| Gilmore, Morris      | 19                | 20                            | Farm Laborer                | \$9,400                     | \$1,700                         | \$11,100                                      | IN              | N/A                               | N/A  | N/A                       | Adams Township, Madison County |

|                    |    |    |                               |         |         |         |         |     |     |     |                                  |
|--------------------|----|----|-------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------------|
| Helvey, George P.  | 20 | 21 | Farmer                        | \$6,800 | \$1,500 | \$8,300 | OH      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Salem, Delaware County           |
| Hiatt, John C.     | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) <sup>446</sup> | \$3,300 | \$500   | \$3,800 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County |
| Lamb, Caleb        | 25 | 26 | Carpenter                     | \$0     | \$50    | \$50    | IN      | N/A | 3   | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne County  |
| Mitchell, James L. | 20 | 21 | Farm Laborer                  | \$4,000 | \$300   | \$4,300 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Adams Township, Madison County   |
| Six, Albert        | 15 | 16 | (Farm Laborer)                | \$0     | \$50    | \$50    | OH      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Anderson, Madison County         |
| Smith, Henry       | 26 | 27 | Machinist                     | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | Germany | N/A | N/A | N/A | Anderson, Madison County         |
| Surber, John H.    | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer)                | \$1,500 | \$775   | \$2,275 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Union Township, Madison County   |
| Worth, Peter       | 20 | 21 | Wagon Maker                   | \$0     | \$200   | \$200   | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Union Township, Madison County   |

<sup>446</sup> If farm laborer is in parenthesis it indicates that no occupation was given for the individual, but the head of household was a farmer so they have been counted as farm laborers. This follows what James McPherson did in *For Cause and Comrades*, however unlike McPherson if a soldier had no occupation listed and the head of household was not a farmer they have been listed as “None Listed.” See McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 182.

|                       |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                     |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Young, John C.        | 27 | 28 | Laborer        | \$7,125 | \$705   | \$7,830 | IN | Yes | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Madison County     |
| Adams, Stephen        | 24 | 26 | Teamster       | \$0     | \$100   | \$100   | IN | N/A | 3   | N/A | Fall Creek Township, Madison County |
| Clem, Simeon J.       | 13 | 17 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000 | \$1,000 | \$5,000 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Anderson, Madison County            |
| Dove, Levi            | 15 | 17 | Laborer        | \$0     | \$150   | \$150   | MD | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre, Delaware County             |
| Modlin, Elias         | 15 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0     | \$200   | \$200   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensboro, Henry County            |
| Titherington, John D. | 26 | 28 | Mason          | \$0     | \$300   | \$300   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Anderson, Madison County            |
| Dudley, William W.    | 18 | 19 | Clerk          | \$0     | \$3,000 | \$3,000 | VT | N/A | N/A | N/A | New Haven, CT                       |
| Castle, Davis E.      | 24 | 25 | Rail Road Hand | \$0     | \$200   | \$200   | NY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County              |
| McCowen, Samuel       | 19 | 20 | Clerk          | \$3,000 | \$5,000 | \$8,000 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County              |



|                        |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                 |
|------------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Benton,<br>Thomas H.   | 19 | 20 | Clerk          | \$3,000 | \$5,000 | \$8,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County          |
| Craig, Noah            | 21 | 22 | Farmer         | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne County |
| Luce,<br>Abraham       | 22 | 23 | Farmer         | \$250   | \$500   | \$750   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County        |
| Jewett,<br>Benjamin F. | 19 | 20 | None Listed    | \$400   | \$200   | \$600   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County        |
| Snider, John<br>M.     | 22 | 23 | Saddler        | \$0     | \$150   | \$150   | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County        |
| Thornburg,<br>John H.  | 20 | 21 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,500 | \$600   | \$8,100 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Dalton Township, Wayne County   |
| Gordon,<br>Henry       | 16 | 17 | None Listed    | \$5,000 | \$2,500 | \$7,500 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County        |
| Addleman,<br>Jacob O.  | 20 | 21 | Farmer         | \$4,000 | \$1,100 | \$5,100 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne County |
| Addleman,<br>Joseph O. | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne County |

|                        |    |    |              |         |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                     |
|------------------------|----|----|--------------|---------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Bennett,<br>William H. | 21 | 22 | Laborer      | \$400   | \$1,000 | \$1,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Wayne<br>County     |
| Conley,<br>Robert G.   | 18 | 19 | Gardner      | \$6,000 | \$300   | \$6,300  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County              |
| Hart,<br>Timothy       | 22 | 23 | Farm Hand    | \$6,000 | \$1,000 | \$7,000  | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Wayne<br>County     |
| Hartup,<br>Charles W.  | 20 | 21 | None Listed  | \$500   | \$50    | \$550    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County            |
| Hill, William          | 14 | 15 | None Listed  | \$250   | \$200   | \$450    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County            |
| Kemp,<br>George W.     | 20 | 21 | Farmer       | \$4,000 | \$600   | \$4,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne<br>County  |
| Livingood,<br>James D. | 18 | 19 | Blacksmith   | \$9,000 | \$4,000 | \$13,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County              |
| Lutz, Samuel           | 15 | 16 | None Listed  | \$150   | \$50    | \$200    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County            |
| Markel, John           | 27 | 28 | Farm Laborer | \$695   | \$200   | \$895    | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Wayne<br>County |

|                       |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                     |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Palmer,<br>James M.   | 17 | 18 | Farm Laborer   | \$22,000 | \$4,600 | \$26,600 | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Wayne<br>County |
| Petty, Charles<br>H.  | 17 | 18 | Gardner        | \$6,000  | \$350   | \$6,350  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County              |
| Sponsler,<br>Charles  | 16 | 17 | Farmer         | \$0      | \$400   | \$400    | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Wayne<br>County |
| Sykes, Joseph         | 22 | 23 | Day Laborer    | \$0      | \$100   | \$100    | NC | N/A | N/A | N/A | Clay Township, Wayne<br>County      |
| Sykes,<br>William H.  | 19 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$8,000  | \$2,000 | \$10,000 | NC | N/A | N/A | N/A | Clay Township, Wayne<br>County      |
| Thornburg,<br>William | 19 | 20 | Farmer         | \$7,000  | \$700   | \$7,700  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre Township, Wayne<br>County    |
| Wasson,<br>Thomas J.  | 16 | 17 | None Listed    | \$1,000  | \$600   | \$1,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Wayne<br>County     |
| Williams,<br>Gear N.  | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,700  | \$500   | \$4,200  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Wayne<br>County     |
| Zook, Henry           | 14 | 15 | (Farm Laborer) | \$300    | \$700   | \$1,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hagerstown, Wayne County            |

|                       |    |    |              |         |         |          |    |     |     |     |   |
|-----------------------|----|----|--------------|---------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Bennett,<br>Joseph B. | 19 | 21 | Laborer      | \$2,000 | \$300   | \$2,300  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Wayne<br>County           |
| Dennis,<br>Frank      | 13 | 17 | None Listed  | \$3,000 | \$1,000 | \$4,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richmond, Wayne County                    |
| Farra,<br>Reuben B.   | 37 | 38 | Post Master  | \$400   | \$250   | \$650    | PA | N/A | 6   | N/A | White River Township,<br>Randolph County  |
| Cook, Joseph          | 35 | 36 | Farmer       | \$3,000 | \$600   | \$3,600  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Washington Township,<br>Randolph County   |
| Macy,<br>William W    | 18 | 19 | None Listed  | \$2,600 | \$2,100 | \$4,700  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Farmland Township,<br>Randolph County     |
| Allman,<br>George     | 18 | 19 | Farm Laborer | \$9,600 | \$4,600 | \$14,200 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Prairie Township, Henry<br>County         |
| Knight,<br>Henry      | 26 | 27 | Laborer      | \$0     | \$100   | \$100    | IN | N/A | 5   | Yes | River Forest Township,<br>Randolph County |
| Abernathy,<br>Eli     | 19 | 20 | Day Laborer  | \$3,000 | \$530   | \$3,530  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | River Forest Township,<br>Randolph County |
| Fair, William         | 23 | 24 | Farmer       | \$4,200 | \$200   | \$4,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | New Garden Township,<br>Wayne County      |

|                      |    |    |                |          |         |          |         |     |     |     |                                       |
|----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------------|
| Garringer, David V.  | 21 | 22 | (Farm Laborer) | \$15,400 | \$1,300 | \$16,700 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Randolph County      |
| Hamilton, William A. | 18 | 19 | None Listed    | \$15,000 | \$600   | \$15,600 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County |
| Hester, George W.    | 19 | 20 | Farm Hand      | \$6,000  | \$1,800 | \$7,800  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County |
| Hoover, William      | 22 | 23 | Clerk          | \$400    | \$300   | \$700    | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Henry Township, Henry County          |
| Johnson, Daniel B.   | 19 | 20 | Blacksmith     | \$1,200  | \$200   | \$1,400  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County |
| Kepler, William H.   | 14 | 15 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0      | \$150   | \$150    | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County |
| Kirby, Thomas        | 23 | 24 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0      | \$700   | \$700    | England | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Randolph County       |
| Kirby, Henry         | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0      | \$0     | \$0      | England | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Randolph County       |
| Linton, Robert W.    | 18 | 19 | Day Laborer    | \$800    | \$200   | \$1,000  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensfork Township, Randolph County  |

|                          |    |    |                |          |         |          |         |     |     |     |   |
|--------------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Moffit, John Q.A.        | 18 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$15,000 | \$1,400 | \$16,400 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County   |
| Murry, John              | 22 | 23 | (Farm Laborer) | \$0      | \$800   | \$800    | Ireland | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensfork Township, Randolph County    |
| Parker, Thomas H.        | 23 | 24 | (Farm Laborer) | \$400    | \$100   | \$500    | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensfork Township, Randolph County    |
| Pegg, Nelson             | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,200  | \$630   | \$3,830  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County   |
| Reeves, Andrew J.        | 22 | 23 | Farmer         | \$0      | \$75    | \$75     | IN      | N/A | 3   | N/A | Madison Township, Jay County            |
| Rich, Eli                | 24 | 25 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,300  | \$800   | \$4,100  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensfork Township, Randolph County    |
| Starbuck, Christopher C. | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer   | \$1,000  | \$500   | \$1,500  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White Forrest Township, Randolph County |
| Stickley, James          | 23 | 24 | Day Laborer    | \$1,800  | \$200   | \$2,000  | OH      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Greensfork Township, Randolph County    |
| Yost, Levi               | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,200  | \$0     | \$1,200  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County   |

|                   |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                       |
|-------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------------|
| Cherry, Isaac     | 14 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$400   | \$150   | \$550   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Madison Township, Jay County          |
| Giberson, Alfred  | 20 | 22 | Day Laborer    | \$2,400 | \$550   | \$2,950 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Green Township, Wayne County          |
| Moore, Ellias G.  | 14 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,000 | \$1,200 | \$4,200 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Pike Township, Jay County             |
| Rynard, James     | 19 | 23 | Farm Hand      | \$3,600 | \$910   | \$4,510 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township, Randolph County |
| Rains, Milton     | 15 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$6,000 | \$1,200 | \$7,200 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Lafayette Township, Madison County    |
| Jacobs, Valentine | 35 | 36 | Illegible      | \$0     | \$120   | \$120   | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion County           |
| Tousey, Omer      | 27 | 28 | Clerk          | \$0     | \$300   | \$300   | IN | N/A | 3   | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion County           |
| Jack, Walter P.   | 22 | 23 | Farmer         | \$0     | \$350   | \$350   | PA | N/A | 3   | N/A | Center Township, Rush County          |
| Davis, James W.   | 21 | 22 | Farmer         | \$1,125 | \$305   | \$1,430 | IN | Yes | N/A | N/A | Marion Township, Shelby County        |

|                       |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |  |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Blair, Milton         | 21 | 22 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000  | \$800   | \$4,800  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Guilford Township,<br>Hendricks County |
| Boyd, John<br>T.      | 22 | 23 | Farm Laborer   | \$0      | \$200   | \$200    | IN | N/A | N/A | Yes | Clay Township, Morgan<br>County        |
| Dimmick,<br>William   | 20 | 21 | Farmer         | \$10,000 | \$5,000 | \$15,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Center Township, Rush<br>County        |
| Dunn, John<br>C.      | 16 | 17 | None Listed    | \$4,000  | \$400   | \$4,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin, Johnson County               |
| Eddy, John            | 17 | 18 | None Listed    | \$0      | \$50    | \$50     | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin, Johnson County               |
| Gattenby,<br>John     | 25 | 26 | Day Laborer    | \$0      | \$50    | \$50     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion<br>County         |
| Henby,<br>William     | 27 | 28 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$100   | \$100    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Ripley Township, Rush<br>County        |
| Holloway,<br>David S. | 34 | 35 | Farmer         | \$10,000 | \$1,100 | \$11,100 | IN | N/A | 6   | N/A | Ripley Township, Rush<br>County        |
| Horniday,<br>Clark    | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$26,000 | \$7,000 | \$33,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Guilford Township,<br>Hendricks County |



|                    |    |    |              |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                 |
|--------------------|----|----|--------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Sargent, John      | 20 | 21 | Farmer       | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | IN | N/A | N/A | Yes | Pike Township, Marion County    |
| Small, William P.  | 17 | 18 | None Listed  | \$4,000 | \$1,000 | \$5,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Posey Township, Rush County     |
| Sulgrove, Eli      | 16 | 17 | None Listed  | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Marion County   |
| Tullis, Henry B.   | 21 | 22 | Laborer      | \$300   | \$400   | \$700   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Ripley Township, Rush County    |
| Woods, Squire      | 27 | 28 | Wood Chopper | \$0     | \$10    | \$10    | IN | N/A | 2   | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion County     |
| Addison, Thomas J. | 16 | 18 | Farm Laborer | \$2,000 | \$445   | \$2,445 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Hanover Township, Shelby County |
| Wilson, Luther B.  | 28 | 29 | Clerk        | \$5,000 | \$200   | \$5,200 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County         |
| Green, George W.   | 30 | 31 | Tailor       | \$700   | \$500   | \$1,200 | NY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County         |
| Russey, John M.    | 21 | 22 | Clerk        | \$2,000 | \$200   | \$2,200 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County         |

|                         |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |  |
|-------------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Whitemeyer,<br>Issac W. | 20 | 21 | Shoe Maker     | \$400    | \$50    | \$450    | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Gilbert,<br>Thomas H.   | 24 | 25 | Farmer         | \$20,000 | \$2,000 | \$22,000 | NY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Buckles,<br>Abram       | 14 | 15 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,900  | \$600   | \$8,500  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre Township, Delaware County         |
| Ethell,<br>George F.    | 18 | 19 | Clerk          | \$2,500  | \$3,500 | \$6,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Franklin,<br>James      | 15 | 16 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000  | \$600   | \$4,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre Township, Delaware County         |
| Galbraeth,<br>James H.  | 23 | 24 | Farmer         | \$5,000  | \$1,100 | \$6,100  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Union Township, Delaware County          |
| Hains, James            | 20 | 21 | None Listed    | \$2,000  | \$600   | \$2,600  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Mount Pleasant Township, Delaware County |
| Harter, John<br>F.      | 20 | 21 | Laborer        | \$3,000  | \$75    | \$3,075  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County        |
| Haney,<br>William H.    | 18 | 19 | Laborer        | \$3,700  | \$350   | \$4,050  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Salem, Delaware County                   |

|                    |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |  |
|--------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Hughs, Issac       | 15 | 16 | Blacksmith     | \$5,500 | \$800   | \$6,300 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Hufford, George W. | 18 | 19 | Farmer         | \$3,000 | \$50    | \$3,050 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township, Delaware County       |
| Hernley, David W.  | 22 | 23 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000 | \$700   | \$4,700 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County         |
| Jones, William H.  | 15 | 16 | Farmer         | \$1,200 | \$350   | \$1,550 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Mount Pleasant Township, Delaware County |
| Jones, James K.    | 19 | 20 | (Farm Laborer) | \$8,000 | \$1,500 | \$9,500 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Salem, Delaware County                   |
| Jones, Joshua      | 22 | 23 | Laborer        | \$0     | \$100   | \$100   | IN | N/A | 3   | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County         |
| Kendall, Ira       | 20 | 21 | Farmer         | \$3,000 | \$400   | \$3,400 | NC | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County         |
| Miller, Jacob      | 20 | 21 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,360 | \$700   | \$2,060 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Harrison Township, Delaware County       |
| Needham, Joshua    | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer   | \$1,200 | \$400   | \$1,600 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County         |

|                             |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                    |
|-----------------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------------|
| Nicholson, John             | 27 | 28 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$25    | \$25     | PA | N/A | 2   | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County            |
| Parsons, Benjamin           | 16 | 17 | Laborer        | \$12,000 | \$150   | \$12,150 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware County    |
| Riggs, Lyman R.             | 27 | 28 | Potter         | \$920    | \$350   | \$1,270  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Harrison Township, Delaware County |
| Simmons, William            | 41 | 42 | Laborer        | \$500    | \$100   | \$600    | OH | N/A | 5   | Yes | Muncie, Delaware County            |
| Smith, George W.            | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$6,000  | \$1,000 | \$7,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Union Township, Delaware County    |
| Stevenson, Eldridge G.      | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$2,500  | \$250   | \$2,750  | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County  |
| Thayer, Enos                | 21 | 22 | Farm Hand      | \$3,000  | \$600   | \$3,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Noble Township, Wabash County      |
| Tomlinson, Harbert S.       | 23 | 24 | Lawyer         | \$2,000  | \$200   | \$2,200  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County   |
| Throwbridge, Bartholomew H. | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer   | \$3,600  | \$400   | \$4,000  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Salem Township, Delaware County    |

|                     |    |    |                |          |         |          |        |     |     |     |  |
|---------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|--------|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Warrington, George  | 17 | 18 | Laborer        | \$2,000  | \$200   | \$2,200  | IN     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township, Delaware County         |
| Helvie, William     | 34 | 36 | Farmer         | \$3,200  | \$500   | \$3,700  | OH     | N/A | 7   | N/A | Salem Township, Delaware County          |
| Keen, William       | 22 | 24 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$250   | \$250    | OH     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Smelser, Thompson   | 26 | 30 | (Farm Laborer) | \$9,600  | \$600   | \$10,200 | IN     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Mount Pleasant Township, Delaware County |
| Wise, Nicholas      | 20 | 24 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$0     | \$0      | France | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County                  |
| Yingling, Nathaniel | 15 | 19 | None Listed    | \$1,600  | \$600   | \$2,200  | OH     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Mount Pleasant Township, Delaware County |
| Lindley, John M.    | 28 | 29 | Book Keeper    | \$44,500 | \$8,500 | \$53,000 | PA     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion County              |
| Raden, John C.      | 35 | 36 | Butcher        | \$0      | \$100   | \$100    | IN     | N/A | 5   | N/A | Greenfield Township, Hancock County      |
| Richardson, Harland | 24 | 25 | None Listed    | \$0      | \$485   | \$485    | IN     | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Marion County            |

|                      |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                     |
|----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Nash, James R.       | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer   | \$7,650  | \$1,000 | \$8,650  | MA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Marion County       |
| Hartley, Joseph L.   | 37 | 38 | Farmer         | \$2,200  | \$150   | \$2,350  | OH | N/A | 7   | N/A | Clay Township, Morgan County        |
| Martindale, Henry S. | 22 | 23 | Painter        | \$0      | \$30    | \$30     | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Indianapolis, Marion County         |
| Cly, Abraham N.      | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$200    | \$500   | \$700    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Blue River Township, Hancock County |
| Cly, John            | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer   | \$2,400  | \$600   | \$3,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Blue River Township, Hancock County |
| Coffin, Zachariah    | 19 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$3,000  | \$910   | \$3,910  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Blue River Township, Hancock County |
| Davenport, John      | 24 | 25 | Blacksmith     | \$10,000 | \$1,000 | \$11,000 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Pike Township, Marion County        |
| Hand, Levi           | 19 | 20 | Brick Maker    | \$7,175  | \$400   | \$7,575  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre, South Part, Marion County   |
| Sulgrove, Elkanah U  | 24 | 25 | Farm Laborer   | \$4,000  | \$889   | \$4,889  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Marion County       |

|                    |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                      |
|--------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------------|
| Jackson, William   | 32 | 34 | Painter        | \$500   | \$100   | \$600   | KY | N/A | 6   | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County              |
| Lamb, Peter        | 20 | 24 | Farm Laborer   | \$0     | \$50    | \$50    | NC | N/A | N/A | N/A | Blue River Township, Hancock County  |
| Clark, John R.     | 28 | 29 | Farmer         | \$900   | \$200   | \$1,100 | OH | N/A | 5   | N/A | Seward Township, Kosciusko County    |
| Baxter, Charles K. | 21 | 22 | Painter        | \$300   | \$0     | \$300   | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Waterloo, De Kalb County             |
| Bates, Oscar C.    | 19 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$2,000 | \$500   | \$2,500 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Union Township, De Kalb County       |
| Altman, Samuel     | 33 | 34 | Farmer         | \$0     | \$250   | \$250   | OH | N/A | 3   | Yes | Salem Township, Steuben County       |
| Fry, William H.    | 19 | 20 | Day Laborer    | \$0     | \$300   | \$300   | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Kosciusko County |
| George, Milo       | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer   | \$800   | \$200   | \$1,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Steuben Township, Steuben County     |
| Juday, Adam        | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,000 | \$2,200 | \$9,200 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Benton Township, Elkhart County      |

|                   |    |    |             |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                   |
|-------------------|----|----|-------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Rigby, James      | 22 | 23 | Laborer     | \$11,000 | \$9,000 | \$20,000 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Waterloo, De Kalb County          |
| Shafer, John W.   | 29 | 30 | Wagon Maker | \$1,100  | \$90    | \$1,190  | OH | N/A | 5   | N/A | Wayne Township, Kosciusko County  |
| Shirts, Michael   | 16 | 20 | None Listed | \$500    | \$0     | \$500    | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Concord Township, De Kalb County  |
| Kelly, Richard M. | 36 | 37 | Lawyer      | \$150    | \$150   | \$300    | IN | N/A | 6   | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County         |
| Hudnut, Theodore  | 39 | 40 | Milling     | \$5,000  | \$3,000 | \$8,000  | KY | N/A | 7   | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County         |
| Fulton, Lorenzo   | 39 | 40 | Mill Wright | \$1,200  | \$1,600 | \$2,800  | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County         |
| Jelf, William     | 39 | 40 | Blacksmith  | \$0      | \$200   | \$200    | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Elizabethtown, Bartholomew County |
| Hart, Patrick H.  | 30 | 31 | Laborer     | \$0      | \$75    | \$75     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County         |
| Sims, Joshua      | 26 | 27 | Day Laborer | \$0      | \$60    | \$60     | IN | N/A | 3   | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County         |



|                     |    |    |              |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |   |
|---------------------|----|----|--------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Smalley,<br>John W. | 30 | 31 | Day Laborer  | \$0     | \$50    | \$50    | KY | N/A | 3   | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson County                 |
| Bills, James        | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer | \$3,600 | \$1,100 | \$4,700 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Nineveh Township,<br>Johnson County       |
| Bogie,<br>Thomas B. | 29 | 30 | Sergeant     | \$3,000 | \$600   | \$3,600 | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Edinburg, Johnson County                  |
| Cobb, Sidney        | 31 | 32 | Farm Laborer | \$0     | \$500   | \$500   | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Nineveh Township,<br>Johnson County       |
| Gray,<br>Jeduthan   | 23 | 24 | Day Laborer  | \$0     | \$100   | \$100   | IN | N/A | 5   | N/A | Edinburgh, Johnson<br>County, Indiana     |
| Laymon,<br>William  | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer | \$1,000 | \$350   | \$1,350 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | White River Township,<br>Johnson County   |
| O'Neal, John        | 17 | 18 | Day Laborer  | \$125   | \$325   | \$450   | KY | Yes | 2   | N/A | Franklin, Johnson County                  |
| Rich, Henry<br>C.   | 23 | 24 | Farm Laborer | \$400   | \$160   | \$560   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Sandcreek Township,<br>Bartholomew County |
| Smith,<br>Samuel    | 23 | 24 | Farm Laborer | \$6,000 | \$1,000 | \$7,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Blue River Township,<br>Johnson County    |

|                       |    |    |                |         |         |         |         |     |     |     |                                    |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------------|
| Sparks, Amos H.       | 19 | 20 | None Listed    | \$500   | \$800   | \$1,300 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Elizabethtown, Bartholomew County  |
| Stockhoff, George     | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer   | \$0     | \$0     | \$0     | Germany | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Bartholomew County |
| Johnson, John H.      | 38 | 39 | Trader         | \$0     | \$200   | \$200   | IN      | N/A | 7   | N/A | East Division, Owen County         |
| Baird, John F.        | 28 | 29 | Farmer         | \$1,000 | \$3,000 | \$4,000 | IN      | N/A | 11  | N/A | East Division, Owen County         |
| Lloyd, Oliver B.      | 18 | 19 | Farmer Laborer | \$1,800 | \$300   | \$2,100 | OH      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Marion Township, Owen County       |
| Adkins, William Henry | 23 | 24 | Farmer         | \$2,000 | \$500   | \$2,500 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Ray Township, Morgan County        |
| Wilson, Henry H.      | 19 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$3,000 | \$400   | \$3,400 | OH      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County    |
| Adams, George W.      | 20 | 21 | Farm Laborer   | \$0     | \$550   | \$550   | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County    |
| Baker, Peter          | 21 | 22 | None Listed    | \$300   | \$200   | \$500   | PA      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Eel River Township, Greene County  |

|                   |    |    |              |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                 |
|-------------------|----|----|--------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Bush, David       | 20 | 21 | Farm Laborer | \$0      | \$0     | \$0      | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Bush, George E.   | 21 | 22 | Farm Laborer | \$6,000  | \$100   | \$6,100  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Edwards, James H. | 21 | 22 | Laborer      | \$2,200  | \$200   | \$2,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | East Division, Owen County      |
| Faulkner, John H. | 19 | 20 | Farm Laborer | \$2,300  | \$700   | \$3,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Lafayette Township, Owen County |
| Hubbell, Oliver   | 26 | 27 | Farmer       | \$0      | \$300   | \$300    | IN | N/A | 3   | Yes | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Huffman, Albert   | 18 | 19 | Farm Laborer | \$2,000  | \$300   | \$2,300  | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Keller, George    | 22 | 23 | Day Laborer  | \$10,000 | \$1,500 | \$11,500 | NC | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County  |
| McKee, James W.   | 23 | 24 | Farmer       | \$850    | \$400   | \$1,250  | KY | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County  |
| Morris, Michael   | 34 | 35 | Laborer      | \$100    | \$50    | \$150    | IN | N/A | 4   | N/A | Clay Township, Owen County      |

|                      |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |                                 |
|----------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Morris, William      | 17 | 18 | Farm Laborer   | \$0     | \$150   | \$150   | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County  |
| Phipps, David        | 18 | 19 | Farmer         | \$4,800 | \$1,300 | \$6,100 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County  |
| Reeve, Elias         | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer   | \$4,000 | \$1,000 | \$5,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County  |
| Ross, Stephen C.     | 20 | 21 | Illegible      | \$400   | \$550   | \$950   | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Slough, Abraham      | 18 | 19 | Day Laborer    | \$1,000 | \$400   | \$1,400 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Spease, John C.      | 15 | 16 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,000 | \$100   | \$3,100 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Trent, George M.     | 16 | 17 | Farm Laborer   | \$0     | \$200   | \$200   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| White, John          | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000 | \$600   | \$4,600 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |
| Williams, William F. | 21 | 22 | Farmer         | \$3,700 | \$3,425 | \$7,125 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County |

|                   |    |    |                      |         |         |          |         |     |     |     |                                     |
|-------------------|----|----|----------------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Woods, John M.    | 18 | 19 | Laborer              | \$2,200 | \$400   | \$2,600  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | East Division, Owen County          |
| Yockey, Frederick | 32 | 33 | Master Cabinet Maker | \$60    | \$200   | \$260    | Germany | N/A | N/A | N/A | Bowling Green Township, Clay County |
| Evans, Issac      | 17 | 21 | (Farm Laborer)       | \$800   | \$300   | \$1,100  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Clay Township, Owen County          |
| Field, Daniel     | 12 | 16 | Laborer              | \$8,000 | \$2,000 | \$10,000 | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Eel River Township, Greene County   |
| Hockman, Nelson   | 18 | 22 | Farm Laborer         | \$1,200 | \$300   | \$1,500  | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County      |
| Hockman, Robert   | 16 | 20 | Farm Laborer         | \$0     | \$0     | \$0      | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County      |
| Johnson, Bluford  | 15 | 19 | Laborer              | \$625   | \$225   | \$850    | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | Clay Township, Owen County          |
| Keith, James M.   | 18 | 20 | None Listed          | \$0     | \$0     | \$0      | IN      | N/A | N/A | N/A | East Division, Owen County          |
| Keith, Wallace    | 36 | 40 | None Listed          | \$0     | \$100   | \$100    | KY      | N/A | 7   | N/A | East Division, Owen County          |

|                      |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                    |
|----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------------|
| May, John W.         | 18 | 22 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$100   | \$100    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Clay Township, Owen County         |
| Rednour, Noah H.     | 13 | 17 | None Listed    | \$175    | \$100   | \$275    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County     |
| Reagan, Daniel S.    | 14 | 18 | None Listed    | \$2,200  | \$650   | \$2,850  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Jefferson Township, Owen County    |
| Scott, Samuel        | 16 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$250    | \$250   | \$500    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Owen County     |
| Stone, Ralph         | 31 | 33 | Farmer         | \$0      | \$300   | \$300    | OH | N/A | 4   | N/A | East Division, Owen County         |
| Wiley, William J.    | 14 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,000  | \$300   | \$1,300  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Lafayette Township, Owen County    |
| Williams, Samuel L.  | 29 | 30 | Farmer         | \$2,500  | \$3,200 | \$5,700  | VA | N/A | 7   | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County  |
| Orr, William         | 21 | 22 | Lawyer         | \$12,522 | \$730   | \$13,252 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township, Delaware County |
| Campbell, William H. | 22 | 23 | School Teacher | \$6,000  | \$200   | \$6,200  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County  |

|                     |    |    |                       |         |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                     |
|---------------------|----|----|-----------------------|---------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Addleman, Andrew J. | 21 | 22 | Farmer                | \$0     | \$0     | \$0      | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Franklin Township, Wayne County     |
| East, Crockett T.   | 21 | 22 | Teacher               | \$6,000 | 1,300   | 7300     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County   |
| Sparr, Milton L.    | 20 | 21 | None Listed           | \$800   | \$1,337 | \$2,137  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County   |
| Winset, Thomas      | 23 | 24 | Laborer               | \$3,600 | \$50    | \$3,650  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County   |
| Helvie, Joseph M.   | 23 | 24 | Farmer                | \$0     | \$150   | \$150    | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre Township, Delaware County    |
| Bales, Elijah       | 18 | 19 | Blacksmith Apprentice | \$0     | \$350   | \$350    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Stoney Creek Township, Henry County |
| Murray, William H.  | 20 | 21 | (Farm Laborer)        | \$5,600 | \$800   | \$6,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Stoney Creek Township, Henry County |
| Hubbard, John N.    | 19 | 20 | (Farm Laborer)        | \$5,000 | \$9,000 | \$14,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Green Township, Randolph County     |
| Fiers, James        | 21 | 22 | Cooper                | \$0     | \$50    | \$50     | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township, Delaware County  |

|                    |    |    |             |       |       |       |    |     |     |     |                                   |
|--------------------|----|----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Harter, George D.  | 42 | 43 | Laborer     | \$200 | \$50  | \$250 | OH | N/A | 5   | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Boots, William M.  | 28 | 29 | Laborer     | \$0   | \$100 | \$100 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Brewington, Elijah | 31 | 32 | Farmer      | \$800 | \$150 | \$950 | MD | N/A | N/A | N/A | Wayne Township, Jay County        |
| Bush, Benjamin F.  | 20 | 21 | None Listed | \$0   | \$100 | \$100 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Bush, Jacob V.     | 18 | 19 | None Listed | \$0   | \$0   | \$0   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Cain, Henry J.     | 17 | 18 | None Listed | \$0   | \$40  | \$40  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County           |
| Conrad, Daniel     | 22 | 23 | Laborer     | \$50  | \$100 | \$150 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Conrad, Miles      | 20 | 21 | Laborer     | \$0   | \$0   | \$0   | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Current, Isaac D.  | 23 | 24 | Carpenter   | \$0   | \$250 | \$250 | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |



|                       |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                       |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------------|
| Endsley,<br>Joseph T. | 24 | 25 | Farm Laborer   | \$33,000 | \$7,000 | \$40,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Centre Township, Wayne<br>County      |
| Gant, Job             | 23 | 24 | Laborer        | \$17,700 | \$1,650 | \$19,350 | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware<br>County    |
| Gates,<br>George C.   | 19 | 20 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,200  | \$700   | \$3,900  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Muncie, Delaware County               |
| Goings,<br>James A.   | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000  | \$160   | \$4,160  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Goff, Milton<br>N.    | 19 | 20 | Laborer        | \$3,000  | \$100   | \$3,100  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Gough,<br>Thomas W.   | 16 | 17 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000  | \$150   | \$4,150  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Jones, Jacob<br>Y.    | 21 | 22 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,400  | \$300   | \$4,700  | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County |
| Knapp,<br>Andrew      | 22 | 23 | None Listed    | \$0      | \$100   | \$100    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Knight, John<br>B.    | 22 | 23 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$168   | \$168    | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware<br>County    |

|                       |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |   |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Knight,<br>Wilson     | 20 | 21 | Laborer        | \$0      | \$50    | \$50     | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County      |
| Lemon,<br>David W.    | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,000  | \$100   | \$3,100  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County     |
| Level,<br>William H.  | 20 | 21 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,000  | \$750   | \$4,750  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township,<br>Randolph County       |
| Moore,<br>William R.  | 15 | 16 | Blacksmith     | \$4,800  | \$1,000 | \$5,800  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County      |
| Orr, David P.         | 23 | 24 | (Farm Laborer) | \$10,500 | \$500   | \$11,000 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County      |
| Payton,<br>James G.   | 20 | 21 | Laborer        | \$1,000  | \$200   | \$1,200  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County     |
| Payton,<br>William W. | 19 | 20 | Artist         | \$300    | \$0     | \$300    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County     |
| Phillips,<br>William  | 19 | 20 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,000  | \$1,000 | \$8,000  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County      |
| Poland, John          | 18 | 19 | Day Laborer    | \$0      | \$50    | \$50     | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Stoney Creek Township,<br>Randolph County |

|                       |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                       |
|-----------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------------|
| Sholty,<br>William M. | 17 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,000  | \$600   | \$3,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Shroyer,<br>Absalom   | 20 | 21 | Carpenter      | \$5,000  | \$580   | \$5,580  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County |
| Skiff, John<br>W.     | 14 | 15 | None Listed    | \$35     | \$500   | \$535    | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Stonebraker,<br>Silas | 18 | 19 | Laborer        | \$1,000  | \$50    | \$1,050  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Stowder,<br>Moses     | 23 | 24 | (Farm Laborer) | \$17,000 | \$1,650 | \$18,650 | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Weidner,<br>John      | 18 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$8,400  | \$375   | \$8,775  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware<br>County    |
| Whitney,<br>Mordecai  | 29 | 30 | Farmer         | \$2,000  | \$100   | \$2,100  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Wilcoxon,<br>James    | 22 | 23 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,000  | \$600   | \$1,600  | OH | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Barnell, John<br>W.   | 14 | 18 | None Listed    | \$6,000  | \$300   | \$6,300  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware<br>County    |

|                     |    |    |                |          |         |          |    |     |     |     |                                   |
|---------------------|----|----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Barns, John C.      | 13 | 17 | (Farm Laborer) | \$2,000  | \$50    | \$2,050  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Bock, Milton L.     | 18 | 22 | Farm Laborer   | \$0      | \$200   | \$200    | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Prairie Township, Henry County    |
| Buchanan, James     | 39 | 43 | Cooper         | \$75     | \$65    | \$140    | OH | N/A | 6   | N/A | Lawrence Township, Marion County  |
| Chalfant, Levi      | 12 | 16 | None Listed    | \$2,000  | \$400   | \$2,400  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware County   |
| Cary, Nathaniel     | 13 | 17 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,200  | \$100   | \$3,300  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware County   |
| Dotson, John W.     | 14 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$2,500  | \$100   | \$2,600  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Dickover, Samuel A. | 18 | 20 | Laborer        | \$1,600  | \$100   | \$1,700  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County |
| Gibson, Samuel C.   | 17 | 21 | Laborer        | \$3,500  | \$150   | \$3,650  | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware County   |
| Gant, Job           | 23 | 27 | Laborer        | \$17,700 | \$1,650 | \$19,350 | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware County   |

|                      |    |    |                |         |       |         |    |     |     |     |  |
|----------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|-------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Gough, Peter         | 40 | 43 | Farmer         | \$0     | \$25  | \$25    | VA | N/A | 4   | N/A | Franklin Township,<br>Randolph County  |
| Hamar,<br>David L.   | 14 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$2,000 | \$75  | \$2,075 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County   |
| Hackman,<br>Ezra     | 17 | 18 | Laborer        | \$3,000 | \$400 | \$3,400 | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Monroe Township,<br>Delaware County    |
| Hackman,<br>Samuel   | 20 | 21 | Laborer        | \$3,000 | \$400 | \$3,400 | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Perry Township, Delaware<br>County     |
| Holbert, John        | 37 | 41 | Tailor         | \$0     | \$50  | \$50    | MD | N/A | 7   | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County   |
| Jones, James<br>B.   | 18 | 22 | (Farm Laborer) | \$4,400 | \$300 | \$4,700 | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township,<br>Delaware County  |
| Miller, James        | 14 | 18 | None Listed    | \$1,700 | \$100 | \$1,800 | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township,<br>Delaware County   |
| Moore, James<br>W.   | 35 | 39 | Farmer         | \$2,000 | \$150 | \$2,150 | OH | N/A | 7   | Yes | Muncie, Delaware County                |
| Murray,<br>Albert P. | 14 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$5,600 | \$800 | \$6,400 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Stoney Creek Township,<br>Henry County |

|                     |    |    |                |         |         |         |    |     |     |     |  |
|---------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Norris, David S.    | 18 | 22 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,000 | \$250   | \$1,250 | VA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Richland Township, Jay County            |
| Phillips, William   | 19 | 21 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,000 | \$1,000 | \$8,000 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County        |
| Stonebraker, Adam   | 15 | 18 | (Farm Laborer) | \$1,000 | \$50    | \$1,050 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County        |
| Smelser, Adam       | 31 | 33 | Farmer         | \$0     | \$150   | \$150   | IN | N/A | 4   | N/A | Mount Pleasant Township, Delaware County |
| Strain, Hugh M.     | 18 | 20 | Farm Laborer   | \$400   | \$300   | \$700   | PA | N/A | N/A | N/A | Bearcreek Township, Jay County           |
| Thornburg, Elihu M. | 15 | 19 | (Farm Laborer) | \$3,600 | \$100   | \$3,700 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Liberty Township, Delaware County        |
| Taylor, George W.   | 12 | 16 | (Farm Laborer) | \$7,000 | \$250   | \$7,250 | IN | N/A | N/A | N/A | Delaware Township, Delaware County       |

**Appendix One, Part B**  
**Information from Terrell's Report and Notes**

| <u>Name</u>          | <u>Muster</u> | <u>Rank on Muster</u>  | <u>Age on the Digitized Muster Cards</u> | <u>Promoted into Officer Corps</u> | <u>Residence in Terrell's Report</u> | <u>Notes</u>   |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Meredith, Solomon    | July 29, 1861 | Colonel                | 50                                       | N/A                                | Cambridge, Wayne County              | Same household as Samuel Meredith.   |
| Cameron, Robert A.   | July 29, 1861 | Lieutenant Colonel     | 39                                       | N/A                                | Valparaiso, Porter County            | N/A  |
| Bachman, Alois O.    | July 29, 1861 | Major                  | 24                                       | N/A                                | Madison, Jefferson County            | N/A  |
| Calvin J. Woods      | July 29, 1861 | Surgeon                | 40                                       | N/A                                | Centreville, Wayne County            | N/A  |
| Meredith, Samuel H.  | July 29, 1861 | Quartermaster Sergeant | 22                                       | Second Lieutenant                  | None Listed                          | Son of Solomon Meredith so he has been included even though Terrell did not specify a county of residence. Same household as Solomon Meredith. |
| Makepeace, Alonzo J. | July 29, 1861 | Second Lieutenant      | 27                                       | First Lieutenant and Captain       | Muncie                               | N/A  |
| Gilmore, Morris      | July 29, 1861 | Private                | 20                                       | N/A                                | Delaware County                      | N/A  |

|                    |               |         |     |     |                 |   |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|-----|-----|-----------------|---|
| Helvey, George P.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21  | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Peter Helevie."                                     |
| Hiatt, John C.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19  | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Lamb, Caleb        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 26  | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Mitchell, James L. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22  | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Six, Albert        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18  | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Albert Sixx."                                       |
| Smith, Henry       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 26  | N/A | Delaware County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for him individually. |
| Surber, John H.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18  | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Worth, Peter       | July 29, 1861 | Private | N/A | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Young, John C.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 27  | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |



|                          |                   |                     |    |                                    |                   |                                |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Adams, Stephen           | Feb. 15,<br>1862  | Private             | 24 | N/A                                | Madison<br>County | N/A                            |
| Clem, Simeon J.          | Feb. 4,<br>1864   | Private             | 19 | N/A                                | Madison<br>County | N/A                            |
| Dove, Levi               | March<br>16, 1862 | Private             | 18 | N/A                                | Madison<br>County | N/A                            |
| Modlin, Elias            | Feb. 12,<br>1864  | Private             | 18 | N/A                                | Madison<br>County | N/A                            |
| Titherington,<br>John D. | Feb. 18,<br>1862  | Private             | 30 | N/A                                | Madison<br>County | Appears as "John Tethemigtry." |
| Dudley, William<br>W.    | July 29,<br>1861  | Captain             | 21 | Major and<br>Lieutenant<br>Colonel | Richmond          | N/A                            |
| Castle, Davis E.         | July 29,<br>1861  | First<br>Lieutenant | 25 | Captain                            | Richmond          | N/A                            |
| McCowen,<br>Samuel       | July 29,<br>1861  | Sergeant            | 20 | N/A                                | Wayne<br>County   | N/A                            |
| Benton, Thomas<br>H.     | July 29,<br>1861  | Sergeant            | 20 | N/A                                | Wayne<br>County   | N/A                            |

|                     |               |          |    |     |              |   |
|---------------------|---------------|----------|----|-----|--------------|---|
| Craig, Noah         | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 22 | N/A | Wayne County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for him individually. |
| Luce, Abraham       | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 22 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A   |
| Jewett, Benjamin F. | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 20 | N/A | Wayne County | Appears as "Benjamin Jewit."                                    |
| Snider, John M.     | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 23 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A   |
| Thornburg, John H.  | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 21 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A   |
| Gordon, Henry       | July 29, 1861 | Musician | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A   |
| Addleman, Jacob O.  | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 21 | N/A | Wayne County | Same household as Joseph Addleman.                              |
| Addleman, Joseph O. | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 19 | N/A | Wayne County | Same household as Jacob Addleman.                               |
| Bennett, William H. | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 22 | N/A | Wayne County | This is William J. Bennett as he matches the age on the muster. |

|                     |               |         |    |     |              |                           |
|---------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|--------------|---------------------------|
| Conley, Robert G.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Hart, Timothy       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Hartup, Charles W.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Hill, William       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 17 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Kemp, George W.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Livingood, James D. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Lutz, Samuel        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |
| Markel, John        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 27 | N/A | Wayne County | Appears as "John Markle." |
| Palmer, James M.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                       |

|                    |                |         |    |     |              |                                 |
|--------------------|----------------|---------|----|-----|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Petty, Charles H.  | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |
| Sponsler, Charles  | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |
| Sykes, Joseph      | July 29, 1861  | Private | 23 | N/A | Wayne County | Appears as "Joseph Sikes."      |
| Sykes, William H.  | July 29, 1861  | Private | 20 | N/A | Wayne County | Appears as "William Sikes."     |
| Thornburg, William | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |
| Wasson, Thomas J.  | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |
| Williams, Grear N. | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | Appears as "Grier N. Williams." |
| Zook, Henry        | July 29, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |
| Bennett, Joseph B. | March 12, 1862 | Private | 20 | N/A | Wayne County | N/A                             |

|                     |               |                  |    |   |                 |                                |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------|----|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Dennis, Frank       | March 5, 1864 | Private          | 18 | N/A   | Richmond        | N/A                            |
| Farra, Reuben B.    | July 29, 1861 | First Lieutenant | 43 | N/A   | Winchester      | N/A                            |
| Cook, Joseph        | July 29, 1861 | First Sergeant   | 37 | Second, Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain | Winchester      | N/A                            |
| Macy, William W     | July 29, 1861 | Sergeant         | 19 | First Lieutenant                                  | Winchester      | N/A                            |
| Allman, George      | July 29, 1861 | Corporal         | 20 | N/A   | Randolph County | Appears as "George Alman."     |
| Knight, Henry       | July 29, 1861 | Musician         | 26 | N/A   | Randolph County | N/A                            |
| Abernathy, Eli      | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 20 | N/A   | Randolph County | N/A                            |
| Fair, William       | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 23 | N/A   | Randolph County | Appears as "William B. Farr."  |
| Garringer, David V. | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 20 | N/A   | Randolph County | Appears as "David V. Granger." |

|                      |               |         |    |     |                 |                                 |
|----------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Hamilton, William A. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Hester, George W.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Hoover, William      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Johnson, Daniel B.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Kepler, William H.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 17 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Kirby, Thomas        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Randolph County | Same household as Henry Kirby.  |
| Kirby, Henry         | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Randolph County | Same household as Thomas Kirby. |
| Linton, Robert W.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |
| Moffit, John Q.A.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A                             |

|                          |               |         |    |     |                 |     |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|-----|
| Murry, John              | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Parker, Thomas H.        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Pegg, Nelson             | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Reeves, Andrew J.        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Rich, Eli                | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Starbuck, Christopher C. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Stickley, James          | July 29, 1861 | Private | 25 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Yost, Levi               | July 29, 1861 | Private | 17 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |
| Cherry, Isaac            | March 3, 1864 | Private | 18 | N/A | Randolph County | N/A |

|                      |                  |                   |     |                   |                    |                              |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Giberson, Alfred     | Jan. 13,<br>1862 | Private           | 21  | N/A               | Wayne<br>County    | N/A                          |
| Moore, Ellias G.     | March<br>1, 1864 | Private           | 18  | N/A               | Randolph<br>County | N/A                          |
| Rynard, James        | Feb. 10,<br>1864 | Private           | 23  | N/A               | Randolph<br>County | Appears as "James Reynard."  |
| Rains, Milton        | Jan. 25,<br>1864 | Private           | 19  | N/A               | Randolph<br>County | N/A                          |
| Jacobs,<br>Valentine | July 29,<br>1861 | Captain           | N/A | N/A               | Indianapolis       | N/A                          |
| Tousey, Omer         | July 29,<br>1861 | First<br>Sergeant | N/A | N/A               | Marion<br>County   | N/A                          |
| Jack, Walter P.      | July 29,<br>1861 | Corporal          | 23  | Second Lieutenant | Marion<br>County   | Appears as "Walter C. Jack." |
| Davis, James W.      | July 29,<br>1861 | Musician          | 21  | N/A               | Marion<br>County   | N/A                          |
| Blair, Milton        | July 29,<br>1861 | Private           | 22  | N/A               | Marion<br>County   | N/A                          |



|                    |               |         |    |  |               |   |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|----|--|---------------|---|
| Boyd, John T.      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Dimmick, William   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Dunn, John C.      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Eddy, John         | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Gattenby, John     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 27 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Henby, William     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 25 | N/A  | Marion County | Wealth is his own as he own wealth was specified.               |
| Holloway, David S. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 35 | Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain | Marion County | Appears as "David A. Holloway."                                 |
| Horniday, Clark    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A  | Marion County | N/A   |
| Sargent, John      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A  | Marion County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for him individually. |

|                      |               |                   |    |  |               |   |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|----|--|---------------|---|
| Small, William P.    | July 29, 1861 | Private           | 18 | N/A                                    | Marion County | N/A   |
| Sulgrove, Eli        | July 29, 1861 | Private           | 18 | N/A                                    | Marion County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for him individually.       |
| Tullis, Henry B.     | July 29, 1861 | Private           | 23 | N/A                                    | Marion County | N/A   |
| Woods, Squire        | July 29, 1861 | Private           | 27 | N/A                                    | Marion County | N/A   |
| Addison, Thomas J.   | Feb. 14, 1862 | Private           | 19 | N/A                                    | Rush County   | N/A   |
| Wilson, Luther B.    | July 29, 1861 | Captain           | 29 | N/A                                    | Muncie        | N/A   |
| Green, George W.     | July 29, 1861 | First Lieutenant  | 31 | Captain                                | Muncie        | Wealth his own as resides at a hotel and his own wealth is specified. |
| Russey, John M.      | July 29, 1861 | Second Lieutenant | 23 | Adjutant                               | Muncie        | N/A   |
| Whitemeyer, Issac W. | July 29, 1861 | First Sergeant    | 20 | Second Lieutenant and First Lieutenant | Muncie        | Appears as "Isaac Watamyre."  |

|                     |               |         |    |     |                 |                               |
|---------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Gilbert, Thomas H.  | July 29, 1861 | Wagoner | 25 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Buckles, Abram      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Ethell, George F.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Franklin, James     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Galbraeth, James H. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "James Galbraith." |
| Hains, James        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "James J. Haines." |
| Harter, John F.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Haney, William H.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                           |
| Hughs, Issac        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Isaac Hughes."    |

|                    |               |         |    |     |                 |     |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|-----|
| Hufford, George W. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Hernley, David W.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Jones, William H.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Jones, James K.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Jones, Joshua      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Kendall, Ira       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Miller, Jacob      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Needham, Joshua    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |
| Nicholson, John    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 29 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A |

|                             |               |         |    |     |                 |   |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|---|
| Parsons, Benjamin           | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Riggs, Lyman R.             | July 29, 1861 | Private | 27 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Simmons, William            | July 29, 1861 | Private | 41 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Smith, George W.            | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Stevenson, Eldridge G.      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Thayer, Enos                | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |
| Tomlinson, Harbert S.       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Habard S. Tomlinson." Wealth is his own as he is given a specified value of wealth. |
| Throwbridge, Bartholomew H. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Barlett H. Trowbridge."   |
| Warrington, George          | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A   |

|                        |                  |          |    |   |                    |  |
|------------------------|------------------|----------|----|---|--------------------|--|
| Helvie, William        | Aug. 29,<br>1862 | Private  | 36 | N/A   | Delaware<br>County | N/A  |
| Keen, William          | Aug. 29,<br>1862 | Private  | 25 | N/A   | Delaware<br>County | N/A  |
| Smelser,<br>Thompson   | Feb. 8,<br>1864  | Private  | 28 | N/A   | Delaware<br>County | N/A  |
| Wise, Nicholas         | Feb. 10,<br>1864 | Private  | 23 | N/A   | Delaware<br>County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for<br>him individually. |
| Yingling,<br>Nathanial | Feb. 2,<br>1864  | Private  | 18 | N/A   | Delaware<br>County | N/A  |
| Lindley, John<br>M.    | July 29,<br>1861 | Capt.    | 31 | Major, Lieutenant<br>Colonel, and<br>Colonel              | Indianapolis       | N/A  |
| Raden, John C.         | July 29,<br>1861 | Sergeant | 35 | Second Lieutenant   | Marion<br>County   | N/A  |
| Richardson,<br>Harland | July 29,<br>1861 | Sergeant | 26 | Second Lieutenant<br>and First<br>Lieutenant              | Southport          | N/A  |
| Nash, James R.         | July 29,<br>1861 | Corporal | 24 | Second<br>Lieutenant, First<br>Lieutenant, and<br>Captain | Indianapolis       | N/A  |

|                      |               |          |    |  |                 |     |
|----------------------|---------------|----------|----|--|-----------------|-----|
| Hartley, Joseph L.   | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 27 | Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain | Marion County   | N/A |
| Martindale, Henry S. | July 29, 1861 | Musician | 24 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Cly, Abraham N.      | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 18 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Cly, John            | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 19 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Coffin, Zachariah    | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 19 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Davenport, John      | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 25 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Hand, Levi           | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 20 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Sulgrove, Elkanah U  | July 29, 1861 | Private  | 26 | N/A  | Marion County   | N/A |
| Jackson, William     | Aug. 28, 1862 | Private  | 34 | N/A  | Delaware County | N/A |

|                    |               |                |    |  |                |  |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|----|--|----------------|--|
| Lamb, Peter        | March 8, 1864 | Private        | 23 | N/A                                    | Hancock County | N/A  |
| Clark, John R.     | July 29, 1861 | Captain        | 30 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| Baxter, Charles K. | July 29, 1861 | First Sergeant | 23 | Second Lieutenant and First Lieutenant | Waterloo City  | Wealth is his own as he is given a specified value for his wealth. |
| Bates, Oscar C.    | July 29, 1861 | Corporal       | 20 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| Altman, Samuel     | July 29, 1861 | Private        | 33 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| Fry, William H.    | July 29, 1861 | Private        | 20 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| George, Milo       | July 29, 1861 | Private        | 18 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| Juday, Adam        | July 29, 1861 | Private        | 19 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | Appears as "Adam Judy."  |
| Rigby, James       | July 29, 1861 | Private        | 24 | N/A                                    | Elkhart County | N/A  |



|                   |                |                   |    |                              |                |  |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----|------------------------------|----------------|--|
| Shafer, John W.   | July 29, 1861  | Private           | 27 | First Lieutenant and Captain | Elkhart County | N/A  |
| Shirts, Michael   | April 20, 1864 | Private           | 20 | N/A                          | De Kalb County | N/A  |
| Kelly, Richard M. | July 29, 1861  | Captain           | 37 | N/A                          | Edinburgh      | N/A  |
| Hudnut, Theodore  | July 29, 1861  | First Lieutenant  | 41 | N/A                          | Indianapolis   | N/A  |
| Fulton, Lorenzo   | July 29, 1861  | Second Lieutenant | 38 | N/A                          | Edinburgh      | N/A  |
| Jelf, William     | July 29, 1861  | First Sergeant    | 41 | First Lieutenant             | Edinburgh      | Wealth is his own as he is given a specified value for his own wealth. |
| Hart, Patrick H.  | July 29, 1861  | Sergeant          | 29 | First Lieutenant and Captain | Edinburgh      | N/A  |
| Sims, Joshua      | July 29, 1861  | Corporal          | 26 | N/A                          | Johnson County | N/A  |
| Smalley, John W.  | July 29, 1861  | Musician          | 32 | N/A                          | Johnson County | N/A  |

|                  |               |         |    |     |                |   |
|------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|----------------|---|
| Bills, James     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |
| Bogie, Thomas B. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 30 | N/A | Johnson County | Appears as "Thomas Bogey"   |
| Cobb, Sidney     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 30 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |
| Gray, Jeduthan   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 26 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |
| Laymon, William  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Johnson County | Appears as "WM Laymon."   |
| O'Neal, John     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Johnson County | Appears as "John Neal." He is not the head of household so not counted for family size. |
| Rich, Henry C.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |
| Smith, Samuel    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |
| Sparks, Amos H.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Johnson County | N/A   |

|                       |               |                  |    |     |                |  |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|----|-----|----------------|--|
| Stockhoff, George     | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 22 | N/A | Johnson County | Appears as "Geo Stockhoff." No wealth for him as an individual or for the head of household. |
| Johnson, John H.      | July 29, 1861 | Captain          | 39 | N/A | Owen County    | Appears as "Jno H. Johnson"  |
| Baird, John F.        | July 29, 1861 | First Lieutenant | 30 | N/A | Owen County    | N/A  |
| Lloyd, Oliver B.      | July 29, 1861 | Corporal         | 21 | N/A | Owen County    | Appears as "Oliver B. Loyd."   |
| Adkins, William Henry | July 29, 1861 | Corporal         | 24 | N/A | Owen County    | N/A  |
| Wilson, Henry H.      | July 29, 1861 | Corporal         | 20 | N/A | Owen County    | N/A  |
| Adams, George W.      | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 21 | N/A | Owen County    | N/A  |
| Baker, Peter          | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 21 | N/A | Owen County    | N/A  |
| Bush, David           | July 29, 1861 | Private          | 21 | N/A | Owen County    | Same household as George Bush.   |

|                   |               |         |    |     |             |   |
|-------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-------------|---|
| Bush, George E.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Owen County | Same household as David Bush.   |
| Edwards, James H. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Owen County | N/A   |
| Faulkner, John H. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "John Fulkner."  |
| Hubbell, Oliver   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 27 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Oliver Hubble."   |
| Huffman, Albert   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Owen County | N/A   |
| Keller, George    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Owen County | N/A   |
| McKee, James W.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Owen County | N/A   |
| Morris, Michael   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 39 | N/A | Owen County | N/A   |
| Morris, William   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | Though there is another man of this name in the county with an age in the band, but this man's age in 1861 according the 1860 Census is the same as his age on the muster card. |

|                      |               |         |    |     |             |                                |
|----------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-------------|--------------------------------|
| Phipps, David        | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| Reeve, Elias         | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Elias Reavs."      |
| Ross, Stephen C.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| Slough, Abraham      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| Spease, John C.      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| Trent, George M.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| White, John          | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | N/A                            |
| Williams, William F. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "William Williams." |
| Woods, John M.       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Jno Wood."         |

|                   |                |         |    |     |             |  |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|----|-----|-------------|--|
| Yockey, Frederick | July 29, 1861  | Private | 33 | N/A | Owen County | Wealth is his own as he is a boarder and has his own wealth given. |
| Evans, Issac      | Jan. 27, 1864  | Private | 21 | N/A | Owen County | N/A  |
| Field, Daniel     | Feb. 24, 1864  | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Daniel Fields."  |
| Hockman, Nelson   | Feb. 6, 1864   | Private | 21 | N/A | Owen County | Same household as Robert Hockman.                                  |
| Hockman, Robert   | Feb. 27, 1864  | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | Same household as Nelson Hockman.                                  |
| Johnson, Bluford  | Feb. 25, 1864  | Private | 18 | N/A | Owen County | N/A  |
| Keith, James M.   | March 12, 1862 | Private | 19 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Jas M Keeth." Same household as William Keith.         |
| Keith, Wallace    | Jan. 27, 1864  | Private | 40 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Wallace L. Keeth." Same household as James Keith.      |
| May, John W.      | Feb. 12, 1864  | Private | 22 | N/A | Owen County | Appears as "Jno W. Mary."  |

|                      |               |                   |    |  |                 |   |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|----|--|-----------------|---|
| Rednour, Noah H.     | Feb. 24, 1864 | Private           | 18 | N/A                                    | Owen County     | Appears as "Noah H. Redner."                                    |
| Reagan, Daniel S.    | Feb. 24, 1864 | Private           | 18 | N/A                                    | Owen County     | N/A   |
| Scott, Samuel        | Feb. 27, 1864 | Private           | 19 | N/A                                    | Owen County     | Appears as "Samuel M. Scott."                                   |
| Stone, Ralph         | April 8, 1862 | Private           | 33 | N/A                                    | Indianapolis    | N/A   |
| Willey, William J.   | Feb. 27, 1864 | Private           | 18 | N/A                                    | Owen County     | N/A   |
| Williams, Samuel L.  | July 29, 1861 | Captain           | 30 | Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel         | Selma           | N/A   |
| Orr, William         | July 29, 1861 | Second Lieutenant | 22 | First Lieutenant, Captain, and Major   | Selma           | N/A   |
| Campbell, William H. | July 29, 1861 | First Sergeant    | 23 | Second Lieutenant and First Lieutenant | Selma           | N/A   |
| Addleman, Andrew J.  | July 29, 1861 | Sergeant          | 22 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | No wealth given for head of house hold or for him individually. |

|                    |               |          |    |  |                 |     |
|--------------------|---------------|----------|----|--|-----------------|-----|
| East, Crockett T.  | July 29, 1861 | Sergeant | 22 | Second Lieutenant and First Lieutenant | Selma           | N/A |
| Sparr, Milton L.   | July 29, 1861 | Sergeant | 20 | Second Lieutenant                      | Selma           | N/A |
| Winset, Thomas     | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 25 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |
| Helvie, Joseph M.  | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 24 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |
| Bales, Elijah      | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 19 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |
| Murray, William H. | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 21 | Second Lieutenant                      | Selma           | N/A |
| Hubbard, John N.   | July 29, 1861 | Corporal | 21 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |
| Fiers, James       | July 29, 1861 | Musician | 22 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |
| Harter, George D.  | July 29, 1861 | Wagoner  | 45 | N/A                                    | Delaware County | N/A |



|                    |               |         |    |     |                 |                                  |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| Boots, William M.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 30 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                              |
| Brewington, Elijah | July 29, 1861 | Private | 30 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                              |
| Bush, Benjamin F.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | Same household as Jacob Bush.    |
| Bush, Jacob V.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | Same household as Benjamin Bush. |
| Cain, Henry J.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                              |
| Conrad, Daniel     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | Same household as Miles Conrad.  |
| Conrad, Miles      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | Same household as Daniel Conrad. |
| Current, Isaac D.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 26 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                              |
| Endsley, Joseph T. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                              |

|                     |                  |         |    |     |                    |                         |
|---------------------|------------------|---------|----|-----|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Gant, Job           | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 28 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | "Appears as Jobe Gant." |
| Gates, George<br>C. | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Goings, James<br>A. | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Goff, Milton N.     | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Gough, Thomas<br>W. | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Jones, Jacob Y.     | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Knapp, Andrew       | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Knight, John B.     | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Knight, Wilson      | July 29,<br>1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |

|                    |               |         |    |     |                 |                           |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Lemon, David W.    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "David Lenon." |
| Level, William H.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Moore, William R.  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Orr, David P.      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 24 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Payton, James G.   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Payton, William W. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Phillips, William  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Poland, John       | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |
| Sholty, William M. | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                       |

|                    |               |         |    |     |                 |                              |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Shroyer, Absalom   | July 29, 1861 | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Skiff, John W.     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Stonebraker, Silas | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Stowder, Moses     | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Weidner, John      | July 29, 1861 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Whitney, Mordecai  | July 29, 1861 | Private | 30 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Wilcoxon, James    | July 29, 1861 | Private | 23 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Barnell, John W.   | Feb. 11, 1864 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                          |
| Barns, John C.     | Feb. 2, 1864  | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "John C. Barnes." |

|                        |                  |         |    |     |                    |                         |
|------------------------|------------------|---------|----|-----|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Bock, Milton L.        | Feb. 15,<br>1864 | Private | 21 | N/A | Henry<br>County    | N/A                     |
| Buchanan,<br>James     | Feb. 20,<br>1864 | Private | 42 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Chalfant, Levi         | Feb. 11,<br>1864 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Cary, Nathaniel        | Feb. 2,<br>1864  | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Dotson, John W.        | Feb. 16,<br>1864 | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Dickover,<br>Samuel A. | Oct. 21,<br>1862 | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Gibson, Samuel<br>C.   | March<br>1, 1864 | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |
| Gant, Job              | Feb. 2,<br>1864  | Private | 28 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | Appears as "Jobe Gant." |
| Gough, Peter           | Dec. 9,<br>1863  | Private | 44 | N/A | Delaware<br>County | N/A                     |

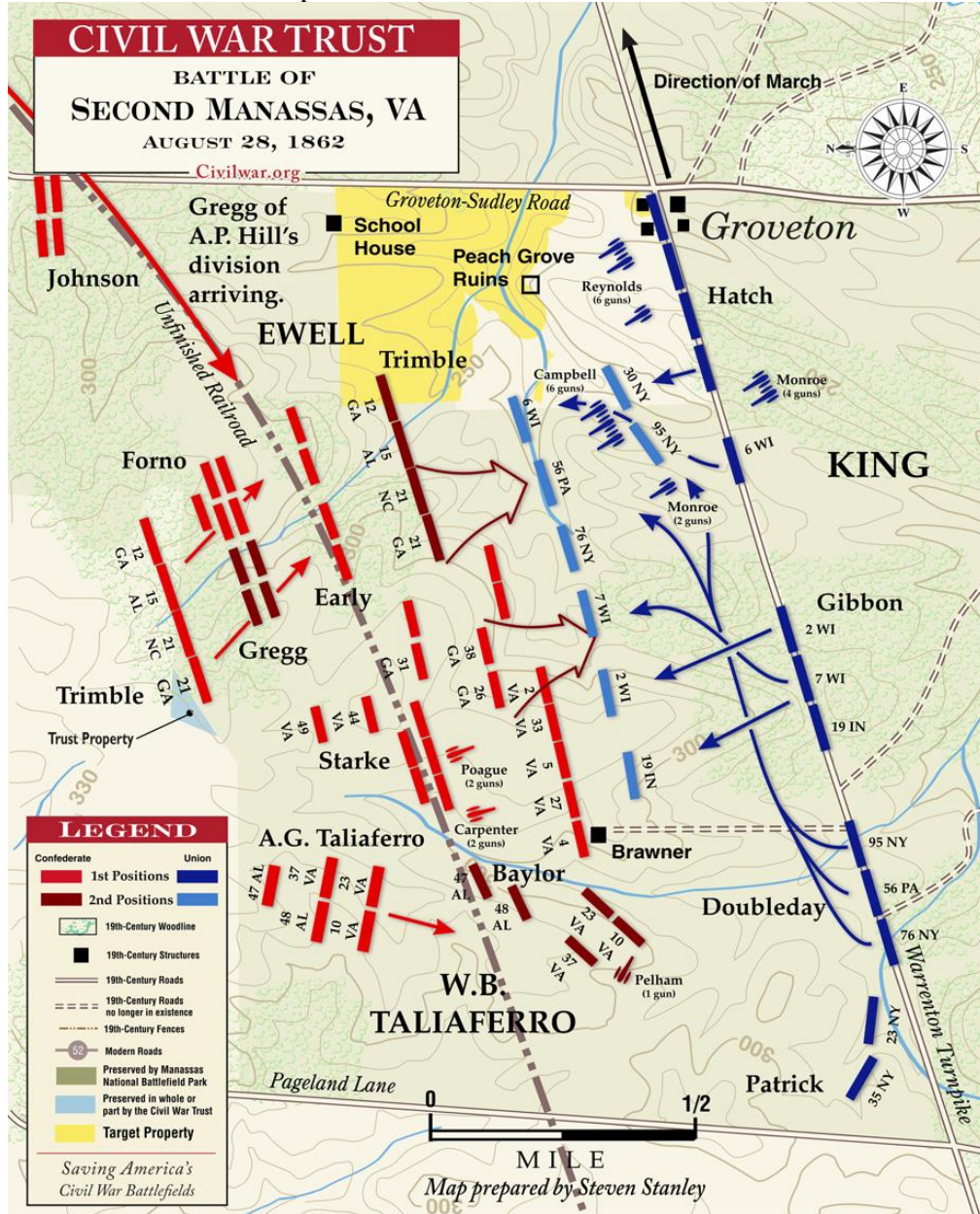
|                   |                |         |    |     |                 |                                   |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Hamar, David L.   | March 1, 1864  | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "David L. Hamor."      |
| Hackman, Ezra     | Dec. 28, 1861  | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Hackman, Samuel   | Dec. 28, 1861  | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Holbert, John     | Feb. 20, 1864  | Private | 41 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Jones, James B.   | Feb. 8, 1864   | Private | 22 | N/A | Delaware County | Middle initial "R" in the census. |
| Miller, James     | March 11, 1864 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Moore, James W.   | May 4, 1864    | Private | 39 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Murray, Albert P. | Feb. 11, 1864  | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |
| Norris, David S.  | March 1, 1864  | Private | 21 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                               |

|                     |               |         |    |     |                 |                                |
|---------------------|---------------|---------|----|-----|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Phillips, William   | Oct. 25, 1862 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                            |
| Stonebraker, Adam   | Dec. 9, 1863  | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                            |
| Smelser, Adam       | Oct. 20, 1862 | Private | 33 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Adam Svendson."    |
| Strain, Hugh M.     | Oct 23, 1862  | Private | 20 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                            |
| Thornburg, Elihu M. | March 4, 1864 | Private | 19 | N/A | Delaware County | Appears as "Elihu Thornburgh." |
| Taylor, George W.   | Feb. 1, 1864  | Private | 18 | N/A | Delaware County | N/A                            |

Sources for Appendix One, Parts A and B: Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule One Manuscript for Indiana; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, 2: 168-175; Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General*, 4: 390-408; and "Indiana Digital Archives," *Indiana Archives and Records Administration*, assessed November 18, 2015, <https://secure.in.gov/apps/iara/search/Home/Search?RecordSeriesId=3>.

**Appendix Two**  
**Maps of the positions of the Nineteenth Indiana in various engagements**

Map One: The Battle of Brawner's Farm



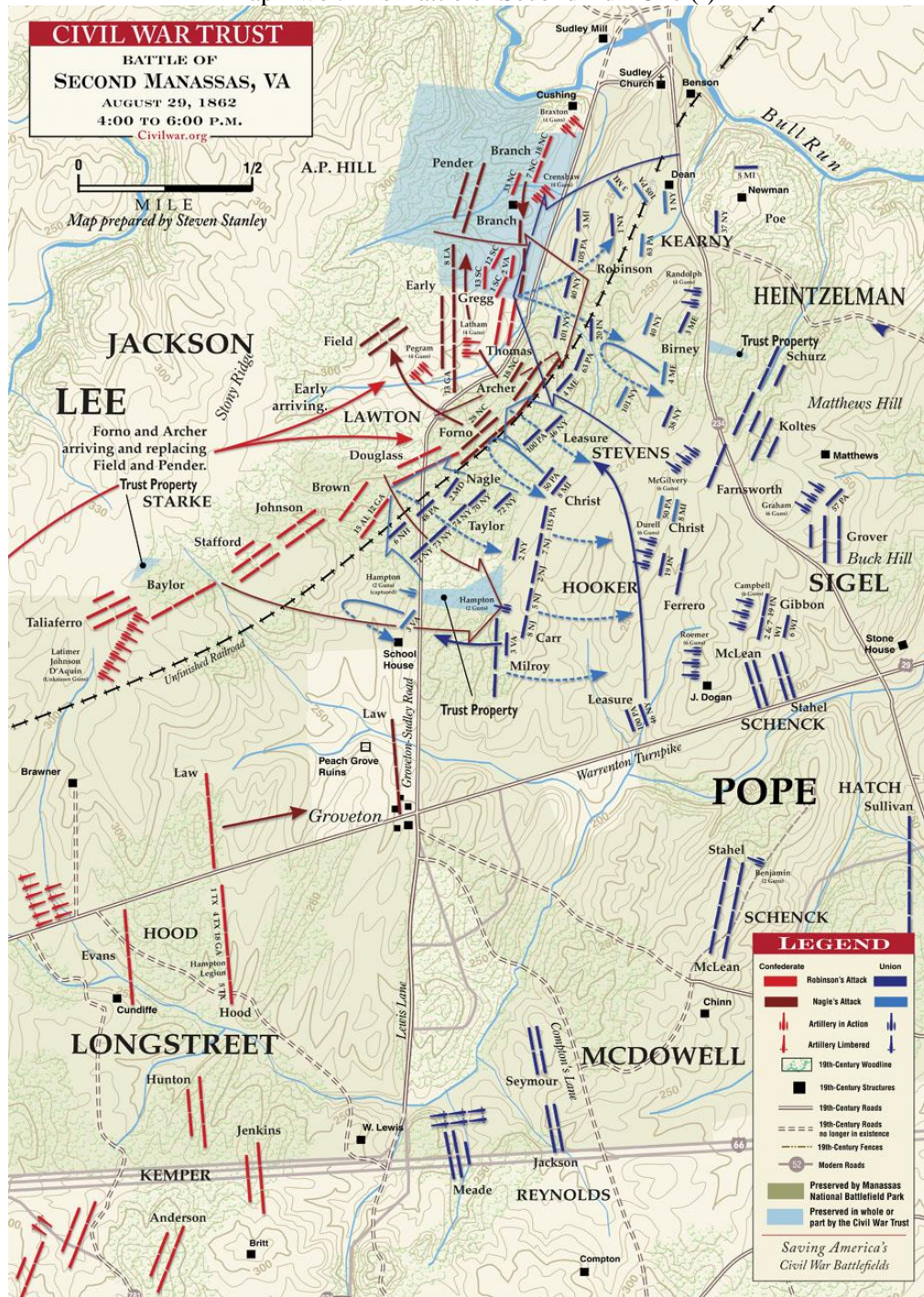
The 19th Indiana was in King's Division in Gibbon's brigade. These units are on the left flank of the Union line.

Source: Steven Stanley, "Brawner's Farm - August 28, 1862," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015,

<http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/secondmanassas/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/second-manassas-brawners-5.jpg>.



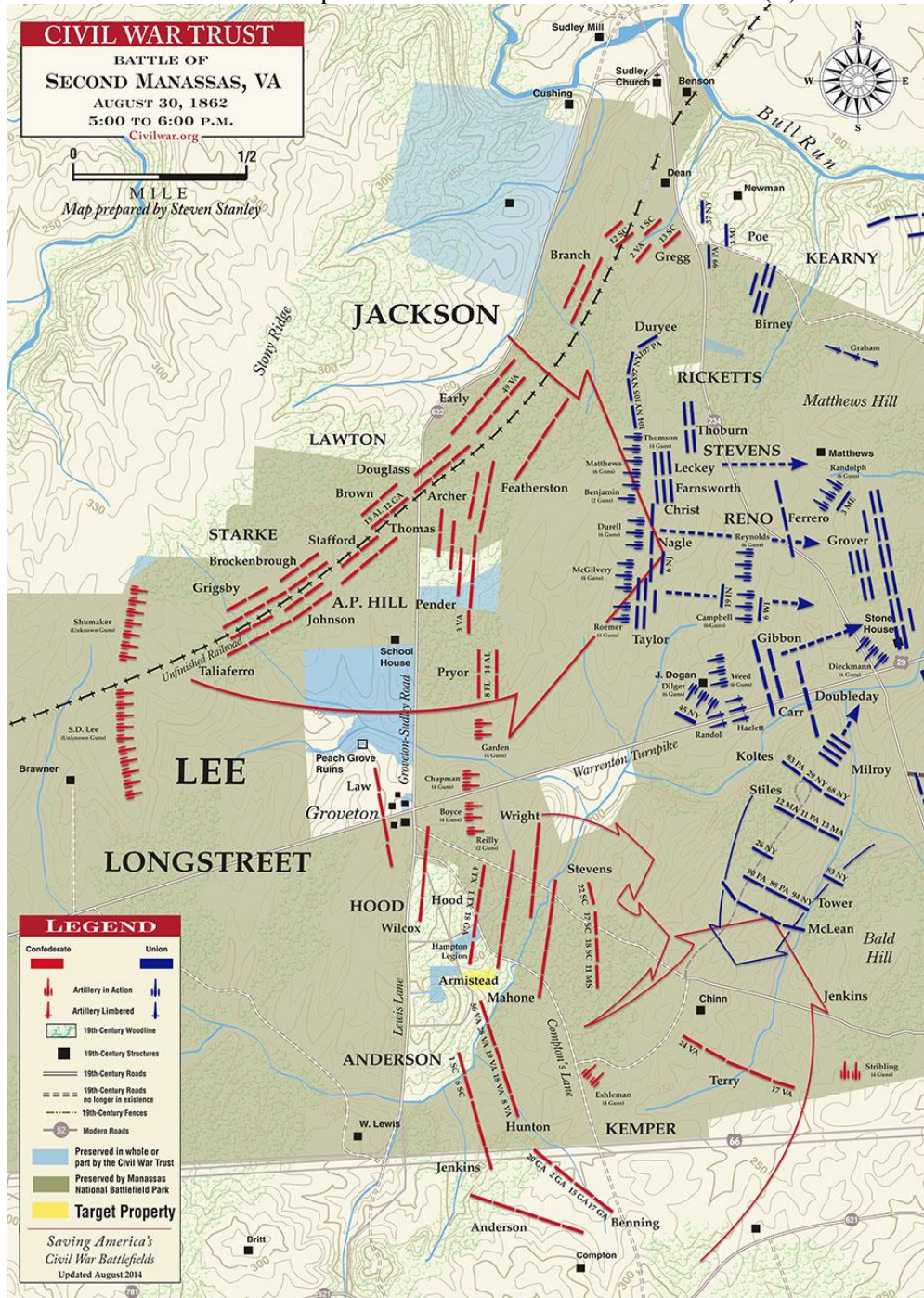
Map Two : The Battle of Second Bull One (I)



The 19th Indiana was positioned with Gibbon's brigade in a reserve position in the Union rear with Sigel's Corps.  
 Source: Steven Stanley, "Second Manassas - 4PM to 6PM - August 29, 1862," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015,  
<http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/secondmanassas/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/second-manassas-day-one-2.jpg>.



Map Three: The Battle of Second Bull One (II)



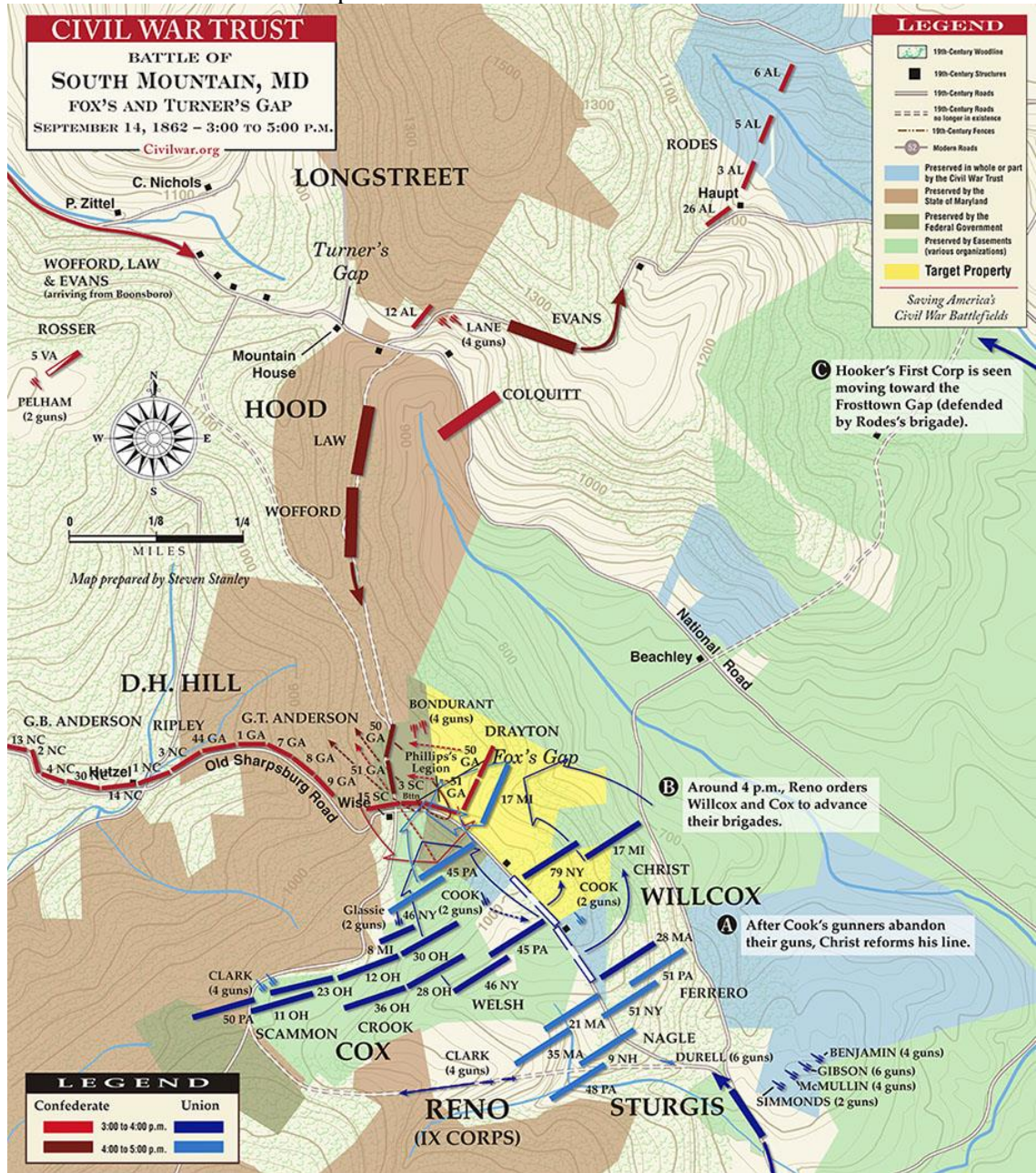
The 19th Indiana served in the line of Gibbon's brigade behind the Union artillery concentration of the Union left.

Source: Steven Stanley, "Second Manassas - Chinn Ridge - 5PM - August 30, 1862," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015,

<http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/secondmanassas/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/second-manassas-day-one-2.jpg>.



Map Four: The Battle of South Mountain

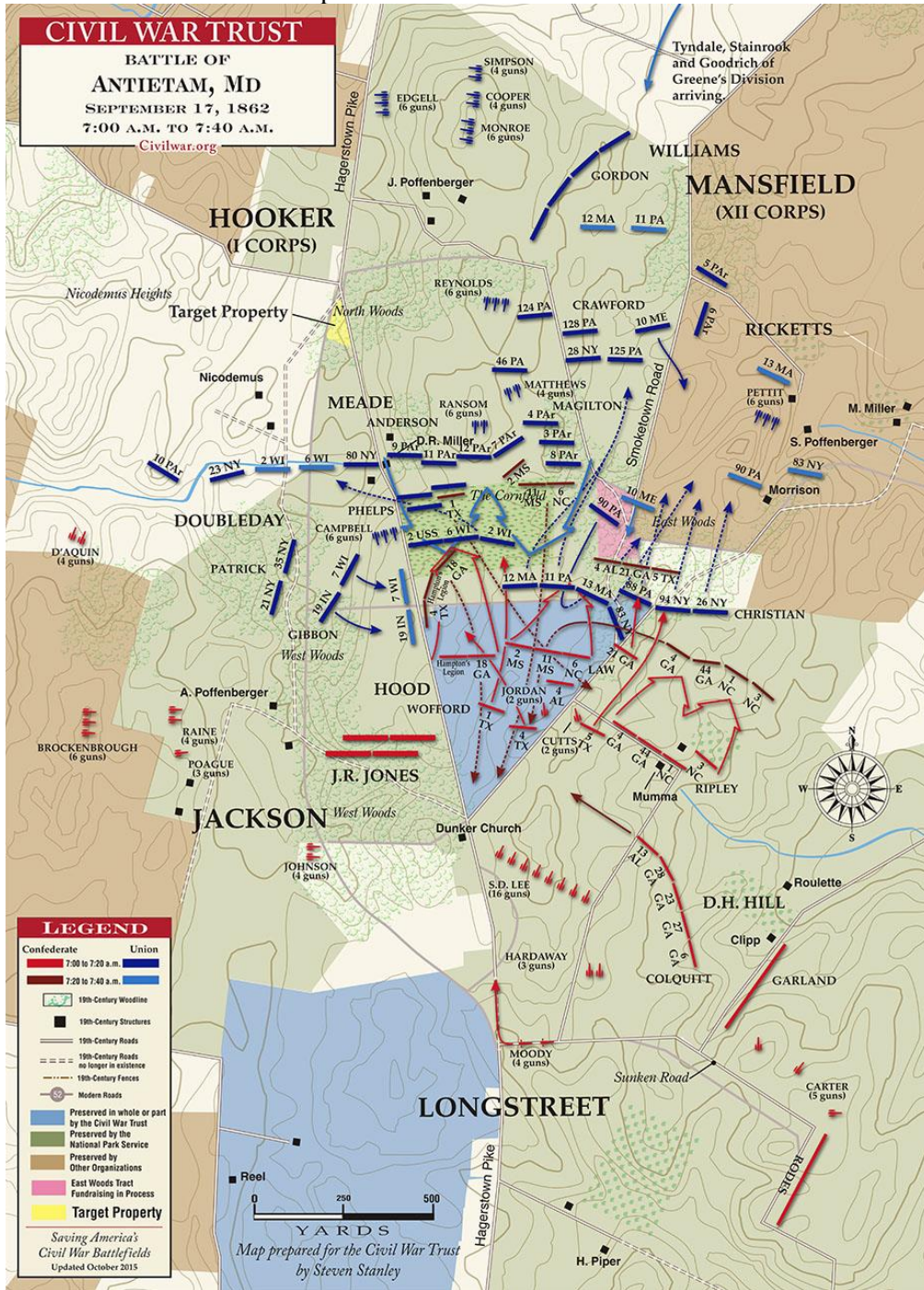


The 19th Indiana advanced directly up the National Road into the line held by Colquitt's Confederate Brigade.

Source: Steven Stanley, "Fox's & Turner's Gaps - September 14, 1862," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/southmountain/maps/south-mountain-foxs-and.jpg>.

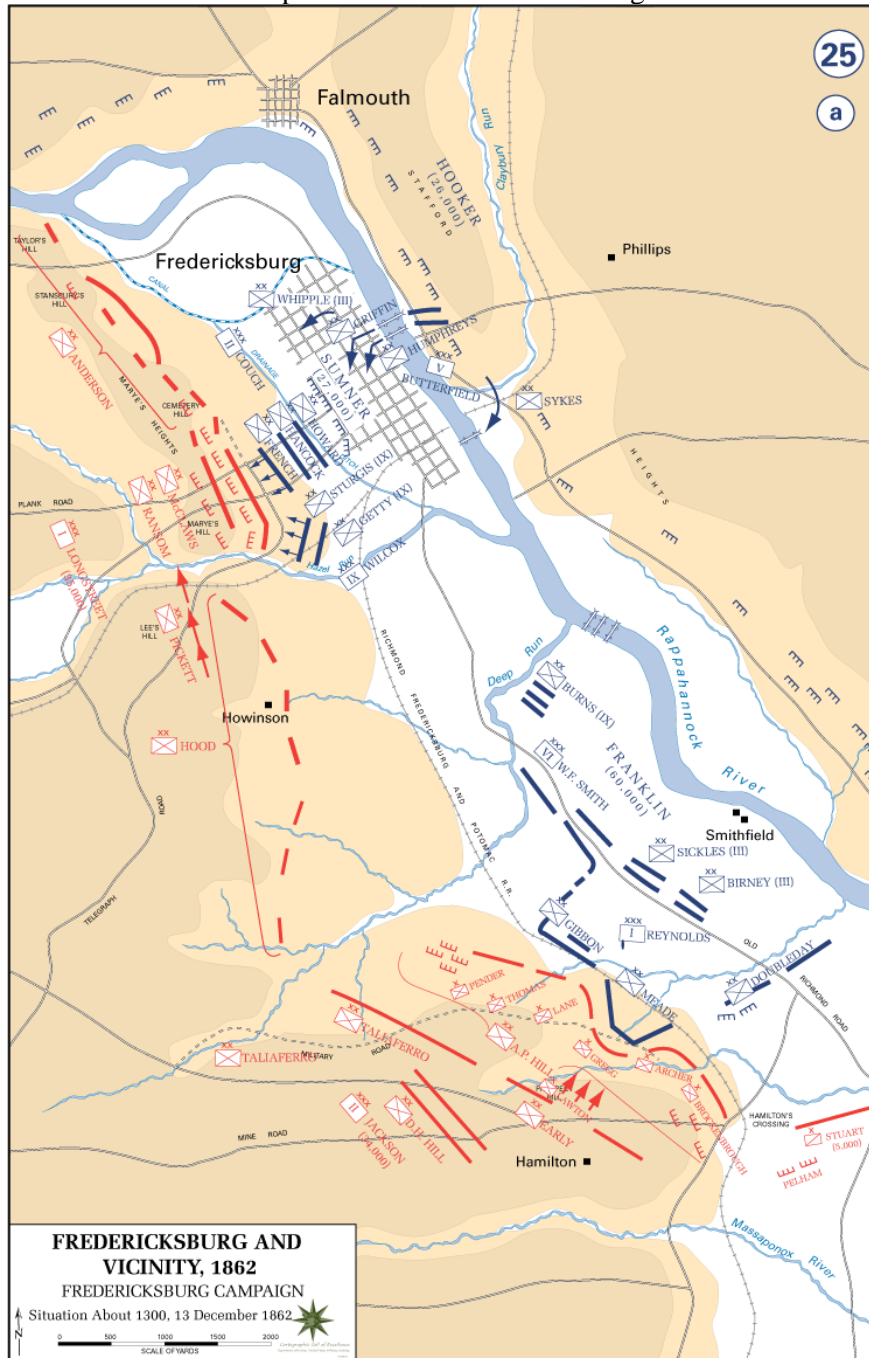


Map Five: The Battle of Antietam



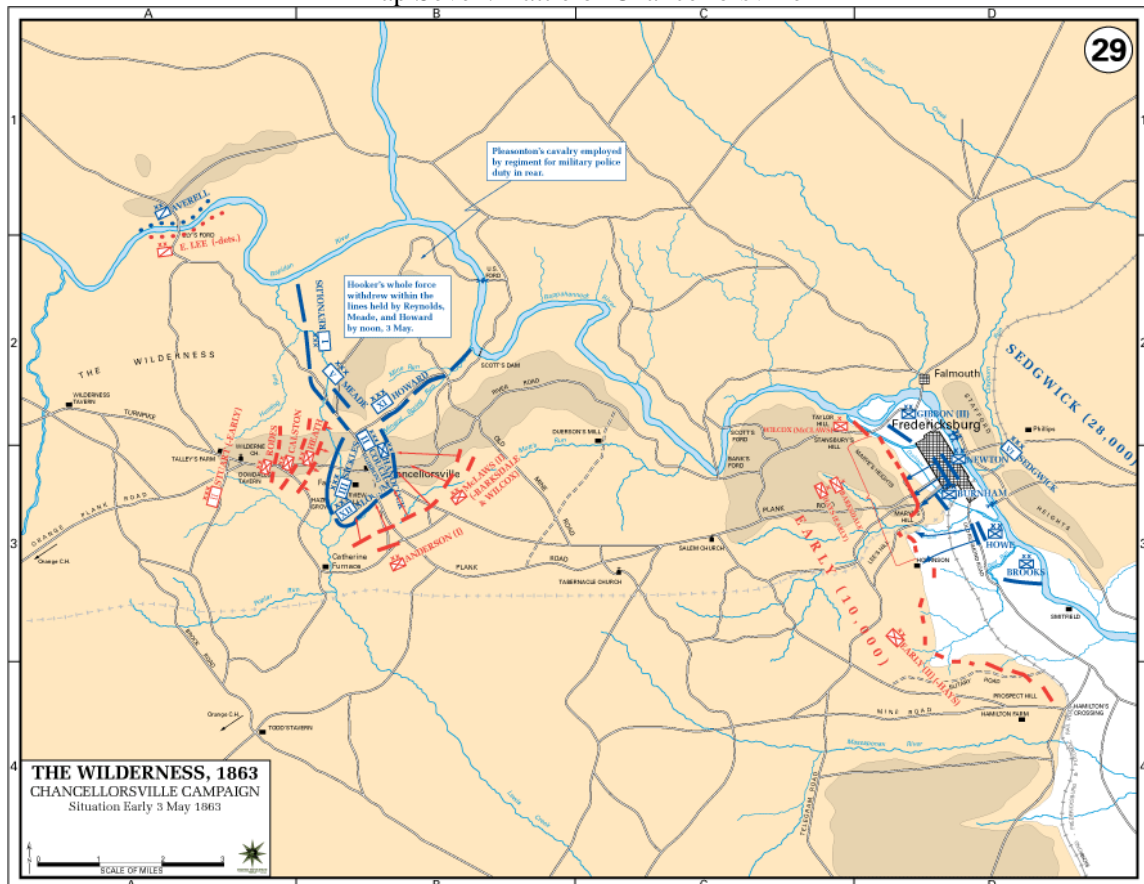
The 19th Indiana advanced with Doubleday's Division in Gibbon's brigade. The 19th Indiana is on the front line of the advance to the right of the 7th Wisconsin. Source: Steven Stanley, "Antietam - Fight for the Cornfield - 7:00am to 7:40am," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015, [http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/antietam/maps/antietam\\_cornfield-fight\\_700.jpg](http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/antietam/maps/antietam_cornfield-fight_700.jpg).

Map Six: Battle of Fredericksburg



Overall strategic picture of the Battle of Fredericksburg. The 19th Indiana was with Doubleday's Division on the extreme left of the Union line.  
 Source: "Situation about 1300 Hours, 13 December," *USMA*, accessed October 16, 2015,  
<http://www.usma.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/American%20Civil%20War/ACW25a.gif>.

## Map Seven: Battle of Chancellorsville

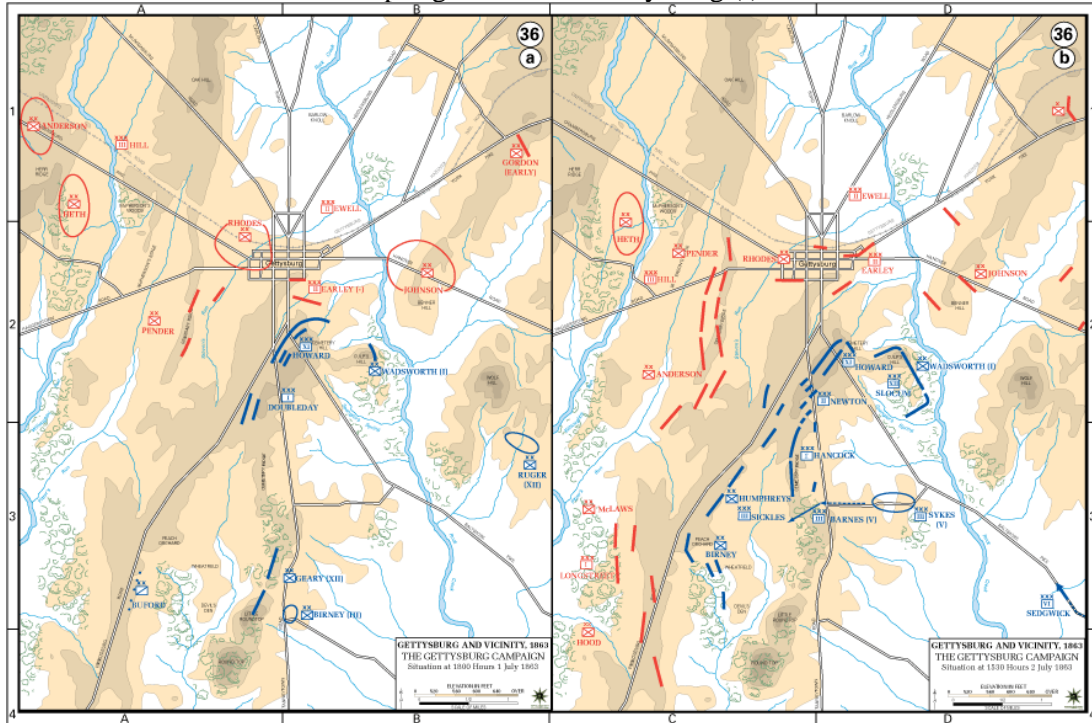


Overall strategic picture of the Battle of Chancellorsville. On April 29 the regiment forced a crossing at Fitzhugh's Crossing on the extreme left of the Union line. Before the end of the battle the 19th Indiana would be in a new position on the extreme right of the Union line.

Source: "Situation Early 3 May 1863," *USMA*, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.usma.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/American%20Civil%20War/ACW29.gif>.



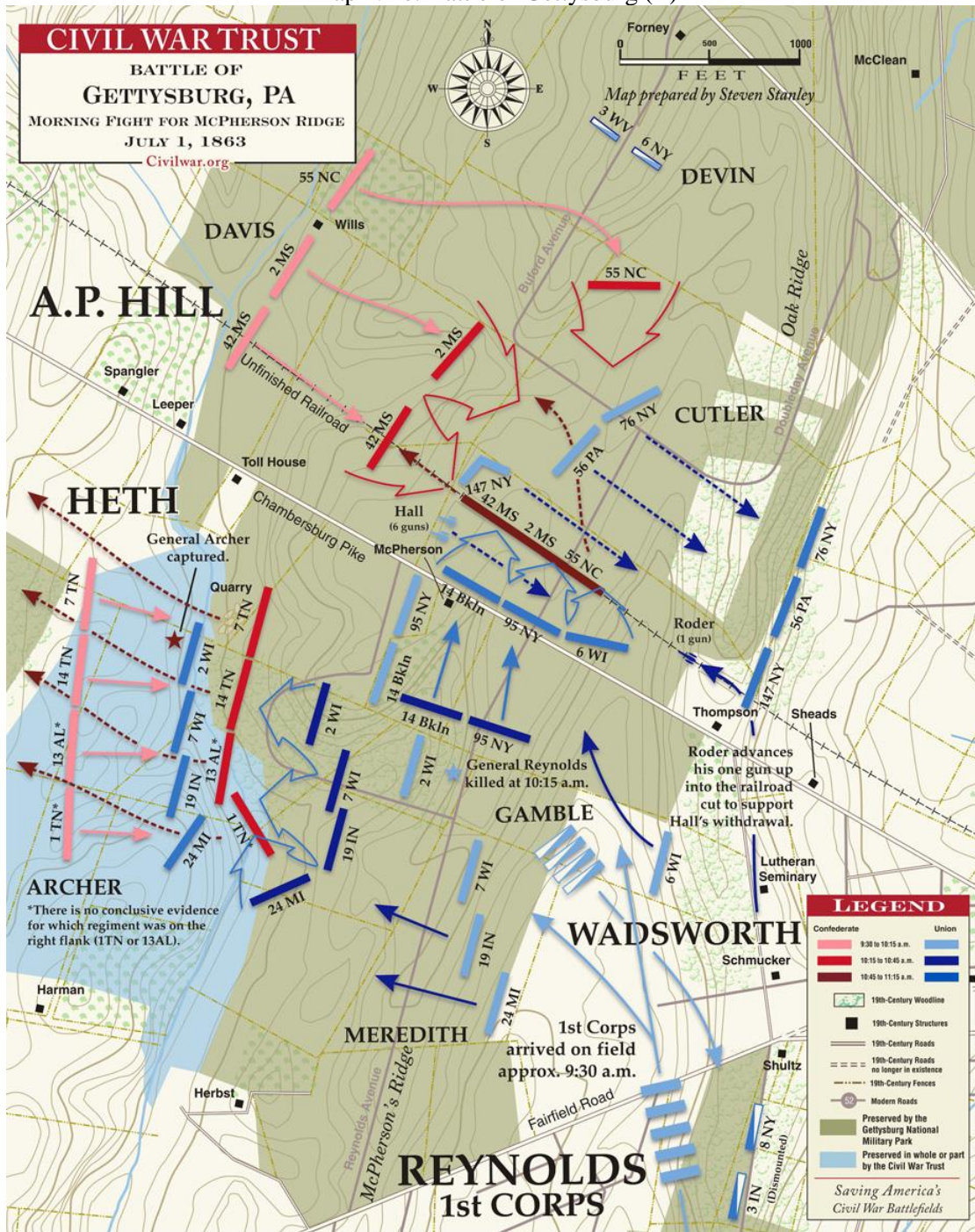
Map Eight: Battle of Gettysburg (I)



Overall strategic picture of the Battle of Gettysburg. On the first day of the battle the 19th Indiana fought to the west and north of the town of Gettysburg. On the second day of the battle the 19th Indiana was in a position on the high ground immediately to the south of Gettysburg. Source: "Gettysburg and Vicinity, 1863, 1 July - 1530 2 July 1863," USMA, accessed October 16, 2015,

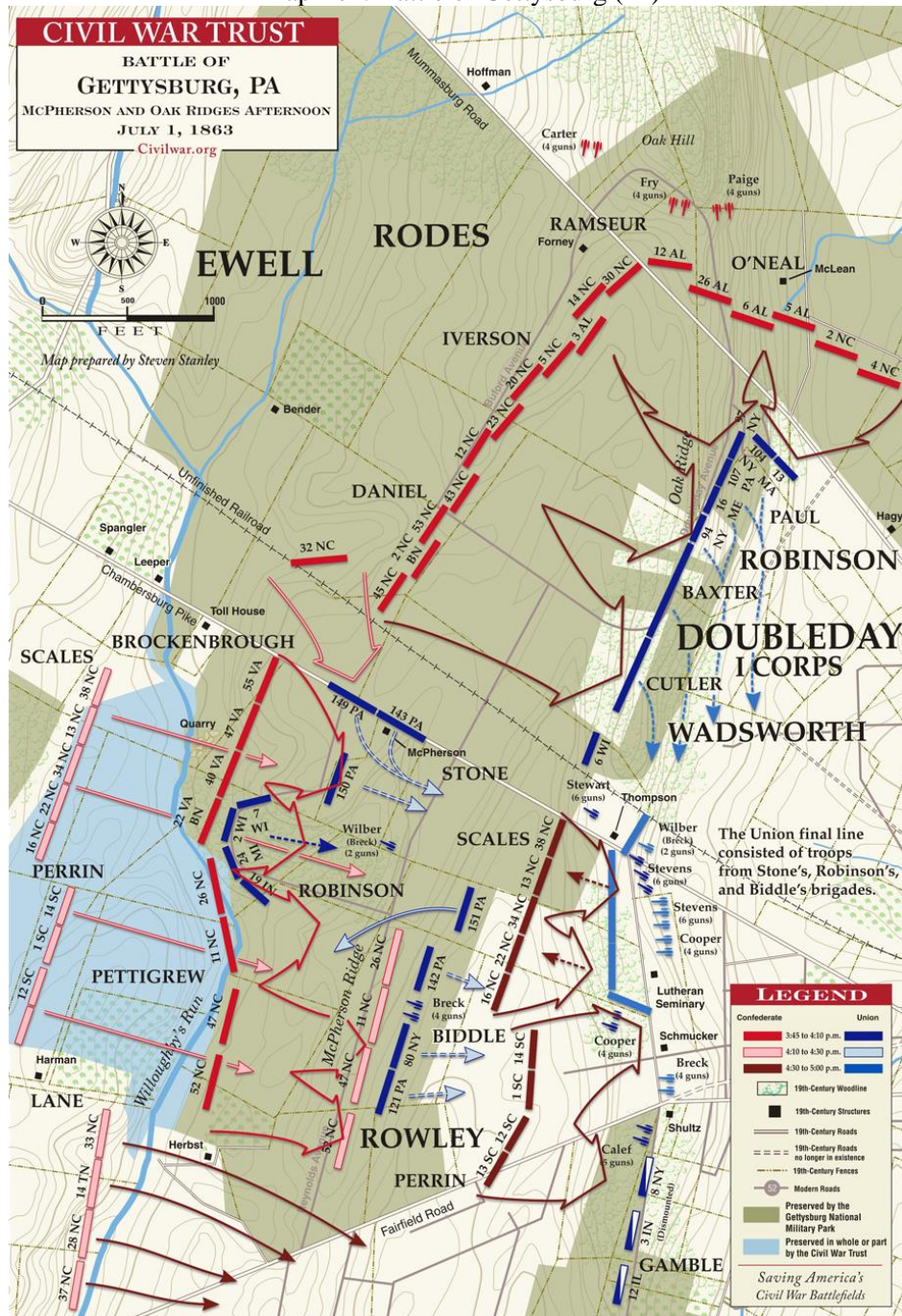
[http://www.usma.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/American%20Civil%20War/ACW36 Combined.gif](http://www.usma.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/American%20Civil%20War/ACW36%20Combined.gif).

Map Nine: Battle of Gettysburg (II)





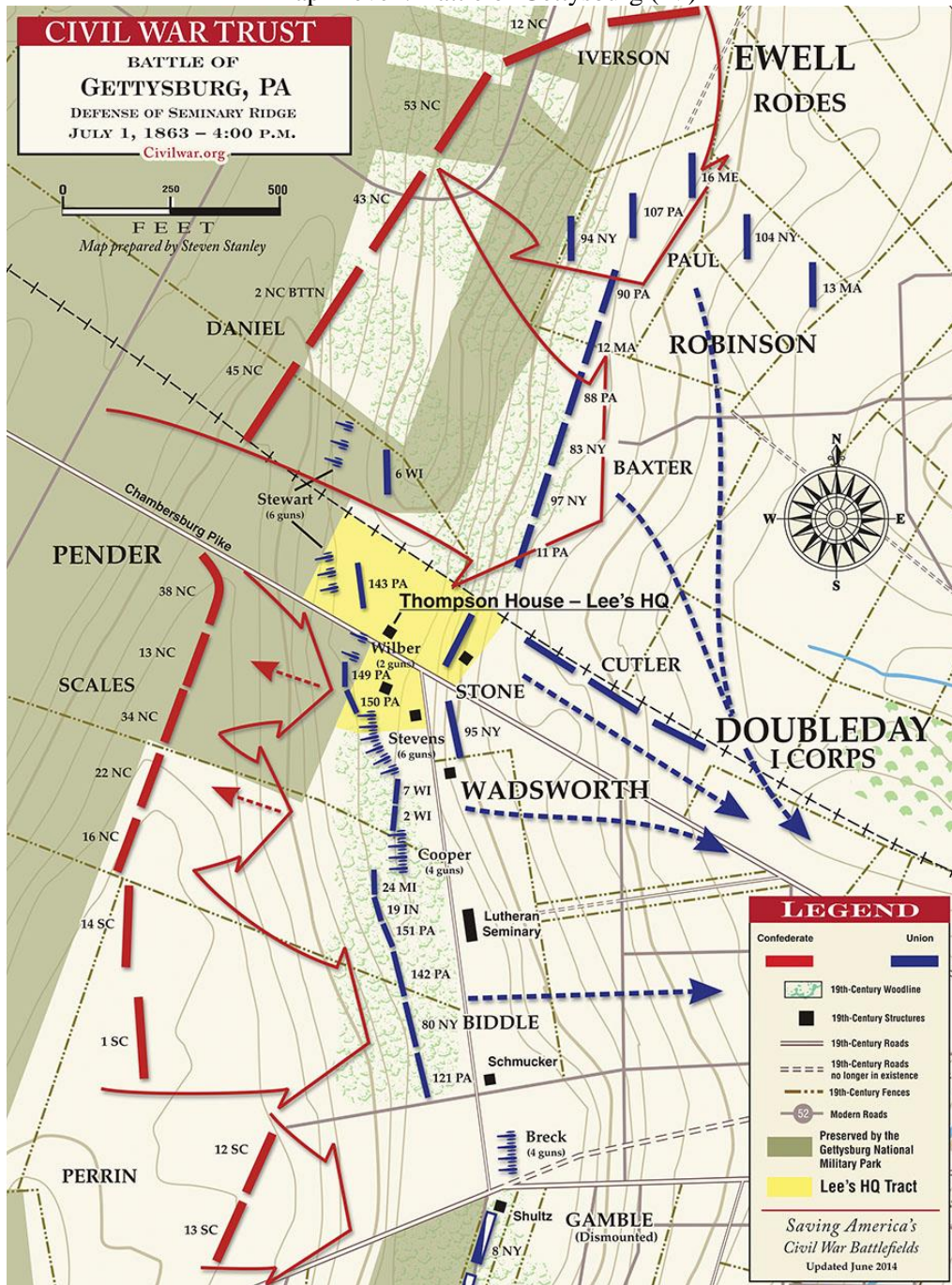
Map Ten: Battle of Gettysburg (III)



The 19th Indiana is one of the regiments in the salient in Robinson's Brigade. These units on the extreme left of the salient.  
 Source: Steven Stanley, "Gettysburg - McPherson's and Oak Ridge - Afternoon July 1, 1863," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/gettysburg/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/first-day-maps/gettysburg-mcphersons-and.jpg>.



Map Eleven: Battle of Gettysburg (IV)

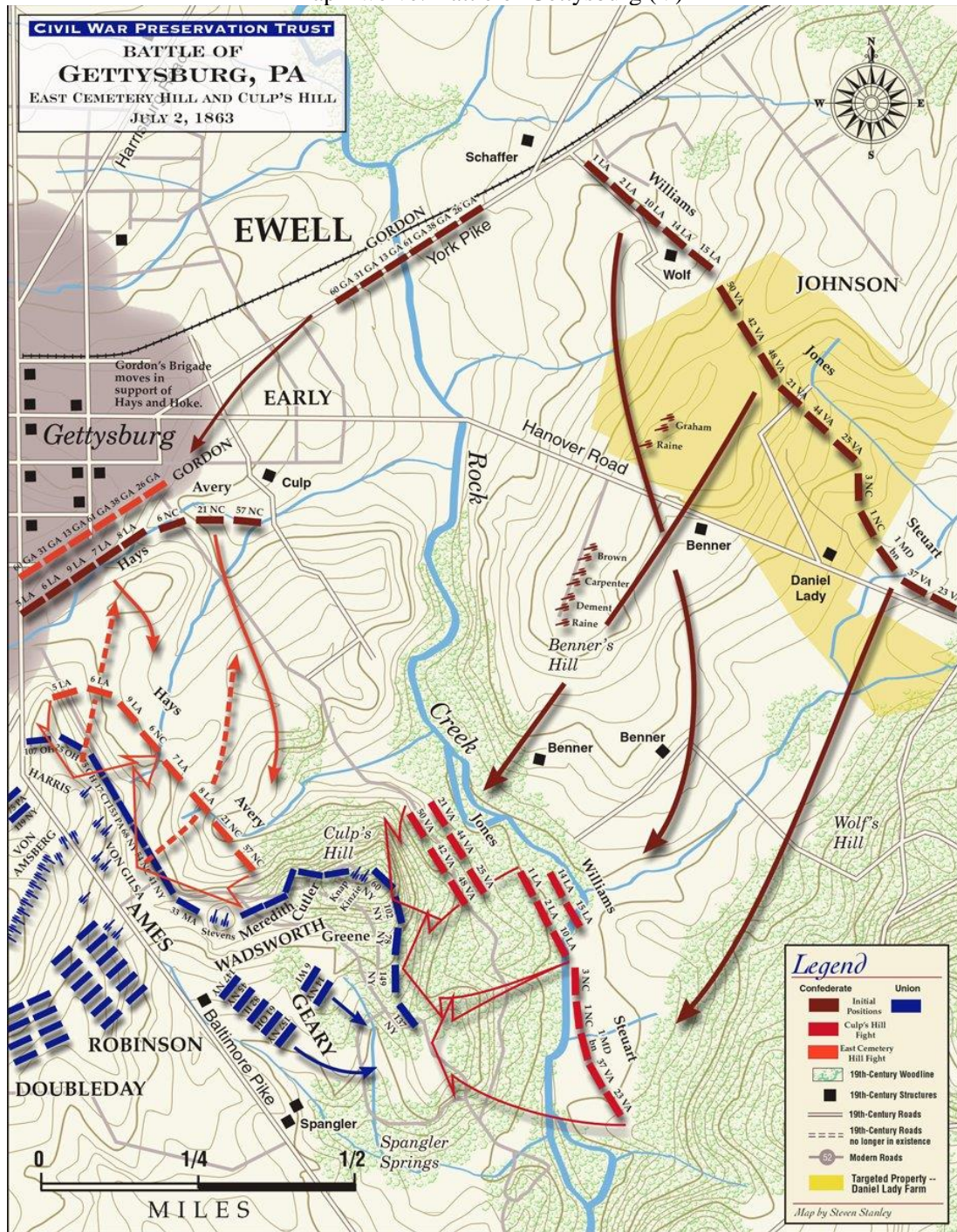


The 19th Indiana served in the line with Wadsworth's Division and was the second regiment to the left of Cooper's artillery battery.

Source: Steven Stanley, "Gettysburg - Defense of Seminary Ridge, July 1, 1863 - 4:00 p.m.," *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/gettysburg/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/first-day-maps/gettysburg-defense-of.jpg>.

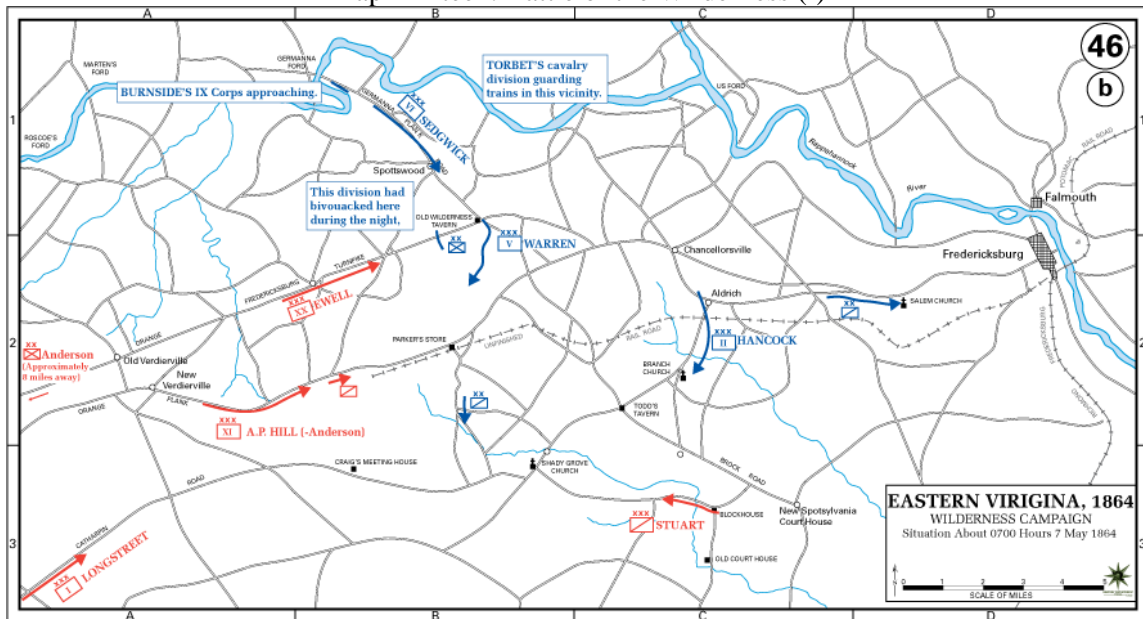


Map Twelve: Battle of Gettysburg (V)



The 19th Indiana served in the line of Wadsworth's Division in Meredith's Brigade.  
 Source: Steven Stanley, "Gettysburg - East Cemetery and Culp's Hill, July 2, 1863,"  
*Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015,  
<http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/gettysburg/maps/danielladyfarm-appeal-map-1.jpg>.

Map Thirteen: Battle of the Wilderness (I)



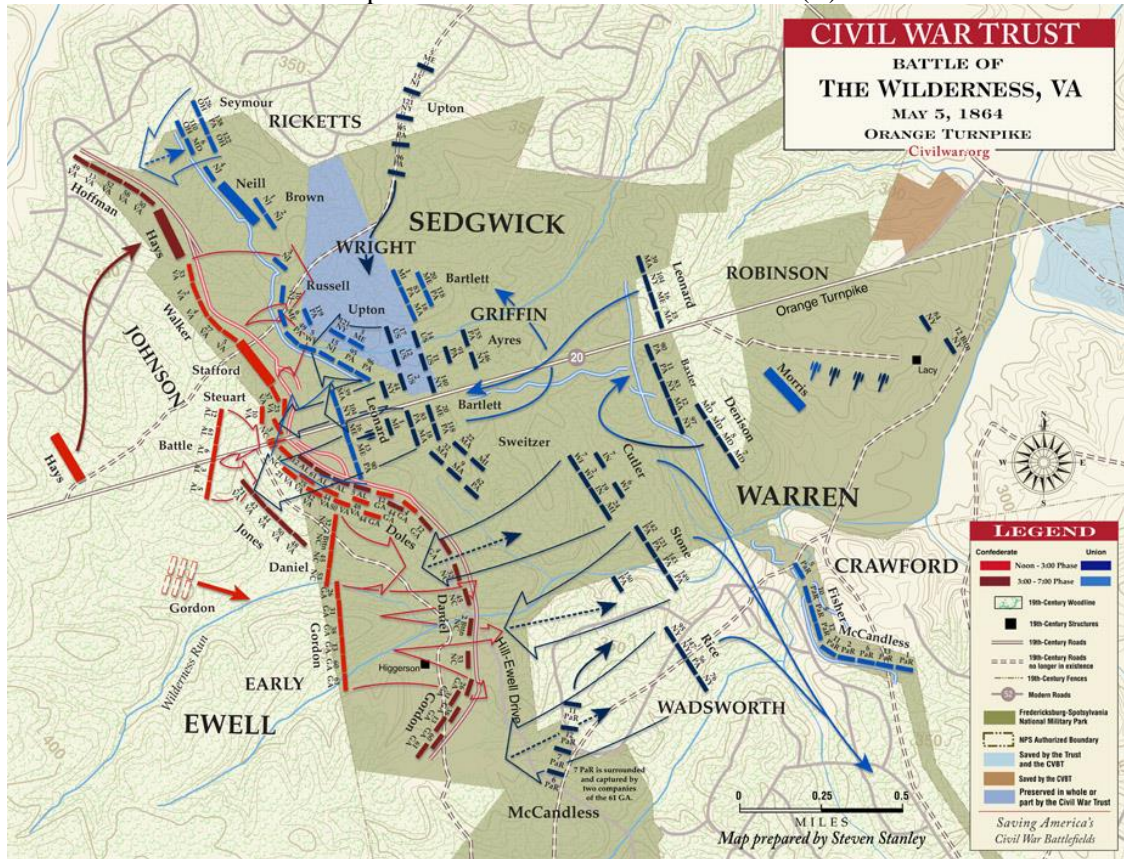
The 19th Indiana advanced into the Wilderness with Warren's Fifth Corps.

Source: "The Wilderness Campaign, Situation about 0700 Hours, 7 May 1864," *USMA*, accessed October 16, 2015,

<http://www.usma.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/American%20Civil%20War/ACW46b.gif>.



Map Fourteen: Battle of the Wilderness (II)



The 19th Indiana advanced with Warren’s Corps in Cutler’s Brigade. The 19th Indiana is in the front line of the brigade and is to the regiment immediately to the right of the 24th Michigan which is on the brigade’s left flank. Source: Steven Stanley, “Battle of The Wilderness - Orange Turnpike - May 5, 1864,” *Civil War Trust*, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/wilderness/maps/civil-war-trust-maps/battle-of-the-wilderness-2.jpg>.





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Master of Arts from Indiana University in American History, August 2016

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Employment

Guest Services Associate. Indianapolis Museum of Art. May 2016 – Present.

Teaching Assistant. Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, History Department.  
August 2014 – May 2016.

Intern. Rotary Jail Museum. February 2016 – May 2016.

Gallery/Admissions Assistant. Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art.  
November 2014 – February 2016.

Intern. Institute for American Thought, Santayana Edition. June 2014 – August 2014.

Intern. Office of U.S. Senator Joe Donnelly. September 2013 – December 2013.

Intern. Indiana State Archives. May 2013 – July 2013.

Papers Presented

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Publications

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