

Linn, and Jones counties. In Henry and Washington counties especially, the Free Soilers attracted more than 10 per cent of the votes recorded there. These counties contained not only large settlements of southern-born Whigs, but also sizable communities of Quakers whose antislavery impulse was exceedingly strong. Many of the latter were already beginning to make local reputations for themselves as operators of the Underground Railroad. Hence, Free Soil sympathy could be expected to be intense in this region of the state.

For the state as a whole, it is difficult to discern any significant voting patterns, for the Democrats in 1850 displayed considerable strength in all sections of Iowa. Areas exhibiting heaviest Democratic voting returns were concentrated in the central counties bordering on the Mississippi River, along the western fringes of settlement inland from the Missouri River, and along the Iowa border counties just north of Missouri. Generally speaking, the Democrats averaged about 53 to 55 per cent of the total votes in most of the counties.

The Compromise of 1850, more than any other issue or combination of issues, enabled the Democratic party of Iowa to retain its power in the state. Astute Democratic politicians, correctly analyzing the pre-election sentiment of the voters, had parlayed the popular compromise measures to another Iowa party triumph. In 1850 the people of Iowa were not especially aroused by moral arguments directed against the existence of slavery in the United States, although most would have opposed any further geographic extension of the "peculiar institution." But they were deeply and immediately concerned about the preservation of a harmonious Federal Union which extremists in the North and South threatened. The compromise measures, and the Democratic party which had so resolutely supported them, held out the promise of restoring peace again to the nation. On these grounds, then, Iowa voters gave Democratic candidates their support in 1850, as they would also in 1851, 1852, and 1853 for similar reasons. Not until 1854, following the furor created by the Kansas-Nebraska legislation, did Iowans, feeling a sense of betrayal by the Democrats, begin to shift their allegiance to another political party in a state-wide election.

## DOCUMENT

### ERASTUS B. SOPER'S HISTORY OF COMPANY D, 12TH IOWA INFANTRY, 1861-1866

*Edited by Mildred Throne\**

#### *Part II*

The first installment of this "History" appeared in the April, 1958, issue of the JOURNAL, and contained the experiences of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, from enlistment through the battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862. In that battle some 400 men of the 12th Iowa were captured, 50 of them from Company D. The 8th and 14th Iowa were also captured, in addition to most of the 58th Illinois. Their experiences in rebel prisons have already been published.<sup>1</sup>

Following the battle of Shiloh, the remnants of the four captured regiments were organized into the "Union Brigade," and as such they served in various campaigns until their comrades were exchanged and returned to the Union service in March of 1863, when the 12th Iowa was reorganized.

The following installment of Soper's "History" recounts the experiences of the Union Brigade; the reorganization of the 12th Iowa after the return of the prisoners; the participation of the regiment in the siege of Vicksburg; at the battle of Jackson, Mississippi, in July, 1863; at the battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, in July, 1864; on various marches and expeditions after Forrest and Price in Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas; and closes with the return of a footsore regiment to St. Louis in November, 1864.

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#### IN THE UNION BRIGADE

By those of Company D who remained in the camp, the evening of that fated Sunday will never be forgotten.<sup>2</sup> Wasted by diarrhoea and dispirited by the horde of stragglers that streamed toward the river and the ever near-

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<sup>1</sup> Mildred Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, 54:67-88 (January, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Sunday, April 6, 1862, the first day of the battle of Shiloh.

ing roar of battle, the exploding of the enemy's shells in the camp about sunset caused those who were able to crawl, to gather up their blankets and seek shelter in the deep ravines below the tents, where many spent a miserable night on the wet ground, sheltered from the pouring rain by a rubber blanket; but when the morning light showed that no rebels were in sight, all who during the night had not ventured back, returned. But they were a sorry lot. No tidings had yet arrived of the fate of our comrades, and we could only fear the worst. Later in the day, when some of the wounded who had escaped or been abandoned by the enemy came in, the facts were learned, and those able to travel sought with varying success for the bodies of bunkmates among the killed on the battlefield, and wounded comrades among the multitudes [were] brought to the landing by the ambulance corps.

. . . .  
A few days later the wounded and those too sick to remain in camp were sent North and there remained of the seventy men of Co. D who came to Pittsburg Landing only Sergeants Soper and Blood, Corporals Cowell and Prescott, and Privates Bunn, Blanchard, Gilchrist, Lambert, John and Enos Watrobeck.<sup>3</sup> These took possession of the officers and Company tents and made themselves as comfortable as possible. Blood, Cowell and Prescott were the news gatherers and made daily trips to the landing and reported the daily arrivals of new troops and the latest rumors as to what was to be done with the remnants of the captured regiments. The weather became fine; we had nothing to do, plenty to eat, and a good deal of time was spent visiting acquaintances and friends in other Iowa regiments.

In this way, nearly three weeks slipped by, when about the 27th of April, 1862, there came from head-quarters, a general order creating an aggregation called the "Union Brigade,"<sup>4</sup> composed of the remnants of the captured regiments, viz: 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa and 58th Illinois, and designating the 12th Iowa as Company E, and constituting it as one of the ten companies composing the organization; each of the other regiments having about three

<sup>3</sup> Full names of these men are Erastus B. Soper, the author of most of this "History," Alvaro C. Blood, Robert C. Cowell, Theodore L. Prescott, Andrew J. Bunn, Allen M. Blanchard, William B. Gilchrist, John B. Lambert, and John and Enos Watrobeck. See *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:passim. (Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.)

<sup>4</sup> The "Union Brigade" was organized April 21, 1862, by Gen. Thomas A. Davies, who commanded the 2nd Division of the Army of the Tennessee. See "Historical Sketch of the Union Brigade," *ibid.*, 5:1577-81.

times as many men, were divided into three Companies each, the whole constituting ten Companies each officered by a Commissioned officer acting as Captain and Commissioned or non-commissioned officers acting as Lieutenants. There being no field officers left, Capt. [R. W.] Healey of the 58th Illinois was designated as acting Colonel, Capt. [J. B.] Fowler of the 12th Iowa, acting Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. [G. W.] Kittle of the 58th Illinois acting Major. The organization being perfected (not, however, without "kicking" as we had been led frequently to expect that we would have been sent North to recruit, and were much disheartened), and the unnecessary baggage and camp equipments having been turned over to the Quartermaster Department, on the 29th of April, 1862, the Union Brigade, with the balance of the 2nd Division, broke camp and moved forward about nine miles toward Corinth, where we formed the advance line, with every other man holding two rifles and his mate industriously using the shovel or ax and relieving each other every few minutes, a strong line of rifle pits was speedily constructed; the crack of rifles on skirmish lines hastening the work.<sup>5</sup>

The next day the whole Army was mustered for pay except the Union Brigade whose rolls were not made out. As each Company in each Regiment of the organization had to be mustered separately, and many of the Companies had no officers or non-commissioned officers competent to do the work, Sergt. Soper of Company D made out the rolls for the three Companies of the 12th Iowa. As all the men had to be carried on the rolls, whether present or absent; the dead, sick, wounded and missing accounted for, and three copies of each roll made, the task was no light one, but was finally accomplished and the Regiment mustered.

For thirty days the "advance on Corinth" continued. Some days our line, or portions of it, would be thrown forward a mile or two and sometimes we would remain two or three days in one place; but never without being well fortified. Frequently we stood or sat all day under arms, and customarily slept with our belts and cartridge boxes on, and our guns by our sides, and not infrequently in the trenches.

<sup>5</sup> Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck had come from St. Louis to superintend the advance on Corinth, Miss., following the Confederate retreat after the battle of Shiloh. The movement toward Corinth began April 29. With the memory of the lack of fortifications at Shiloh fresh in their minds, and with Halleck, the engineer, in charge, the troops moved slowly, fortifying with rifle pits and breastworks at each stop. Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1949-1956), 3:406.

On the 29th of May, 1862, our lines were within one half mile of the rebel fortifications. During that night, unusual noises were heard by our pickets, followed, near morning, by a series of explosions. When day-light appeared and our pickets advanced, the rebel lines were found deserted.<sup>6</sup>

A pursuit followed, the Union Brigade marching down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad through Danville and Rienzi to Booneville, Mississippi, returning to camp near Corinth on June 13th, 1862. The distance marched did not exceed one hundred miles and the time consumed was about two weeks. The campaign was a leisurely one. . . .

In this campaign, Company D had no casualties, although it looked many times as if there would be. During the six weeks immediately following the leaving of Pittsburg Landing, the light work and warm sun and dry air of a Mississippi May and June worked wonders with the health of the Command. Not a boy in Company D, who participated, failed to get rid of the diarrhoea and stay rid of it the balance of the time he served. There is nothing like moderate work to make and keep soldiers healthy.

When the pursuit of the enemy was abandoned, the Federal Army was scattered; the forces remaining about Corinth going into camps for the summer in convenient localities. Hackleman's Brigade,<sup>7</sup> to which the Union Brigade was attached, went into camp about three miles south of Corinth on the Mobile and Ohio Road, where the entire Brigade remained from the 13th of June until about the 15th day of August, 1862. . . .

When the forces of Price and Van Dorn<sup>8</sup> began to concentrate in Mississippi, the Union forces were dispersed and posted at convenient points to meet and watch their movements. The Union Brigade was sent to Danville, about ten miles south of Corinth on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, where, under Lieut. Col. [John P.] Coulter of the 12th Iowa Infantry Volunteers, it acted as an independent command, and where it remained until the first day of October. . . .

<sup>6</sup> The Confederate forces evacuated Corinth during the night of May 29-30, after destroying their stores and provisions. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 667-8. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

<sup>7</sup> Brig. Gen. Pleasant A. Hackleman, in command of the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division of the Army of West Tennessee. His Brigade consisted of the 52nd Ill., the 2nd and 7th Iowa, and the Union Brigade, made up of detachments of the 58th Ill., 8th, 12th, and 14th Iowa. *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 175.

<sup>8</sup> Confederate Major Generals Sterling Price and Earl Van Dorn.

The Battle of Iuka was fought on the 19th of September;<sup>9</sup> before and after that rebel cavalry was occasionally seen and shots exchanged with our pickets, but no attack on us was made, though we were in a constant state of expectation and readiness. On October 2nd orders came to break camp and abandon the post and report at Corinth, and on the same evening, we marched as far as across the Tuscumbia river, where we halted for the night, and the following morning, after destroying the bridge over that stream, resumed our march to rejoin Hackleman's Brigade at Camp Montgomery. No August day was ever hotter and no roads ever drier or dustier. The men were not used to marching, and the opportunities for getting water were few, but after a hard and fatiguing march, in which many of the men were left overcome with heat, Corinth was reached, when we were ordered out on the Chewalla road where our Brigade was engaged retarding the advance of the enemy.<sup>10</sup>

At this time the Union Brigade formed a part of the 1st Brigade, commanded by Gen. Hackleman of Indiana, of the 2nd Division commanded by Gen. J. A. Davies of the Army of the Tennessee. This Division was charged with the duty of holding in check the advance of Price and Van Dorn's forces until the troops at Iuka and other points around could be concentrated at Corinth. Marching out on the Chewalla road, we met the Division retiring before the enemy, and taking our place in our Brigade, we formed a line of battle a mile or more outside the fortifications between the two railroads that cross each other at Corinth and northwest of the town, and throwing ourselves upon the ground, we awaited the attack.

The Union Brigade was formed on the edge of the timber just behind an open field. Soon the rebel batteries began shelling the woods, and branches

<sup>9</sup> On July 11 Halleck had been promoted to general of the armies and had left for Washington, leaving Grant in command in this area. Grant's forces had been depleted by sending Buell and the Army of the Ohio eastward to Chattanooga, and by spreading and diminishing the forces at his command over too wide an area. Taking advantage of this, Price occupied Iuka, some miles east of Corinth, on Sept. 13. Efforts of Brig. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans to retake the town failed in the battle of Iuka on Sept. 19, partly because a strong wind carried the sounds of battle away from the reinforcements Grant was sending, who were supposed to attack upon hearing the sounds of gunfire. On the following day, however, Rosecrans entered Iuka, Price having retreated after his success of the 19th. See *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:392-403, 406-416. (Hereafter cited as *Grant, Memoirs*.)

<sup>10</sup> Grant had to draw all his forces back into Corinth when it became apparent that the Confederates were planning an attack on that stronghold. The battle of Corinth took place on Oct. 3-4, 1862. *Ibid.*, 1:414-19.

of trees and pieces of shell flew around in the wildest confusion. During this time an incident occurred that we, all of Company D who were present, will remember. There was a private in the Company named Andrew Jackson Bunn, but unlike his illustrious namesake, his courage disappeared when the enemy appeared. He dropped out of the ranks at Donelson and Shiloh and skulked, and the non-commissioned officers determined that he should face the enemy, and the Sergeants were watching him. Nevertheless as the lines of the enemy appeared, the shrieks of the bursting shells were too much, and Bunn started for the rear as fast as his legs would carry him. At the cry "there goes Jack Bunn," a long legged Sergeant took after him, and after a short race collared and began dragging him back to the line. Just then a shell exploded, and Bunn screamed "I'm shot; I'm shot," and begged piteously to be allowed to go. The skeptical Sergeant was only convinced by the torn blouse and bleeding shoulder that he had been hit, and when released, Bunn lost no time in getting to the rear. During his whole term of service, this was the nearest Bunn ever came to getting into a fight.<sup>11</sup>

The enemy advanced in two unbroken and continuous lines of battle, extending to the right and left as far as the eye could reach and extending far beyond our line, the extreme left of which was occupied by the Union Brigade. We poured volley after volley into the advancing lines with seemingly little effect, as they continued to advance, and when they were closing in upon us in front and flank and the veteran Regiments to our left had broken, the Union Brigade, not wishing to join their comrades bad enough to be willing to do so in Southern prisons, fell back, about as fast as their legs would carry them, through the woods, into the abatis and thence within the fortifications, where the survivors of the command slowly gathered. There was left of Company D on the field, Sergt. Edward W. Calder, killed, shot through the head and bowels, and private Allen M. Blanchard, wounded and taken prisoner.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Andrew J. Bunn, eighteen at the time of his enlistment, remained with Co. D, in spite of his fear of battle, until December, 1864, when he was court martialled and dishonorably discharged. *Roster and Record*, 2:428. Soper's comment on Bunn, in his listing of the later life of the members of Co. D, was uncomplimentary: "Bummed around Cedar Rapids till prohibition came then left for Missouri. Never any more account in civil life than as a soldier."

<sup>12</sup> Blanchard's own account of his capture and imprisonment will appear at the end of the last installment of this "History."

The rebel forces made some reconnaissance and there was some desultory fighting, but no serious attack was made. The work of the 2nd Division had been accomplished. Toward evening, hard tack and raw onions were dispensed to all who wanted them, and the tired and hungry soldiers made on them a most enjoyable meal; after which, stretched upon the earth beside the loaded rifles, with cartridge box for pillows and the clear sky for a covering, a dreamless sleep restored exhausted nature.

During the night dispositions were made for the coming battle and positions assigned the several commands. About four o'clock in the morning, the Union Brigade was aroused and marched to its position further to the right, and near where the road from Pittsburg Landing entered the town. Here we lay in line of battle awaiting the approach of the enemy. Morning came, coffee was sipped and hard tack eaten; still they delayed. Finally between nine and ten o'clock, the heavy guns of Fort Robinet opened fire. We knew then that the enemy was advancing to the assault. Soon the Forts and their surroundings were enveloped in smoke, and in our front the lines of gray are seen advancing from the woods, and with breathless expectation, we watched them slowly approach. Soon to the right and left of us the firing begins on the advancing foe, when they spring forward to the charge with the rebel yell, when the whole Union front became a line of fire; still forward they press until within a few yards of our front, when the line gives way, the color banner falls; another seizes and holds aloft the standard of the Union Brigade, only to fall, when Orderly Sergt. John D. Cole of Company B seizes the flag and plants it in front of the now rallying line, only to fall, shot through the lungs, when Private Isaac G. Clark of Company D rescues and waves aloft the flag which he proudly carries forward, as the line moves forward in pursuit of the retreating foe. The rebels are repulsed at every point; the battles around Corinth are over, and the Army moves in pursuit of the vanquished foe. In the two days' fight the Union Brigade was badly punished. Of less than four hundred men engaged, eight were known to have been killed on the field, eighty-six wounded, of whom a number died, and eighteen were reported missing, many of whom were killed or died of wounds in rebel hands. Company D had twelve men actually in the fight, of whom six were killed or wounded.<sup>13</sup>

. . .

<sup>13</sup> Hackleman's Brigade reported 403 casualties in the battle, of whom 49 were killed, 318 wounded, and 36 captured or missing. The killed included Hackleman



When the troops were absent in pursuit of the enemy, the baggage and convalescents of the 3rd Brigade were ordered into camp on the old site of Camp Montgomery, and the Union Brigade occupied its old ground. Two days after, an attack was made on the camp by a very considerable force of rebel cavalry. But as the large part of the Union Brigade had not joined in the pursuit of Price, they found it hotter than they had anticipated, and without pillaging the camp, beat a hasty retreat, leaving several men and horses shot down. Although the attack was a complete surprise, yet the men fought for their camp as they had for their flag.<sup>14</sup> The same evening orders were received to remove the camp within the fortifications. When the pursuit of Price and Van Dorn was abandoned, the 2nd Division returned to Corinth as its garrison, where the Union Brigade remained during the remainder of its existence, doing picket duty and working on the entrenchments; after the battle, a new and less extensive line of work having been laid out, including, however, the principal forts. During this time, Sergt. Soper, who had made out the rolls and kept up the records of the Company since the battle of Shiloh, and who previously to the battle of Corinth had acted as Sergt. Major and afterwards as Commissary Sergeant of the Union Brigade, received from the Governor of Iowa a commission as 2nd Lieutenant of Company D, and was assigned to the command of one of the 14th Iowa Companies.

Finally, after long waiting, the anxiously expected order came, on December 7th, 1862,<sup>15</sup> dissolving the Union Brigade and ordering its return home to join the exchanged prisoners and reorganize their old Regiments, and on the 18th with light hearts and thoughts of Merry Christmas at home, we gaily marched to the Depot and boarded the cars for the north.

Arriving at Jackson, Tennessee, about eleven A. M. we found consterna-

himself. Of the Union Brigade, 9 men were killed, 84 wounded, and 16 missing or captured, for a total of 109. The 12th Iowa lost 4 killed, 28 wounded, and 7 missing or captured, a total of 39. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 175.

<sup>14</sup> In Gen. Davies' report on the battle of Corinth and its aftermath, he quotes the following report from H. F. Olds, wagonmaster of the Union Brigade: "Sunday evening, October 5, about 3 o'clock, a party of guerrillas, numbering about 100, made an attack upon the camp of the Union Brigade. There was at the time a number of convalescents and teamsters in the camp. I arrived in camp just as the news came that they were coming. We rallied about 18 men and repulsed them, killing 4 and wounding 3 others." *Ibid.*, 261-2.

<sup>15</sup> The date is wrong here. The Union Brigade was dissolved and sent home for reorganization on December 17, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 2:410; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 300.

tion and commotion. Forrest<sup>16</sup> was on a raid. North of Jackson, the telegraph wires were cut, and that night the track torn up and bridges burnt, and an attack was hourly expected, and we were ordered to disembark and assist in the defense of the post, though had the train gone on, we might probably have got through. The disappointment was keen, but as there was no help for it, we climbed down and loaded our guns and were assigned an exposed position on the picket line. No attack came. After waiting impatiently for three days we were allowed to go north as the guard for the Engineer Corps and construction train to re-build the bridges and track which the rebels had destroyed. For two weeks and over we moved along with the bridge gang from stream to stream, across the swamp, counting the miles as so much nearer home; sleeping behind anything that broke the chilly wind, sheltered only by our blankets and overcoats. Finally the last bridge was reached, the river hastily crossed on the false work, and the boys swung out with rapid strides up the railroad track. That night we slept in the deserted buildings at Union City, a station on the railroad, and the next day, January 4th, 1863, we made Columbus, Kentucky, and that night we took a steamer for Cairo, arriving on the 5th, and the next train on the Illinois Central Railway bore us Davenportward, where we arrived on the 7th of January, and received from Adj. Gen. [Nathaniel B.] Baker a twenty day furlough and transportation to our several homes, arriving at Cedar Rapids January 10th, 1863, coming via Iowa City by rail and then by stage.

#### PAROLED PRISONERS FROM MACON, GEORGIA, TO ST. LOUIS

As soon as the prisoners on the Delett had arrived, the line of march for the depot of the West Point and Montgomery Railroad was taken.<sup>17</sup> . . . The major in command treated the paroled prisoners as well as was possible, and will long be remembered kindly by them. A train of box cars was soon loaded, and about dark pulled out, arriving at West Point, Ga., just before daylight on the morning of the 23rd. Here we changed cars. The boys had an opportunity to look about the town and take a bath in the Chattahoochie

<sup>16</sup> Confederate Brig. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. See Lieut. Col. Coulter's report of this action, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 300-301; for Forrest's report, *ibid.*, 593.

<sup>17</sup> The privates of the 12th Iowa, who had been captured at Shiloh, were paroled on May 22, 1862, at Montgomery, Ala., where they were taken from their prisons at Tuscaloosa, Ala., on the steamers *Delett* and *Cherokee*. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 72-8.

River, of which many of them availed themselves. The words "All aboard" finally came and we were off for Atlanta, Ga., where we arrived about four P. M. Rations of bread and boiled beef were issued, which was the first palatable food we had received since April 9th, at Memphis, Tenn. The boys lounged around the depot until nearly dark, when they were put aboard a train of cars, and while standing on a side track, were stoned by a mob, but which soon ceased after the major ordered his guards to fire upon them. About 10 P. M. the train pulled out Northward on the State of Georgia Railroad through a country made memorable and historical by Gen. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, and over a line of railways which a short time before had been the scene of the remarkable raid of the heroic Andrews and his intrepid followers.<sup>18</sup>

At 3:30 P. M. on the afternoon of the 24th of May, the train arrived at Chattanooga and was unloaded, and the paroled prisoners marched to the city and quartered in a vacant hotel building. Messes of twenty each were formed, and rations consisting of what, in Iowa, would be called ground feed — some kind of meat, species doubtful, black peas, etc. — were issued. A supply of "Dutch ovens" was also furnished, and the boys had the option to bake, boil or fry. No salt, however. Considerable liberty was allowed the boys, and conversations with the guard, citizens and rebel soldiers were freely indulged in. Some of the boys found a Union man who took them home and gave them several loaves of bread, which was shared with their comrades.

On the 26th, a squad of paroled prisoners from Macon, Ga., passed down the streets of Chattanooga toward the Tennessee River on their way home. On the morning of the 27th Tuscaloosa and Montgomery prisoners were put on board a train of cars on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, and sent down to Bridgeport, Ala., where the railroad bridge over the Tennessee had been destroyed by the Union army. . . .

During the run down to Bridgeport, the train broke in two, and while

<sup>18</sup> In early April, a Union spy, James J. Andrews, and 23 men from three Ohio regiments, had stolen a train at Marietta, Ga., intending to run it through Chattanooga and then westward to meet the forces of Maj. Gen. Ormsby M. Mitchel, burning the bridges as they went to cut off Chattanooga from the south and enable Mitchel to take the city. The venture failed just south of Chattanooga. Andrews and seven of his men were hanged; six escaped, and six more were captured but exchanged. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:400-404. A recent account of this exploit is a book by Charles O'Neill, *Wild Train, The Story of the Andrews Raiders* (New York, 1956).

repairs were being made, the boys scattered over the hills. Some of the 12th Iowa boys stumbled upon and recognized Quarter Master [Joseph B.] Dorr and Lieut. [John] Elwell, of Company E, who were passing themselves off as privates, instead of two men whom they had procured to take their names and places in prison.<sup>19</sup> . . . These officers both begged silence and non-recognition, which was gladly conceded. Still fearing recognition and a return to prison, they did not return to the cars, but crossed the Tennessee River and arrived safely within the Union lines. . . .

We remained at Bridgeport the remainder of the 27th and all day the 28th, bathing in the river and feeding on parched corn and wild mulberries. On the morning of the 29th the prisoners names were called for embarkation on the small steamer "Paint Rock." Finally the major calls "C. C. A. E. T. Stribbling." The man answers "Here," and mounts the gang-plank, when the major demands his full name. "Christopher Columbus Alvarado Ebenezer Thomas Stribbling," is the answer. Roars of laughter from guards and prisoners follow. This name did not come from Iowa, but belonged to a Tennessean who enlisted in Company F a few days before the battle of Shiloh.<sup>20</sup> The Montgomery squad failed to get on the Paint Rock and were ordered to remain until the next trip, but the boat did not return for them, and they were sent back to Chattanooga under pretence of being sent to the Federal lines via the way of Cumberland Gap, but when they arrived there they were placed under strong guard and sent back to Macon, Ga., where four more months of prison life sent forty per cent of their number to the Confederate prison's burial trenches. Why the Government was so averse to receiving paroled prisoners at this time is hard to understand, but such was the fact, and it was with difficulty that Gen. Mitchell [sic] could be prevailed upon to receive any of them.<sup>21</sup>

The Paint Rock descended the Tennessee thirty miles to Bellefont Landing, when the prisoners disembarked and set out on a march to Bellefont

<sup>19</sup> The officers captured at Shiloh were still in Southern prisons and would not be released until some months later.

<sup>20</sup> This man is listed as Christopher C. A. T. Stribling in *Roster and Record*, 2:530.

<sup>21</sup> Maj. Gen. O. M. Mitchel at Huntsville, Ala., found it difficult to feed so many paroled prisoners. On May 30 he reported to Gen. Don Carlos Buell that 1,400 prisoners taken at Shiloh had been sent to him. (The total number of Union men missing or captured after the battle was 2,885.) He found them in a "deplorable condition," and since his own supplies were short, it was impossible to feed "such a large body of men unannounced." *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. III, 610.

Station on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad five miles distant, and in a strip of country foraged by both but claimed to be held by neither army. There was nothing to eat, and the boys began scouring the country. Some even set out to walk to the Union lines. The major procured a hand-car and ran down the Railroad, but returned without much comfort. The Macon squad had been received, and why the delay in receiving the Tuscaloosa squad? Many rumors and conjectures of not a complimentary character were indulged in but all were probably wide of the mark, as Gen. Mitchell was doubtless acting under orders from Washington in the matter. To the paroled prisoners it seem a question of life or death whether or not they should be received. But all anxiety was removed on the morning of May 30th, 1862, when a train of cars from towards Huntsville, Ala., arrived with a detachment of the 10th Wisconsin Infantry, who soon established a post and received the prisoners, who, without delay, boarded the train, which was soon pulled out, and the boys are once again under the Stars and Stripes, free, FREE! Those who have not felt the joyousness of such a moment cannot tell of the emotions! About 3 P. M. the train pulled into Huntsville, where the paroled prisoners became the guests of the 3rd and 10th Ohio Infantry, and were by them royally entertained. . . .

On the morning of the 31st, the paroled prisoners were directed to proceed to the depot for the purpose of taking the train for Nashville. Passing through the town by a mammoth spring of clear, pure water, the cars are reached and mounted, only to be told that they would have to march. This news gave a chill to the weak, half-starved men. At this point Quarter Master Dorr of the 12th Iowa appeared and privately made known to the boys that he had procured a few mules and wagons and would take charge of the paroled prisoners. The men were formed in lines. Those who could drive four and six mule teams with a single line were selected, and the balance moved forward on the Nashville Road. The mule drivers captured the mules running on the common, harnessed them with old traps of harness, hitched them to old government wagons, and were soon following. Out of the ten wagons constituting the train, four had drivers from Company D. J. W. Burch proved to be the crack mule-whacker of the lot, but [Patrick] Brennan, [Benjamin J.] Hill and [Byron P.] Zuver combined made a fair showing. A company of the 10th Ohio Infantry and a Cavalry Company guarding a train loaded with cotton, convoyed the outfit. Elk River was crossed at Elkton about noon, where we struck a macadamized road, and

that night camped in a corn field twenty-seven miles from Huntsville. The next day, June 1st, we marched twenty-two miles and June 2nd, twenty-one miles through Ellistown and Pulaski. When about six miles out from Pulaski, Quarter Master Dorr requested Zuver to return to that place and pick up stragglers. The task was dangerous and little relished, but was done. The next day, June 3rd, a halt was made at Columbia, Tennessee, on the banks of the Duck River, after marching fifteen miles, and at dark that evening, [we] took the cars on the Louisville, Nashville & Great Southern Railroad, arriving at Nashville at 11 P. M., where we remained until the next day, when we were marched to the fair grounds and quartered in the amphitheatre. A clear little creek ran through the enclosure, and with plenty of soap, water and leisure, the boys soon rid themselves of the dirt and graybacks in their ragged clothing. On the 10th of June, drew clothing, and on the 11th went into camp outside the fair grounds, which the boys named Camp Jackson, in honor of "Old Hickory." . . .

While at Camp Jackson, guards were stationed around the camp, to keep the boys in. Why, no one ever seemed to know. Some suggested that because of scanty clothing, the boys were not fit to go out. But Company D boys were not to be kept in. Some Colonel had presented our Masonic comrade [Robinson L.] Johnson with a pair of pants. The guard saluted him as an officer, and Johnson had fifteen of the Company fall in and he marched them through the guard and down to the city on the pretence that they had been detailed for duty down in the city, and so the time passed.

On the 25th of June an attack upon the city was threatened, and the commandant had the paroled camp interviewed, to learn if they would fight if the place was attacked. Receiving a negative answer,<sup>22</sup> he obtained an order for their removal. On the night of the 29th orders came to start for Louisville the next morning. Before daylight, breakfast was dispatched, and the boys at the train on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which they boarded as soon as made up, and soon were on their way, crossing the Cumberland on the first train over the new bridge built in place of the one destroyed by the rebels when they evacuated the place. Arriving at Louisville during the night, and before daylight on July 1st, were marched to the

<sup>22</sup> Until officially "exchanged," prisoners who had been "paroled" were pledged not to "bear arms or aid or abet the enemy of said Confederate States . . . either directly or indirectly in any form whatever, until regularly exchanged, or otherwise discharged." For this reason, the paroled prisoners felt justified in refusing to fight, or even to stand guard. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 78.

levee and put on board the fine steamer "Atlanta," which, at 3 P. M., slowly dropped down the broad Ohio and turned its prow down stream, passing, among other places, Smithland and Paducah, old acquaintances of the 12th Iowa, and arrived at Cairo, Ill., about 6 P. M. of the second. . . .

On the 3rd, the paroled prisoners disembarked from the Atlanta, and were placed in some old, deserted, lousy barracks, back in the swamp in which the town is built. Gen. Stone, the commandant of the Post, threatened dire things because the boys refused to perform guard duty, but he did not do anything.

In this hot and malarious camp, July 4th, 1862, was spent, without enthusiasm, or celebration of any kind, in great discomfort. The days dragged wearily along until the afternoon of the 9th, when the paroled prisoners were put on board the steamer "Southwestern," and taken up the Mississippi to St. Louis, glad enough to get away from Cairo and its swamp, levees and houses and sidewalks built on trestles, landing about dark on the 10th. Upon landing, the boys found themselves under strong guard composed of the Dutch state militia, who supposed they were guarding rebel prisoners, which made the boys mad and full of Old Nick, and on the march to Benton Barracks, they cut up such pranks as overturning apple carts, peanut stands, cigar store signs, etc., to the consternation of the citizens, frenzy of the guards, and the encouragement of rebel sympathizers. When the fair grounds within the enclosure was reached, the guards could no longer restrain them. With a yell, the 12th Iowa, knowing where the best barracks were, broke for quarters, and soon settled to a night's repose without taps. On the 11th, rations were issued to the boys in old style. For convenience, the paroled prisoners were organized into battalions. The 12th Iowa was formed into one Company C, 1st Battalion, and elected Eli King Captain, and E. A. Buttolph Orderly Sergeant, both of Company D, and Seth Macy, Company A, Commissary.

When the paroled prisoners arrived at Benton Barracks, Colonel Bonneville,<sup>23</sup> an officer of the regular army, of frontier fame, was in command, and a Capt. Brown of the 23rd Missouri, with his Company I, constituted the guard. They determined that the paroled prisoners should stand guard,

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, the noted French explorer, born in 1796, had served in the American army for years, taking part in the Mexican War. In 1861 he returned to the army and at this time was serving at Benton Barracks. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:438.

and for several days made regular details from the several Companies, but the details went under, instead or on, guard. This proving a failure, the Companies, as such, were detailed for guard duty. Company A was first detailed, and then Company B, both 8th Iowa men, and they complied and did duty. Company C, 12th Iowa men, were next detailed, but they refused under the leadership of King and Zuver, and defied Capt. Brown and his guards, taunting him with his running record at Shiloh, and daring him to shoot, and finally driving him and his command by stoning them with pieces of coal. Company C did not go on guard that day. Company E, 14th Iowa, were next detailed and went on guard, as did also Company E, composed of Wisconsin men, but the 58th Illinois boys refused for many weeks, and were kept under guard. At the next detail, of Company C, 12th Iowa boys, they went on guard, and probably would have done so at first had it not been for the taunts of the 8th Iowa, who boasted that the 12th Iowa would never dare to refuse as long as they had gone on guard. The trouble arose from the different constructions of the parole. The paroled prisoners claimed that standing guard over the camp was a violation of their parole. The officers who were in command claimed that it was not. . . .

On July 26th, Col. Bonneville was relieved of the command of the Barracks, and Major McChennis of Iowa put in command, and Gen. Frank P. Blair made a speech to the boys in which he sought to mollify them, but they hooted him. On the 27th Lieut. D. B. Henderson,<sup>24</sup> Company C, 12th Iowa, called on the boys on his way to join the Union Brigade. He was the first officer of the regiment which the boys had seen since they were paroled.

About this time, furloughs having been denied the boys, they began taking "French leave" but not many left until after August 10th, when each of the paroled prisoners were paid \$50.00. The boys left singly, by twos, threes and squads, and in a short time the 12th Iowa was reduced from 138 to 40, and remained at about this number, some going, others returning. But none were reported by King and Zuver as having deserted or being absent without leave, and of course the full complement of rations had to be drawn, which enabled those remaining in camp, by sale of the surplus, to supply their tables with the best the markets afforded. On August 17th, the 18th Iowa arrived at St. Louis, followed by the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd,

<sup>24</sup> David B. Henderson of Dubuque, later to serve in Congress for many years and as Speaker of the House from 1899 to 1903.



and 23rd in order, and by other regiments from Iowa up to and including the 40th Infantry, as well as troops from other states, which were distributed to various points down the river. On the second Tuesday in October, the paroled prisoners of the 12th Iowa voted at the Iowa state election, casting 38 Republican and 3 Democratic votes, showing 41 present.

On the second of November, 1862, a squad of 200 paroled prisoners, including seven of the 12th Iowa, and among them Allen M. Blanchard of Company D, captured at Corinth, arrived at Benton Barracks. Blanchard wore, in the battle, a steel vest, and when the bullet struck, it knocked him breathless, and he was reported killed, and when his body could not be found, then wounded and missing.

On the 9th of November, 1862, Capt. [John H.] Stibbs,<sup>25</sup> of Company D, arrived at Benton Barracks with the remainder of the survivors of the Shiloh prisoners. The officers of the 12th were paroled at Aiken's Landing, Va., on the 13th of October, 1862, and arrived at Washington, D. C., on the 15th, and were granted leave of absence. The enlisted men were paroled at Castle Thunder, Richmond, Va., October 17th, 1862, and delivered to their friends at City Point, and thence sent to Parole Camp at Annapolis, Md. As soon as Capt. Stibbs, who was visiting at his home in Wooster, Ohio, heard of their parole, he went to Washington and through political and military influences he was able to command, procured an order for the transfer of the paroled prisoners of the 12th Iowa to Benton Barracks, and went to Annapolis and accompanied them to St. Louis. Many were sick, and this timely action on the part of the Captain was greatly appreciated.

When the paroled prisoners arrived from Annapolis the 12th Iowa was organized into two Companies, the members of Companies D, F, G, H and I being Company C, and those of A, B, C, E and K forming Company H, First Battalion Paroled Prisoners. No furloughs were ever granted the paroled prisoners, although frequently promised. The officers went direct to their homes on leave. The men remained at Benton Barracks or took French leave, as they chose. Every member of the Company visited his home and probably every paroled prisoner in the regiment did the same. On the 16th of November, General Prentiss<sup>26</sup> visited the paroled prisoners, shook hands

<sup>25</sup> For Capt. John H. Stibbs's experiences as a prisoner of war, see Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 78-88.

<sup>26</sup> Brig. Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss, the highest ranking Union officer captured at Shiloh.

with the boys, and told them that he wanted to go to the front, having for his command only those regiments captured at Shiloh. . . .

The 12th Iowa were regularly exchanged in December, 1862, and the latter part of that month officers and men hastened to St. Louis to be present for muster for pay the 31st. On the morning of the 29th, Lieut. [Hiel] Hale and some thirty members of Company D left Cedar Rapids, arriving at Benton Barracks the 31st, in time for muster. A number of the Company being still absent, Capt. Stibbs issued the following order:

Headquarters 12th Iowa Infantry,  
Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.  
Jan. 2nd, 62.

All paroled prisoners belonging to Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, who are absent without leave, are hereby notified that they have been regularly exchanged and are ordered to report at these headquarters immediately or they will be considered as deserters. By order of

John H. Stibbs,  
Captain, Company D,  
12th Iowa Infy.

Nearly all of the paroled prisoners were absent on a furlough of their own taking when they were exchanged, and the order of Gen. Curtis<sup>27</sup> commanding the Department that all soldiers absent without leave, returning by January 1st, 1863, should have free transportation and no charges be preferred against them, had brought nearly all of them to St. Louis who intended to return and were able to do so. All of Company D reported except Jasper Wagner and Charles Fenerabend, who were marked deserters.

The officers were all present, the organization of paroled prisoners was disbanded, and the several Companies and Regiments re-formed, and the men supplied with arms and equipments and a thorough system of Company and Battalion drill inaugurated. All that was needed to make the organization complete was the Union Brigade which had been ordered to Davenport, Iowa.

#### REORGANIZATION AND THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

At the time when that portion of the regiment which had been in the Union Brigade was ordered to report to the Adjutant General of Iowa, it was doubtless the intention to send the exchanged prisoners there also, and

<sup>27</sup> Maj. Gen. Samuel Ryan Curtis of Iowa was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri in September, 1862. A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 45.

perfect the reorganization at home, but the winter passed in fruitless efforts on the part of Gov. Kirkwood and Adjutant General Baker to get this accomplished. When their furloughs expired, the boys returned to Davenport.

On the evening of the 4th of February, the non-commissioned officers and privates of Company D at St. Louis presented Capt. Stibbs and Lieut. Hale with elegant swords in place of them taken from them at Shiloh. The men were drawn up in line, the officers summoned from their quarters, ignorant of what awaited them, and upon their appearance, Private Zuver stepped forward and in a neat and telling speech made the presentation. The weapons were fine ones, having engraved on the hilt of each the name of the officer, with the words "Presented by Company D, 12th Iowa, February 3rd, 1863." . . .

Nothing of special moment transpired after this until the Union Brigade arrived. Daily drills were kept up, and Capt. Stibbs took special pains to perfect the Company in the manual of arms, bayonet exercises, and skirmish drill. The Company easily maintained its old time position as the best drilled Company in the regiment, and one of the best in the service. Ayers and S. R. Burch were champions in the bayonet exercises.

That portion of the regiment at Davenport did not receive their pay and orders to join the command at St. Louis until the latter part of March. The members of Company D who had served in the Union Brigade had a commissioned officer with them, and although he had lost no swords at Shiloh, they determined not to be outdone by the boys at St. Louis and so presented to Lieut. E. B. Soper a very fine sword and belt, with appropriate inscriptions on the hilt. The lieutenant was very much surprised as well as gratified by this testimonial, and while history is silent on the subject, yet being at Davenport and having just been paid off, it is believed that he "set 'em up" liberally to the boys.

On the 29th of March that portion of the 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa at Davenport left for St. Louis, arriving on the 31st, to the great joy of themselves and their comrades, from whom they had been separated since Shiloh. When the Company was re-united, and the records made up, it was found that the Company was reduced to 57 officers and men. . . .

On the 2nd of April, the regiment received orders to be ready to move at an hour's notice to join Gen. Grant near Vicksburg.<sup>28</sup> Arms, clothing

<sup>28</sup> Grant's campaign against Vicksburg had begun as long ago as Nov. 2, 1862,

and equipment were drawn and everything made ready for moving South. In the re-organization of the regiment, the several Companies were assigned positions in the regimental formation according to the rank of their Captains. Capt. [Samuel R.] Edgington [of Co. A], having been promoted to Major of the regiment, the Captain of Company B became the ranking Captain, that of Company C, the second, and Capt. Stibbs of Company D the third, which gave the position of color Company to Company D, which place it held ever afterwards, without regard to the rank of its Captain, by common consent. The regiment also had been newly armed with the Improved U. S. Springfield Rifled muskets, and had also received new standards consisting of the regulation flags and a blue banner on which were inscribed, in gilt letters, the name of the regiment, and, by general orders, "Ft. Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth," the the names of the battles in which it had taken a prominent part. The boys were very proud of the colors, and of being the color Company, and being one of the largest, if not the largest, and the best drilled one, felt that they deserved the recognition.

On the 9th of April, pursuant to orders, the regiment marched to the levee through clouds of dust that enveloped the command and covered the boys almost past identification, and embarked on the steamer "Planet" to take the place that it had been assigned in the 15th corps,<sup>29</sup> and were soon steaming down the "Father of Waters." . . .

The shores continued to recede. Cape Girardeau was passed on the 10th and Cairo reached during that night, where the regiment had its option to relieve the 35th Iowa and remain as its garrison, but respectfully declined. Proceeding down the river, Columbus, New Madrid and Island No. 10 were passed during the day, and Ft. Pillow during the night, arriving at Memphis at about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April. The boys speedily caught sight of the Bradley Block with which they had become acquainted during their former visit about one year previously, and did not fail to contrast the conditions under which their visits were made.<sup>30</sup>

and since that time he had been gradually closing in on that Mississippi stronghold. For Grant's account of this famous siege, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:422ff.

<sup>29</sup> The 12th Iowa was now assigned to the 3rd Brigade (together with the 8th and 35th Iowa, under command of Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies of Iowa), of the 3rd Division (commanded by Brig. Gen. J. M. Tuttle of Iowa) of the 15th Army Corps (under command of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman). *Roster and Record*, 2:410; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 750.

<sup>30</sup> A year before, when the Confederates held Memphis, the members of the 12th

While at Memphis the regiment drew tents and transportation, the former of what is known as Bellshaped, the latter, two six mule teams and a government wagon, all of which having been loaded on the Planet, the steamer, at 1:30 P. M. proceeded down the river. Helena, Arkansas, was passed during the night, and Lake Providence, Louisiana, the next day at evening, and Duckport, Louisiana, reached during the forenoon of the 14th, when we proceeded to disembark, and went into camp in an old cotton field behind the levee, which consists of a high embankment on both sides of the river, to prevent it, when the waters are high, from spreading over the country. The spring floods had filled the river and its waters were several feet higher than our camp. Company D had fifty men, and the regiment 388 when they entered upon this campaign. The 15th Army Corps, General Sherman commanding, was composed of three divisions — 1st, Gen. Steel, 2nd, Gen. Blair, and 3rd, General Tuttle.<sup>31</sup> The third division was gathering at Duckport seven miles above Vicksburg, sometimes called the Upper Landing of Young's Point, and the 12th Iowa was assigned to the 3rd Brigade, consisting of the 8th, 12th and 35th Iowa, and commanded by Colonel [Joseph J.] Woods of the 12th Iowa.

At the time when we arrived a canal was being excavated for the purpose of connecting the river with a bayou connected with the river fifteen miles below Vicksburg, and it had been opened up so that the water was flowing freely from the river to the bayou, and several steam dredges were at work deepening it.<sup>32</sup> During the two weeks we remained, heavy details of officers and men were constantly employed upon the canal and the bayou, with which it connected, endeavoring to clear a channel for steamers. On the 20th of April, General L. Thomas, the Adjutant General of the Armies of the United States, addressed the third division, formed en masse, on the subject of organizing negro troops, and with the desire to influence competent and deserving non-commissioned officers and privates to accept commissions in such regiments. Our army approved of the movement and many

Iowa captured at Shiloh had been quartered in the Bradley Block for a night before being sent South. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 70.

<sup>31</sup> Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele commanded the 1st Division; Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair, the 2nd; and Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle, the 3rd. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 152-3.

<sup>32</sup> This canal, on the western side of the Mississippi, was an effort to bypass the city and move the Union troops below Vicksburg by water, out of range of the Confederate guns. The project was a failure. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:447ff.

of the offices and men were not averse to accepting the offered promotion.

On the 30th of April, Adjutant [Nathaniel E.] Duncan became A. A. A. G. for Col. Woods commanding the Brigade, and Lieut. Soper of Company D was detailed to act as Adjutant of the regiment. On the 2nd of May, pursuant to orders from Gen. Sherman,<sup>33</sup> all extra baggage was packed, and everything put in knapsacks except a blanket to a man, and the men prepared themselves for business with as little burden as possible. Each man had, besides his gun and accoutrements, two days' rations, sixty rounds of ammunition, blanket, tin cup and such cooking utensils, in the way of coffee pot, skillet, etc., as each squad thought indispensable. All tents, knapsacks, cooking utensils, etc., were packed and left behind. After everything was done, and the men ready to fall in for the march, a shout went up. "Mail!" And sure enough, there was a lot of it, being the first mail that had reached us since leaving Benton Barracks, and the last one, too, for many weeks, and the boys got from five to fifteen letters apiece. In this mail, Capt. Stibbs received his commission as Major, and Major Edgington as Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment.

Lieutenant Colonel Coulter, who had gallantly commanded the Union Brigade, on account of advanced age and ill health, after first conducting the Union Brigade to St. Louis, resigned. A spirited contest took place for the vacancy between Capt. [Willard C.] Earle, of Company B, and Capt. Stibbs, the latter winning by his great popularity among officers and men, from his gallant conduct on many occasions, as well as bringing home the paroled prisoners. Lieutenant Hale at once succeeded to the command of the Company, and at 2 P. M. the regiment filed out and took its place in the line of march around and to the rear of Vicksburg,<sup>34</sup> starting in a Southwesterly direction along Walnut Bayou, and after making ten miles, encamped on

<sup>33</sup> Following the failure of the canal project, Grant decided to move his troops by land, south of Vicksburg, after running his supply ships past Vicksburg. On the night of April 16, seven iron-clads, three transports, and ten barges ran the Vicksburg batteries without too much damage. On April 26 other barges, loaded with supplies, were drifted past Vicksburg. In spite of damage and some loss, sufficient supplies were thus moved south of Vicksburg to provision Grant's army. Sherman's 15th Corps was the last to start moving south by land. *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:345-7. (Hereafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*.)

<sup>34</sup> This is misleading, if one thinks of Vicksburg as facing the Mississippi. The Union forces were across the Mississippi, on the west side, marching south to Hard Times Landing and then crossing to the east bank of the Mississippi at Grand Gulf, Miss. From there, they marched north to the "rear" of Vicksburg.

the banks of the bayou with green grass for a carpet and the foliage of lofty trees for a canopy. On the 3rd, we marched along the bayou all day, striking the Milliken's Bend and New Carthage Road at Richmond, La., where we went into camp for the night, having marched twenty miles. On the 4th of May, our route lay along Roundout Bayou, which we followed to its junction with Bydell's Bayou, which latter we crossed on a pontoon bridge, and went into camp that evening on Smith's plantation.

The weather was extremely hot and the road very dusty, as a large part of the army had passed over it. During the day we met 450 rebels captured at Grand Gulf, and passed by the famous Crocker Brigade of the 17th A. C., composed of the 11th, 13th, 15th and 16th Iowa, lying on the Holmes plantation. On the 5th of May we marched fifteen miles, striking the Mississippi River at Perkins Landing, where we went into camp for the night. The next day, the 6th, we marched down the Mississippi along St. Joseph's Lake, and after marching ten miles, went into camp and the next morning marched to Hard Times Landing, where the balance of the regiment, except Company D, was immediately transported across the Mississippi River to Grand Gulf, and started on the road leading to Jackson, Miss. . . .

The day the regiment crossed to Grand Gulf, Company D was train guard, and so was left with the division train, and which for want of transports, could not be ferried over, as the boats which had run the batteries at Vicksburg were constantly occupied crossing over the troops which were constantly arriving and being hurried to the front. . . . Company D found Hard Times Landing appropriately named—nothing but a sandy waste covered with braying mules, government wagons and marching regiments.

On the 10th, the train of the 3rd division crossed over the river on the steamer Silver Cross, and landed at Grand Gulf, remaining over the next day, when the boys viewed everything they thought worth looking at, saw Capt. [Henry J.] Playter of Company H, with several other stragglers, some five days behind the regiment, with a regular horde of stragglers and camp-followers, always in the wake of large armies. On the 12th the Company, as guard with the division train, made twenty miles and went into camp at Rockville, having left Port Gibson to the left. During this one day, the entire Company succeeded in picking up horses and mules for a mount, and the whole Company thereafter rode through, contrary to orders of the corps commander. On the 13th, marched fifteen miles with the train and went into camp. . . .

Persuant to the policy inaugurated by Adjutant General Thomas, contrabands were invited within our lines, and hundreds and thousands were met flocking into Grand Gulf. This exodus of the colored people gave the Confederacy a serious blow.

On the 14th the Company marched twenty-two miles, passing through Raymond, where Logan's division had a sharp engagement with the enemy a few days before, and where we found the 16th Ohio. . . . On the 16th, the Company, with the train, went into camp at Mississippi Springs, having marched only eight miles, having been delayed by troops returning from Jackson, but from whom we learned that Jackson had been taken on the 14th,<sup>35</sup> and that the 12th was a prominent participant in the charge, and that the 17th Iowa lost the most men of any regiment in the fight. They were plied with questions as to what became of the Confederate House, where the 12th, a year before, as prisoners, had been treated with so much contumely, and Dixie Land.<sup>36</sup> Whether they were able to report or not is not chronicled, but the facts are that Jackson was stormed and carried and occupied one rainy May evening about supper time. Many officers and men of the 12th Iowa, whose bivouac was near there, went to the Confederate House for supper, registered like gentlemen and took seats in the dining room. The darkey waiters scampered around lively amid some little confusion, but all the supper they got was a small piece of corn bread. When it became evident that nothing further could be obtained, the boys put the knives, forks and spoons in their pockets and walked out. There was no one to receive money, so the boys did not longer wait, but hunted elsewhere for supper. Company D was represented by Lieut. Soper, acting Adjutant of the regiment. About nine o'clock that same night, the Confederate House was seen enveloped in flames. It was a large wooden structure and made a fine light while burning, but the next morning there remained little to show for the hotel.

On the 16th of May, the Company with the trains of the 16th and 17th

<sup>35</sup> While Company D stayed behind with the wagons, the rest of the 12th Iowa, together with Sherman's division and others in the Union army, had proceeded northeastward on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and had occupied Jackson, Miss., thus cutting off Vicksburg from supplies from the east. Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston had evacuated Jackson on the approach of Grant's army. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:349.

<sup>36</sup> While imprisoned in the Confederate House at Jackson, the prisoners from Shiloh could hear bands playing *Dixie* and other Southern songs, and the "lower order of the populace" swarmed about, "abusing the 'Yanks.'" Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 70.



army corps, moved across from the Raymond and Jackson Road to Clinton, Miss., seven miles, and awaited the arrival of their command. The country had not been devastated by troops, and the boys found fine foraging, supplying themselves with chickens, honey, milk, and more substantial eatables. The 15th army corps had remained at Jackson two days, destroying railroads and public property, and when leaving there, the 3rd Brigade of the 3rd division constituted the rear guard. Stibbs' division passed Clinton about 2 P. M., but Tuttle's did not arrive until 5 P. M., and then made a night march to Bolton. The roads were obstructed by trains and artillery, and the progress was slow and tedious. When Company D took its place in the regiment, it was easy to see that the Jackson campaign had been a hard one. The boys were out of rations, but had supplied themselves at Jackson with tobacco and sugar, and Company D shared their rations with them, and in return received sugar and tobacco. Hard tack readily commanded a dollar each, but no one had any to sell. The boys gave away what eatables they could spare.

On the 17th, arrived at Bridgeport, Miss., on the Big Black River, five miles above the railroad bridge, where we camped, having marched twenty miles. During the night, a pontoon bridge was laid across the river, upon which Sherman's command crossed the next morning. The battles of Champion Hills the 16th, and the Big Black the 17th had driven the enemy's forces in the direction of Vicksburg. On the 18th, the army of the Tennessee, in three columns, advanced from the Big Black River toward Vicksburg, to coop the Johnnies.

The Brigade marched eighteen miles and took position near the center of Sherman's part of the line, which was the extreme right of the army. On the 19th, the 3rd Brigade, 3rd division, was sent to open up communications with the Yazoo River. In line of battle, with Company D thrown forward as skirmishers, the regiment and Brigade moved over Sherman's battle-field of the previous December, and down the hills overlooking the river and bayou, and the Pioneer Corps soon had a road to the river, over which supplies could be hauled. Company D captured 22 rebel prisoners during the day and a rebel regimental camp, hastily vacated by its occupants, with tents and cooking utensils. Of the prisoners Buttolph made the largest capture. On the 19th, while the 3rd Brigade was opening up the Cracker Road,<sup>37</sup> the first assault on Vicksburg took place. On the 20th, crackers

<sup>37</sup> "Cracker Road" or "Cracker Line" was the soldiers' name for a supply line to

were issued to the army. When the army left Grand Gulf, it took three days' rations, on which it subsisted six days. The country afforded plenty of meat and corn, also sugar, molasses and tobacco in sufficient quantities were found, but were short of salt.

Still, fresh boiled beef and parched corn would keep men from starving, and did. By the 21st, everyone had enough to eat, and on the 22nd occurred the general assault on the fortifications enclosing Vicksburg — the greatest and grandest charge ever made by the Western, and probably by any army of the modern times.<sup>38</sup> Vicksburg was surrounded by a chain of forts built on commanding points, and connected by lines of earthworks following the highest ground in zigzag manner. The country was rough and hilly, and had been covered with heavy timber, which had been felled with the tops from the work, and the tops lapped and sharpened, forming an almost impenetrable abatis. Up a steep hill and through these obstructions, the advance had to be made. The 2nd Brigade of the 3rd division, with the 12th Missouri in the front, following by the 8th Wisconsin, led the assault, the 3rd Brigade having orders as soon as the second Brigade effected a lodgment on the works, to hasten to their support.

The charge was made in plain view from the hill where the 12th Iowa was awaiting orders to advance, and was a grand and awful spectacle. At a given signal, the forces advanced along the whole seven miles. Bravely moved the 2nd Brigade to their work. A sheet of fire and smoke that no man could face poured over the rebel works. The 11th Missouri fell back; the 8th Wisconsin tried it and failed. The charge had been made under General Sherman's personal supervision, and when General Tuttle proposed to put the 8th and 12th Iowa under that fire, General Sherman declined to permit it, and so saved the 12th from a terrific loss. The day closed gloomily enough, as the loss to the whole army had been terrific, but the army and the politicians were content that the place should now be captured by a regular siege, and the engineers immediately proceeded to lay out the lines, and the men to cheerfully work in them, and by the 28th of May, work was being done on the second parallel.

the rear, over which supplies, and especially the popular hardtack or "crackers," could be brought up.

<sup>38</sup> Having moved his forces in a ring around Vicksburg, Grant tried to take the town by assault on May 22. The attack failed, however, and the army settled down to a siege. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:531.

The lines and approaches were constructed by digging zigzag trenches, always throwing out the dirt in the direction of the enemy's line.<sup>39</sup> The work was mostly done at night. Noiselessly and speechless, the boys worked and relieved each other in holding both guns and handling the shovel. When work on a new parallel was begun at night, it would be far enough along to afford shelter for the boys by morning. Day by day and night by night the work went on. If a reb showed his head above the works, a dozen rifles were aimed at it. If a Yank put his hat on a ram-rod and raised it above the trench, ten chances to one it had one or more bullet holes put through it.

On the 26th of May the Company elected Homer C. Morehead second Lieutenant, Hale being promoted to Captain, and Soper to First Lieutenant. On the 29th, the Rebs sent 300 to 400 charging on the Yanks. Why, no one knew, and a battery of four 30 lb. parrott guns were planted in front of the Brigade. On the 30th, a dispatch from Pemberton<sup>40</sup> to Johnston was captured, urging him to hurry up and relieve him, as he could not hold out much longer. On the night of the 31st, Company D was on picket line in front of the parallels, but no firing was done by either side. These pickets were withdrawn at day-break. During the night of June 1st, the regiment was hastily formed in line of battle to repel an expected attack, which did not come. Still sharp fighting for the possession of a spring of water occurred on our left.

On June 5th, Gov. Kirkwood and Adjutant General Baker of Iowa visited the Iowa troops and visited the parallels and approaches, but became decidedly nervous as the minies whistled about their ears, and manifested a decided penchant for walking much stooped over. Capt. Hale having been granted sick leave, Lieut. Soper was returned to and placed in command of the Company. On the night of June 9th, Companies A and D was on advance picket line, and on the 12th, the 3rd Brigade was relieved from the trenches by a brigade of Blair's division, and assigned a camp at a safe distance from rebel lines. When the 12th left the trenches, the lines were so near that a chip could easily be thrown from one to the other.

Other Companies lost men killed and wounded during the siege, but

<sup>39</sup> For a more detailed account of the building of these trenches around Vicksburg, see Mildred Throne (ed.), "Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 55:336-8 (October, 1957).

<sup>40</sup> Confederate Gen. John C. Pemberton, in command at Vicksburg.

Company D had no casualties. From the 12th to the 20th the Company furnished heavy details for fatigue duty, but no pickets. At daylight on the 20th was a general bombardment of the rebel works from every piece of artillery planted around the fortifications. During the siege, the gun and mortar boats had kept up a constant fire on the city, day and night. On the 21st the rebel Ft. Hill was blown up and on the 22nd the 1st and 3rd Brigades of the 3rd Division were ordered toward Black River where a line was being formed to meet and keep Johnston's army from Vicksburg. The 12th Iowa and Company D took no further part in the siege.

AFTER JOHNSTON — IN SUMMER QUARTERS

On the 22nd of June, 1863, the 4th Iowa Cavalry had a sharp fight with the rebel force between the Yazoo and Big Black River about fifteen miles from Vicksburg. This force was supposed to be the advance guard of Johnston's Army, and preparations were made to meet it.<sup>41</sup> Gen. Sherman was assigned to the command of the forces sent to meet Johnston, and on that day the 1st and 3rd Brigades of Tuttle's Division was started for the scene of the supposed danger, marching that evening some six miles, and sleeping on our arms, after dispatching our rations. The weather was very warm, and the next day's march of only eight or nine miles was one of the worst ever experienced. We encamped on Webles' Plantation, on what is called Birdsong's Ferry Road, about 4 miles from the Big Black, and 15 from Vicksburg. Wild blackberries were just ripe, and were in the greatest abundance and very fine. With plenty of sugar and concentrated milk, they were delicious. While we remained, the principal occupation of the boys was doing picket duty — picking blackberries, and trying to steal the few pigs and chickens the Rebs had left in the country. A large force faced Johnston — too strong for him to break, but as he was near and had a large force, a line of rifle pits was constructed, but they were never needed.

On the 4th of July, an official dispatch was received that Vicksburg had surrendered, and with it was coupled an order that the command move that evening to the Big Black, on the Jackson Road.

<sup>41</sup> Rumors that Johnston was coming to the rescue of Pemberton caused Grant to send Sherman's corps to "counteract" any effort on Johnston's part to relieve Vicksburg by attacking Grant's army in the rear. According to Sherman, "Even then the ability of General Johnston was recognized, and General Grant told me that he was about the only general on that side whom he feared." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:356-7.

The movements that resulted in the capture of Vicksburg were the most important and conducted with the greatest results of any campaign during the war — both in the number of prisoners and war material captured, and also in opening the Mississippi River and cutting in two the Confederacy. No wonder there was rejoicing all over the North.

The enemy was just across Black River — in how great numbers we did not know. By the 6th of July, arrangements for paroling the captured army had so far progressed as to release the greater part of Grant's army and a forward movement on Johnston was inaugurated upon the different lines of march. At 4 P. M. the first and 3rd Brigades of the 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, again crossed the Big Black on a pontoon bridge under cover of the artillery, and deployed into line of battle — the 1st Brigade on the right of the road, and the 3rd on the left, and preceded by a heavy line of skirmishers, advanced in line of battle thru a dense forest, reaching the uplands about dark. The open country had been scoured by cavalry, and we continued to advance until near eleven P. M. when we were marched into a cotton field, stacked arms, and the boys threw themselves down between rows of cotton plants and soon fell asleep. The night was cool, and many of the boys' blankets were being carried by the mule brigade and were far in the rear.

All was silent as the grave, when suddenly a terrible racket, followed by unearthly yells, arose from the bivouac of the 8th Iowa, and pandemonium appeared to let loose. The boys rushed for their guns and awaited the worst. A hungry mule tied to a ten foot rail, hunting fodder, had upset several stacks of guns upon the sleeping soldiers, and, terrified at the result, had rushed thru the camp, nearly caused a stampede if not a panic. No harm was done, except that the 35th Iowa lost some blankets, but they were found by the 12th and good use made of them. The incident has been told with many embellishments at numerous camp fires in after years, but the above are the facts with regard to the mule stampede. All were equally frightened, and the 8th need not pretend that it was a joke perpetrated on the 35th to get their blankets.

The next morning our pickets captured five rebel pickets who had been deserted by their army falling back. The first Division took the advance on this day. Our Brigade marched to Bolton, ten miles. The dust and heat was terrible, and men played out by the dozen. That night it rained. On the 8th, the most of the day was consumed in waiting for the 13th Army

Corps to pass, which gave opportunity to dry clothing and blankets, and after 5 P. M., marched ten miles to Clinton. On the 9th, the command advanced five miles, the 12th Iowa in the advance of the Infantry, the Cavalry doing most of the skirmishing, and pressing the enemy's rear guard. In the advance on Jackson, the 13th Corps had the right, the 9th the left, and the 15th the centre. On the 10th the enemy retreated behind their works at Jackson and showed fight.<sup>42</sup>

The position of the 12th was on De Fonte's plantation, in an open field some distance from the fortifications, but near enough so that solid shot and shell came uncomfortably close. Our relic hunter Zuver found on this plantation a New Orleans piccayune,<sup>43</sup> bearing date Nov. 8, 1840, the date of his birth, which he greatly prized. On the 11th, the brigade foraging party, with Quarter Master [George H.] Morrissey, of the 12th, and a detail of the regiment, were captured. None of Company D boys were in the detail. The country was full of rebel squads picking up stragglers and foragers, but forage must be had, and the 12th Iowa was ordered to proceed the next day in quest of the same.

By six o'clock on the morning of July 12th, the 12th Iowa was on the march. Proceeding some ten miles in a Southerly direction, they came to a portion of the country not previously visited by the Union army, and a stop was made at the plantation of the Rev. F. J. Hills. The overseer saw it could not be helped and told the boys to help themselves. They took him at his word and helped themselves to everything they saw. Company D, [John J.] Whittam being the instigator, of course, even took the dinner that had been cooked for Col. Edgington and his staff. The boys took everything they had any use for, or could carry, and many things they had no use for. Among other things, Whittam got a fine saddle. The expedition was in every way a success. Returning to camp at 7 P. M., the boys, with full stomachs, guarded ninety wagons loaded with forage and supplies.

The 12th returned to its old position in the line, where it remained during the 13th, 14th and 15th, with fighting and skirmishing going on along the line within hearing distance constantly, and not knowing what moment we might be ordered into it, and within range of the rebel artillery. The city

<sup>42</sup> Having driven Johnston back to Jackson, Grant's army now settled down to a siege, which lasted until July 17, when Johnston evacuated the town and escaped. *Ibid.*, 1:359-60.

<sup>43</sup> A copy of the New Orleans newspaper, the *Piccayune*.

of Jackson is situated on the West side of Pearl River, and at this time our lines extended to the Pearl River both above and below the City. An effort was being made to surround the place and capture the enemy. On the 14th [sic. 12th] Gen. Lauman led his division against the rebel works, and was repulsed with fearful loss, for which he was deprived of his command, how justly is disputed.<sup>44</sup> He was an Iowa man and a brave soldier.

The Union lines were well fortified, the boys by this time fully appreciating the use of the shovel, and understanding how to handle it. Late in the afternoon, the two brigades of the 3rd Division took the place in the line of the Division of Gen. Austerhaus [sic. Peter J. Osterhaus], and Companies D and H sent out on picket, relieving a Company of the 16th Ohio, commanded by Lieut. Heckoch, an old schoolmate of Zuver's in Ohio. By July 16th Companies D and H, with the balance of the picket line, advanced on the enemy, supposing that the Rebs were evacuating their works, but soon found that the works were fully manned, and they caused Mother Earth to become suddenly very dear, and a fit subject to be embraced. The rebels, in return, charged on the 1st Division, but were easily repulsed. The Company sustained no loss, although nearly [every] man in the Company had a close call, and were only saved by lying flat in the dense undergrowth in their front. Lieut. Soper was in command of the Company and led the men in the advance, and while some thought him rash for advancing so far, yet the sequel showed that his idea was right — that the men were safer near an enemy and behind shelter than farther away, with less cover. He did not ask anyone to go where he did not first go himself.

At dusk, Company D and Company H were relieved and returned to the line. Gen. Tuttle having become ill and no longer able to command the Division, Col. Woods was assigned to the command of the Division and Col. [James L.] Geddes of the 8th Iowa succeeded him in the command of the 3rd Brigade.

<sup>44</sup> Brig. Gen. Jacob G. Lauman of Burlington, originally colonel of the 7th Iowa, had had a distinguished career and had risen rapidly until his bad mistake at Jackson, Miss., which cost him his command. Placed in position on July 11 by Maj. Gen. Edward O. C. Ord of the 13th Army Corps, Lauman had, on the morning of July 12, attacked a strong Confederate position with one brigade without orders or without notifying Ord of his intentions. Ord promptly removed Lauman from command and sent him to the rear. The loss of Lauman's first brigade in this engagement was 441 casualties: 61 killed, 251 wounded, and 129 captured or missing, one-half of the 880 men in the brigade. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 547, 574-5, 603-604; Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 168-70; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:359.

On the morning of the 17th of July, to the surprise of most of us, Jackson was found to have been evacuated during the night. The city was immediately occupied. The rebels, before leaving, had fired the warehouses and everything that they thought would be valuable to the Yankees. The Yankees, on the other hand, began to burn and destroy everything that they thought of value to the Rebels, and between the two of them, by the time both got thru with it, there was not very much left of the city or railroads.

The 3rd Brigade went into camp near the Blind and Insane Asylum, and foraged among the better class of residences successfully, and prepared to make themselves comfortable during their stay, but at dark on the evening of the 18th, Col. Geddes, with a detachment consisting of the 8th and 12th Iowa, the 72nd and 95th Ohio and the 2nd Iowa Battery, forded Pearl River and set out toward Brandon, Miss., marching something over a mile, when a halt for the night was made, cooking their coffee where the smouldering campfires showed that the enemy's pickets had just left. The next morning the command filed into the road and proceeded toward Brandon. After advancing four or five miles, Col. Geddes, learning that the enemy in force was preparing to dispute his progress, ordered a halt and reported to the corps commander the situation. After the men had rested, the command was formed in two lines of battle, the 8th and 12th on opposite sides of the road, supported by the 72nd and 95th Ohio, with a battery in the road, and cautiously advanced upon the enemy hidden by the timber, until the rebel battery began shelling them, when the line was halted and the 2nd Iowa battery took position and unlimbered, and an artillery duel was fought, with advantage to neither party.

About this time, a brigade of the 1st Division arrived, and an advance was immediately ordered. Soon after, very opportunely, a shower of rain fell. A halt having been made while the line was in a cornfield, the men had lain down to avoid the shells, and all had nearly smothered. The rain refreshed everyone and a running fight was kept up the balance of the way to Brandon, thirteen miles from Jackson, where we arrived toward evening and were received by ladies with pitchers of water and glasses. Of course the soldiers were thirsty. Whether this reception was prompted by policy or sentiment we did not stop to inquire. The 12th camped in the court house yard. During the night, rebel guards, under flag of truce, with paroled prisoners on their way to Jackson, passed thru.

On the morning of the 20th the command marched 1½ miles to the rail-



road depot and destroyed it and tore up and destroyed about five miles of railroad track, and burned what cotton could be found and then set out on the return march to Jackson, arriving at 10 P. M. that night. While we had been absent, the 9th and 3rd Corps had returned, and Smith's Division of the 9th had been transferred to the 15th Army Corps as the 4th Division.

The 21st and 22nd were spent in Jackson, the men having a good deal of liberty, while squads and details continued the work of destruction, which, having been completed, the command, accompanied by contrabands and refugees in considerable numbers, evacuated Jackson, and marching as far as Clinton, went into camp for the night. The boys had been over the ground so many times they knew the road well, but on the 24th a new road was taken and the command marched over a portion of the battle field of Champion's Hill, and encamped on Baker's Creek, about 25 miles from Jackson. The trees and brush on the battlefield looked as it had on portions of the field of Shiloh, and showed that hard work had been done.<sup>45</sup>

At this place, Gen. Tuttle was in command of the Division, and Col. Woods of the Brigade. On the next day, the 25th, the Division moved up Black River, crossing at the Messenger's Ferry, and after marching some fifteen miles, went into camp some four or five miles from the river. The camp was well selected on level ground, shaded by lofty trees, and convenient. These indications all pointed [to] a resting spell, and the camp was named Camp Sherman. The remainder of the month of July was spent in pitching tents, clearing and cleaning up streets and parade grounds, and making a pleasant and enjoyable camp. . . . Some drilling was done in the cool of the morning and evening, but the most the boys had to do, except light detail for guard and picket duty, was to eat, write letters and keep cool. . . .

On September 6th, General [Alexander] Asboth took command of the Division and Col. Woods went home on leave. . . . On the 15th the regiment moved four miles to the left, and established Camp Stibbs, near the plantation of Major Harris, when for three days every man was on guard, picket, patrol or fatigue duty. But just as a three acre camp in thick heavy timber was about cleared, orders came to rejoin the Brigade, and the regiment moved back and established a new camp, called Camp Woods, where we had picket duty every other day. . . .

<sup>45</sup> The battle of Champion's Hill had taken place on May 16, 1863, during Grant's

On the 27th of September, Gen. Sherman left with the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the 13th Army Corps for Chattanooga.<sup>46</sup> . . . Camp life had become dull and insipid, and ennui pervaded the camp, relieved only by guard and picket duty and an occasional skirmish on the picket line. On October 10th the regiment slept in line on their arms, fearing a night attack, and on the 11th Gen. Tuttle relieved Gen. Asboth of the command of the division, and the latter, with his many dogs and fine horses, went elsewhere. On the 13th the Iowa regiments in the brigade voted at State election, Gen. [William M.] Stone being the Republican candidate for Governor and Gen. Tuttle the Democratic. The result was as follows: 12th, Stone 211, Tuttle 23; 8th, Stone 253, Tuttle 7; 35th, Stone 211, Tuttle 124. The boys liked Tuttle, but disliked Stone personally, so the vote was a clear indication of the political bias of the command.

By October 15th Camp Woods had become a beautiful village of canvas-covered cottages. The tents had been raised three or four feet from the ground, the lower part boarded up and floored, and fireplaces, with tall chimneys, constructed, and furnished with centre tables and more or less parlor furniture. Cook shanties were constructed and covered with tent flies. There were plenty of mules to ride into the country for milk and forage, water to haul from a spring near by, as well as close chances of capture to be run. There was also a regimental portable oven and baker, with daily fresh bread, as well as an improvised gymnasium. These and many other conveniences and luxuries not usually found in camp showed not only that the boys had not been idle all the time, but also that they still had some taste and longing for civilized life.

But when the sun rose on the morning of the 15th, the tents and flies had disappeared, all extra baggage had been packed and sent to the rear, and the Brigade was falling into line, and soon was on the march, leaving only the deserted ruins of the lively village of the day before. At Messenger's Ferry, the 3rd Brigade was joined by the 1st and two divisions of the 17th army corps, all under General [James B.] McPherson. The two Brigades of the 15th army corps had the advance, marching twenty miles to Brownsville,

advance from Grand Gulf to Vicksburg, and was one of the victories which enabled him to separate Johnston from Pemberton.

<sup>46</sup> Brig. Gen. William S. Rosecrans had been defeated at the battle of Chickamauga on Sept. 19-20, and had retired to Chattanooga. Sherman was sent to his relief with part of the 13th Army Corps. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:374-5.

Miss., and went into camp on a high ridge facing the enemy. The circling camp fires made an attractive scene, especially to those of Company D, to whose lot fell a night on picket duty, to be followed by a day's march. The enemy had been slowly but surely driven all day by the cavalry and artillery, and no infantry had been engaged. October 16th the army advanced only six miles. The enemy made quite a determined stand but was again driven by the cavalry and artillery. On the 18th there was more fighting, but the artillery caused the enemy to fall back.

On the 18th, the command separated. General Logan with his division, and the two brigades of the 3rd division, marched briskly to Bolton and Clinton, twenty miles, while the remainder of the 17th corps pushed on to Canton, Miss. On the 19th, Logan's command returned to Black River, crossing over before going into camp. During the whole 18 miles march on that day, the enemy hovered on the flanks of the command, watching for an opportunity to attack, but found no satisfactory one. The expedition was sent out as a diversion in Gen. Rosecrans' favor, and to destroy cotton and railroad property, which was successfully accomplished, large amounts of locomotives and cars being destroyed, and, as our historian records it, it likewise resulted in starting from the ground a great many sweet potatoes. The next day, the 3rd brigade went into camp on Hebron's Plantation between Vicksburg and the Big Black River, and about nine miles from Vicksburg, where the boys proceeded to rebuild another village and supply themselves as much with the comforts of home life as their situations and surroundings would admit of. . . .

On the 7th of Nov., 1863, the 3rd Division of the 15th army corps, on its way to Chattanooga, as was supposed, marched to Vicksburg and embarked on steamers. The Pioneer Corps and the 12th Iowa were assigned to the steamer Thomas E. Tuttle, and about 7 P. M. on the 8th, the steamer planks were pulled in and she swung out into the stream and was soon following in the wake of the other steamers that had preceded her up the stream.

#### RE-ENLISTMENT

On November 10, 1863, we passed Napoleon, Arkansas, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and Helena on the 11th, and arrived at Memphis at 10 A. M. of the 12th and disembarked and went into camp on the outskirts southeast of the city. The weather was fine, and little duty to do and the boys had a very good opportunity to explore the city, which had not been

the case on either of their two former visits. Everyone supposed we were on our way to Chattanooga to join the balance of our corps, and this probably was the original intention, and we were only awaiting transportation, but the first Brigade of our Division was assigned to duty at Memphis, the 2nd sent to La Grange, Tenn., and on the 19th of November, the 3rd Brigade set out on a march Eastward along the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, and encamped that night near Germantown, fifteen miles, pitching tents for the first time for the 12th when on a march, but as it rained very hard that night, the boys were well repaid by the shelter they afforded.

On the 20th marched sixteen miles, passing Collierville, and went into camp near Fayetteville, and on the 21st reached La Grange, 18 miles. While on this march, the boys grumbled a good deal and blamed Col. Geddes,<sup>47</sup> as it was generally believed that he might have had the command transported by rail had he so chosen. At La Grange, while awaiting cars to transport us to our destination, the boys wandered through the halls of the Female College located here, and over the gravel walks through the grounds, and wondered where the Southern belles had gone with their precious snuff-sticks.<sup>48</sup>

In the afternoon of the 23rd of November, the Brigade, with the exception of the left wing of the 35th Iowa, which the day before had proceeded to Middletown, Tenn., took the cars on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, near the Tallahatchie River. The 12th proceeded to Chewalla, Tennessee, 9 miles East of Corinth, Mississippi, arriving at midnight, and where, without depot or platform, the rain pouring down in torrents, they unloaded themselves, baggage and camp equipage and transportation, scattering things right and left, and then groped and waded to camp, a mile distant, and sought shelter.<sup>49</sup> In the morning, the regiment relieved three companies of the 3rd Michigan cavalry as garrison of the Post and took charge of the Camp. It comprised about three acres, surrounded by a high stockade built of logs well set in the ground, with port-holes, with log cabins for barracks,

<sup>47</sup> Col. James L. Geddes of the 8th Iowa. *Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 185-94.

<sup>48</sup> A snuff stick, or brush, was used in rubbing snuff on the teeth or gums. Chiefly used in the Southern United States.

<sup>49</sup> ". . . early in November . . . [the 12th Iowa] was ordered to Memphis and, upon arriving there, was assigned to the Third Brigade of the First Division of Major General Hurlbut's Sixteenth Corps, and was stationed at Chewalla, ninety miles from Memphis, to guard a section of the railroad." *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

all of which had been constructed by the 18th Missouri Infantry. Besides these conveniences, it possessed telegraphic communications with the outside world, a large Chapel, warehouse, officers' quarters, wells of good water and a fort, and in and about it were many Union refugees and wives of Union soldiers who had married in Tennessee and Mississippi.

The Regiment at once proceeded to make a general cleaning of the post and settled down to the work of doing scouting and picket duty, and guarding the railroad, especially the trestle bridge, about 300 feet long, spanning Cypress Creek, three miles distant from camp. The railroad bridge was guarded by a Company at a time. The duty was heavy. Besides camp guard, fuel had to be prepared and hauled, commissary stores and forage to be got from the country or brought from the railroad, pickets stationed on every road leading from the place, and almost daily scouting parties sent out, the latter made necessary by squads and detachments of the enemy making visits to their homes or pressing men into the rebel service, and who were constantly prowling around to gobble the pickets and pick up stragglers. With Division Headquarters at La Grange, and Brigade at Pocahontas, the regiment was almost an independent command, and in many respects was such, having its own spies and scouts employed, who reported direct to Col. Stibbs, commanding the post.

But notwithstanding all this duty, the 12th Iowa spent the winter of 1863-4 in a very enjoyable manner. There was very little duty but had some novelty, and these little dangers and scouts relieved the monotony of camp life. During the winter several of the officers' wives came down and joined their husbands, and their presence enlivened the camp. The Chapel, as the Regiment had no Chaplain, was converted into a dancing hall, and as the regiment had good musicians and instruments, night after night the boys would choose partners from among themselves and carry on the dancing in regular society-ball style. Cotillions, reels, waltzes, schottisches, polkas, mazurkas, gallopades, Firemen's dances, etc. were practiced and lessons learned that in after-years made some of them the envy of the ballroom at home. Much of the credit for this is due to Company G, composed mostly of Scandinavians, but most excellent soldiers, and one of the tidiest Companies in the regiment, as well as good dancers. Occasionally dances were gotten up by the boys, and ladies from the adjacent country invited, when they were conveyed to camp in ambulances, and escorted home in style. It was seldom that one of them went back on snuff or tobacco. Sam Flint, of

Company D, one evening invited a not very promising looking applicant to dance with him. Before she answered, she ejected into her hand and threw on the floor a big quid of tobacco, and then loudly and sarcastically answered "No!" The boys did not for some time forget to guy Sam about her. Sometimes the citizens brought in produce to exchange for Uncle Sam's fractional currency, but their butter was not like that for which the land of Goshen was famed, and chickens and eggs had left the country. So much for the winter's amusements.

At tattoo on the night of the 27th [of November], Company D received orders to put a day's rations in haversack and be ready in two hours to move on a scout. At the appointed time, the Company left camp, accompanied by three natives employed as scouts and spies, of whom "Bill, the scout" was one. Crossed the Tallahatchie, and halted near what was known as the "boneyard," southwest of Corinth, and some eight miles from camp. The night was fearfully cold, and the boys, with shaking knees and chattering teeth, awaited the coming of the expected rebels upon either of the three roads centering here. But none showed up, and as soon as it was light, the Company retired to a cane-brake, in a convenient ravine, built fires, warmed themselves, boiled coffee and breakfasted, and the balance of the 28th, scouted more for wild turkeys than rebels, but without success as to either, returning to camp just at dark. By the 30th, rumors of the dangerous proximity of a strong rebel force were rife. While the boys did not put much confidence in them, still they wished for a Company of Cavalry and a couple of pieces of artillery, when, with a force of less than 500, they would have felt secure from an attack of 5,000. On December 1st the telegraph wires were cut three different times, and telegraphic communication destroyed, and an attack from Forrest, who was reported crossing the Tallahatchie, expected. This only served to make the boys more watchful. . . .

On the 4th, the rebels tore up some three miles of railroad track between Pocahontas and La Grange, and attacked the troops at Moscow. Railroad communications for several days were thereby interrupted. The 7th Kansas Cavalry (Jennesen's Jay-hawkers)<sup>50</sup> captured 150 Rebs near Danville, Miss., and sent them by rail from Chewalla to Memphis as prisoners. For-

<sup>50</sup> This was the 7th Kansas Cavalry, commanded by Col. Charles R. Jennison, a doctor who had been a leader of the antislavery forces in Kansas in the 1850's. His regiment became known as the "Jayhawkers." Simeon M. Fox, *The Story of the Seventh Kansas* (pamphlet, Topeka [?], 1902 [?]).

rest was pursued through West Tennessee by part of the Division and a force of cavalry, but he escaped, returning to Mississippi early in January.

In December re-enlistment as veteran volunteers began in the regiment with Company I. The inducements were: 1. Credit for the unexpired term. 2. \$400.00 bounty. 3. A thirty days furlough home, with transportation both ways, with all pay and allowances to date of muster out. These inducements proved attractive to most of the Company and re-enlistment was popular.<sup>51</sup> . . .

On Jan. 5, 1864, those of the 12th Iowa who had re-enlisted were mustered out as plain volunteers, and mustered in as veteran volunteers by Lieut. Meagher, 13th U. S. Infantry, A. C. M., and the regiment became the 12th Infantry Regiment of Iowa [Veteran] Volunteers. There was quite a strife between the 8th and 12th as to which should first get the requisite number of men to become mustered in as a veteran regiment, and the 12th won, and became really the third regiment that re-enlisted. Out of an aggregate of 434 present in the regiment, 323 re-enlisted,<sup>52</sup> and of the 49 in the Company, 39 re-enlisted. . . .

The re-enlistment of so many of the volunteers whose term of service was so near expiration did much to encourage our own government, and discourage the Confederacy, and had a very wholesome effect in the North, and made possible the great campaign of 1864. Whether the country has done justice to these veterans is an open question, whose discussion is not within the limits of this history. . . .

In January, 1864, Corinth and the posts along the railroad East of there were evacuated and the troops drawn off Eastward toward Chattanooga, while the 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, guarding the railroad West of Corinth were drawn off toward Memphis, and became the 1st Division of the 16th corps, and the Division commanded by A. J. Smith, the 3rd, and the two together constituting the right wing of the 16th Corps, while the 2nd and 4th Divisions under Gen. Dodge, with Gen. Sherman, constituted the left wing of the 16th Corps.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> All Iowa regiments except the 1st Iowa had enlisted for three years. Their time now expiring, they were free to be mustered out unless they re-enlisted as "veterans." Of the 12th Iowa, 298 re-enlisted for three more years, or for the duration of the war. *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

<sup>52</sup> The figures for re-enlistment given in note 51 are probably more nearly correct than those given here by Soper.

<sup>53</sup> Soper is somewhat confused here as to the makeup of the 16th Army Corps.

On January 25, Corinth was evacuated, and the works that had cost so much labor destroyed. On the 26th, the 12th Iowa burned the Barracks and stockade at Chewalla and moved by train to Memphis, arriving in the evening and the next day went on board of the steamer Delaware, leaving all supplies and baggage in store. On the 30th the regiment was paid off, the veterans receiving pay and bounty up to muster out, and on the same day a recruiting party for the regiment went North to recruit for the regiment generally, consisting of Major [Edward M.] Van Duzee, Capt. [Lloyd D.] Townsley [Co. G], and Orderly Sergeant [Judson L.] Boughton of Company D, [John D.] Conger of A, [Valma V.] Price of H, and [John] Bremner of F, and on the afternoon of February 1st, the steamer with the 12th and many stragglers from the commands that had preceded it down the river, headed down stream.

It rained for three days, and the 12th were quartered on the hurricane deck, and were as wet and uncomfortable as veterans could well be. The Delaware stopped three hours at Helena during the night of the 1st, and arrived at Vicksburg at 10 A. M. of the 3rd, and went into camp about three miles from the city, when it was learned that the 1st Brigade had remained in Memphis. On the 4th, the two Brigades of the Division marched to Black River Bridge — so called because the river had been spanned by a railroad bridge and a long trestle — and were assigned the tents and quarters of Gen. Lygett's [sic. Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett] command, a part of Logan's [sic. McPherson's] Division of the 17th corps, then commanded by General [John] MacArthur, whose Division had taken the place of Tuttle's in the expedition, on account of his late arrival.<sup>54</sup>

The 12th Iowa was in the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. J. M. Tuttle. Brig. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge commanded the 2nd Division, while Brig. Gen. A. J. Smith commanded the 3rd Division. Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman commanded the Army of the Tennessee, which consisted of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Army Corps. Maj. Gen. John A. Logan commanded the 15th Army Corps; Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, the 16th; and Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, the 17th. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part II, 297-305.

<sup>54</sup> This "expedition" was Sherman's attack on Meridian, Miss., part of a plan to break up concentrations of Confederate troops in Mississippi threatening the navigation of the river. Meridian is situated in Eastern Mississippi, about 150 miles east of Vicksburg. See Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:415-33. As Soper states, the 1st Division under Tuttle did not take part in this expedition because of delay in reaching the rendezvous. See Sherman to Tuttle, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part II, 316. Soper is again in error here about names and commands: Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett commanded the 3rd Div. of McPherson's 17th Corps, and Brig. Gen. John MacArthur was in charge of the defenses of Vicksburg. *Ibid.*, 304, 316, 344.



The expedition had been gone some days when we arrived. The 12th took possession of the camp of the 124th Illinois, which proved very comfortable quarters. Here we remained until the expedition returned from Meridian, Miss., which was subsequently learned to have been its destination. . . . We [had] left Memphis in light marching order, and brought nothing with us but what we could carry on and about our persons during the march, consequently were short of a good many articles that would have been very convenient to carry on the march, but as the quarters, or tent-covered houses, were built with fire-places, and fuel was abundant, we made ourselves very comfortable until the clothing and baggage left at Memphis was forwarded. Picket and guard duty was light but the time was occupied by Company, Regimental, Brigade and even Division drills, which helped to keep the men busy, which in an army, means healthy.

While at Black River Bridge, a number of recruits arrived from the North for the regiment. . . . They were speedily set to drilling under command of a Sergeant, and their instruction in the theoretical part of the art of war was continued until the Company went home, where they had a chance to learn the practical part, up the Red River. One day Company D was sent out as a guard over a party from Des Moines, Iowa, who came to take up and remove the bodies of some officers of the 23rd Iowa, killed in battle at Black River Bridge, May 17, 1863, and hastily buried on the field, which duty was satisfactorily performed without a brush with the enemy who were hovering around. The battle field was some two miles east of the river.

While here, an election was ordered by Col. Stibbs to be held in Company D to select a Captain in place of Heil Hale, resigned. The election was held, resulting in the selection of 1st Lieutenant E. B. Soper for that position, and to which he was immediately appointed, receiving his commission on March 12, 1864. . . .

Gen. Sherman's expedition returned the first days of March, bringing from 5000 to 8000 contrabands, of all ages, sizes and colors, and with all traps and contraptions imaginable. For more than half a day they passed in procession, a constant stream, with the road lined with guying soldiers from the Division. It was a sight to see these former slaves marching to freedom and rations, conveyed by the Federal army. On the afternoon of the 4th of March, the command left Black River and started toward Vicksburg, arriving there about noon of the 5th. While on the march back to Vicksburg,

Dennis Conley, plodding and slipping through the mud, with his pants rolled up, spied a darkey riding comfortably, perched on a load of baggage. The sight so enraged Conley that, clubbing his musket, he made for the darkey, crying "Get down out of that altogether!" This incident Sam Flint took up and gayed Conley, greatly to his annoyance. . . .

Col. Woods joined the regiment at Vicksburg, but did not take command of the Brigade, by reason of the expected departure of the veterans for home. On the 7th, the regiment was ordered to turn over non-veterans and recruits to the 35th Iowa, and the veterans to proceed North to Davenport, Iowa, to be furloughed for thirty days.<sup>55</sup> . . .

The veterans of the 8th and 12th embarked on the steamer "Minnehaha" and left Vicksburg the afternoon of March 8th, 1864, homeward bound, arriving without accident or incident worth chronicling, at Memphis during the night of the 11th. During the 12th, the regiment turned over its arms, equipments and all government property, and that night proceeded up the river. The Mississippi River was very low, and sand-bars were thick, and slow progress was made. About 7:30 P. M. of the 14th the steamer ran aground, where, for two days and nights, all efforts to get her off proved unavailing, notwithstanding the boys went on shore and with big cables, endeavored to pull her off. The boys soon ran out of rations and went through the store room of the boat, and appropriated what they found edible. Some little damage was done, but not enough to make it amount to much. The owners afterwards made claim against the two regiments for several thousand dollars, to be assessed against their pay, but the claim was contested by the officers and much testimony taken by the military commission to whom the same was referred. The claim was finally rejected.

On the 16th the schooner, *Island City*, came down from Cairo and took off the men, when the *Minnehaha* succeeded in getting off the bar, and followed on to Cairo, where the 8th Iowa went back to her, but the 12th had had enough of her and stuck to the *Island City*. Both steamers left Cairo for St. Louis at 1 P. M. of the 17th arriving there at midnight the 19th. During the passage from Vicksburg to Cairo, Dennis L. Conley of Company D died on the steamer of consumption.

<sup>55</sup> These "veteran" furloughs just at this time annoyed Gen. Sherman. Plans for the final concerted movement against the Confederacy were in the making, and both Grant and Sherman were "much embarrassed" by the loss of these trained men, if only for 30 days, as it delayed their plans. "To furlough so many of our men at

The next morning after the arrival of the regiment at St. Louis, the city reception committee of veteran regiments met and escorted the regiment, headed by the crack band of the city, seventy pieces, to the Turner's Hall, where the boys were feasted, toasted and filled with the best of victuals and drink, and that evening embarked on another steamer for Davenport, Iowa, arriving the evening of the 22nd. The river was full of running ice, and the weather was far from warm, but by protecting the hull with chains, spars and timbers, the passage was safely made, though the paddlewheels were badly broken up by striking the ice cakes, and occasional collisions with the ice made everything tremble. The citizens entertained the boys the night of the 22nd at the hotels, and the next morning, March 23, 1864, all hands received their furloughs, made up by the Company officers, and signed by Col. Woods the night before, and were ready to take the train east when it came along from Iowa City, the terminus of the road. Company D was provided with transportation by way of La Salle and Dixon, Ill., and arrived at Cedar Rapids about noon on the 24th. The Company was met at the depot by nearly the whole people of the city, when Major Childs made a reception speech, fittingly responded to by Col. Stibbs in behalf of the Company, and escorted by citizens, bearing at its head the flag presented by the ladies in 1861, the Company marched to the American House and partook of the banquet provided for them, and then dispersing proceeded to make use of the freedom of the city, which had been tendered to them. The welcome accorded by the people of Cedar Rapids to Company D was something worth cherishing the remembrance of, and, in a measure, repaid the years of hardship and privations of a soldier's life. . . . Singly, by twos and threes, the boys sought their homes. . . .

#### AFTER FORREST

On the 25th of April, Co. D, with nearly all present and some recruits, took the cars at Cedar Rapids, the second time, for the seat of war. . . . That afternoon arrived at Clinton, and embarked on the Steamer James Means, and landed at Davenport during the night, and the next morning went to the Barracks at Camp Herron. . . .

The balance of the Regiment having arrived, and the recruits mustered in, on the morning of the 28th Col. Woods led the Regiment to the depot, and took the cars on the C. R. I. & P. Railway, changing to the Illinois Central that instant of time," wrote Sherman, "was like disbanding an army in the very midst of battle." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:423.

at La Salle, arriving at Cairo during the forenoon of the 29th, and were assigned a muddy, dirty Camp, near the city, to await transportation. The boys, who had so long been used to better things, took upon themselves the privilege of going to hotels and private houses, and paying for or "beating" their entertainment, according to the condition of their funds. But the next morning, the 30th, transportation was secured on the Steamer Luminary, which landed the Regiment at Memphis at noon on May 1st, 1864. It was reported that Col. Woods was offered the position for the Regiment of provost guard of the city of Memphis; but, if so, it was declined, and the 8th Iowa, with Col. Geddes commanding, secured the place. The Regiment landed and marched to Ft. Pickering, just below the city, and were assigned quarters in the Barracks, and drew arms and accoutrements — Enfield Rifles again, and Cos. A, B, C, D and E were put on picket, some not getting posted until after midnight; and the next day was relieved by the other five Companies, which continued during the stay in Memphis — picket every other day.

On May 3rd, the several Companies drew tents and Camp and Garrison equipage, and went into Camp in the rear of Memphis, near Wolf River. It was a beautiful place — a soldiers ideal Camp; shady trees, green grass, no undergrowth near the city and partook not only of the comforts, but also of the elegancies of a soldiers life. The picket duty was every other day, it was true, but was not hard; the principal duty being to prevent contraband articles being taken out through the lines to the Confederates. People living outside the lines, and wanting to make purchases to take home, went to the Provost Marshall and obtained a permit to take out specified articles. It was the duty of the picket to search the party's belongings and see that he had nothing but what was described in the permit. If he had the same was taken from him or her. It was a common practice for them to bring along an extra bottle of whiskey for the guard; but that did not always avail them, if they wanted to get something through they had no permit for. . . .

But, notwithstanding all the comforts and advantages of the Camp, the life was somewhat monotonous; and, when on the 16th day of May orders came to Cos. A, B, C, D, F, and H to report at the mouth of the White River, Ark.,<sup>56</sup> it did not take the boys long to strike tents, pack baggage

<sup>56</sup> The regiment was sent to White River, Ark., "for the purpose of establishing a military post." *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

and march to the levee, under command of Col. Stibbs, and embark on the Steamer Atlanta; the very Steamer on which, in 1863, the paroled prisoners came from Louisville to Cairo, and considered the fastest Steamer in the Western waters. As soon as all were on board, the gang plank was pulled in, and we were soon speeding down the Mississippi, and the landing at the mouth of the White River reached by 10 A. M. the 17th. A race was witnessed by the boys, on the way down, between the wooden gunboat Tyler and the Steamer Queen City, with the advantage in favor of the latter.

The six Companies soon disembarked with their belongings, and a Camp was selected on the bank of the river in a wilderness of trees, brush, logs and creeping vines. No troops were Camped here, and none had ever been camped; but all hands, officers and men, took hold, and soon cleared a suitable Camp ground and pitched tents, pickets having first been posted, and everything made as comfortable as possible.

The boys soon learned that this point in the river was the headquarters of the Naval force patrolling the river from Cairo to Natchez; and that the nearest military post was at Napoleon, twenty miles distant, where was stationed a very small force; that the land whereon we were Camping was surrounded by water. Lying between the White and Arkansas Rivers with the Mississippi on one side, and the cut-off between the White and Arkansas on the other. The bottom back of the Camp was full of shallow bayous. These were soon found to be full of fish, principally buffalo, well known in the Western lakes. The boys soon constructed seines of gunny sacks, and in strong force seined the bayous laying in an abundance of fish, when we had them cooked in every known, and in some unheard of manners. The Gars, however, generally escaped; going through the gunny sacks, and making the cold chills chase each other over the back of any fellows whose legs they came in contact with, probably making him think of Oysters.

Duty at this place was not severe nor irksome; except that the air swarmed with Mosquitos and Gallinipes, for which that whole Country has a national reputation. These made life a burden, and sleep, in a still sultry evening, nearly impossible, notwithstanding smudges that nearly suffocated.

Occasionally a native was seen, but they were scarce then, and probably are now. The Country was scouted and picketed and pretty well learned, but the Confederates did not bother us. The boys amused themselves, for a while, bathing in the Mississippi, but the narrow escape of Serg't [Howard] Pangborn from drowning, by taking a cramp, put a stop to this pastime.

A man was caught passing counterfeit money, and, when arrested, had on his person \$500 in greenbacks, and \$870 counterfeit greenbacks. He was started for Memphis under Guard of Serg't King and four men, but on route jumped overboard, and, receiving a volley from the guard, disappeared.

On June 1st the Enfield rifles were exchanged for new Springfields brought down by Lt. [Arison T.] Fuller of Co. K; and, on the 2nd, orders were received to leave Cos. H [sic. A] and F in charge, and for Col. Stibbs to report with the other four Companies at Memphis; and on the same day Cos. B, C, D, and H left on Steamer Satan arriving during the night, and the next day took their place in the old Camp, and began picket duty in the old style and frequency.

A few days after, all the troops in and about Memphis were ordered out to witness the execution of three men of the 2nd N. J. Cavalry, for committing a rape and causing death. They had been condemned by a Military Court and the sentence approved and were shot in the presence of all the troops by squads of the 8th Iowa.

By June 15th that portion of the 16th Corps and the 3rd Div. 15th A. C. which had been with Banks, had returned from the Red River expedition,<sup>57</sup> were reorganized as the Right Wing 16th A. C. and ready for business. The 1st Division, commanded by Gen. J. A. Mower (formerly 3rd Division 15th A. C. commanded by Gen. Tuttle) consisted of three Brigades as follows:

1st: 72nd and 95th Ohio; 93rd Ind., 114th Illinois; 10th Minnesota, and Waterhouse's Battery, commanded by Col. [William L.] McMillen; 2nd: 11th Mo.; 8th Wisconsin; 47th Illinois, 5th and 9th Minnesota; and 2nd Iowa Battery [and 11th Missouri], commanded by Col. [Lucius F.] Hubbard; 3rd: 12th and 35th Iowa, 7th Minnesota, 33rd Mo. and 6th Indiana Battery, commanded by Col. Wood. This was the roster of the 1st Division until after the battle of Nashville.

On June 16th the non-veterans and recruits having returned from 35th Iowa, the 12th commanded by Lt. Col. Stibbs, except Companies A and F, which were still at mouth of White River, in light marching order, with three days rations in haversacks, took the cars on the M. & C. R'y, and ran

<sup>57</sup> Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks's expedition up the Red River in Arkansas was similar to that of Sherman's Meridian expedition in purpose — to keep the Confederates away from the Mississippi. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:420-21, 430-32.

slowly out about half way between Colliersville and La Fayette, the railroad being in condition to be used no further, and went into Camp. Companies D and H were placed on picket. Frequently, during the night, you would hear the Command: "Halt; who comes there?" Fugitives from Sturges command, which had been so unmercifully punished by Forrest at Guntown, mostly black, kept coming in for three days, or more; footsore, half starved, frequently wounded, they presented a sorry appearance.<sup>58</sup>

From the 16th to the 26th, the railroad bridges over Wolf River, and other streams between La Fayette and La Grange, were constructed, and the Command moved forward, by easy stages. The Right Wing of the 16th Corps and other troops and supplies were being concentrated at La Grange for an expedition.<sup>59</sup>

On the 27th of June the Command arrived at La Grange, where it remained in Camp until the 5th of July, when the Command moved South to Davis Mills, eight miles, and went into Camp. On the next day, the 6th, advanced fourteen miles; the 3rd Brigade in the advance; and the next day made thirteen miles to a point five miles West of Ripley, Miss.; and, on the 8th, marched eleven miles, passing through Ripley, and going into Camp some six miles southeast of that place. What few people we saw were sulky, and everything indicated that the rebels, in force, were in the vicinity.

On July 9th we marched eleven miles and went into Camp near a little tumble down burg called New Albany; and, on the 10th, marched twelve miles, constantly skirmishing with the enemy, to within six miles of Pontotoc, Miss.; and during the night the pickets were attacked, and the 3rd Brigade moved at double quick to their support; and the next day advanced,

<sup>58</sup> The disastrous defeat of Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturges at Guntown, Miss. (also called Tishomingo Creek or Bryce's Cross-Roads) by the famous Confederate raider, Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, was the result of another of many Union efforts to defeat and scatter Forrest's forces. Sturges' forces consisted of some 3,300 cavalry and 5,000 infantry; his casualties amounted to about 2,200, of whom about 1,600 were captured. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 85ff.; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 4:419-21.

<sup>59</sup> Sturges having failed to defeat Forrest, the task was given to Maj. Gen. Andrew J. Smith, commanding the right wing of the 16th Army Corps. Smith's orders were "to bring Forrest to bay and whip him if possible, and at all events to hold him where he was and prevent him from moving upon the communications of Major-General Sherman." Report of Maj. Gen. C. C. Washburn, *ibid.*, 249. Smith had about 14,000 men for this expedition. *Ibid.*, 250. Sherman, at this time, was in the midst of his Atlanta campaign and, by action in Mississippi, hoped to disperse Forrest's forces there, thus preventing him from attacking Sherman's lines of supply. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:52.

constantly skirmishing, and drove the enemy through Pontotoc; the 3rd Brigade being in the advance, where a days rest was had.

Since leaving La Grange, and while moving from Colliersville, the men suffered greatly from the intensity of the heat. A July sun shot down its burning rays; a sandy road reflected the heat; the air was filled with dust; the men were fairly broiled in the sun and buried in clouds of dust; hundreds of men fell out by the wayside in the shadow of brushes, trees and fences, fainting and exhausted from the effects of the heat.

On the 13th the command which had been moving south turned eastward toward Tupello [*sic.* Tupelo], a station on the Mobile & Ohio R'y. The enemy commenced a harassing attack on the rear guards, and threatened the trains, which followed each Division. About the middle of the forenoon, the 12th Iowa was ordered back double quick about a mile to aid in the defence of the train. When it took its position marching alongside of the wagons, Col. Woods, Commanding Brigade, called for two volunteers from each company — E. A. Buttolph and Herman Grass volunteered from Company D — as flankers and were thrown out on the right with orders to keep a sharp lookout for the enemy. Suddenly while moving along the road, bordered with dense undergrowth, shots were fired. Instantly the regiment formed on the side of the road next the enemy, and the enemy were upon us. The brush was so thick that the firing was much at random, but the 12th made it so hot in the brush, that the rebels soon sought a safer place, when we had time to look around and see what the damage was. The mules, or a part of those hitched to two wagons, had been killed, and the drivers with the surviving mules had deserted the wagons. They were loaded with crackers, and the balance of the train appeared to be in too big a hurry to pay attention to the wagons or their contents. The boys, who had been on half rations for some time, proceeded to stock up with crackers. E. A. Buttolph was missing; Corpl. Jas. L. Cowell and Dennis Conley<sup>60</sup> were severely wounded in the arms, and Henry W. Bailey and Wencil Dalezal [*sic.* Wentzel Doleshall] slightly wounded in the breasts. The 14th Wis. which was in the rear of the 12th, when they were attacked, advanced over the ground the enemy had occupied when dislodged by the 12th, and found

<sup>60</sup> There were two men named Dennis Conley in Co. D — one, Dennis Conley, whose wound at Tupelo resulted in the loss of his hand; and Dennis L. Conley, whose death from consumption has already been mentioned by Soper. *Roster and Record*, 2:439. E. A. Buttolph was captured in this engagement; his account of his imprisonment will appear in the final installment of this document.



that the enemy had left twenty killed, and a flag, which they brought away. The 12th went to the support of the 6th Indiana Battery, which had unlimbered, and poured grape, cannister and shells into the enemy, and the woods where they were hiding. The loss of the 12th in this skirmish was twelve wounded and one missing, five of whom belonged to Company D.

While this skirmish was going on, the main part of the Command hurried on towards Tupello to gain a position there before the enemy who appeared to be moving toward the same point on a parallel road. During the remainder of the march, the enemy made it uncomfortable by tossing shells down upon us from some elevations to the right near the road they were marching over. As the Company were moving left in front with John Nicholas in first file next to Capt. Soper, a piece of an exploding shell struck him in the back of the head killing him instantly. Before he had time to fall, Serg't Pangborn, who happened to be to his left, and rear, grabbed him and tossed him into a fence corner, and the march was not interrupted. It was a close call; the others happened to dodge the right way when the explosion occurred. Soon after a halt was made and Samuel Bumgardner sent back to get any valuables he might have on his person to be sent to his friends; and so the poor Bohemian was left without burial — the first of Co. D to re-enlist, and the first of the veterans to fall.

Our army gained the desired location near Tupello for a battle, and the 3rd Brigade filed into Camp — that is, a place to stack arms and lie down, about eight o'clock, and soon made coffee and ate our bacon and hard tack, and slept as soundly as though war and fighting had never been heard of.

The morning of July 14th, 1864, reveille sounded before daylight, and coffee made and breakfast dispatched, and Regiment formed in line before it was light. As soon as the heavy fog lifted, the First Division formed in line of battle; the 3rd Brigade in order right to left; the 35th Iowa, 33rd Missouri, two Companies of the 7th Minnesota, and 12th Iowa on the left; the 6th Indiana Battery on higher ground to the rear, and the eight companies of the 7th Minn. in reserve.<sup>61</sup> The 12th had the most advanced and exposed position in the line, but were behind a rail fence, which was soon taken down and converted into a cover behind which they lay in readiness for the enemy. It was not long before the Cavalry scouts and Infantry Pickets returned before the advancing lines of gray. On they came defiantly

<sup>61</sup> For Col. Woods and Lt. Col. Stibbs's accounts of the battle of Tupelo, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 268-71.

sanguine of easy victory over the one hundred days men, as they had been led to believe. But the one hundred days men were at Memphis, and along the road between that place and La Grange. And Smith's twelve thousand men were all veterans, only anxious for a brush with Forrest. When within about thirty rods of the 12th, a terrific storm of grape, cannister and musketry swept them back in wild confusion beyond the reach of musketry. The artillery on both sides redoubled its thunders; officers are plainly seen galloping hither and thither. They form for a second attempt; they advance in two lines; presenting to the view of the 12th more than a half of an unbroken line, but with more modesty and circumspection than before. Again they meet the fire of the artillery and infantry. Again they break and fly for safety beyond the reach of the boys guns, leaving the field covered with dead and wounded. A number take refuge in a small hollow in front of our position. Soon they begin getting up and running back for life. The boys, waiting in line, amuse themselves by shooting at them, and but one or two escape. After an interval of two or three hours a third advance is made, but a weaker and more ineffectual one, with the same result. The 3rd Brigade then charges after the retreating rebels, which causes them to break for the timber, with strife, to see who would get there first. More dead and wounded lay in front of the 12th Iowa than it had men engaged. The 12th Iowa had seven killed, and thirty eight wounded. . . .

Again on the morning of the 15th, reveille sounded before daylight, and breakfast was dispatched when Co. D was sent to the skirmishing line, where, taking a position something like a half mile in front of the other line, it awaited developments.

Cavalry pickets deployed to the right and left of Co. D and advancing, soon began to feel the enemy. The view in front of Co. D was unobstructed for some distance over cleared fields, and the formation and maneuvers of the enemy could be distinctly seen; but they did not appear to be advancing directly upon the skirmish line but disappeared in the timber to the right and left of Co. D.

Soon, however, bullets began to fly, and, with a whiz and a zip, little clouds of dust began to rise about and along the skirmish line; and the Cavalry and skirmishers slowly fell back toward the line of battle. When about a quarter of a mile in front of the line, Capt. Soper ordered a halt and the command, about face, and awaited the enemy's skirmishers.

Soon the enemy's line of battle was seen again advancing and from the

brush and timber both to the right and the left, which appeared to be filled with skirmishers. The bullets came thick and fast. The Cavalry precipitately got out of the way, and Co. D was likewise ordered to fall back upon the line.

The boys commenced falling back, but, as they fell back, the bullets came thicker and faster; not a man was in sight who was within range, so they could do no good by staying. The thicker and faster the bullets came, the faster the boys fell back, until both the officers and the men were in a dead run.

Just at this moment, Jeremiah Williams, a recruit who had joined the Company when returning from their Veteran furlough, a boy only about sixteen years of age, was struck in the hip by a minnie ball, and much disabled. The little fellow cried for help, and Corporal J. W. Burch and Zuver took him between them, and pushed for the most direct point on our line, while all the rest of the Company sought the lowest ground, in order to get as much as possible out of sight and range of the enemy. The bullets flew wonderfully thick about the feet of the Company during that retreat; and it has always been a wonder that half the men were not struck. After the Company had been sent out on the picket line, the 7th Minn. had been substituted in the line for the 12th Iowa; and, when the Company fell back, it found the 7th Minn. in the place they had left. The men were out of breath after their race, and retired out of range for a short rest.

The enemy's line advanced within long range of our line, when they were repulsed and scattered by a few volleys, which were given them as soon as the skirmishers were within the line. . . .

As soon as Burch and Zuver brought Williams within the line, he was placed on a stretcher and carried by the band boys to the field hospital, where the wounded had been taken. In the retreat the boys got separated, but, in less than a quarter of an hour, were all gathered together upon the line, and the Company was searching for the Regiment.

Soon Col. Woods, commanding the Brigade, moving from right to left along the line, gave orders for the Regiments in the line to charge upon the enemy. From here to position of the Right was ascertained, and the Company was conducted to the rear of their place in the Regiment. As soon as the Regiment advanced in the charge, Co. D boys took their position to the right of the colors, crowding over the other Companies to make room for them in their position in the Regiment; and, before the Regiment advanced

five hundred yards in the charge, all, or nearly all, of the Company was in the line charging with the Regiment upon the enemy.

Gen. Mower, commanding the Division, soon ordered a halt, for the reason that the enemy had masked their artillery in the bush, and had made this charge upon our line for the purpose of drawing us out, as he believed, in order to give us a punishment.

Just then Capt. Sample, an officer of his staff, rode forward, and soon returned reporting that a battery of artillery could do much damage to the train of the enemy.

Gen. Mower at once ordered up the 2nd Iowa Battery, which was soon on hand, and took its position, unlimbered, loaded and fired. The first shot taking effect, passing through a wagon, which made the occupants scatter in the greatest haste. Several more shots were fired, but, so far as we were able to observe, did little or no execution.

About this time, there passed by a Battalion of the 9th Ill. Cavalry, at full gallop, with drawn sabers, which they were flourishing right and left. They soon disappeared in the brush in the direction of the enemy. A discharge of musketry and artillery followed. Soon some of our bold Cavalrymen returned, but they did not look half so brave when they came back as they did when they went forward; they fell into the ambush that the General had predicted we were going into when he ordered the halt.

Some further skirmishing occurred during the forenoon; the line advanced, as before stated, was afterwards withdrawn to its original position.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, no enemy being in sight, the 1st Division, 3rd Division and the trains having left in the direction of La Grange during the forenoon, started from the field, following the road taken by the 3rd Division. All of the wounded who were so badly hurt that it would be unsafe to move them, were left in the field hospital with proper Surgeons and nurses, and, of course, immediately fell into the hands of the enemy.<sup>62</sup>

On this, the third day's fight at Tupello, the 12th had one killed and

<sup>62</sup> Although Soper's account here makes it appear that the battle of Tupelo was a Union defeat, actually Smith had defeated Forrest and "so stirred up matters in North Mississippi that Forrest could not leave for Tennessee." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:52; *Battles and Leaders*, 4:421-2. Having destroyed the railroad at Tupelo, and running short on supplies and ammunition, Smith withdrew his forces and Forrest could not pursue in force, sending only scattered skirmishers after the retiring Union army.

three wounded; of the latter, was Jeremiah Williams of Co. D, who was dangerously wounded in the hip, and who afterwards died in hospital at Keokuk, Iowa, Oct. 13, 1864, from the effects of the wound.

Soon after leaving the battlefield, the rebels followed and commenced to harass the rear guard, but, whenever a stand was taken, they soon fell back out of reach of our bullets.

After marching about five miles, we crossed Old Town Creek. The enemy was closely following, and the 1st Division, after crossing the Creek, passed through the Camp or Bivouac of the Brigade of Colored troops, and the 3rd Division, who were prepared to receive the enemy, and to a point beyond the train, where they were assigned positions in a grand old forest for their Camp or Bivouac. Scarcely had the Regiment filed into place and stacked arms, before the enemy began throwing shells into our immediate vicinity, which, exploding, frightened the mules and teamsters, and came very nearly stampeding the train. But the artillery very soon had something else to do besides shelling the woods. The 3rd Division and the colored troops were in position near Old Town Creek with several Batteries of artillery, who immediately paid their respects to the advance of the enemy, and in a few moments showed Forrest that we were going forward and not retreating, and the attack was repulsed with severe loss.

That night, the 12th Iowa slept on their arms, after they had boiled their coffee, eaten their bacon and crackers, the sleep of the tired soldier, on beds of pine needles under the pine trees and their blankets.

In the three days fight, the 12th Iowa had nine killed, fifty-four wounded, and one missing. Co. D lost one killed, nine wounded and one missing. Total: eleven out of an aggregate of about forty men. The Brigade only sustained a total loss of ninety three, and the Division three hundred and seventy five. The 12th Iowa sustained a loss greater than any of the other Regiments in the Command, and more than half the loss of the entire Brigade.<sup>63</sup>

The next morning, July 16th, Gen. Smith's Command marched twelve miles to Ellis, Miss. in the direction of La Grange, but was not molested by the enemy who, evidently, was not anxious for another brush with Smith's

<sup>63</sup> Soper's figures are almost correct here. The total loss of the division in killed, wounded, and missing was 383; the 12th Iowa lost a total of 63: 9 killed, 53 wounded, and 1 missing, but the Brigade as a whole lost 196 men: the 7th Minnesota, 60; the 35th Iowa, 37; and the 33rd Mo., 36. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 254-5.

men. The reason for the return was that supplies had run out, and the men would soon be entirely without rations, and nothing could be obtained in the country. On the 17th the army continued its return, reaching New Albany, a distance of sixteen miles further. The next day, the 19th, the Command marched nineteen miles further, and although the men were nearly destitute of rations, and the heat and dust was of the character experienced during their advance, still this days march terminated very satisfactorily, as a supply train was met, and, although only half rations were issued, still it was a cause of general rejoicing throughout; the men were only too glad to have even half rations; and, on the 20th, the return was continued, and eleven miles marched to Davis Mills; and, on the 21st, the Command returned to the Encampment about La Grange, Tenn. The 12th occupied its former Camp on the banks of the Wolf Creek; and, on the 22nd of July, the 3rd Brigade returned by cars to Memphis, Tenn., where it remained about one week.

The Command remained in, and around, Memphis till the 31st of July when the 3rd Brigade followed the balance of the army by cars to La Grange, and thence marched to Davis Mills, and, on Aug. 1st, marched from there to Cold Water Creek five miles from Holly Springs.<sup>64</sup> Zuver, Flint, and Hill of Co. D, got left; the latter at Memphis, and the two former at Germantown; but who proceeded to return to Memphis in order to get a new start, which all three of them proceeded to take, in company with the Pioneer Corps. All went well, till the train passing La Grange reached Grand Junction [and] turned down the Mississippi Central toward Holly Springs, when they soon found a bridge had been burned, and stopping to repair it, our trio passed on, taking a "tie pass" toward the Command. After several adventures, through all of which they hung to the hams of a shoat they had found and killed, they, late at night, got through the pickets and found their Command.

Col. Woods was in command of all the troops at and about La Grange, and all which took part in the expedition; the troops arriving there, reporting to him. On the morning of the 2nd the troops advanced and occupied

<sup>64</sup> These repeated "scouts" through Mississippi were for the purpose of keeping Forrest occupied so that he could not move against Sherman, or against Sherman's line of supply. The men, however, were disappointed that they were not with Sherman in Georgia, in a position "where the eyes of the whole country" would be on them. David W. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment, Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry* . . . (n. p. [1903]), 170-71.

Holly Springs; Col. Stibbs was detailed as Provost Marshall, and the 12th Iowa made Provost Guard, and went into quarters in the Court House.

Holly Springs, before the war, was one of the most beautiful cities in the South; containing about six thousand inhabitants. The streets were lined with shade trees, and the gardens and yards of the residents filled with flowers and flowering shrubs, were the abode of wealth and culture.

Details for duty were made, and the boys sent to different portions of the city to prevent pillaging, preserve order, etc. Zuver, who had been made corporal since his muster as veteran, with a detail consisting of [Archibald] Hill, [Robinson L.] Johnson, [William L.] Lee, [John] Luther and [James] Lanagan who had been sent into the South East portion of the city, had quite an experience with a guard of the Kansas (7th) "Jayhawkers" who were taking provisions from a house where there were only several women and children who called lustily for the guard, and, who, when delivered from the Jayhawkers, became very friendly with the guards and treated them with kindness and respect.

The Company had among its numbers one "Jake" Johnson, who though far from being a handsome man, if not positively ugly, was the champion "masher" in the Company, if not in the Regiment. The Company never met with women, or, in fact, never was one in sight, but "Old Jake," as he was familiarly called, proceeded to make himself "solid" with the fair ones. As usual, at Holly Springs, Johnson found a fine residence where were two young ladies of very pronounced Southern sentiments, and, taking the bashful corporal with him, were both captivated by the singers of Southern war songs. Johnson, being accustomed to such scenes and singers, was not visibly affected but it is believed that the young corporal never recalled those delightful evenings without a flutter of the heart, and it is doubtful if the effect is not yet felt. This same corporal, and others of the boys, became very much interested in a simple game called "Muggins,"<sup>65</sup> when their partner was a Holly Springs girl, and other equally nonsensical games.

On the 3rd the Mississippi Central was repaired and put in operation as far as Holly Springs, and all of the 1st Division had arrived. On the 4th, the 2nd Brigade went forward as far as the Tallahatchie River on the Oxford road, and on the 5th the balance of the Right Wing, with the Brigade of Colored Troops, arrived and on the 6th Generals Smith and Mower arrived

<sup>65</sup> "Muggins" is either a domino or a card game.

and assumed their respective commands; and Col. Woods returned to the Command of the Brigade. On the 7th, Chaplain [Frederick] Humphrey preached in one of the city Churches. Not a lady present and very few besides blue coats. The 1st Brigade moved forward to join the 2nd on the Oxford road, and on the 8th Gen. Mower, with Col. Woods and the 3rd Brigade, excepting the 12th, joined the Division on the Tallahatchie, and the two Cos. A and F, of the 12th, arrived and joined the Regiment.

They were a sorry looking lot. After having [been] left alone they had constructed a small stockade, and on the night of the 25th of July, 1864,<sup>66</sup> some four or five hundred rebels came in upon them suddenly and without warning. At the first shots, the boys took [to] the stockade, and with their arms and ammunition, but in their night clothes, and made, with the assistance of the Gunboats, a brave and successful resistance; losing one killed and four wounded. Co. D had no part in this fight, but it is mentioned that the gallant little fight of Cos. A and F may be rescued from oblivion, and attention called to one of the pluckiest fights of the war, as was Tupello to the 12th, so was the fight at the stockade at the mouth of the White River to Cos. A and F.

On the 9th of Aug., the 12th, to their sorrow, was relieved from duty as provost guards at Holly Springs by the 122nd Ills., and took the Mississippi Central road to Waterford, eight miles, and on the 10th crossed the Tallahatchie River and camped near Abbeville, having marched nine miles, where the army remained till the 21st, resting and doing picket duty; while the Cavalry, under Gen. [Benjamin H.] Grierson, scouted the country hunting for Forrest, and our picket posts nightly being fired upon, but, on that day, marched six miles in the direction of Oxford, and went into Camp at Hurricane Creek; and, the next day, entered and took possession of Oxford; the enemy disputing every step of the ground in considerable force. Here news came of Forrest's raid into Memphis,<sup>67</sup> and orders for the immediate return of the Command.

<sup>66</sup> At White River, Ark., the two Companies, A and F, of the 12th, some 55 men in all with but 48 rifles, were attacked on June 22, 1864 (not July 25, as Soper states) by some 300 Confederates. Protected by the stockade they had built, the men were able to drive the enemy away. *Ibid.*, 168-9; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 1045-6.

<sup>67</sup> Forrest had made a detour around the Union army and had struck at Memphis at 4 A. M. The 8th Iowa, on provost guard duty, rallied and drove the raiders out. *Roster and Record*, 1:1066; Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 170.



The city was mostly burned, and the retrograde movement toward La Grange began; the Command reaching and stopping again at Hurricane Creek for the night. On the 23rd, returned to Abbieville, the 2nd Brigade in the rear, and which being attacked with considerable force, as they went into Camp, the 12th was ordered back and bivouacked in supporting distance of the pickets, where Whittam, to his joy, robbed the body of a dead rebel of a good pair of boots; and Corporal [Nathan G.] Price, to play a joke on a couple of sleeping soldiers, cuddled down between them, only to awaken in the morning and find that they were rebs and sleeping the last sleep of all human kind; both of which facts he failed to notice the night before. Among the dead was found one who was recognized as a man the boys had seen standing on a porch viewing the Command pass, claiming to be a citizen.

On the 25th the Command reached Waterford, and on the 26th marched to Holly Springs. Prominent citizens met the Command with a flag of truce, and asking for the detail of Col. Stibbs, and the 12th Iowa for provost guard in the city, which was granted by Gen. Smith; the Command halted and the 12th sent for from the rear and escorted into town by the citizens and was assigned to duty.<sup>68</sup> Zuver's squad was assigned to that portion of the city wherein resided the father of Confederate Gen. Walthals [sic. Edward Cary Walthall]. At this place, Zuver found a 2nd N. J. Cavalry man depredating, and with whom he had some words mingled with profanity. The Cavalry man left when the corporal was called by a lady, and asked why he had used such unbecoming language. As the result of the interview, Zuver apologized, was invited into the house by the lady, a sister of the General, where he met her parents and her children, a daughter about seventeen years old and a son younger, and was very kindly and cordially treated during the remainder of his stay on provost duty. When the Regiment, which was the last of the troops to start, left Holly Springs, Mr. and Mrs. Walthal, in the presence of the daughter, Mrs. Freeman, grasped Zuver by the hand with a "God bless you, if ever captured by our son, or can get to him, inform him who you are, and the relation you have sus-

<sup>68</sup> According to the historian of the 12th Iowa, Gen. A. F. Smith made this comment, when the citizens of Holly Springs asked for the 12th Iowa as provost guards: "The 12th Iowa is one of my best fighting regiments. I think it is a doubtful compliment for you — — — rebels to want it to guard your — — — town, and an imposition on the regiment to ask them to do it; but if those boys are willing to stand guard they may." Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 172-3.

tained to us here and we are sure you will be paroled and permitted to come here and remain with us, until released, or exchanged." . . .

We can only say the 12th Iowa were gentlemen; they treated the people of Holly Springs decently, and obeyed their instructions without pillaging or robbery. They were young men, and commanded by young, good looking and soldierly officers. Be the cause what it may, the people of Holly Springs liked the 12th as well as probably they would any "Yanks," and Gen. Smith, in the presence of Surgeon [Sandford W.] Huff of the 12th, and of his Hd Qrs clerk Frank D. Thompson of Co. D, made the remark, "That 12th Iowa is the D—st Regiment I ever saw; they fought like devils at Tupello, and now are trying to marry their (the rebels) women." Whether the boys tried or not, history is silent, but the fact remains that they did not any way.

On the 28th of Aug., the day the 12th evacuated Holly Springs, it marched twenty miles on what was known as the "Pigeon Roost" road with scarcely any water, and an awful amount of heat and dust, and went into Camp at Davis Mills and, on the 30th, was conveyed by rail to Memphis, having put in the summer chasing Forrest, but only catching him once. It had been rumored that Smith's Command had been ordered to the Potomac, as Gen. Grant was known to be desirous of having some Westerners, and Smith in particular, and we all came on expecting to see the coast and that Grand Army.

#### AFTER PRICE

On the 1st day of September, 1864, the Command received orders to prepare for a ten days trip, in light marching order, which meant to carry guns, accoutrements with forty rounds of ammunition, canteen and haversack, usually containing three days rations, and such blankets and shelter tents as a soldier cares to carry.

Since the summer of 1863 the army had been supplied with, to each man, a half of a shelter or dog tent, as they were usually called, which was simply a piece of canvas about six and one half feet long by three feet wide, one side of which is furnished with a row of buttons, and the opposite side with a row of button holes with an eyelet in each corner for the cord with which the corner of the tent is fastened to the ground; any number of these halves of shelter tents would be fastened together and frequently several members of a squad fastened all theirs together, covering quite a space; the intention

was, however, that two of these pieces or halves should be fastened together, and then stretched from a ridge pole, something like the fly of a tent, and thereby formed a shelter for two men.

Accordingly, all the preparations having been made and the large tents, baggage, clothing and blankets, except rubber blankets and shelter tents, being left at Memphis with the convalescents, the regiment on the 2nd of Sept. embarked on the steamer "Mattie," and with other steamers having on board the 1st Division of the 16th Army Corps, descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the White River<sup>69</sup> and thence up the White River to St. Charles, where, by reason of some of the boats of the flotilla getting aground, the 12th disembarked from the "Mattie," and the "Mattie" was sent down to bring up some of the troops left on the steamer "John Runyon," which had to unload in order to proceed as far up the river as St. Charles. The whole division disembarked at St. Charles and remained several days. While at St. Charles, the 2nd New Jersey cavalry stole from Co. Q — in every Co. and Regiment, Co. Q. were the foragers, the fellows who took everything that they found that they thought they would like, and were able to carry — a brass kettle, and [John N.] Weaver was sent out to find it; he started out through the camps and found the lost kettle hanging over the fire in the cavalry camp, filled with dried apples which were being stewed. Weaver did not stand on ceremony, but proceeded immediately to take possession of the kettle and contents, and heeding neither explanations nor expostulations, proceeded to the quarters of Co. Q where he was received with great applause.

On the afternoon of the 7th of Sept., Gen. Mower having returned from Devall's Bluff, whither he had proceeded when the command disembarked at St. Charles, the division immediately re-embarked, and while awaiting the signal to start much banter, threats and vulgar braggadocio were indulged in between the commands on the several steamers, in which the Irish wit of Jimmie Gallagher told for the 12th Iowa. The command soon proceeded up the river and landed at Devall's Bluff, late in the evening; and on the 9th the division disembarked and went into camp some distance back of the landing; the town of Devall's Bluff, consisting of a steamboat landing with a few Government store houses for storing supplies, was situated at the

<sup>69</sup> The Division, instead of going eastward to join either Sherman or Grant, was being sent into Arkansas, where Confederate General Sterling Price had organized a force and was threatening Little Rock. *Ibid.*, 174-5.

point where the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad crossed the White River.

On the 10th of September the division left Devall's Bluff at about 2:30 P. M., and marched eighteen miles, crossing a level treeless plain covered with coarse grass about as high as one's waist or shoulders, it was a very hot evening and there was no water until the prairie was crossed; the sun was hot and there was very little air stirring, and when the regiment formed line to stack arms for the night, very few of the regiment were in ranks.

On the next day, the 11th, the command marched seven miles and went into camp at Brownsville, Ark., in the woods near the cypress swamps, which abound in that locality, and where possums and rattle snakes flourish. The 12th was encamped on a portion of land that might be described as a narrow peninsula between swamps, and the Co. being somewhat cramped for room the boys buttoned together their dog tents, so as to make almost a continuous line of canvas, under which they lay sheltered from the sun and dews, sleeping side by side, but it was rather too warm weather to spoon, although the nights at that time were quite cold, while the days were intensely hot. The boys manifested a great deal of ingenuity in pitching these shelter tents, using various appliances to convert them into shelter, using their muskets when sticks and boards were not convenient and fence rails not attainable.

The Command remained at Brownsville six days, during which everything was put in order for the march; the sick having been sent to Little Rock,<sup>70</sup> and the trains having arrived and been loaded up with supplies. On the 17th the 1st Division of the right wing of the 16th corps, with a cavalry division formerly commanded by Grierson, under Gen. Winslow,<sup>71</sup> which had come across the country from Memphis, and the fourth Brigade of the 1st Division composed of the 16th and 33rd Wis., and the 72nd and 95th Ill. which had been with us on the Tupello expedition, having joined the command, the command marched out from Brownsville in a northeasterly direction and went into camp the first night near where the boys saw a deserted steam engine, and christened the camp "Steam Engine Grove."

<sup>70</sup> Price had not moved against Little Rock, as was supposed, but was heading north toward Missouri. *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>71</sup> Edward F. Winslow, at this time Colonel of the 4th Iowa Cavalry, had been placed in command of the 16th Army Corps Cavalry for this expedition. Winslow was brevetted a Brig. Gen., Dec. 12, 1864. *Roster and Record*, 4:832.

On the next day, the 18th, the regiment marched seventeen miles in the direction of Searcy and went into camp at what is known as Bull Run, Ark., having passed through Austin and Stony Point; and on the 19th marched eighteen miles, passing through the town of Searcy, and went into camp on the east bank of a small stream known as Little Red River. On the next day, the 20th, the command crossed the Little Red River, marched fifteen miles, going into camp at one o'clock in the afternoon at what is known as Five Mile Creek, but the train did not arrive at camp until after dark. On the 21st the command marched twenty two miles to McGuire's Ford on the White River, through about the roughest country to be found in the West, being spurs of the Ozark Mts. Some of the wagons having been relieved of their stores and supplies by this time, returned to Brownsville from this place.

On the 22nd the command having crossed the White River on pontoon bridges, marched fifteen miles and went into camp in a swamp on Honey Creek, where the boys had to make use of a roadway to bunk on to keep from sinking in the mud; it was late in getting into camp, and the command halted in the swamp to cover and await the building of a bridge across the Black River which was accomplished in the afternoon of the 23rd, when the command crossed over to Elgin and marched ten miles to Miller's Church, camping one and one half miles from water. On the 24th the command advanced to Lauratum, Ark., a distance of twenty miles, passing over a good country, and the boys made good use of the paw paws, squashes and potatoes with which the country abounded, and were more successful in foraging than in catching up with "Old Pap" Price, whom we were supposed to be pursuing, but who seemed to keep a week or ten days ahead of us all the time; the general course of our advance being up the Black or North Fork of the White River in the direction of Pilot Knob and Iron Mt.

On the 25th a march of twenty three miles was made to a point on the east side of the Black River opposite Pocahontas; and on the 26th we marched eighteen miles, sending out foragers to help lengthen out the fast deserting rations. Six miles above Pocahontas the Cavalry crossed the Black with the expectation of being followed by the infantry, but, on account of the depth of the waters, the river was not fordable, and there being no bridges, the infantry was compelled to keep upon the right bank of the stream, and was therefore in advance; when the cavalry found that the in-

fantry could not cross the river, it recrossed, and followed up the infantry, and during the night passed through the infantry camp, which, by reason of such fact, was christened by the boys "Camp Cavalry Passing."

On the 27th a march of seventeen miles was made over muddy roads, and a rainy bad day, camping at the camp known as "Turn Around," this peculiar name the Co. gave it on account of the fact that every one that struck out to Jaw Hawk, or to get water, got lost — turned around. On the 28th of Sept. the command advanced a distance of fifteen miles and Camped at Cane Creek two miles north of the Mo. state line, and three miles from where the command had recrossed the Black on a bridge made of logs and brush.

But few residents were in the country, and in point of ignorance and want of intelligence compared very favorably with the inhabitants of Tenn. and Miss., with whom the regiment came in contact while at Chewalla, Tenn. On the 29th an advance of only eight miles was made on account of the extremely swampy condition of the roads; but on the 30th the command got out of the swamp and struck higher ground at Poplar Bluffs, and five miles further recrossed the Black by fording the same at eleven o'clock in the night, and then went into camp, having marched during the day a distance of twenty miles.

On Oct. 1st, it having rained all the previous night, and during the forenoon, making the camp and the roads equally disagreeable, an advance of twelve miles was made over a more hilly country to High Hill; and on the 2nd marched fourteen miles during the day, having taken the wrong road, and advanced some distance over the same before the error was discovered, and the distance thereupon countermarched; during that day forded the St. Francis river and went into camp near Greenville, Mo. On the 3rd of Oct. a march of sixteen miles was made, passing through Hog Eye and crossing Caster River, and going into camp at Brick Eye, Mo., where news was received that Price was destroying the Iron Mountain railroad and pushing toward the North; and orders for Mower to reach Cape Girardeau as soon as possible. . . .

The head of the column having turned in the direction of Cape Girardeau, on the 4th the command marched thirty miles although it rained incessantly all day and the roads for about eight miles were very bad; but at Dallas, a gravel pike was struck and from that time better progress was

made. The command went into camp that night on the Whitewater; and on the 5th after receiving supplies sent up from Cape Girardeau, made a twenty mile march to that place, striking the old military stone road at Jackson, twelve miles from the Cape. The last eight miles was marched in two hours and forty-five minutes. The command reached and went into camp early in the afternoon near the city of Cape Girardeau; we found it rather a nice, old fashioned town about the size of Dubuque, Iowa, but we learned it was fast losing its prestige on account of the railroad being constructed in the interior, which drew away its trade to St. Louis.

During the 6th the command awaited transportation but improved the time by making out requisitions for clothing; nearly every man's shoes were soleless, and his pants and blouse much dilapidated, and the nights had now become cool, and the command brought with them from St. Louis only dog tents and rubber blankets, and therefore suffered very much from cold, which followed the rains through which we had been marching. On the 7th the command commenced embarking in the steamers; the 12th Iowa, the 7th Minn. and two companies of 2nd New Jersey cavalry were assigned to steamer Armenia, which arrived as it had started in the lead, and which had arrived at St. Louis at noon of the 8th. On the 9th the 12th was transferred to the steamer "Empire City" with the 33rd Missouri and brigade headquarters, then on board, and drew clothing, requisitions for which had been made out at Cape Girardeau.

On the afternoon of the 10th, all the division having arrived and been equipped with new clothing etc., started on up stream to the mouth of the Mo., and thence into the Missouri River and up to St. Charles, where, on account of the excessive darkness, and low stage of the water, the fleet tied up for the night. St. Charles was situated on the right or north bank of the Missouri River at the crossing of what was then known as the North Missouri Railroad and at this time was noted for its great iron bridge, the first that was built spanning the Big Muddy. Only twenty miles advance was made on the 11th, and not to exceed three on the 12th, the steamers having frequently stuck on the sand bars; the boys marched three or four miles up along the banks of the stream; other troops frequently likewise disembarking and marching along the banks during the trip. On the 13th the "Empire City" advanced a short distance reaching Washington where Price's forces had left their mark; about the same success attended the advance on the 14th and 15th, but, by the boys marching four or five miles, the steamer

managed to pass Herman, Mo., on the 16th, reaching the mouth of the Gasconade River with the boys again on the shore marching, and where they camped that night without their extra clothing or dog tents.

Somewhat better success attended the advance on the 17th, but finally on the morning of the 18th the "Empire City" landed at Jefferson City, being the last boat of the flotilla to reach the landing. The command did not long tarry at Jefferson City, but, disembarking, took the cars on the Mo. Pa. R. R., and that night on the top of box cars in the clear cold moonlight were off to Laramie Bridge and there unloaded on the morning of the 19th, and after three o'clock that afternoon marched to Sedalia, Mo., a distance of sixteen miles, where the 12th went into camp, but were soon ordered forward to join the brigade by Gen. Smith who had just arrived with the 3rd division.<sup>72</sup> The boys did not wait to heed or listen to the order, but scattered in all directions to houses, barns, cars, or any place where they could find shelter and protection from the cold, and slept until the morning of the 20th. The 12th was still in the rear, the 10th Minn. had proceeded two miles further during the night, with the exception of the 4th brigade which was left at Laramie Bridge, and the 14th Iowa, which belonged to the 3rd division, which was left at California, Mo., awaiting discharge as but few of the regiment had re-enlisted.

In the mean time Gen. Mower had been transferred to the command of the division in the 17th corps, which made Col. Woods again the commander of the division and Col. Hill [Sylvester G. Hill of the 35th Iowa] of the brigade. Col. [William T.] Shaw of the 14th Iowa, still held command of the 3rd division; and Gen. Smith of the right wing of the corps. On that day, the 20th, the 12th marched thirty miles, not keeping closely in the wake of the Army, on its way to join its division, and camped independently and alone in a corn field, and the next morning, the 21st, moved forward and struck the line of march of the Army in advance of the corps, awaiting the 3rd division, and when it arrived, they took their position in the brigade which was in the advance of the division, and during the day marched twenty-five miles to Lexington, Mo., at that time the second largest city in the state, situated on the Missouri River.

<sup>72</sup> Smith, with two divisions of the 16th Army Corps, had been on the way to join Sherman at Atlanta when diverted by orders of Gen. Rosecrans, in command in Missouri. Sherman was angered by this, considering Price's operations in Missouri as "mere diversions." Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 180.



Cavalry skirmishing was steadily going on along the line of march; the cavalry in this expedition against Price was in command of Gen. Pleasington [sic. Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasanton]; while Gen. Smith commanded the infantry and artillery, and Gens. [Samuel Ryan] Curtis and [James G.] Blunt were in front of Price's skedaddling army. Gen. Rosecrans was in command of the department of the Missouri and of the whole army, and during the night, as the 12th Iowa was about to enter the city, he passed along the line, seemingly in a very great hurry and at a speed that caused the feet of his and his escort's horses to throw mud over the boys of whom some resented by clubbing their muskets.

The 12th camped that night on the river bottom above the city, and on the 22nd marched with the Army to Black's Ford, a distance of twenty-two miles; passing during the day evidence of a running fight which had taken place between the rebels and our cavalry. On the 23rd the command marched thirty-five miles and stopped and cooked supper and rested for an hour or more, and then proceeded toward the front, where it was expected that a battle would be fought with Price's forces, which were expected to be surrounded, arriving at the scene of the battle on the Big Blue at seven A. M. of the 24th, but too late to take part in the fight, having marched forty-eight miles in twenty-two consecutive hours.

The cavalry had let Price get away but were following him toward the Indian territory whither he was flying with his disorganized command, but succeeded in capturing fifteen hundred, or more, including Gen. [John S.] Marmaduke. The 12th remained on the battle ground of the Big Blue during the day, resting from their twenty-two hours march.

On the 25th the line of march was again taken up, and the command moved eighteen miles, crossing the state line into Kansas at Santa Fe, Mo., and thence forward two miles; and on the 26th marched twenty-nine miles to Harrisonville, Mo., the county seat of Cass county, where the command received half rations of flour, equal to one good meal a day. The country had been laid waste by Quantrelle's<sup>73</sup> guerrilla band, and there were many refugees at Harrisonville, and about the stockade there, who hailed the arrival of the Union Army with pleasure.

<sup>73</sup> William Clarke Quantrill, the notorious Kansas raider and outlaw, whose murders and robberies during the Civil War are legend. He was killed on a raid into Kentucky in 1865. See William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910).

On the 27th the D Companys of the 12th and 35th Iowa were made provost guards at Harrisonville and took up their quarters in the Arizona Hotel. A Mr. Orr of Marblerock, Iowa, commissioner of the soldiers election, arrived and brought with him poll sheets for the purpose of receiving the vote of the Iowa regiments in the command at the general election to be held in Nov. for the state and national officers. A meeting of the regiment was called and Maj. Van Duzee, Sergt [Henry J.] Grannis, Co. C and private Easley [?] of Co. F. elected judges of election to be held Nov. 8th. On the 28th Col. Stibbs left for Memphis for the purpose of getting the camp and garrison equipage transferred from that place to the command, leaving Maj. Van Duzee in command of the regiment. On the 29th rations arrived; and on the 30th the army was again in motion, but instead of following Price further, the command was ordered to return toward St. Louis, and marched twelve miles to Pleasant Hill, Mo. Here the dishonorable discharge of Col. Shaw of the 14th Iowa, for publishing the truth about Gen. Banks expedition up Red River, was first learned, to the deep sorrow of the command, and although rough and outspoken, [Col. Shaw] had many friends.<sup>74</sup>

On the 21st the command were ordered to proceed by different routes to the Missouri river, and the first division moved to Chapel Hill, Mo., a distance of twenty miles, when the 3rd brigade was directed to proceed to Arrow Rock on the Missouri river, and there cross over and follow down the stream on the left bank to a point opposite St. Charles, Mo. On the 1st of Nov. the brigade marched to Davis creek, a distance of twenty miles; and on the 2nd, having received orders to march to Sedalia the command marched a distance of twenty-five miles, striking the Lexington & Sedalia road and camped at Snow's Creek four miles east of Dunkburg. Here they found a detachment of the rebels had passed by a half hour previously. . . .

On the 3rd twenty miles was marched, seventeen of which was done in five hours, and that through mud, sleet, snow and swollen streams. The command was ordered to go into camp about one mile from Sedalia, but, as the ground was covered with several inches of snow, upon several inches of mud and water, and snow was falling so thickly that you could see but a

<sup>74</sup> Col. Wm. T. Shaw of the 14th Iowa had taken part in the disastrous Red River campaign under Gen. N. B. Banks in early 1864. His caustic comments on this campaign and on the officers, published in the *Dubuque Times*, resulted in his dismissal from the service. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 271-80.

short distance, Maj. Van Duzee went forward into town to procure shelter for the regiment and about sunset the 12th pressed forward into Sedalia taking quarters in an old ware house, the boys scattering and seeking shelter wherever shelter could be found. Some of the boys found shelter at the residences of some of the citizens, others in stables and hay mows.

The brigade having arrived, Col. Woods returned to its command; Gen. McArthur being in command of the division. The afternoon and evening at and near Sedalia were spent in great discomfort, as the storm was severe, and it was difficult to boil coffee or sleep without freezing. Orders were received to march to Jefferson City. The next morning was clear and cold with snow on the ground several inches deep, and the brigade did not get into line for a very early start, but finally got started, when the boys had a choice of a very slushy road, or a tie pass on the railroad, many taking the latter. But twenty miles were covered, and camp made near Syracuse, Mo., for the night. Snow had to be scraped off the ground before fire could be kindled, and the preparation of beds if one desired to sleep out of the mud and wet by scraping off the snow and gathering oak twigs with leaves on them was something of an undertaking.

On the 5th the command marched nineteen miles, camping five miles west of California, Mo., and on the 6th lessened by nineteen miles more the distance to Jefferson City, which was made on the 7th, after a wet and weary tramp from Sedalia, and camped two miles east of the city at the fair grounds. Here the command received orders to march through to St. Louis, and Sergt. [Lyman M.] Ayres, Price, Zuver, Johnson, Dolisall, and [Andrew J.] Frees being unfit for the march were left to come by boat. The next forenoon the command started out and forded the Osage River more than a quarter of a mile wide, taking off our pants and shoes. The water was cold and the men anything but happy; when we stopped, stacked arms and dried ourselves, made coffee, and the most of us voted for Abraham Lincoln for President, though the fording of the river made scores of votes for Little Mac, and peace at any price. Results of ballot in regiment, A. Lincoln 193, McClellan, 31.

That afternoon and evening the rain descended in torrents, but we plodded along until several hours after dark through a very rough and hilly country, and finally went into camp on the precipitous hills near Westphalia, Mo., having marched twenty miles of which fourteen was made after

three P. M. That march and the night that followed will hardly be forgotten by those who were with the regiment. By the time coffee was cooked and supper over it was near midnight; the dog tents were pitched and soon all were slumbering. Suddenly from out of the blackness of the heavens poured streams of water; the side hills were soon covered with rushing torrents, and in less time than it takes to write it the most of the boys felt streams of cold water running down their backs, through their beds and into their shoes. Tent flies and shelter tents were no protection from these torrents and soon every one was astir, and into his clothes, and hunting for some place of shelter. Towards morning the rain ceased, but the wind changed to the northwest and everything froze. Firewood was plenty, but the axes were dull and scarce; officers and men were alike destitute of money, but enough was scraped together to buy an ax and a committee sent to the store in the little German village, and the purchase made. Log heaps were soon on fire, and the soaked clothing and blankets dried.

The command did not move that day, and on the next the weather remained cold, and the line of march for St. Louis was again taken up on the 10th and a march of twenty miles made, crossing the Little Osage River on fallen trees, and at 8 P. M. on Possum creek, and on the 11th marched eighteen miles crossing the Gasconade river about noon on flat boats and wagons. On the 12th of Nov. marched thirty-six miles and camped near a small creek on the St. Louis and Springfield road and on the 13th, Sunday, marched twenty-nine miles passing through Uniontown at 9 P. M. On Nov. 14th marched twenty-five miles crossing the Missouri Pacific Railroad and went into camp at six P. M., and on Tuesday, Nov. 15th, at three P. M. after marching twenty-seven miles gayly entered Benton Barracks, a hard looking crowd, but hardened soldiers able to endure almost any amount of hardships and fatigue. The march after crossing the Gasconade had been over better roads and although the weather was cold the rain had ceased and supplies were abundant.

We had left Memphis on the 2nd of Sept. on a ten days trip with the expectation of having little or no marching, and the men were illy provided for the march that was made to Cape Girardeau. We brought no blankets, but rubbers; and many had no shoes which had been on the march after Forrest, and which soon came to pieces, and, as they could not be supplied, the owner had to wrap his feet in rags or go barefoot. In the 12th Iowa

alone five officers and one hundred and ten men came into Cape Girardeau without shoes. The trip from the Laramie Bridge east of Sedalia to the Big Blue and back to St. Louis was made in a more inclement season, but the men were better provided and there was less of actual want and suffering than when in the wilds of Missouri and Arkansas.

*[To be continued.]*