

CHAPTER XIII
THE CIVIL WAR

We shall really see what Germans patriots can do!

August Willich, German immigrant, commander of the Indiana 32nd
(German) Regiment, and Union general, 1861.

In the Civil War it would be difficult to paint in too strong colors what I may well-nigh call the all importance of the American citizens of German birth and extraction toward the cause of Union and Liberty.

President Theodore Roosevelt, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION

Legend often clouds fact surrounding all historic events in America's past, and the Civil War is no exception. One questionable quote attributed to Confederate General Robert E. Lee has the General proclaiming, "Take the Dutch [e.g. Germans] out of the Union army and we could whip the Yankees easily." Although unsubstantiated, this quote underscores the considerable value of the German immigrant contribution not only during the Civil War, but also in every war in which America has been engaged throughout history.

As early as 1711 German emigrants of the Palatinate, who settled in the frontier counties of New York, organized a battalion as part of a thousand-strong force that moved on Quebec during Queen Anne's War. Between 1731 and 1758 immigrant Conrad Weiser played a prominent role in negotiating every major treaty between the colonial settlers of Pennsylvania and the Iroquois Nations. During the French and Indian War, Weiser organized German settlers from the 322 square mile Tulpehocken Valley as militia under the British flag to fight French incursion into the territory. Immigrants from the Rhineland who settled in the frontier wilderness of New York organized companies that served under that same flag. The Union Jack flew over South Carolina, another British colony where German immigrants stood against the Spanish and Indians to the south. Across the colonies less than two decades later, some of these same men, accompanied by sons, would take up arms against British rule to determine their own destiny.

One of the first resolutions of the new Congress of 22 May 1776 authorized the organization of a German Regiment composed of four companies from Pennsylvania and Maryland, with a fifth Pennsylvanian German company joining the following year. These men enlisted for three years but served for nearly five, seeing action at White Plains, New York, and Trenton, New Jersey. They experienced the defeat at Brandywine, and the terrible winter at Valley Forge where the 47 year-old Friedrich Wilhelm August Heinrich Ferdinand von Steuben (born Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben) forged the assembled mass into a professional army that met the British the following spring, leaving the Baron's legacy an indelible imprint of proficiency on the U. S. Army.

General Washington's personal bodyguard and cavalry escort consisted of sixty-seven men, predominately German, commanded by Major Bartholmew van Heer. David Ziegler, born in 1748 at Heidelberg, became the first mayor of Cincinnati. During the Revolution he commanded the half-German First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry. The roster of New York regiments of the Revolution show officers by the name of Freilich, von Weissenfels, Baumann, Anspach, and many other immigrant names of those who adopted the fledgling democracy as their cause. Captain Sebastian Bauman, commander of the largely German New York Continental Artillery Company in 1776, became Major of the Continental Artillery and received the rank of brevet lieutenant colonel in 1787. In South Carolina, the German Fusiliers of Charleston, organized in 1775, served through the war, and remained an active organization for more than a century.

With western expansion following the Rebellion, a new wave of German immigrants participated in the migration, bringing long lasting farming techniques to benefit the rich soils of Kentucky and Indiana. Many of the early settlers of these territories were Germans from Virginia and North Carolina, and they held the frontier outposts against the incursions of hostile Indians in organizations such as the "Indiana Rangers" and the "Yellow Jackets." These Indiana militia organizations served when war with Britain erupted again in 1812. Once more, the rosters of military organizations showed numerous German surnames, and the immigrants of the Indiana Territory provided their share.

Over the following decades German immigration increased, nearly tripling from one decade to the next until the 1850s when nearly one million arrived on the shores of America. These new arrivals, *Die Achtundvierziger* [the Forty-eighters], were revolutionaries, Turners, and sympathizers. They had fought for “Unity, Justice and Freedom” during the failed German revolution of 1848, a year that saw revolt against authoritarian rule sweep across the European continent. In America, “Forty-Eighters,” in roles as political activists, naturally gravitated to positions of community leadership such as editors, teachers, and political representatives. The 48ers became ardent supporters of the Republican Party on the eve of the Civil War because of their firm beliefs in democracy and civil liberties, a struggle they had pursued in their homeland. On the heels of the 48ers, another wave of German immigrants arrived after 1854 seeking opportunity and fortune. Many settled in established German communities across Indiana, especially in towns along the Ohio River such as Lawrenceburg, Aurora, Madison, New Albany, and Evansville. These towns, along with Indianapolis, Terre Haute, and Fort Wayne, among others, had active *Turnvereins* (Turner clubs), with satellite organizations, that would provide the core element around which dozens of Indiana companies, and at least one exceptional regiment, organized during the Civil War. In living by the Turners’ motto of *mens sana in corpore sano* – a sound mind in a sound body – many of these clubs practiced military training through drill competitions, participating in *Jaegervereine* (Hunters Club) and *Schützenvereine* (Sharpshooters Club) activities.

Prior to the first shot of the war, Germans in several Indiana cities had joined home guard units organized with names such as the “Steuben Guard,” “German Home Guard,” “Sigel Guard,” or the “New Albany German Artillery.” Men from these organizations were among the first in the state to answer President Lincoln’s first call for troops to serve three months following the attack on Fort Sumter. After the rush to organize, the German factions across the state determined to create a German regiment and petitioned Governor Oliver P. Morton. Their inspiration derived in part from the successful establishment of German military units in New York and Missouri under European veterans Louis Blenker and Franz Sigel. Blenker’s “First German Rifles,” the Eighth Regiment New York State Volunteers, distinguished themselves, along with a company of experienced European artillerymen Blenker assembled, as a well-organized rearguard during the Union embarrassment at the battle of Bull Run, in Virginia in July 1861. Franz Sigel organized the German 3rd Missouri Regiment and insured that the first uniforms issued were designed after those worn by the revolutionary Freischaren of 1849. Together with the German 12th Missouri, these two regiments became known as the “Light German Brigade,” and quickly gained renown in performing a superior rear-guard action following the Union retreat from Wilson’s Creek, Missouri, near Springfield in August.

To capitalize on the reservoir of military experience among Indiana immigrants, newspapers announced the need for a German regiment. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* and the *Terre Haute Express* both proclaimed “The intention of those composing the regiment is, we were told, to have only officers of experience and good military education, and, so far as possible, men who have seen service heretofore. - There are many Germans in our State who were officers in the European revolutions of 1848, and who have been thoroughly trained to arms in their native country. A regiment composed of such officers and men will be patient in camp and terrible in the field.” (*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Friday 9 August 1861; reprint of earlier *Terre Haute Express* article.) Germans formed as many as seventeen companies at Indianapolis to compete for a place in the state’s first ethnic infantry regiment, the 32nd Indiana, organized and commanded by the renowned Colonel August Willich.

Conservative estimates place the number of Indiana German immigrants who served in Indiana’s volunteer regiments at around seven thousand men out of nearly fifteen thousand foreigners on the rolls. Two full German batteries of artillery, the 1st and 6th Indiana Battery, were both organized at Evansville

and served with distinction throughout the war. The 1st Indiana Battery saw extensive action in numerous campaigns along the Mississippi River, and the 6th, named the “Morton Battery” in honor of the governor of the state, fought in Tennessee and Mississippi. By far, one of the most famous of the German infantry regiments to serve during the Civil War was Indiana’s 1st German, 32nd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, organized from eight Indiana cities with one company coming from Cincinnati, Ohio.

Nearly every military organization Indiana sent into the field had German immigrants in the ranks, and several had full companies, such as Company “K,” 27th Indiana from Dubois County, which lost men on the bloody grounds of Chancellorsville, Antietam, and Gettysburg before moving to the Western Theater to take part in the many battles on the way to Atlanta. Hundreds of Indiana Germans paid the ultimate sacrifice, including Nicholas and John Kremer of Dubois County, father and son, both members of Company “I,” 49th Indiana, who died in Louisiana. Colonel John Gerber and Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Glass, both residents of Madison, Indiana, lost their lives in Tennessee. Gerber was killed in command of the 24th Indiana at Shiloh, 7 April 1862, and Glass died at the head of the 32nd Indiana in a charge up Missionary Ridge on 25 November 1863.

German immigrants served the Union and the State of Indiana in other capacities, such as Albert Lange, who was on the staff of Governor Oliver P. Morton, and John B. Mansfield [Lutz], organizer and commander of the Indiana Legion. Captain Herman Sturm turned down a position as lieutenant colonel of the 54th Indiana to remain in an experimental position as superintendent of the state-run arsenal, much to the benefit of Indiana and the soldier in the field.

These German immigrants, and thousands of others, left behind a legacy of service to the nation that is recounted in biographies, newspaper articles, letters, and even the songs they sang. Like their Anglo counterparts, they served for a variety of reasons, and for many, there remained a purpose to serve that native-born Americans did not have to consider—that needed to prove themselves worthy of citizenship in the United States.

1. HOOSIER GERMANS IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION

William A. Fritsch (1896)

Edited by Eberhard Reichmann & Michael A. Peake



Dr. Fritsch, a resident of Vanderburgh County, served during the Civil War in Tennessee and Alabama as a private of Company A, 136th Indiana Infantry. Portrait from *German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana: A Memorial for the State Centennial 1916* (Evansville, IN, 1915).

In Evansville, the “Steuben Battery” had been formed; it received two cannons and some twenty-four Mississippi rifles. Captain Martin Klauss and his team of initially fifty men were all Germans, with eight or nine from Tell City. They were sworn into the service of the State by Mayor William Baker, under whose leadership they controlled the river traffic on the Ohio and searched ships for contraband of war. In June, the battery went to Indianapolis and was sworn in as the 1st Battery Indiana Light Artillery in the service of the United States. Next to Captain Klauss, Arnold Schrauder and John L. Bittrolff were the first officers; Philip Nonweiler and Jacob Mann advanced to officers from the ranks. Advancement in the artillery [was] quite slow and captain was usually the top rank a gunner could hope for.

As soon as the 1st Battery was at full strength with cannon, horses and munitions, they were sent to Missouri, arriving there after the battle on Wilson's Creek and continuing the campaign thereafter. They were involved in the capture of 1,300 Rebels [16 December 1861] and fought in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on the second day, 8 March 1862, under General Franz Sigel. In 1863 the battery fought [in Mississippi] at Port Gibson, Champion Hill, Black River Bridge, and in the sieges of Vicksburg and Jackson, followed by the ill-fated Red River Expedition [in Louisiana and Arkansas]. Peace news reached them in Montgomery, Alabama. They were mustered out in Indianapolis on 22 August 1865—4 officers and 111 men.

The 6th Indiana Battery was also all German [recruited also in Evansville and mustered into the service on 7 September 1861 at Indianapolis]. They had bad luck on the first day of the battle of Shiloh where they were positioned at the extreme right wing of General McDowell's Corps [sic, Colonel John A. McDowell's brigade] at Purdy Road when the enemy's attack columns pressed on and pushed back the Corps. Capt. Frederick Behr with his battery had to follow. With his cannon he came into a wooded area, and no sooner had he given a command than a deadly bullet struck him down from his horse. And as many horses were killed, it was impossible to move the cannon. The men rescued themselves and as many horses as they could. One gun of the battery, under the command of Lieutenant William Mussmann, stood at the bridge where Purdy Road crosses Owl's Creek. The cannon, the horses, and the men were saved. On the second day of the battle, the remainder of the 6th German battery was augmented with two cannon from the Hoffmann battery and took part in the battle. They were near the German 32nd Indiana regiment and helped recapture the cannons, also of other batteries, that had been lost on the first day. Captain Michael Mueller succeeded Frederick Behr and led the battery through the war with a distinguished record.

The largest German contingent, however, was the 32nd Indiana Infantry Regiment. Recruitment for it had been conducted in all larger cities. Indianapolis, Evansville, Terre Haute, Lafayette, etc. had raised companies. Colonel August Willich was appointed commander, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry von Trebra, like Willich, a former Prussian officer, became the effective drillmaster of the troop; most captains and officers had also done military service in Germany. Colonel Willich's performance at Shiloh brought him the promotion to Brigadier General, and von Trebra followed him as commander of the 32nd Indiana, but this excellent officer died later from exertion [typhoid] in the strenuous campaign. It was now Colonel Francis Erdelmeyer's turn to lead the regiment that continued its successful role at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and in the Atlanta campaign.

All Indiana regiments had Germans among their rank and file; in fact, some of them could be called half-German regiments. The 14th Indiana was in the midst of things at Antietam and Gettysburg. Its Company E was all German, with the others about half. In the 24th [Indiana Infantry Regiment], organized by Alvin P. Hovey [future governor of Indiana], Captain John Grill's Company C was German, and the other companies had also many Germans. The 42nd Indiana, too, had a good number of Germans. John H. Eigenmann, from Baden, at age 24 joined Company D at Rockport. He advanced to lieutenant and then became its captain. In the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, his men being novices were a bit hesitant at first. He stepped in front of them and had them do a drill routine with their guns, then rushed toward the enemy. The other captains followed his example. At Stone River he was shot in the chest and captured, but later exchanged. In the 126th Indiana, Company A was all German, and the other companies had also many Germans. It was a half-German regiment.

Among the German leaders who represented Indiana well, General Willich must be named in the first place. He was the General "Forward" in the western theater [reference to Prussian Field Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, 1813-1815 hero in the defeat of Napoleon, often referred to as *Marschall Vorwärts* (Marshal Forwards!)].

General Pleasant Adams Hackleman, born in Franklin County, had German forbears, the Heckelmanns. When the war broke out, Governor Morton appointed him to colonel. In April 1862 he became a general. His old regiment honored him with a precious saber. But he did not enjoy it very long; in October 1862 he was killed at Yuka in front of his brigade—the only Indiana general to lose his life in battle.

General Fred Knefler served in several Indiana regiments and participated in the battles of Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. After the war he wrote a lively account of these battles.

General John L. Mansfield had a somewhat romantic career before coming to Indiana. His real name was John B. Lutz. A graduate of Goettingen University, he came to America, taught at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, married a Miss Mansfield and took her name [since she didn't like the name "Lutz"]. Elected to the State Legislature, he helped Governor Morton with attracting and recruiting men to serve. When the Southern General John Hunt Morgan threatened the State, Morton appointed him Major General for the State Militia. [Mansfield remained commander of the Legion until November 1865, when his services were no longer required. After the war he sold his estate in Jeffersonville and moved to Indianapolis. He died in 1876 at Mansfield in Piatt County, Illinois, a little town he had established].



Major General John Lutz Mansfield served the State of Indiana in the State Legislature before becoming an officer of the Indiana Legion. Portrait from files of Eberhard Reichmann.

The German who earned his merits not as a military man, but as producer of ammunition for the troops was Herman Sturm who took the technical direction of a new state arsenal.



John Gerber was serving as marshal of Madison when he enlisted as lieutenant colonel of the 24th Indiana in August 1861. He was one of five Madison residents with the rank of lieutenant colonel to die for the Union. Portrait from *Souvenir of the Grand Army Encampment at Madison, Indiana, June 1905*, p. 13.

There were quite a few German colonels leading Indiana regiments. Naturally, they were all interested in attracting Germans to the units. There was Frank Erdelmeyer, Indianapolis, commanding the 32nd Indiana; Carl A. Zollinger, Fort Wayne, was the colonel of the 129th Indiana; John Rheinlander commanded the 25th Indiana; Colonel Richard Dale Owen, a son of the famous social reformer Robert Owen of New Harmony, was educated in Switzerland and spoke German; in his regiment were many of our countrymen. Gustav [John] Gerber [of Madison], Lieutenant Colonel in the 24th Indiana, was killed at Shiloh. He had just been looking after a fallen officer and as he folded the dying man's hands over his chest, Gerber himself was struck by a cannon ball. General Lewis Wallace, the author of *Ben*

Hur, in whose corps the 24th served, said of him: "Nobody died a more glorious death than Gerber. Yet, at Shiloh so many brave men died, and still so many glorious deeds were performed!"

It was not always battle after battle—the frontline troops had also days of rest to recuperate. Many soldiers never saw real action. Still, there was plenty of work for them. Bridges were to be protected so as to expedite supplies for the armies further south. There was a reserve needed to keep hostile population elements in check and, here and there, to strike at guerillas. In all these functions the Germans never assumed the role of sinister conquerors. They were true to their oath to the Union, but were always humane. Surely, Southern politicians often cursed our Northern armies as "Hessian hordes," to arouse prejudice. But what did the Southerners actually know about the Hessians?! We gave them a different picture of the German volunteers. I remember that in McMinnville, Tennessee, two companies of our regiment were briefly stationed to protect Union-loyalists against wild gangs in the area. Our company was German, the one from Mt. Vernon close to half. In the evening, if not occupied with duties, we gathered on the free space at the court house and sang German songs which attracted the town's folk—of course, more women and girls than men, the latter being in the Southern army with Johnston [sic, Johnson] and Hood.

Also within our own ranks, the war helped eradicate many a prejudice. By the middle of the 19th century there was still some squabbling going on between the compatriots of different regions of our German fatherland. Every one thought, even asserted, that his little fatherland was the best, and claimed that it was way ahead of all the others. With the war for the Union this changed—the decried Prussian turned out to be a top officer. In the companies and regiments there were Germans from North, South, East and West of the old fatherland, cast together, and they learned to smoothen their rough edges and to respect each other.

What a checkered troop my own company was! The fellow who shared my tent was a Hamburger, I am a Pomeranian; there were Bavarians, Badenians, Thuringians, Hanoverians, North and Southern Germans—we all respected each other and became friends. From that time on, greater harmony spread among the Germans in the United States.

Source: Dr. William A. Fritsch, "Die Deutschen im Krieg für die Union," in *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Indiana. Eine Festschrift zur Indiana-Feier im Jahre 1900* [To the History of German Culture in Indiana. A Commemorative Publication for the Indiana Celebration in 1900]. New York: E. Steiger & Co. (1896), 40-55. Trans. by Eberhard Reichmann [abbr.].

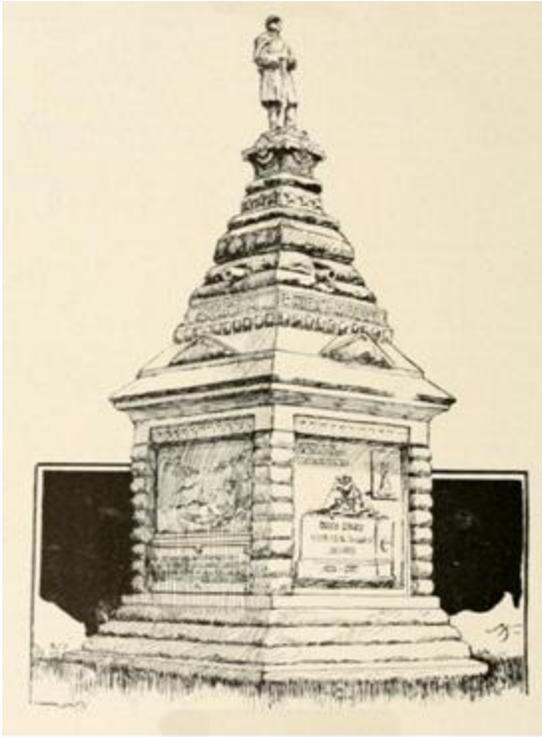
2. THE GERMANS OF DUBOIS COUNTY

Elfrieda Lang

One company apparently made a deeper impression on the history of Dubois County than any other group. Company K [of the 27th Indiana Regiment] was the first company recruited in Dubois County for the war. It had been organized as militia or Home Guard and frequently met for drill. It also included some men from Father Kundek's Guards [a militia organization named in honor of Father Joseph Kundek, the Croatian missionary who founded the Catholic mission of Jasper in 1838, and was instrumental in the creation of the magnificent Benedictine St. Meinrad Archabbey]. Most of the members of this company were young men of German parentage. About ninety of the men and three commissioned officers spoke German [such as Captain John Mehringer, who organized the *Jasper Militia*, and later became major of the Twenty-seventh on arrival at Indianapolis].... The company voted to enter the service of the United States in August, 1861. A farewell dinner was served on 6 August by the ladies of Jasper on the courthouse grounds. At this dinner a flag was presented to the company, which had been made by the ladies who served the dinner. The company left Jasper on 9 August in wagons for Loogootee and from there went by rail to Indianapolis, where they arrived on 10 August. They became a member of the Twenty-seventh Indiana Regiment, which was organized on 24 June 1861, and was mustered into service on September the 12th, 1861 for a period of three years. Company K with other companies of the Twenty-seventh Regiment was actively engaged in the battle of Antietam on the seventeenth of September 1862. While this company was somewhat different from the other companies in the Regiment, there was never any question as to its bravery, and it commanded the respect of all. It was mustered out of service on 4 November 1864. The veterans of this company who were citizens of Jasper assisted in the erection of the Soldiers' Monument upon the spot where the kind ladies of Jasper had presented the flag on 6 August 1861. [Note: Twenty three of the ninety-nine Company K men did not return from war; their bodies were left behind in graves at Antietam, Cedar Mountain, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, and Resaca].



Flag of Company K, 27th Indiana Regiment.
Files of Eberhard Reichmann.



Jasper Soldier Monument.
Files of Eberhard Reichmann.

Source: Elfrieda Lang, "The Germans in Dubois County," *Indiana Magazine of History*, September 1946, Volume XLII, 246-247.

2.1 REMEMBERING TWO CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS: NICHOLAS AND JOHN KREMER OF CELESTINE, DUBOIS COUNTY

George R. Wilson



Kremer tablet, Jasper, Indiana.
Photo by Glory-June Greiff,
1995 IGHS German Heritage Calendar.

On the Soldiers' Monument at the court house in Jasper, Dubois Co., there are three bronze tablets, a bronze door, and a crowning figure of bronze. The east, or front, tablet represents a soldier who has been wounded in a charge. His muscles seem to be relaxing, and the expression of death is on his face, yet in his dying moments he braces himself by his right foot and his left knee, while his arm rests appealingly on his son's left shoulder. The son's left arm has been disabled and is carried in a sling, while his right arm is about his father's neck. In this position the father is talking to his son for the last time.

The tablet commemorates an incident during the Battle of Champion Hill, in which Nicholas Kremer and his son John Kremer were fatally wounded. The wounded son tried to encourage and comfort his father to the last. Both died on 16 May 1863, the day of the battle. The Kremers were members of Company I of the 49th Indiana, commanded by Captain John J. Alles, of Celestine.

At the time of enlistment in November 1861, the father was 45 years old, five feet, six inches tall, had light hair, blue eyes and was fair complexioned. The son met the regiment at Memphis, Tennessee in December 1862 and enrolled in his father's company at the age of 19. He was five feet, five inches tall, with black hair and black eyes, and marked light complexioned on the muster roll. Before the Civil War, these two soldiers lived on the hill half a mile west of Celestine, and deserve this extended mention.

In the upper left hand of the Kremer tablet is the following stanza:

Yield not to grief the tribute of a tear,
But 'neath the fore-front of a spacious sky,
Smile all exultant, as they smiled at fear,
Who dared to do where doing meant to die;
So best may comrades prove remembrance dear,
So best be hallowed earth where soldiers lie.

Source: George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County from Its Primitive Days to 1910*. Jasper, Indiana, 1910, p. 323.

3. FIGHTING FOR THE NEW FATHERLAND: INDIANAPOLIS GERMANS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR

Theodore Stempfel

Edited by Eberhard Reichmann & Michael A. Peake

In the morning hours of 12 April 1861, the hot-blooded Virginian Edmund Ruffin fired the first cannon shot at the Union fort [Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina]. The garrison retaliated [against] the brazen morning greeting—the bloody tragedy of the Civil War had begun.

The bombarding of Fort Sumter resounded throughout the entire country. Those who experienced that time will hardly ever forget it. “The Union forever!” became the battle-cry, and in cities across the State of Indiana volunteers organized to heed President Lincoln’s call that was sure to follow. On the 14th, loyal citizens of Indianapolis called a mass meeting, and Theodore Hielscher [founder of the Republican paper *Freie Presse*] gave the German speech. Now it was time to prove through action that the principles defended in speeches and writings were earnestly meant.

On the 15th, President Lincoln issued the call for the first contingent of 75,000 volunteers. On the 18th, the *Indianapolis Journal* published the following notice:

The Turners marched to Camp Morton yesterday morning, accompanied by their own band, and joined the several companies with which they have identified themselves. Passing up Delaware Street they stopped in front of the residence of the Honorable A.G. Porter and gave him three hearty cheers, and then passed on to the residence of William Wallace [mayor of Indianapolis; sheriff of Marion County] where Adjutant General [Lew] Wallace is temporarily residing, and cheered the general with loud hurrah. The Turners are aroused and ready for action.

All unmarried Turners answered Lincoln’s first call. Consequently, the *Turngemeinde* [Turner community] fell into disarray. The Turner hall on Noble Street was transferred to one of the creditors to cover the considerable liabilities of the *Verein* [club]. The remaining belongings of the Turners, consisting of banner, gymnastic apparatus, and library were entrusted to Herman Lieber’s custody.

The *Männerchor* [men’s choir], which had made considerable progress under its conductor, Ernst Despa, also went downhill with the beginning of the war. Some of the active members had joined the army; besides, harmony among the members had become fragile.

The whole country concentrated its interest on the theater of war. The serenity of life in the *Vereins* faded. Times had arrived which would test the human soul.

That the Germans of America stood this test with bravura is written in the book of history in indelible letters. The German immigrants were over-represented in fighting under the Star-Spangled Banner for the preservation of the Union. The following notice from the *Indianapolis Journal*, 16 April

1861, informs about the unselfish devotion of the Indianapolis Germans to their new homeland, and their patriotic enthusiasm for it:

Our German fellow citizens held a meeting yesterday for the purpose of considering the propriety of offering their services to the Governor during the present emergency. They announced their firm and undying devotion to the land of their adoption and resolved to offer their services to the Governor with the understanding that they will not all be continued in the same company, as they consider that all nationality should be sunk now, save that of the American.

Long live our brave adopted citizens! They have felt the oppression of an aristocracy and will never consent to again bow their necks to the yoke, nor sacrifice their love of liberty to save their lives.

When the Turners returned after their three months of service, a desire arose to form an all-German regiment. They felt inspired to this by the merits of German regiments in the East under Ludwig Blenker and the Germans of St. Louis under Franz Sigel. The idea was finally taken up with enthusiasm by a group of people who met daily at 11 a.m. at Washington Hall. The group consisted of Valentine Butsch, Dr. Konraden Homburg, Adolph Seidensticker, Theodore Hielscher, and August W. Ritzinger. With Governor Morton's approval, the plan was immediately made effective.



The Germans of Indiana drew their inspiration for petitioning Governor Morton to organize the State's 1st German Regiment from the successful efforts to form ethnic regiments in the East by Ludwig Blenker (L) and in the West by Franz Sigel (R). Both men previously commanded revolutionary troops in Germany in 1848. Photos from the Library of Congress.

Indianapolis [Fort Wayne and Louisville, Kentucky] provided the first company. The other nine companies were recruited at Madison, Aurora, Lawrenceburgh, Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Lafayette, New Albany, Laporte, and Evansville. August Willich, then major in the 9th Ohio Regiment, became the first commander. His officers were Lieutenant Colonel Henry von Trebra, Major William Schnackenburg, Adjutant Karl Schmitt, and Quartermaster Edward Mueller. The regiment was enrolled as the 32nd Indiana and departed for Louisville on 26 September 1861. There, Mrs. Minna Seidensticker presented them with the regimental colors on behalf of the German women.



Posing left to right sit Willich's staff members Major William Schnackenburg, Assistant Surgeon Jean Allard Jeancon, Adjutant Carl Schmitt, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry von Trebra. Collection of James Barnett.

In just over two months of entering Kentucky, Willich's 32nd Indiana faced the first test of their destiny. The further history of the 32nd is best left to Frank Erdelmeyer, captain of the first company, and later lieutenant colonel:

Under Willich's command, the regiment became one of the best drilled military units. We drilled using German commands and German signal. A feeling of fellowship developed, a genuine soldier's spirit, which led us to victory in many a bitter battle. Later in the year our regiment joined General R. W. Johnson's Sixth Brigade, of McCook's [Second] Division. On

the 12th of December 1861 Johnson's brigade advanced to the village of Munfordville on Green River. The railroad bridge spanning the river had been partially destroyed, and in order to protect the reconstruction of the bridge, Willich stationed two companies on the south side of the river as pickets while our pioneers worked night and day to repair the structure. On the 17th the [pontoon] bridge was completed. It was high time, for shortly after noon, the enemy's cavalry and infantry approached. Our pickets gave the alarm; our companies formed quickly and crossed the bridge at double quick. Colonel Willich was absent at the time and the command devolved on von Trebra. With the same precision as if we were on the drill-grounds, our companies fell into line of battle. The rebel infantry was unable to withstand our well directed fire, and was hurled back in wild confusion. But now the enemy advanced his cavalry, the dreaded Texas Rangers. Screaming wildly, they burst forth from behind a hill to attack our thinly spread firing line and separately fighting companies. But we encountered the first impact unyieldingly; the companies formed into squares, and let the Texas Rangers come within a short distance; then sounded one volley after another; the wild horsemen were thrown back and many of them remained on the field. But they returned again and again! On the left flank Lieutenant Max Sachs, who had been grouped around two haystacks in the open field with a part of the Third Company, was surrounded by the Rangers. He refused to surrender, and fought bravely till a bullet brought his end. Help came quickly, but unfortunately too late for Sachs. The Texas Rangers now reassembled for a final charge, but our men stood firm. In the meantime, with my First Company I had occupied an elevation on our left flank to bar the path of the cavalry. As soon as we arrived there we saw right in front of us the infantry and artillery of the enemy. I waited till the infantry advanced to attack our right flank, then slowly proceeded with my company. The enemy suspected the whole division behind us and retreated in

hasty flight, fearing an attack on their flank. The battle was over; we had ten dead and twenty-two wounded on our side. The victory belonged to the German Regiment of Indiana.

The following citations to the regiment give witness as to how the courageous stand of the 32nd was honored:

GENERAL ORDERS No. 23.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
Louisville, Ky., December 27, 1861.

The general commanding takes pleasure in bringing to notice the gallant conduct of a portion of Colonel Willich's regiment, Thirty-second Indiana, at Rowlett's Station, in front of Munfordville, on the 17th instant.

Four companies of the regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel von Trebra, on outpost duty, were attacked by a column of the enemy, consisting of one regiment of cavalry, a battery of artillery, and two regiments of infantry. They defended themselves until re-enforced by other companies of the regiment, and the fight was continued with such effect that the enemy at length retreated precipitately.

The attack of the enemy was mainly with his cavalry and artillery. Our troops fought as skirmishers, rallying rapidly into squares when charged by the cavalry, sometimes even defending themselves singly and killing their assailants with the bayonet. The general tenders his thanks to the officers and soldiers of the regiment for their gallant and efficient conduct on this occasion. He commends it as a study and example to all other troops under his command, and enjoins them to emulate the discipline and instruction which insure such results.

The name of "Rowlett's Station" will be inscribed on the regimental colors of the Thirty-second Indiana Regiment.

By command of Brigadier-General Buell:

JAMES B. FRY,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Chief of Staff.

OFFICE OF THE MILITARY BOARD
Frankfort, Ky., March 28, 1862.
Col. A. Willich:

My dear Sir:—It affords me great pleasure to inform you that the Legislature of Kentucky has passed an act appropriating \$250 and authorized me to purchase the ground where the remains of the brave and gallant soldiers of your Regiment, who fell in the battle of the 17th of December, 1861, are buried. I trust that this additional evidence on the part of Kentucky of her love for her sister state Indiana and for her noble and brave Germans who left their native country to seek a home and an asylum in the United States, and who at the call of the Government of their adoption, left their homes and firesides to drive the rebels from the soil of Kentucky and to defend and uphold the Union and the Constitution against the assault of the most unjust and unholy rebellion, will more firmly and closely unite Kentucky and Indiana in bonds of love which will never be broken. And when peace and quiet is again restored, the two states will feel that they are united in their social and commercial interests. I enclose you a copy of the act of the Legislature of Kentucky, not doubting that yourself and brave brother officers and men of your regiment will be gratified to know what the Legislature did.

With kindest regards, I am very truly and respectfully yours.

G.T. Wood

Source: Theodore Stempfel's Festschrift of 1898 in the bilingual edition of 1991, *Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis*, (Indianapolis: German-American Center and the Indiana German Heritage Society, 1991), 22-26.

Jacob Pratt Dunn, *History of Greater Indianapolis* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 210-212.

4. *DIE TURNVEREINE* (THE TURNERS)

Mark D. Jaeger

One cannot develop a proper [understanding of German-American history] without having at least a passing familiarity with the “Turner” movement, which rapidly emerged after thousands of radical 48ers fled their homeland for the United States in the wake of their failed 1848-1849 revolution. Indeed, it is impossible to understate the social and political importance of the Turners, who exerted an influence in ethnic German community life far out of proportion to their actual numbers.

Who were the Turners? While it is difficult to neatly encapsulate their program, Turners subscribed to the concept of *Mens sana in corpore sano* (A sound mind in a sound body). In other words Turners, with their cry of *Frisch, Froehlich, und Frei* (Young, Happy, and Free) advocated the cultivation of physical and intellectual training for the purpose of fostering national power, patriotism, and good citizenship. To attain the physical end of their program, the gymnastic and physical exercises developed earlier in the 19th century by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and his followers in Prussia. This regimen was accomplished on such pieces of apparatus as vaulting horses, parallel bars, inclined ladders, hanging ropes, and balance beams—all of which we still see today at gymnastic meets. Turners also used free weights and wands as well as engaged in games and exercises that drew upon their personal strength, physical endurance, mental agility, or even courage.

Turners were also well known for engaging in such quasi-military pastimes as marching, sword and rifle drills, fencing, and target shooting. These activities were not performed in total innocence since they were also valuable in helping Germans protect themselves from nativist thugs when “Know-Nothingism” was on the rise in the early 1850s.

Intellectual development was also important to the Turners and to this end they regularly sponsored craft exhibitions, literary gatherings, debates, social events, musical soirees, and instructional programs. The Turner movement rapidly expanded after the first chapter was established, in the “Queen City” of Cincinnati, in November 1848 and by April 1861 there were over 150 active Turner chapters located in most every Northern and Southern urban area with a significant German population. The success of the Turners can be measured by the fact that, just prior to the beginning of hostilities, ethnic German community life was just as likely centered on the local *Turnhalle* (gymnasium) as it was around German Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed churches. By 1861 the *Kirchendeutschen* (Church Germans) were gradually giving ground to the *Vereinsdeutschen* (Club Germans).

The other important aspect of the Turner movement one should bear in mind is its involvement in local, state, and Federal issues. Thanks to disproportionate radical 48er influence, the Turner societies in the Northern states took a leading role in a) opposing anti-immigrant policies and programs, b) promoting the political platform of the Republican Party, c) repealing or forestalling temperance laws that interfered with the German custom of observing the Sabbath in a festive manner, d) preserving and extending German culture and customs in the United States, and, most importantly, e) demanding the abolition of slavery on moral grounds.

Turners armed with the above principles were, to use an anachronism, but with relatively little exaggeration, the *Stosstruppen* (shock troops) of the Union Army—their ideological zeal in upholding the principles of constitution and union were second to none. Many Turners considered the war to be nothing less than a crusade against slavery and, accordingly, enlisted en masse. Total Turnverein chapter membership in 1861 was perhaps no more than 10,000—a tiny fraction of the total German population in America—but up to 60 percent of all Turners joined the Federal war effort. In short, most German

enlistees were not Turners, but their influence was so pervasive that one would have been hard-pressed to find a *Soldat* who did not at least know someone who was in the Turners or who would not have been familiar with Turner activities.

One would be well-advised, then, to familiarize themselves with the activities of the Turners since they certainly would have been a fixture in many ethnic German communities. We should further add that Germans, like many of their 19th Century contemporaries, were “joiners” and organized a host of other associations to meet their needs. Among these organizations were *Schuetzenvereine* (shooting clubs), *Arbeiter Vereine* (Workingmen’s Clubs), Odd Fellow and Masonic lodges as well as such uniquely German fraternal groups as *Der Order der Hermanns Soehne* (Sons of Hermann), and the *Deutscher Orden der Harugari* (German Order of the Harugari). Individuals seeking to [research] German troops of Jewish descent (of which there were a statistically significant number) may want to familiarize themselves with *B’nai B’rith*, which was founded by German Jews in New York during the 1840s. A working knowledge of these associations will certainly be invaluable when [understanding German-American history] as their existence would have been common knowledge among most, if not all, ethnic German communities during the Civil War era.

Source: Mark D. Jaeger, “Deutsche, Achtung!—Developing an Ethnic German First-Person Impression,” in *Columbia Rifles Research Compendium*, 2nd edition, ed. John E. Tobey (Watchdog Quarterly, 2006).

5. WAR CLOUDS OVER EVANSVILLE

James E. Morlock

Edited by Eberhard Reichmann & Michael A. Peake

[The alarm of war pealed louder to those citizens living in Indiana border counties along the Ohio River from Lawrenceburg down to Mount Vernon.] In Evansville, the courthouse was soon filled to overflowing and, with a large crowd gathered outside, it was decided to hold the meeting in the market house. A stirring address was given by James E. Blythe, a prominent lawyer and gifted orator. The assembled throng was moved to a fervent demonstration and in the midst of this great outburst of sentiment and enthusiasm. Judge Baker administered to most of those present an oath to support the Constitution and the Union.

Most of the companies organized in Evansville adopted interesting names for themselves as the “Evansville Invincibles,” “Independent Rifles,” “Crescent City Guards,” and “Vanderburgh Greys.”

In addition to these volunteers for the regular service, the Governor called for the organization of regiments of State militia or “home guards,” as they were commonly called. On public occasions when gracious words were in order, they were generally referred to as the “Indiana Legion.” These men did an important service of patrolling areas of the city where military supplies were stored and doing guard duty along the river and, quite important, providing a sense of security for the local population. Many of the members of the home guard were young men who subsequently enlisted in the regular army. Others were older men with families or with minor physical defects which prevented enlistment in the regular army.

The preparation for active hostilities moved slowly but with much determination. The *Daily Journal* on 20 April 1861, stated:

The war feeling here, as everywhere else, is intense. Little else is thought or talked of. This is most exposed and critical point in Indiana.

In April and May of 1861, there was great uncertainty as to whether Kentucky would remain in the Union or join the Confederacy, and this created much apprehension in Evansville. The governor of Kentucky was an avowed secessionist, but the legislature, though almost evenly divided, inclined toward a course of neutrality. The heroic efforts of the Honorable John J. Crittenden, the distinguished elder statesmen of Kentucky at that time, did much to keep the state in the Union fold.

In the face of these uncertainties there were many bitter words and much intense excitement. People on both sides of the Ohio River were fearful lest trouble start at any time. Hotheads on both sides seemed to be having a field day as threats and challenges were hurled. The following letter received from Owensboro and published in the Evansville *Daily Journal* on 21 June 1861, was rather typical:

We have tolerated here in Kentucky the insolence of the abolition press at Evansville as long as we intend to. We give you to understand, sir, that we care not for the threats of those who are hired to advocate the cause of Lincoln. We, in Kentucky, look upon you and all your associates as a set of cowards, thieves and robbers with not half as much bravery as gab. If you want the government to come up here and regulate us, you had better come with them. You are a set of flimsy cowards. We'll see in a short time whether your Dutch 12th [Indiana Regiment] will fight or not. We learn today that Wallace is coming up here to take down our flag. Tell him to come. We are ready to a man and every step will be attended with a death knell to the low Dutch. We dare you to come. We will teach something. We hate you and intend to destroy every town on your border. Evansville would be safer in hell than where she now is.



Cannon placed above the Ohio River at Sunset Park. Files of Eberhard Reichmann.

Two brass cannon were cast at the Kratz and Heilman foundry to be used for the defense of the city. The workers contributed their labor and the foundry supplied the metal. One of these guns was mounted in what is now Sunset Park; the other was set in an emplacement below the city near the foot of Coal Mine Hill.

The tramp of soldiers' feet was heard every day in the streets of Evansville as the recruits were drilled while awaiting orders. The volunteers for the home guards did their drill at night. Tents were pitched along the river on vacant lots where space was available.

Source: James E. Morlock, *The Evansville Story. A Cultural Interpretation*. Privately printed, 1981, 86-87.

6. CAPTAIN HERMAN STURM AND THE AMMUNITION PROBLEM

Jacob Piatt Dunn (1910)



Herman W. Sturm (b. 1830 in Hannover, Germany) managed the Indiana State Arsenal and the manufacture of ammunition with such efficiency as to generate a profit for the State of over \$77,000 when the arsenal ceased operations in April 1864. Photo from *The Germans of Indianapolis*, 52.

[In the spring of 1861], ammunition was also almost impossible to obtain, and [Governor] Morton, who balked at no obstacle, determined to try making it. Captain Herman Sturm, who had learned the business in Europe, was put in charge of the experiment in rented quarters on the square south of the state house, with a blacksmith's forge for melting lead, a room for making cartridges, and a detail of men from the Eleventh [Indiana] regiment to do the work. The work was a success, and our first troops were furnished with ammunition from this source.

The work was started on 27 April; and a month later Governor Morton ordered the construction of buildings for the work on the square north of the state house—now the north half of the state house grounds. On 15 June, the *Journal* reported the buildings about completed. On the north side of the enclosure was a small brick building with furnaces for melting lead, and room for eight men to work at molding bullets, as well as benches for swedging and perfecting the bullets.

Adjoining this was a room for filling shells and preparing fuzes. On the east and west sides of the enclosure were frame buildings for making cartridges and storing ammunition. There were soon about 100 women and girls employed in making cartridges, and the institution grew steadily. In October, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron and

General Thomas visited this arsenal and inspected the work. They recommended its continuance; and it not only supplied most of the Indiana troops but very largely others. The transactions of the arsenal to its close on 18 April 1864, amounted to \$788,838.45, and the state made a clear profit from its operation of \$77,457.32. As high as 700 persons were employed in it at one time. In the winter of 1861, the furniture factory of John Ott, on West Washington street, was rented for the work, and canister-shot and signal lights were added to the products. In 1862, partly for safety and partly for economy, the arsenal was moved about a mile and a half east of the state house on Washington street. In 1863 the United States purchased the tract now known as the Winona Technical Institute grounds [now Arsenal Technical High School], and began the erection of an arsenal there.

Source: Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, and the People of a City of Homes* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 1: 223.

6.1 COLONEL STURM

Edited by Michael A. Peake

On the 17th of November, 1862, Captain Sturm was promoted to the Lieutenant Colonelcy of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, with the view of being detailed for ordnance duty at Indianapolis, but this being found to be impractical he resigned on the 28th of the following December. He was, however, continued as Superintendent of the Arsenal.

In addition to his other duties, Colonel Sturm acted as Chief of Ordnance for the State, and as such officer had supervision of all issues of arms and other property belonging to the United States and placed in custody of the Governor for the use of Volunteers; also of issues of State arms to the Indiana Legion. The management of the Arsenal, the settlements and returns required for all ordnance property received and issued, and the general business of the Ordnance Office of the State, demanded a high order of ability, great industry and inflexible integrity. Colonel Sturm displayed these qualities in a remarkable degree, and his efforts to carry out the plans and orders of the Governor were crowned, from the outset, with the most complete and gratifying success. The service required at his hands was immense, involving heavy responsibility, constant vigilance and on abating labor. Many trying and discouraging difficulties were encountered and overcome. Colonel Sturm possessed untiring energy and confident perseverance; he made the prosperity of the Arsenal a matter of personal pride, and it is, but justice to say that he proved himself equal, and more than equal, to every demand made upon him during the war....

The Military Auditing Committee had an excellent opportunity to judge of the manner in which the business had been conducted, and in a report to the Governor, dated September 15th, 1863, said:

"We can not close this report without bearing testimony to the ability, integrity and economy with which Colonel Sturm has managed the affairs of the Arsenal. His position has been a most difficult and responsible one, requiring constant and unremitting labor and great skill and perseverance. Fortunately for the state, he has shown himself equal to every duty that has devolved upon him, and we congratulate you upon the great success, which has attended his and your efforts, as well on account of the pecuniary advantage which has resulted to the State from the operation of the Arsenal, as for the service it has been to the Government. In our judgment, the public service requires that the Arsenal should be continued."

Again, in the final report of the committee, its previous good opinion of the Superintendent was confirmed by the following:

"The committee takes pleasure in saying that nothing has occurred, since our report made to your Excellency, on the 15th September, 1863, to weaken the confidence that we then felt and expressed in the ability, integrity and economy displayed by Colonel H. Sturm in the management of the Indiana Arsenal."

Colonel Sturm was afterwards commissioned as Colonel in the Indiana Legion, was assigned to duty as Chief of Ordnance, with orders to collect in the State arms. On the 1st of January, 1866, he retired from service, and was complimented by Governor Morton with an honorary commission in the Indiana Legion, conferring upon him the rank of Brigadier General.

[Ed. Note: Soon after, Sturm worked closely with General Lew Wallace in purchasing arms and supplies for Mexican liberals attempting to free Mexico from French occupation. He performed duties for the fledgling Mexican Republic that belonged to the bureau of the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance departments, with a skill that allowed the Republic to field six or seven armies against the French who prudently left Mexico to its own destiny.]

Source: *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*, Official Report of W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General (Indianapolis 1869), Volume I, 418—424.

Lew Wallace, *An Autobiography*, (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906), Volume II, 862—876.

7. THE FIRST INDIANA BATTERY, LIGHT ARTILLERY

Frederick H. Dyer

Organized at Evansville, Ind., August 5, 1861. Mustered in at Indianapolis, Ind., August 16, 1861. Moved to St. Louis, Mo. Attached to Fremont's Army of the West and Dept. of Missouri to January, 1862. Artillery, 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, Army of Southwest Missouri, Dept. of Missouri, to May, 1862. Artillery, 1st Division, Army of Southwest Missouri, to July, 1862. District of Eastern Arkansas, Dept. of Missouri, to October, 1862. Artillery, 1st Division, District of Southeast Missouri, Dept. of Missouri, to March, 1863. Artillery, 14th Division, 13th Army Corps, Army of the Tennessee, to July, 1863. Artillery, 1st Division, 13th Army Corps, Dept. of the Tennessee, to August, 1863, and Dept. of the Gulf to September, 1863. District of Lafourche, Dept. of the Gulf, to February, 1864. Artillery, 1st Division, 13th Army Corps, Dept. of the Gulf, to March, 1864. Artillery, 4th Division, 13th Army Corps. to July, 1864. Artillery, Reserve Dept. of the Gulf, to February, 1865. Artillery Brigade, 16th Army Corps, Military Division West Mississippi, to August, 1865.

SERVICE.—Fremont's Advance on Springfield, Mo., September 27-October 3, 1861. Camp at LaMine till January, 1862. Advance on Springfield, Mo., in pursuit of Price January 25-February 14. Pursuit of Price into Arkansas February 15-29. Battles of Pea Ridge, Ark., March 6-8. March to Sugar Creek March 10, thence to Cross Timbers March 15. March to Batesville April 5-May 3. March to Helena, Ark., May 25-July 14, and duty there till October. Moved to Ironton, Pilot Knob, Mo., and operations in Southeast Missouri till March, 1863. Ordered to St. Genevieve, Mo., March 5; thence to Milliken's Bend, La., March 14-25, and duty there till April 25. Movement on Bruinsburg and turning Grand Gulf April 25-30. Battle of Thompson's Hill, Port Gibson, May 1. Battle of Champion's Hill May 16. Big Black River May 17. Siege of Vicksburg, Miss., May 18-July 4. Assaults on Vicksburg May 19 and 22. Advance on Jackson, Miss., May 4-10. Siege of Jackson July 10-17. Duty at Vicksburg till August 20. Ordered to New Orleans, La. Duty there and at Brashear City till October. Western Louisiana Campaign October 3-November 30. Duty in the District of LaFourche, La., till March, 1864. Red River Campaign March 10-May 22. Battle of Sabine Cross Roads April 8. Cane River Crossing April 23. At Alexandria April 27-May 13. Retreat to Morganza May 13-20. Moved to New Orleans and duty there till March, 1865. Campaign against Mobile, Ala., and its defences March 17-April 12. Siege of Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely March 26-April 8. Fort Blakely April 9. Capture of Mobile April 12. March to Montgomery April 13-25, and duty there till August. Mustered out August 22, 1865. Battery lost during service 3 Enlisted men killed and mortally wounded and 1 Officer and 31 Enlisted men by disease. Total 35.

Source: Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of The War of The Rebellion*, (Des Moines, Iowa: The Dyer Publishing Company, 1908), part 3, 1111.

7.1. FIRST INDIANA BATTERY VETERAN CHRISTIAN WUNDERLICH

History of Vanderburgh County

Christopher Wunderlich mustered as a Private 1st Indiana Light Artillery on 16 August 1861, and mustered out at Indianapolis as corporal on 10 September, 1864. Portrait from *History of Vanderburgh County*, 665.

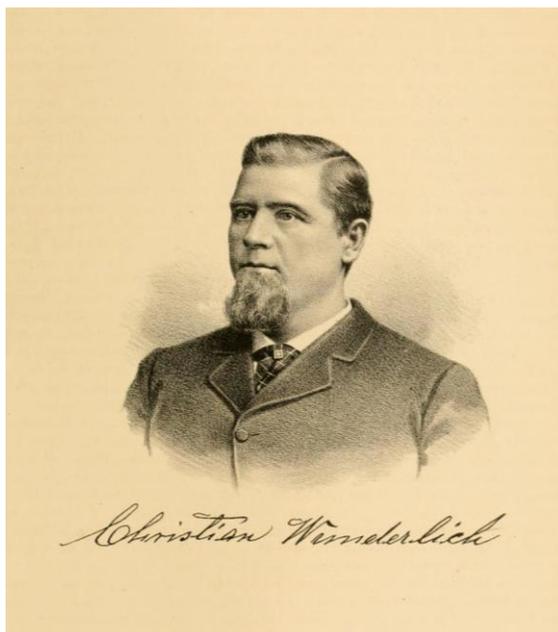
CHRISTIAN WUNDERLICH, county commissioner of Vanderburgh County, was born in Prussia, January 24, 1843. His parents, Christian and Maria (Domheifer) Wunderlich, natives of Prussia, born in 1814 and 1820, respectively, for many years were residents of Perry Township, this county, where the father still lives, the mother having died November 19, 1888.... The father of the subject...was a farmer by occupation, and coming to the United States in 1854 settled in Vanderburgh County, and two years later brought his family from the fatherland to this new country.

Commissioner Wunderlich is the eldest in a family of seven children, five of whom are now living. He attended the schools of his native land, and since coming

to this country is education has been obtained in the practical school of experience. When the life of the nation was threatened by armed rebellion he responded promptly to the call to arms. July 26, 1861, he enlisted in the First Indiana Battery, and participated in the battles at Pea Ridge, Magnolia Hill, Champion Hill, and Big Black River, the siege of Vicksburg and in the Red River Campaign. He performed every duty with that patriotic zeal which characterizes the heroic soldier.

He was honorably discharged at Indianapolis, September 13, 1864. Coming home, he worked on the farm until 1865, when he came to Evansville and learned the carpenter's trade. In December, 1866, he accepted a position on the police force of this city, and served until April, 1868, when he again employed himself at his trade. One year later, he was elected city marshal and held this office five years. In 1874 he was elected sheriff for the county by a majority of 777 votes, and two years later was re-elected, his majority being 659. He was appointed deputy United States marshal for Indiana in 1879, and served two years in that capacity. His first election as county commissioner of this county occurred in 1884, in his re-election in 1886....He was married in 1865 to Miss Elizabeth Grunner, born in Germany, February 17, 1844. Of this union eight children have been born....

Source: *History of Vanderburgh County, Indiana...* (Vanderburgh Co, Indiana: Brant & Fuller, 1889), 90.



8. THE SIXTH INDIANA BATTERY, LIGHT ARTILLERY

This battery was recruited at Evansville and mustered into the service at Indianapolis on the 7th of September 1861, with Frederick Behr, of Evansville, as captain. When Capt. Behr gave his life to his country, on the field of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, the command was entrusted to Michael Mueller, who had rendered faithful service as second and first lieutenant, and who afterward was ever active in the performance of his duty as captain until mustered out ... September 19, 1864. The other officers of the battery were residents of Indianapolis....This battery went out with 133 men, and received seventy-eight recruits. Nineteen of its men re-enlisted as veterans, seventeen died; six deserted, and twenty-six were unaccounted for.

Field Service of the Sixth Battery.—October 2, 1861, the battery left Indianapolis by rail and proceeded by way of Evansville to Henderson, Ky., whence it moved to Calhoun, South Carrollton, and Owensboro, Ky., being on duty at these places until the spring of 1862, when it joined Gen. Sherman's command at Paducah. On the 4th of March, with Sherman's division, it moved up the Tennessee river on steamers, disembarking at Pittsburg Landing. On the morning of April 6, when the rapid advance of the enemy opened the battle of Shiloh, it was guarding the bridge over Owl creek on the Purdy road. For two hours it held its position supported by McDowell's brigade, but was eventually forced back by the strong columns of the enemy. While the battery was retiring, Gen. Sherman met it at the intersection of the Corinth road, and gave orders to Capt. Behr to bring his guns into battery. The captain had hardly given the order to his men when he was struck by a musket ball and fell from his horse. This caused confusion, and the enemy pressing forward vigorously, captured most of the guns of the battery, and killed sixty-eight of its horses. Capt. Behr's wound proved fatal, and four more were wounded. After this battle, new guns were procured, and the battery moved with the army upon Corinth. On May 28th, supported by Gen. Denver's brigade, the battery had a sharp engagement with the enemy. The guns were unlimbered and moved by hand to the crest of a hill, and opening a rapid fire drove the enemy from a strong position, demolished a block house, from which he annoyed one line of skirmishers, and dashing forward, the brigade captured and held the ground. Taking position in these advanced works, the battery was constantly engaged in the siege of Corinth until its evacuation by the enemy. The battery, with a portion of Sherman's troops, next engaged the enemy at Holly Springs, Mississippi, defeating and driving him from the town. Thereafter, until November 26, it did garrison duty at Fort Pickering, near Memphis, Tenn. From here it moved with Sherman's forces upon the rebel Gen. Pemberton, on the Tallahatchie river. The enemy, however, abandoned his works and retreated to Grenada, the battery returning to La Grange, where one section was detached to LaFayette and the other to Colliersville, Tenn. In June, the battery, proceeding by way of Memphis, joined the army of Gen. Grant, then engaged in the siege of Vicksburg, taking part in the operations against the city until its surrender.

It then moved with Sherman's column to Big Black river, where, July 6, it engaged the rebel forces under Gen. Johnson. It next took part in the siege of Jackson, Miss., until its evacuation, when it was assigned to the 3rd division, 15th army corps. On October 15, the battery moved with Gen. McPherson's command on an expedition to Brownsville, Miss., and shelled the rebels out of a strong position... January 1, 1864, a majority of its members re-enlisted as veterans. It was stationed at Pocahontas, Black River Bridge, Vicksburg and Memphis until May, when it moved with Gen. Sturgis' command through northern Mississippi, and on June 10 was engaged in the battle of Guntown, losing three men and ten horses. At Tupelo, Miss., July 14, 1864, it lost one killed and seven wounded. Thereafter, until ordered to Indianapolis for muster out, it served as a stationed battery at Fort Pickering. It reached Indianapolis July 15, 1865, with two officers and forty-eight men, and was mustered out July 22, following.

Source: *History of Vanderburgh County* (1889), section on Military History, 513-516 [abbr.].

8.1 JACOB LOUIS BIELER, VETERAN OF SHILOH.

INDIANAPOLIS BRANCH
ANHEUSER-BUSCH BREWING ASS'N.

J. L. BIELER,
MANAGER.

Indianapolis, Ind. March 26th, 1895

Major Jas. R. Ross,
Indianapolis, Ind.
Dear Major,

Since our conversation at the Denison House a few days ago regarding the Re-union to be held at Shiloh of the Blue and Gray who took part in the memorable contest on April 6th and 7th, 1862, I now recall an incident that occurred on the morning of April 6th at the beginning of the Battle, which might interest you and others who were under the Command of General Lew Wallace at that time and which might throw some light on the Purdy road controversy. Had it not been for this Re-union, which I contemplate attending, the matter might have never again come to my mind.

On March 6th, 1862, as you are aware, the fleet with part of the Army of the Tennessee left Paducah Ky. up the Tennessee River. The destination was unknown to me at that time. I belonged to the 6th. Indiana Battery, formerly known as Morton's Battery, composed entirely of German-Americans, our commands being given in German. We were assigned to Sherman's Division, and ordered to embark on the steamer *Lancaster*, which was the second steamer in line after the gun-boats *Lexington* and *Tyler*, who took the lead. We arrived at Savannah, and five of the fleet, (including the two gun-boats mentioned and three transports having aboard Sherman and a regiment of infantry, our battery, and two companies of cavalry) proceeded up the river, while the rest anchored about Savannah.

We passed Pittsburg Landing where we were received by a volley of shot from some Confederates on the river banks. After the gun-boats, *Lexington* and *Tyler*, responded with a few shells, we proceeded up the river unmolested and the troops disembarked at Tyler's (Hamburg) Landing, and there we learned that we were to destroy a bridge on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. We started at 2 o'clock, A.M. in a torrent of rain, and by evening of that day we were forced to return to our steamers, as the entire country was overflowed, and the creeks were impassible, and (so) our purpose failed. Our ammunition and part of the men had to be carried back in small boats sent out by the gunboats.

We returned down the river and went ashore at Pittsburg Landing, and were the first on the ground. A few days later the rest of the fleet came up from Savannah and landed the troops at various points. Sherman's division took a position on the right of the line, to the left (right) of Shiloh Church, our battery being on the extreme right of Sherman's command, near a swamp, and about a half mile from Owl Creek on the Purdy road.

On Sunday morning, April 6th, our battery received orders to advance. While we were dressing the bullets were flying through our tents. We had no time for breakfast and none were more concerned about it than our bakers, who had the oven full of light bread which was afterward consumed by the Confederates.

At that time I was artificer and had charge of the reserves, the battery-wagon, ammunition, train-wagons, etc. I received orders from the captain to stay in camp until further orders, but this did not suit me, and I asked him to permit me to go with the battery and to turn the camp over to someone else, and he gave his consent.

As we took our position in line, we were watching and listening to the heavy firing on our left. After our skirmish line was drive(n) back, the rebel sharp-shooters soon discovered us and made it disagreeable. Some of the boys got restless and wanted to know if the(y) were placed there as targets,

and asked the captain to permit them to reply with a few rounds. The captain used his field glass and told me that he could not discover the hiding place of the sharp-shooters. He handed me the glass, and as soon as I heard the reports from the guns, I noticed the smoke coming from a corn-crib in the far distance. I reported to the captain, and he ordered a few shells sent over, which had the effect of stopping the fire from that point.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock, just after the third round was fired, an officer from Sherman's staff came over in great haste and ordered us to cease firing, at the same time giving orders to send one section of the battery (2 guns) over to the bridge on Owl Creek (which was to the right and front of our position) and strict instruction to hold the bridge at all hazard, as General Lew Wallace was expected to come over that bridge from the Purdy road. Our captain, Friederich von Behr, was an (ex-)artillery officer of the German army, and our first lieutenant, William Mussman, was an artillerist from the Prussian army. They were fine and brave officers, but neither could understand or speak much of the english language. The captain asked me to interpret e the order given by the officer, which I did, and he ordered Lieut. Mussman over to the bridge, instructing him strictly to hold it.

In a few minutes the boys of the battery knew that Wallace would come over that bridge to reenforce us, and you know how they feel in such emergency.

Mussman held the bridge until we were driven back, and at 11 o'clock the rest of our battery (4 guns) was captured, as nearly all our horses were killed and we could not get the battery off the field. In this assault our captain was killed.

By this time the rebels were on all sides of us, and Sherman who was within 10 yards of where our captain fell, motioned us back. Mussman saved one gun of his section of the battery, and in the afternoon we volunteered to take charge of a battery near the river.

Now, will you please explain to me how that officer of General Sherman's staff knew that Wallace's division was to come over that bridge on the Purdy road if Wallace had no orders from his superior officer to take that route to join us that day?

For further reference as to the orders received from that officer of Sherman's staff, I will name you Mr. Louis Kern, then 2nd. Lieutenant of the 6th. battery, or any other member of it.

Yours truly
J. L. Bieler,

Late 6th Battery, Ind. Vols.

Source: Lew Wallace Papers, Collection #0292, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

8.2. JACOB L. BIELER

Jacob Piatt Dunn

JACOB L. BIELER, who served with the rank of captain in the famous Sixth Indiana Light Artillery during the Civil War, was for nearly half a century closely identified with the business history and the enlightened progress of Indianapolis.

He was born in Baden, Germany, and died at St. Vincent's Hospital in Indianapolis following an operation for appendicitis on October 5, 1913, at the age of seventy-four. Though he came to America at the age of sixteen, he acquired a liberal education in the Fatherland. His father was a man of considerable influence in Baden, and his family were of that high class of Germans that characterize the early emigration to American shore following the Revolution of 1848. While Captain Bieler was not a participant in the revolutionary troubles which drove thousands of the German youth beyond the sea, he measured up [to] the same social class and standards. It was these Germans, one of the most conspicuous leaders among them being Carl Schurz, who brought with them their thrift and industry, their binding sense of individual and civic duty, their moral fervor and love of home, and in America, both in peace and in war, in every branch of human endeavor and human achievement, by brave and honest service made compensation to the land of their adoption.



Jacob L. Bieler. Portrait from
The Germans in Indianapolis, 50.

Jacob L. Bieler finished his education at Stuttgart. He inherited the political independence and love of liberty of his father, and he embraced with zeal the life and principles of America, and his Americanism was of the most robust type. Coming to this country at the age of sixteen, he made his home for a time with an uncle at Selma, Alabama. While there he became a sergeant in the local fire department, and at the outbreak of the Civil War with the rest of his command was drafted into the rebel army. Through his uncle and aunt he got away and came north. Before he left Germany, his father had given him as his parting injunction the phrase "Stick to your flag," and he interpreted that as meaning a steadfast loyalty to the flag and principles of the Union. He made his way not without considerable risk and danger to Indiana, arriving at Indianapolis in 1861. Here he joined the Army and was the first man to erect a tent of the famous Morton Battery, afterward the Sixth Indiana Light Artillery. He not only became one of the officers in this battery, but supplied much of the funds for its equipment. He served loyally all through the war, rose to the rank of captain, and was in many of the notable campaigns of the Mississippi Valley. His battery did splendid service in the battle of Pittsburg Landing and Corinth....

Of his record in public affairs one of the most important responsibilities he ever held was as government agent to open the Shoshone Indian Reservation in the far northwest. He became greatly attached to that country, and he carried out his official duties without fear or favor, and at the risk of his own life drove away the gamblers and illicit liquor sellers from the reservation. Captain Bieler was selected by the United German-American Alliance to go to Washington to oppose the Hepburn-Dolliver Bill....

Captain Bieler married Caroline M. Heun, also a native of Germany, who survived him, together with a son and two daughters....[He] was one of the oldest members of the Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, was a member of the Masonic Order, the Odd Fellows, Improved Order Knights of Pythias, the Knights of Cosmos, the *Maennerchor* [Men's Choir] and *Musikverein* [Music Club]. He

was the first president of the *Liederkrantz* [Singing Society], organized at Indianapolis during the eighties.

Source: Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans: A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood*, (Chicago & New York: The American Historical Society, 1919), Volume IV, 1573-1575.

9. 32ND REGIMENT INDIANA INFANTRY ("1st GERMAN REGIMENT")

Frederick H. Dyer

Organized at Indianapolis, Ind., and mustered in August 24, 1861. Left State for Louisville, Ky., September 28, thence moved to New Haven, Ky., and to Camp Nevin, Ky., and duty there till December 9. Picketing south side of Green River and protecting working parties. Action at Rowlett's Station, Woodsonville, December 17. Regiment specially complimented by General Buell for its gallantry. At Munfordville, Ky., till February, 1862. Attached to Johnson's Brigade, McCook's Command at Nolin, Ky., October-November, 1861. 6th Brigade, Army of the Ohio, to December, 1861. 6th Brigade, 2nd Division, Army of the Ohio, to September, 1862. 6th Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Corps, Army of the Ohio, to November, 1862. 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Right Wing 14th Army Corps, Army of the Cumberland, to January, 1863. 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 20th Army Corps, Army of the Cumberland, to October, 1863. 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 4th Army Corps, to October, 1864. Post of Chattanooga, Tenn., Dept. of the Cumberland, to November, 1864. 2nd Brigade, 1st Separate Division, District of the Etowah, Dept. of the Cumberland, to June, 1865. 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 4th Army Corps, to August, 1865. Dept. of Texas to December, 1865.

SERVICE.—March to Bowling Green, Ky., thence to Nashville, Tenn., February 10-March 3, 1862. March to Savannah, Tenn., March 16-April 6. Battle of Shiloh, Tenn., April 6-7. Advance on and siege of Corinth, Miss., April 29-May 30. Pursuit to Booneville May 31-June 12. Buell's Campaign in Northern Alabama and Middle Tennessee June to August. March to Louisville, Ky., in pursuit of Bragg August 21-September 26. Pursuit of Bragg into Kentucky October 1-15. Chesser's Store October 9. March to Nashville, Tenn., October 16-November 7, and duty there till December 26. Advance on Murfreesboro December 26-30. Battle of Stone's River December 30-31, 1862, and January 1-3, 1863. Duty at Murfreesboro till June. Reconnoissance from Murfreesboro March 6-7. Christiana and Middleton March 6. Middle Tennessee or Tullahoma Campaign June 22-July 7. Liberty Gap June 22-24, and June 24-27. Occupation of Middle Tennessee till August 16. Passage of the Cumberland Mountains and Tennessee River and Chickamauga (Ga.) Campaign August 16-September 22. Battle of Chickamauga September 19-20. Siege of Chattanooga, Tenn., September 24-November 23. Reopening Tennessee River October 26-29. Chattanooga-Ringgold Campaign November 23-27. Orchard Knob November 23-24. Mission Ridge November 25. Pursuit to Graysville November 26-27. March to relief of Knoxville, Tenn., November 28-December 8. Operations in East Tennessee till April, 1864. Atlanta (Ga.) Campaign May 1-September 8. Demonstrations on Rocky Faced Ridge and Dalton May 8-13. Buzzard's Roost Gap May 8-9. Battle of Resaca May 14-15. Adairsville May 17. Near Cassville May 19. Advance on Dallas May 22-25. Operations on line of Pumpkin Vine Creek, and battles about Dallas, New Hope Church and Allatoona Hills, May 25-June 5. Pickett's Mills May 27. Operations about Marietta and against Kenesaw Mountain June 10-July 2. Pine Hill June 11-14. Lost Mountain June 15-17. Assault on Kenesaw June 27. Ruff's Station, Smyrna Camp Ground, July 4. Chattahoochie River July 5-17. Peach Tree Creek July 19-20. (Non-Veterans ordered home July, participated in expedition from Mt. Vernon, Ind., into Kentucky, August 16-22. Skirmishes at White Oak Springs August 17. Gouger's Lake August 18. Smith's Mills August 19. Mustered out September 7, 1864.) Siege of Atlanta July 22-August 25. Flank movement on Jonesboro August 25-30. Battle of Jonesboro August 31-

September 1. Lovejoy Station September 2-6. Veterans and Recruits consolidated to a Battalion of four Companies, and ordered to Chattanooga, Tenn., September 6. Duty there till June, 1865. Ordered to New Orleans, La., June 16, thence to Texas, July. Duty at Green Lake and San Antonio till December. Mustered out December 4, 1865.

Regiment lost during service 7 Officers and 174 Enlisted men killed and mortally wounded and 1 Officer and 96 Enlisted men by disease. Total 268.

Source: Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of The War of The Rebellion*, (Des Moines, Iowa: The Dyer Publishing Company, 1908), Vol. 3, 1131-1132.

10. AUGUST WILlich-THE ECCENTRIC GERMAN GENERAL

Karen Kloss



*Freischärler unter August von Willich im Schwarzwald
1849. Aquarell von Otto Erxleben*

Volunteers under August von Willich in the Black Forest, 1849.—Watercolor from Otto Erxleben.

...More than 175,000 German immigrants fought in the Civil War, and arguably none was more eccentric than Willich (pronounced "Villick"). Born into a Prussian aristocratic family in 1810 and orphaned at 3, von Willich (he later dropped the "von") was sent to military school in Potsdam at 12 and was set to follow his brother Julius as a career Prussian army officer.

At age 15, Willich entered the Royal Military Academy in Berlin, then under the directorship of Karl von Clausewitz. Clausewitz, one of the pre-eminent war theorists of his time, wrote *On War*, a treatise still studied in military colleges worldwide. Training included military tactics, language, history and mathematics. Upon graduation Willich was commissioned a lieutenant of infantry and then took command of an artillery brigade in Westphalia.

As liberalism began to spread in the German provinces, Willich espoused universal suffrage, freedom for the press, and free public education. Those beliefs put him squarely against his Prussian superiors. After sending an irreverent letter to the kaiser, Willich was allowed to resign rather than face a court-martial. He took up the carpenter's trade and the cause of the working man, and became president of the Cologne Communist Society.

Willich joined and ultimately led men in the 1848-49 revolution in Baden. He was forced to flee to France when his outmanned troops were routed by government forces. Another revolutionary attempt a year later ended with Willich's forced retreat into Switzerland. His adjutant during the fighting was Friedrich Engels, partner of Karl Marx. Engels described Willich as "brave, coldblooded, skillful" in battle, but "a boring ideologist and true socialist"....

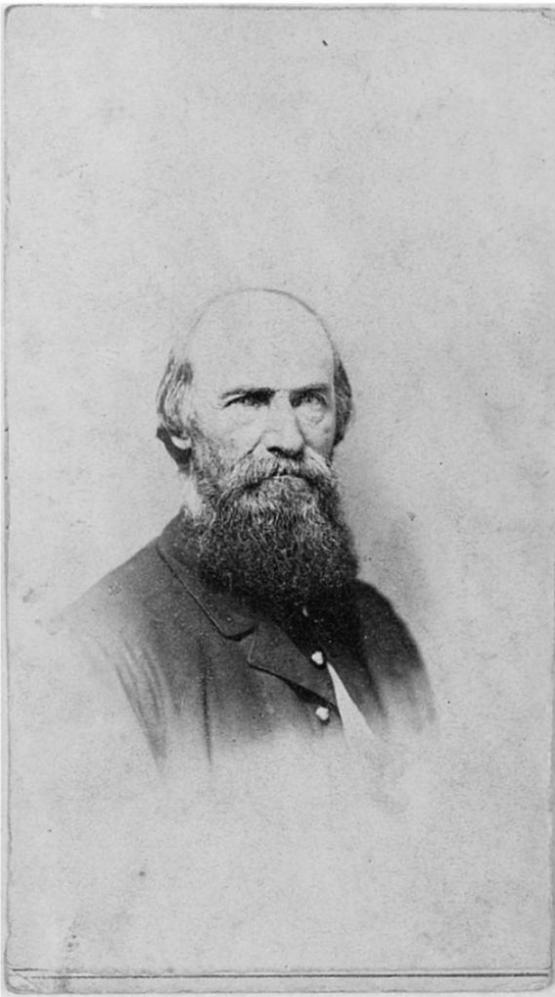
A penniless Willich, his dreams of a workingman's revolution dashed, left England in 1853 for the shores of North America. He put his carpentry skills to work in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and later made maps and charts for a South Caroline coastal survey under future Confederate naval blockade runner John Maffitt. Willich eventually settled in Cincinnati and became the editor of a German

newspaper, the *Cincinnati Republikaner*. By the time the Civil War started, he had become a well-known leader in the Queen City's large German community, and his revolutionary background was perfectly suited to enlisting volunteers for the Union cause. He believed in citizen-soldiers and wanted to show the country "what patriotic Germans could do."

Willich enlisted as a private in the 9th Ohio Volunteer Infantry and helped recruit four companies of men. In less than 24 hours, the all-German regiment met its quota. Ohio's governor did not want any officers over 45, so the 51-year-old Willich simply claimed he was 41. He was immediately promoted to major. While the men of "Die Neuner" (the Ninth) looked to Willich as their mentor, they failed to elect him colonel, settling instead for an Anglo and military neophyte, Robert McCook....

Willich would have been the unanimous choice for lieutenant colonel, but he opted instead for the adjutant's job. In terms of drilling and training the volunteers, Willich, as adjutant, was the de facto leader of the regiment. In truth, the volunteers needed McCook for his firm belief in the Germans' fighting qualities and his ability to keep the regiment amply supplied, just as they needed Willich for his excellent military credentials and fluency in languages. McCook spoke not a word of German, and most of the recruits spoke no English; thus it was up to Willich to communicate directly with the soldiers, whom he called "citizens".

Within two months of answering the call for volunteers, the Germans of the 9th were ordered to Western Virginia to join Maj. Gen George B. McClellan's army. Attached to the brigade of fellow Ohioan Brig Gen, William S. Rosecrans, the regiment suffered its first losses at the Union victory at Rich Mountain in July. That would be Willich's only action with his German



August Willich booked passage aboard the *Ocean Queen* out of England bound for the United States in the final days of 1852. Port authorities registered Willich's arrival at New York on 19 February 1853 noting his proclamation of occupation as "citizen". Image from Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, LC-USZ62-1296.

Buckeyes. In less than a month, he bade farewell to the troops to respond to a call from the governor of Indiana to form that state's first all-German regiment.

Willich assumed his new duties as colonel of the 32nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry in August. The Germans saw their first action in December while engaged in protecting and repairing the Green River Bridge near Munfordville, Ky. The 32nd repulsed 1,300 men of Colonel Benjamin Terry's Texas Rangers at the battle of Rowletts Station....

Four months later, Willich again won plaudits for his regiment's performance in its first major action, at Shiloh. By the time of that engagement, the regiment was part of the 6th Brigade, temporarily led by Col. William Gibson of the 49th Ohio, which also consisted of the 15th Ohio and the 39th Indiana, of Maj.Gen. Don C. Buell's Army of the Ohio. The brigade reached Pittsburg Landing on April 7, the second day of the battle. The 32nd clambered off the steamboat ahead of the other units and scurried up the hill from the landing.

Willich soon ran into Union commander Maj.Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who ordered the regiment to head into the fight before it was joined by its fellow units. With that vague direction, Willich remembered that he guided toward the sound of the heaviest firing, and the Indianans wound up on the Federal right. There, the division of Brig.Gen. Alexander McD. McCook, Robert's brother, fought for control of the Purdy-Hamburg Road.

The impatient Willich asked McCook to let him move to the attack. Permission was granted, and the Indianans fixed bayonets and advanced. Brig.Gen. William T. Sherman, Willich's division commander, saw the regiment move up with bayonets leveled and noted that it moved forward in "beautiful style... upon a point of water oaks and thicket, behind which...the enemy was in great strength." Major General Lew Wallace also saw the charge and noted that when it seemed to falter Willich rode in front of the regiment with his back to the enemy and drilled the soldiers in the manual of arms while Minié balls whizzed by the men. "That," said Wallace, "was the most audacious thing that came under my observation during the war. The effect was magical." According to one report, Willich's coat was hit with several bullets and he suffered a broken rib while at the head of his men. His regiment lost 36 men at Shiloh, and Willich's battlefield performance was rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general in July 1862. He assumed command of his brigade in August....

His career as brigade commander started inauspiciously, however, when his Midwestern troops were totally routed at the December 1862-January 1863 Battle of Stone's River. Willich's brigade, which by that time also included the 89th Illinois and Battery A, 1st Ohio Light Artillery, was in Brig.Gen. Richard W. Johnson's division of the promoted Maj.Gen. Alexander McCook's right wing of the Army of the Cumberland, commanded by an also promoted Maj.Gen. William Rosecrans....

About 6:30 A.M. on Dec. 31, 1862, as Willich's men were cooking breakfast and he was at division headquarters, Brig.Gen. Matthew Ector's Texans poured into the unsuspecting Federals' flank and rolled up the entire brigade. Almost 700 of Willich's men became prisoners, and some 463 were killed or wounded. Trying to rejoin his command, he rode into enemy troops, had his horse shot from beneath him and was taken prisoner. His capture was nothing less than "public misfortune," declared his successor, Colonel Gibson of the 49th Ohio....

Willich was taken to Atlanta and then to Libby Prison in Richmond. He put his time in confinement to good use, thinking up new tactics such as "advanced firing," where he would form a line of battle in four ranks, with each rank advancing a few paces to fire, then stopping to load while the other ranks advanced alternately. The purpose was to be constantly delivering volleys at the enemy, with no long pauses for reloading.

General Willich was exchanged in May 1863 and visited President Abraham Lincoln before returning to the field...Despite their rout at Stone's River, Willich's men had unbounded confidence in his leadership. "In time of action, all looked to General Willich as the directing mind--usually the regiment was the unit, but with General Willich in command of the brigade, the brigade was the unit," stated one of the soldiers. His loyal men also took to his use of eccentric German bugle calls.

Willich's first chance to redeem himself came during the Tullahoma campaign, the push made in late June and early July 1863 by the Army of the Cumberland to clear General Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee from the middle portion of its namesake state. Rosecrans army had to pass through several mountain gaps guarded by the Confederates to achieve success.

Alexander McCook, then leading the XX Corps, was ordered to take up the center of the Union advance and to drive his men through Liberty Gap. Willich's brigade took part in the fighting there on June 25, pushing ahead and outflanking the Confederates in the gap. The next day, Bragg tried to reclaim the defile and advanced against Willich's men, who had been picketing the gap.

What at first seemed like a tepid Rebel drive began to pick up intensity when Confederate artillery began playing upon the main line of the brigade, held by the 32nd Indiana and the 89th Illinois. Willich sent the 15th Ohio into the fight, brought up his artillery to counter the Southern cannons, and put the 49th Ohio in close reserve.

By early evening, the 32nd, 89th and 15th had run out of ammunition, and Willich put in the 49th, ordering the regiment to use advanced firing for the first time in action. "At the second volley the advancing enemy wavered; at the third and fourth they broke and ran." Liberty Gap was securely in Union hands.

August Willich's grave marker at St. Mary's, Ohio, surmounted by heraldic symbols that speak to the history of the venerable old soldier. Photograph by Ms. Jane Hiser, Piqua, Ohio.

Overall, Rosecrans' movement was successful, as his army pushed Bragg out of middle Tennessee with minimal casualties, 560 Union, 1,600 Confederate. Bragg, however, turned and hammered Rosecrans at the September 19-20 Battle of Chickamauga.

At that fight, Willich marched his Ohio, Indiana and Illinois troops toward the Union left flank to aid Maj.Gen. George Thomas' XIV Corps....In a scene reminiscent of Shiloh, an 89th Illinois officer related Willich's actions: "General Willich came forward and standing in front of the regiment, and amid a shower of bullets poured into us, complimented the regiment for its impetuous advance, calmed their excitement, instructed them how to advance firing, and maintain their alignment with the advance of the brigade, and by his inimitable calmness of manner restored order and confidence...."

Willich called his division commander's attention to a weakness on their left, but no action was taken. Later in the day the Midwesterners came under severe attack from the left, front and rear, and the Prussian warrior was seen riding among his men, thumping them on the back with his rolled-up hat exhorting them to "give 'em hell." Willich managed to hold his brigade together and then slowly fell back to a reserve position.

He was given the order to advance in the morning of the 20th. His men fought well again that day until Confederate troops blasted through an opening in the Union line, and the entire Army of the Cumberland began to crumble and retreat.



Fugitives rushed through his brigade, and Willich withdrew his men. Thomas assigned the brigade the duty of covering the army's retreat to Rossville. Willich's brigade lost 535 casualties in the two-day fight... Few Union officers won laurels for battlefield performances at Chickamauga. Willich, however, received praise from several combatants, including the Union hero of the day, George Thomas, who was dubbed the "Rock of Chickamauga." Division commander Johnson also commended Willich: "Brig.Gen. A. Willich... was always in the right place, and by his gallant individual daring rendered the country great service. This gallant old veteran deserves promotion..."

Willich's brigade, now part of the IV Corps, was in the right place two months later at Missionary Ridge when the Union troops broke the Rebel siege of Chattanooga. When told he would be in the front ranks of Thomas' movement on Orchard Knob, a promontory in the wide, open plain that lay before the ridge, Willich shrugged, "Vell, I makes my will." But after Orchard Knob was seized, even though no official orders were apparently given to assault Missionary Ridge, Willich and his troops were among the first up the slope in the victorious Union attack.

At the top of the ridge, the ecstatic Willich told his brigade, "My poys, you kills me mit joy, you kills me mit joy"... The Prussian's luck in avoiding serious harm ran out at Resaca, where he was severely wounded in the right arm and side by a rifle bullet. Dressed in full brigadiers uniform with yellow sash, Willich had made a good target as he rode on the front line to reconnoiter... His men crowded around the stricken general as he urged them to do their duty as well without him as if he were still present. The wound ended Willich's field duty.

Upon his recovery he was placed in command of the post at Cincinnati until March 1865, when he took command of his old brigade and was ordered to Texas. The men welcomed him back with a grand review replete with banners and music... By the time he and his men reached Texas, the war had ended and the soldiers were eager to put the conflict behind them...

The old warrior returned to Cincinnati and put some of his views on the war and the Army into an essay titled "The Army, Standing Army or National Army?"... Willich eventually left Cincinnati for Cleveland, and then returned to Germany in 1869. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870, Willich offered his services to Kaiser Wilhelm, but the Prussian army had no use for a 60-year-old disabled veteran. A reunion with his imperialist brother also proved unsatisfactory, and after some philosophical studies at the University of Berlin, Willich sailed again for the United States. He settled in the canal town of St. Mary's, Ohio, where he lived the life of village philosopher and eccentric.

The passing of the noble old gentleman [on 23 January 1878] caused quite a sensation in St. Mary's. Ohio National Guardsmen came from Lima and Wapakoneta, and delegations from several old regiments, including the 9th and 37th Ohio and 32nd Indiana, took part in the procession. Schools were dismissed so the children could say goodbye to their beloved general... Two short orations were delivered at the grave--one in German and the other by William Gibson, former colonel of the 49th Ohio. After three volleys were fired at the graveside, 67-year-old August Willich was laid to rest in his adopted country.

Source: Karen Kloss, "The Eccentric German General," *America's Civil War*, September 2003, Vol. 16: 46-54 [abbr.], with several illustrations from the E. Burns Apfeld collection of drawings and paintings done during the war by Captain Adolph Metzner of the 32nd Indiana [see 14, "Men of the 1st German, 32nd Indiana Volunteer Regiment"].

11. PRESS COVERAGE—1st GERMAN, 32nd REGIMENT INDIANA VOLUNTEERS

Michael A. Peake, (ed).

TÄGLICHER LOUISVILLE ANZEIGER (Kentucky)
Sunday 25 August 1861

➤ The Turner Sharpshooter Company, consisting of Turners from Indianapolis, Evansville and Fort Wayne, is now nearly complete and already encamped at Indianapolis. Since only a few more men are still needed, immediate contact with Capt. Wm. Mauk (sic, Mank) at the local Turner Hall is advised.

INDIANAPOLIS DAILY SENTINEL (Indiana)

Thursday 29 August 1861

➤ COL. WILLICH.—This officer has already given proofs of his determination, in the organization of the German regiment, to have things in all respects as he considers about right. Certain politicians were, we learn, seeking appointments in his corps. Col. Willich went to his Excellency, the Governor, and gave him distinctly to understand that these things could not be. We are told that Col. Willich's firm and decided stand in this regard, meets with the approval of his regiment, and of our German fellow citizens generally.

INDIANAPOLIS DAILY SENTINEL (Indiana)

Friday 6 September 1861

➤ One of our German friends tells us that in the organization of the German regiment, now in progress, the same difficulties are labored under as puzzled and perplexed every one with regard to the formation of the American regiments recently sent into the field. There are too many who want to be captains—too many who want distinguished positions—too many who are vastly patriotic with epaulettes on a brass coat with blue buttons (sic), but not willing to be so all-fired brave with a musket and bayonet. We don't know how this is, but we do know that the privates in this regiment, under the gallant and accomplished Col. Willich, will win all glory for themselves, and illustrate beyond all contradiction their

Staat Indiana



Deutsche Patrioten, heraus!

Der Unterzeichnete ist autorisiert, für das 32. Indiana Regiment, das 1. deutsche, im Staat Indiana zu rekrutieren. Solche wehrfähigen patriotischen Deutschen, welche sich in das mit Ruhm bedeckte Regiment einreihen lassen wollen, mögen sich möglichst bald, bei ihm melden. Belohnung erhält jeder Soldat nach Ablauf seiner Dienstzeit \$100 Bounty in Gold und 160 Acker Congreßland. Der Sold für den Gemeinen beträgt jetzt \$13 monatlich nebst Bekleidung und Kleidung, vom Tage der Annahme an gerechnet. Auf, deutsche Patrioten, zu den Waffen! Liefert den schlagendsten Beweis, daß die Deutschen die besten Unionstreue sind!

Gottlieb Weigle,
Rekrutierungs-Officier.



Rekruten verlangt

für das

32. Indiana Regiment,

[1. deutsche, Col. Willich!]

Unterzeichneter ist autorisiert, Rekruten für obiges, schöne, rein deutsche Regiment anzunehmen, und ersucht hierdurch alle fröhlichstigen deutschen Männer, die in dieses Regiment einzutreten wünschen, diese Gelegenheit zu ergreifen und sich bei ihm in der Union-Halle (Wesiger: Markt, Emmenegger) baldigst zu melden.
Sofortige freie Kost und Bekleidung vom Tage der Einschreibung an wird zugesichert.

Aug. Dudenhausen,
früher Lieutenant im 1. Westph. Landw.-Regiment No. 13.

German Recruiting Ads, *Täglicher Louisville Anzeiger*, 20 August 1861 (et. al.)

Attention, Germans!

WANTED IMMEDIATELY, a number of young and healthy men, for the formation of a Company in the First German Indiana Regiment, to serve under

Col. AUG. WILLICH.

☛ Recruiting office, southeast corner of Pearl and Main streets, up stairs.

**C. P. FETSCH,
JOHN KOCH.**

aug17 d6&w1*

ATTENTION, GERMANS!

THE volunteer Company of Germans, under command of Capt. Jacob Glass, Col. Willich's Regiment, will receive a few more members. Recruits will be received and enrolled at FRITZ GLASS'S, on Main Cross, near the Branch Bank, Madison, Ind.

aug21-dtf

English Recruiting Ads, *Madison (IN) Daily Courier*, 21 August 1861, (et.al.)

devotion to the cause of freedom, and their determination to maintain the Constitution of their adopted country, and the Union of the States from the Lakes to the Gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, under it.

➤ Dr. Kraut, an eminent German physician of this city, has been appointed Surgeon of Col. Willich's regiment. Dr. Kraut has seen service under Gen. Sigel, in Europe in 1847-49. He brings, therefore, unquestioned accomplishments and capabilities to the performance of his arduous functions.

➤ We understand that there are many Germans in other regiments who volunteered before the formation of an exclusive German regiment was proposed. It would be generous in the commanding officers of these regiments to allow, if such a thing is possible, these patriotic adopted citizens to transfer themselves to the corps now being organized under the distinguished lead of their own countrymen.

➤ The 11th Indiana regiment has a German band of twenty-four men attached to it. Mr. Biedenmeister was in the United States service in Texas, and was the leader of a regimental band in the war with Mexico. Two brothers of Mr. Heminger of the *Free Press* are members of this band.

➤ It was sundown yesterday before the last wagonload of baggage belonging to Capt. Klaus' artillery company, ordered to St. Louis, was hauled from their encampment to the railroad depot. The brave and expeditious commander complained most hurriedly of this delay. It did not accord, by any means, with the rapidity of movement with which he has taken great pains to indoctrinate his corps.

INDIANAPOLIS DAILY JOURNAL

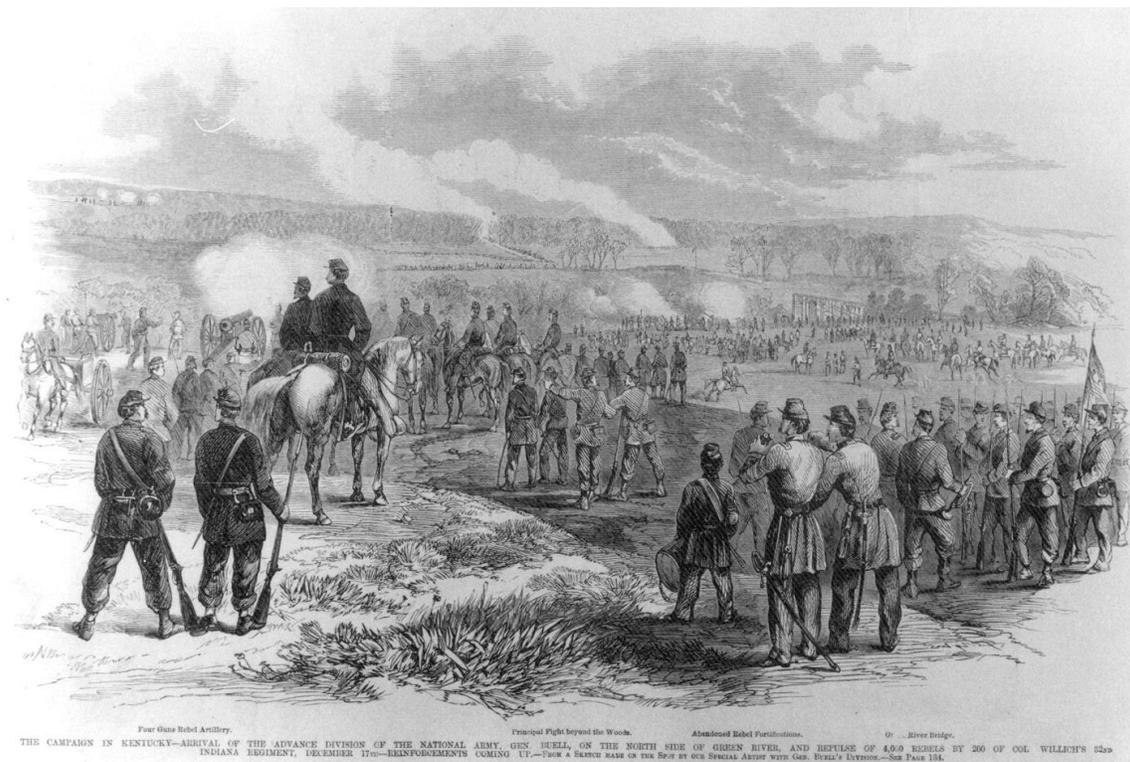
Monday 23 December 1861.

MILITARY ITEMS.

Some months ago the question in Saint Louis was: "You fight mit Sigel?" In Louisville the interrogatory now is: "You fight mit Von Trebra?"

The 35th regiment, 1st Irish, Col. Walker, will leave Jeffersonville to-morrow for Kentucky. They will be placed in the grand column now moving towards Nashville. We hope that they may distinguish themselves as an Indiana regiment composed of naturalized citizens as Col. Willich's regiment has done.

Mr. Hausser [Company I 1st Sergeant Herman Hausherr] of Laporte, a private in Col. Willich's Regiment, passed through the city Saturday. He was wounded in the late battle near Mundfordsville (sic)--a musket ball making a severe flesh wound on the top of his head. He says that several of the privates killed in the action were from Aurora, Dearborn Co. He further reports that 117 dead bodies of the rebels had been found previous to his departure.



Four Guns Rebel Artillery. Principal Fight beyond the Woods. Abandoned Rebel Fortifications. River Bridge.
 THE CAMPAIGN IN KENTUCKY—ARRIVAL OF THE ADVANCE DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL ARMY, GEN. BUELL, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF GREEN RIVER, AND REPULSE OF 4,000 REBELS BY 200 OF COL. WILLICH'S 32ND INDIANA REGIMENT, DECEMBER 17TH—REINFORCEMENTS COMING UP.—From A Sketch Made On The Spot By Our Special Artist With Gen. Buell's Division.—See Page 184.

Munfordville Battle Scene -- FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER, Saturday 18 January 1862.—*THE CAMPAIGN IN KENTUCKY—ARRIVAL OF THE ADVANCE DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL ARMY, GEN. BUELL, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF GREEN RIVER, AND REPULSE OF 4,000 REBELS BY 200 OF COL. WILLICH'S 32ND INDIANA REGIMENT, DECEMBER 17TH—REINFORCEMENTS COMING UP.—From A Sketch Made On The Spot By Our Special Artist With Gen. Buell's Division.*

In the upper left, four guns of the Confederate open up on the Union troops beyond the smoke in the center. The damaged railroad bridge crosses the river in the upper right.

OUR GERMAN REGIMENT.--We publish this morning the first full and complete account of the gallant fight beyond Green River the other day, in which Col. Willich's regiment defeated a force of the enemy four times its own strength. Probably no battle during the war has so severely tested the discipline and courage of our forces as this one, and its result proves the immense value of the drill to which Col. Willich so sedulously subjected his men. Without doubt, they are equal to regulars in every respect, and henceforth when there is hard and bloody work to be done we suspect that the German regiment will be the first called for.

Our account, for which we are indebted to the kindness of A. Seidensticker, Esq., of this city, is from the pen of the most gallant and active participants, will be found to correspond very closely with the official report, when that document appears.

THE FIGHT OF COL. WILLICH'S REGIMENT ON GREEN RIVER. A FULL ACCOUNT BY ONE WHO WAS IN THE FIGHT.

Camp Wood, Ky., Dec. 17, 1861.

We have had the first really earnest fight, and hasten to give you as full and complete an account thereof as is possible under the circumstances. Since we have been out here on Green River we have been on picket duty nearly all the time... A few days ago we had the first little skirmish. One of our pickets, consisting of six men, had been incautiously advanced a little too far, and were cut off by a party of Rangers. In the fight which ensued two were wounded, and one of them fell into the hands of the enemy, who had suffered a much larger loss. This little affair led to an order of Col. Willich that, for

the future, no member of the regiment should be suffered to remain in the hands of the enemy, even if the whole regiment should be drawn into battle. All the necessary precautions were taken on both banks of Green River; signalists were posted to give instantaneous alarm in case of an attack.

The regiment had usually two companies on the south side of Green River for the protection and reconstruction of the railroad bridge. But on the evening before the fight another bridge over the river had been completed by our company of Sappers, under Lieut. Pietzuch; and the former arrangement, according to which the main defense of the work on the railroad bridge should, in case of an attack, be conducted from the northern bank, was, by order of Col. Willich, changed, and four companies were ordered to occupy the north bank of Green River as skirmishers, while four other companies were sent over the river in support of the pickets there.

About 12 o'clock on the 16th (sic) of December the right wing of the chain of pickets of the 2nd company, Capt. Glass, was attacked by cavalry from the enemy. Capt. Glass sent reinforcements, who drove back the enemy; and he himself, with the balance of the company, followed. About a mile beyond his chain of pickets he met an infantry company of the enemy, which he saluted with a full volley, whereupon the same retired as quickly as possible. Immediately thereafter large masses of infantry advanced against him, before which he retired to his line of skirmishers, fighting all the time, till reinforcements arrived. About the same time the 3rd company, to the left of the Woodsonville Pike, advanced in a southern direction, meeting but very feeble resistance; at the same time the alarm had been given to the other companies, and in an indescribably short time all those on the other side of the river started in "double quick" step over the bridge.

On account of the hot haste to get to support the companies already engaged, the captains forgot the precautions which, for such an event, had been urged upon them by Col. Willich, and all of them, in fierce haste, crossed the river, went up the hill on the other side, and almost breathless, pushed into the woods, in the direction of the firing.

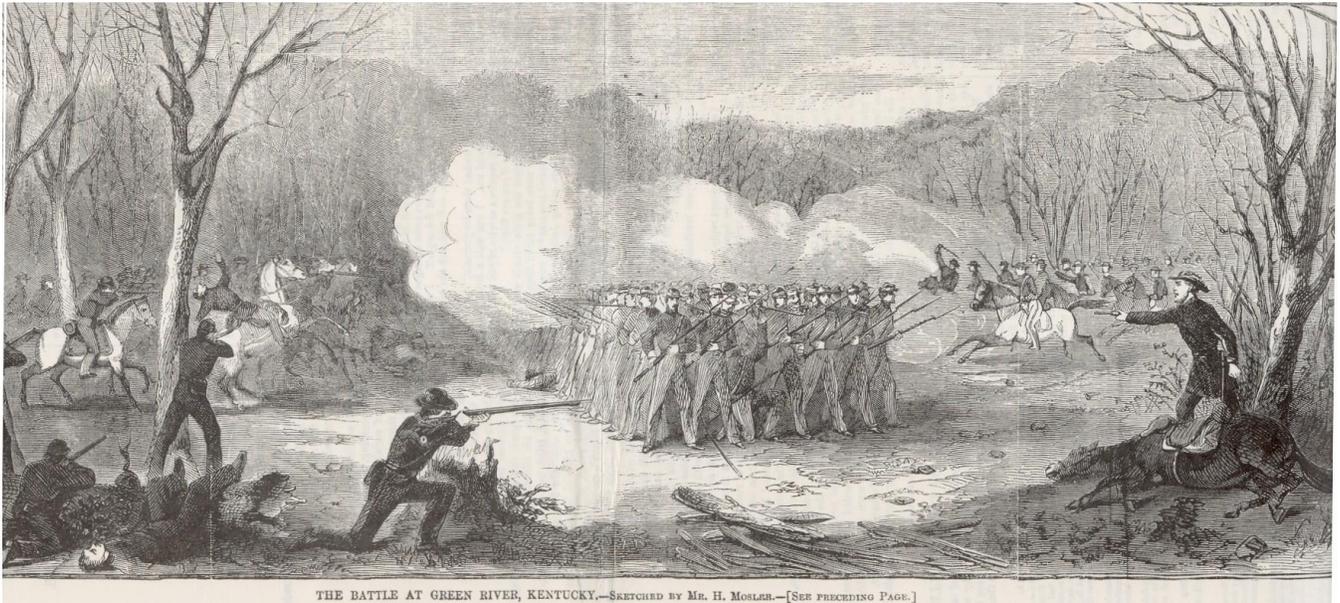
Col. Willich had gone to the headquarters of the division when the engagement had commenced, and Lieut. Col. Trebra was therefore in command. He sent the 6th, 7th, and 10th companies to support the 2nd company on the right, and the 1st, 5th, 8th, and 9th companies to support the 3rd company on the left flank. At the very first rush of our skirmishers, the infantry of the enemy was thrown into confusion, and driven back at all points.

Then it was, however, when the most severe and bloody part of the battle commenced. With lightening velocity and a demonlike howl black masses of cavalry,--Col. Terry's regiment of Texas rangers,--pounced upon our skirmishers along the whole line. They rode up to them within 15 or 20 yards, some even into the very midst of our men, and commenced a terrible fire from their carbines and revolvers. At their first onset it seemed as if every one of our men would be destroyed. But here it was, that the veteran coolness and bravery of our troops shone forth. They allowed the enemy to come almost as near as he chose and then poured a deadly fire upon him, which shook the entire line. Upon our left flank Lieut. Sachs, with half of the 3rd company, in the frenzy of battle, left his covered position and attacked the enemy in the open field. But terrible and fierce as his onset was, the odds were too much against him. The entire number would have been destroyed, for the Rangers, to do them justice, fought with desperate bravery, if they had not been quickly rescued.

Upon the right flank of the 3rd company's position, by order of Adjutant Schmidt, the 8th was led forth by Lieutenants Kappel and Levy; upon the left Lieut. Col. Trebra advanced with the 9th; both attacked the enemy in close skirmishers' line, drove him back and rescued the rest of the heroic little band under Lieut. Sachs.--He himself and a number of his men were, however, already killed; though they had made the enemy pay dear for their lives.

Now the artillery of the enemy was brought to bear upon our men. Their fire, balls and shrapnels was well directed, but fortunately not very fatal. Only a few of our men were wounded by splinters of balls; among them was Asst. Surgeon Geanson [Jean Allard Jeancon], who while devotedly attending to

his duty on the battlefield, was struck senseless by a heavy branch of a tree, which had been cut down by a cannon ball. Fortunately for him and us he soon recovered.



Defensive Square at Green River -- FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER, Saturday 18 January 1862.—
THE BATTLE AT GREEN RIVER, KENTUCKY—Sketched By Mr. H. Mosler.

Captain Welshbillig, a veteran of the French army in Algiers, formed Company G into a square to successfully defend against three cavalry assaults.

While this was going on upon our left wing, the fight on the right was no less severe. The 2nd, 6th, and 10th companies were scattered as skirmishers, while the 7th was drawn up in company column for their support. The 6th had taken position behind a fence. The Rangers galloped up to them in close line and commenced firing from rifles and revolvers. Their fire was steadily returned by the 6th, which held them in check till a part of them got behind the fence, when our skirmishers fell back behind the 7th, drawn up in a square. Now a conflict ensued such as has perhaps seldom before taken place. A whole battalion of Rangers, fully 300 strong, rushed upon the small group of not more than 50. Upon the front and left flank of the square they rushed, no doubt thinking that they would easily trample down the squad before them.

Capt. Welshbillig [Captain John Welschbillig of Company G] allowed them to come within a distance of 70 yards, and then gave them a volley, which not only staggered them, but sent them back, not however, till a part of them had returned the fire. But immediately afterwards, they re-formed and again they rushed fiercely upon the front and both flanks of the square. They seemed frantic with rage over the successful resistance offered to them, and this time a number of them rode up to the point of the bayonet. But another well aimed volley emptied a number of saddles, and sent back the whole mass which but a moment before had seemed to threaten certain destruction to Capt. Welschbillig's company. A few bayonet thrusts and scattering shots brought down those who had ventured to our very teeth. This second repulse seemed to have a marked effect. Yet a third attack was made, however it was much less determined and fierce than the two first, though it was more disastrous to them. During this third attack it was that Col. Terry, the commander of the Rangers, was killed. Upon his fall the whole column broke and fled in wild dismay from the field of battle.

In their place a whole regiment of infantry, accompanied by their band of music, marched against the “invincible square.” Before this overpowering force Capt. Welshbillig deemed it prudent to retire, and united with the 2nd, 6th, and 10th companies again.

About this time it was that Col. Willich, with foaming horse, had arrived upon the field of battle. He saw the right wing retiring, and the entire infantry of the enemy, two regiments, advancing, thus endangering the line of retreat of the left wing. He therefore ordered the signal for “retiring slowly” to



Major Karl Friedrich Heinrich von Trebra in the uniform of a decorated Prussian major of infantry. Willich and von Trebra served on opposite sides during the 1848 German Revolution but collaborated, with von Trebra as drillmaster, to field one of the finest infantry regiments to serve during the Civil War. Photo from Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, Photo #16, LC-USZ62-1239.

be given and collected the companies. The 2d company, under Capt. Glass, and the 7th, under Capt Welshbillig, were the first who took their places in line of battle of the Regiment.

About this time a maneuver was executed by the 1st company, under Capt. Erdelmeyer, which decided the day. When the battle commenced, and the impression prevailed that we were fighting only cavalry, Lieut. Colonel Trebra had detached this company, to take a position in the flank of the enemy, and from there to attack them. When the 1st company arrived at the place of destination, Capt. E. found that the enemy had likewise a large force of infantry and artillery, to attack which would have been certain destruction for his company. He therefore kept his covered position until the time mentioned.—Then finding the larger part of the infantry drawn to another part of the field, he ordered an advance. His appearance was the signal of a general retreat of the enemy. The rest of the cavalry fled

precipitately, the artillery retired hastily, and the infantry followed just as quickly.

Then followed the sad business of collecting the dead and wounded. Our loss was eleven killed and twenty wounded and five missing. Of the wounded several, according to the reports of the surgeons, may possibly die. The missing will probably turn up. The loss of the enemy is much larger. They left a large number of killed on the field, and the first company saw them, on their retreat, throw about thirty dead bodies into a wagon which was brought off. Among the dead left in our hands was the body of Col. Terry. But his body and several wounded soldiers of the enemy were delivered to a flag of truce sent by them. Some of their surgeons had humanely bound up the wounds and sent back three of our wounded who had fallen into their hands, and Col. Willich was glad of the opportunity which was allowed him to show his acknowledgement.

Thus our first fight was gloriously ended. The force of the enemy was at least four times as large as ours, and consisted of their best troops, picked for this purpose. Everybody in our regiment has, on this occasion, done his entire duty. Our officers have all acted with coolness, bravery, and did exactly the right thing in the right place. For this reason it would be unjust to name any one especially. I will merely add what I have above omitted, that the second and tenth companies, on the right wing, were engaged with the infantry of the enemy and prevented their attempt to turn our flank. Their engagement

became particularly brisk during the cavalry attack upon the seventh company. We all think we have done justice to our reputation.

To-day we paid the last honors to our dead. The funeral was a very impressive one. Col. Willich, in a touching address, paid a beautiful tribute to the memory of those who have fallen; and at the close of his address every man went up and threw a handful of earth upon the last abode of his fallen comrades. May they rest in peace!

12. THE NATION'S OLDEST CIVIL WAR MONUMENT.

Michael A. Peake



1st German, 32nd Indiana Monument at Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville, Kentucky. Placed at Munfordville by the end of January 1862, the memorial is the oldest surviving Civil War monument in the nation. The 1993 photograph on the right, taken by Michael A. Peake in 1993, shows the considerable damage that has occurred since Charles Darneal of the *Courier-Journal* shot his photograph on the left in April 1955. In 2010 the monument, after a period of conservation and restoration, was moved to the Frazier History Museum in Louisville, Kentucky.

Shortly following the early Civil War engagement at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky, Private August Bloedner of the 32nd Regiment Indiana Volunteers, and a survivor of the battle, felt compelled to create a lasting memorial to mark the graves of his comrades killed in action. He left us what is now the oldest surviving Civil War monument in the nation. Christian Friedrich August Bloedner was born at Altenburg, Saxony, Germany in 1825, and immigrated to America in 1849, settling in Cincinnati. When war broke out, he was working as a carpenter and he traveled to Indianapolis with other Cincinnati Germans to join Colonel August Willich's 32nd Indiana. Because of his skills, Bloedner was mustered into Company I, organized by Willich as a pontonier/pioneer company, much along the lines of a Prussian regimental organization. Bloedner received special commendation from his captain for his courageous conduct during the battle in which he saved the life of a wounded comrade. After the battle he acquired a large porous slab of Ste. Genevieve outcrop limestone, common in the fields around the Green River town of Munfordville, and set about sculpting a beautiful monument to the slain.

Carved in relief near the top, Bloedner placed an eagle with wings spread full, clutching a brace of cannon. Two stacks of cannonballs were paired below the artillery with unfurled American flags flanking each side. An olive sprig and an oak branch bordered the recess at each end. Just below this frieze the stone was worked to form the tablet on which, in German Fraktur script, he engraved a battle account and genealogical information of the dead. The inscription is translated as: "Here rest the first martyrs of the Thirty-second, the first German regiment of Indiana. They were fighting nobly in defense

of the free Constitution of the United States of America. They fell on the 17th day of December, 1861, in the battle at Rowlett's Station, in which one regiment of Texas Rangers, two regiments of infantry, and six pieces of rebel artillery, in all over three thousand men, were defeated by five hundred German soldiers."

Thirteen men had died in the fight but the sculptor failed to include the name of Private Henry Lohse of Company C, likely an oversight. Lieutenant Max Sachs, leading Company C on the Union left during the battle was the one officer among the thirteen men killed and he is believed to be the first Jewish officer killed in the war. Surrounded by Texas Rangers, Sachs and four of his men were struck down in a blaze of gunfire after defiantly choosing to fight rather than surrender. His body was removed to Cincinnati and buried in a family plot at the K. K. Adath Israel Cemetery on 22 December 1861. A second casualty, Private Theodore Schmidt of Company F, was transported to Cincinnati as well and buried at Spring Grove Cemetery on 20 December. The day after Christmas another grave was added after Private Xavier Blodier, Company A, died of disease. During a brief ceremony before the end of January 1862, the monument was laid flat among the graves. Private John Zolley, Company F, died of disease and was buried on the site 8 February 1862, just days before the regiment departed Munfordville for Shiloh and beyond.

The dead of the 32nd Indiana lay at rest as the small cemetery was enclosed in December 1862 by a five-gun artillery position named Fort Willich in honor of those buried within. The burial ground continued to grow from units detailed at the fort through the war. In June 1864, Private Stephen Brafke, Company A, 32nd Indiana, died at the Munfordville hospital and is believed to have been buried with his comrades at Fort Willich. Three years later, twenty-one sets of remains along with the monument were removed from Fort Willich to Cave Hill Cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky as part of the Federal mandate to recover all Union dead to National Cemeteries. The monument was relocated near twelve of the identified 32nd Indiana dead and placed upright on a dense Bedford limestone memorial base with an inscribed commemoration in English that states:

"In memory of the First Victims of the 32. Reg. Indiana Vol. Who fell at the Battle of Rowlett [sic] Station Dec. 17, 1861."

Above the relief, a new German inscription was added which reads:

"They were brought here from Fort Willich, Munfordville (sic), Ky., and reburied on 6 June 1867."

Little did the workers know that their actions would contribute to the deterioration of this national treasure.

For decades, the regiment monument remained relatively intact, but with the growth of the urban environment in the late 1950s, and the pollution effects of that growth, deterioration mechanisms increased dramatically. By the early 1990s, capillary rise of water from the denser base stone, biological processes and salts from earlier attempted repairs took a drastic toll on the inscriptive data Bloedner had painstakingly carved to honor his comrades. Before a serious preservation effort to save the stone began in early 2000, Bloedner's monument had lost over 50 percent of the German Fraktur-style inscription providing an account of the fight and the names of the dead, their birth dates and places of origin. After a nine-year endeavor, the Department of Veterans Affairs National Cemetery Administration (NCA), the stewards of all National Cemeteries, removed the monument from Cave Hill Cemetery for extensive conservation. The NCA's current plans are to replace Bloedner's monument with a granite replica made from a cast that will contain the German inscription with an English translation on the reverse. Bloedner's original work will be loaned to a host agency that will display the monument in a museum setting.

[Ed. Note: In 2008 the Bloedner monument was transported to a conservation facility at the University of Louisville where it underwent conservation procedures. In August 2010 the monument was moved to the Frazier History Museum in downtown Louisville where it is on loan for a minimum of ten years.]

THE HONORED DEAD OF ROWLETT'S STATION:

- 1.) Private George Burkhardt—Resident of Lafayette-Tippecanoe County, Indiana. Mustered into Company “G” on September 23, 1861. Born in Kieselbach, Saxony on January 14, 1844; 17 years old. Died in hospital December 17, 1861 of wounds received at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky the same day.
- 2.) Private John Fellerman—Mustered into Company “B” on September 6, 1861. Born in Menzen, Hannover on January 12, 1842; 19 years old. Killed in action.
- 3.) Private Garri Kiefer—Mustered into Company “F” on September 11, 1861. Born in Hennville, France on February 18, 1817; 44 years old. Killed in action.
- 4.) Private Charles Knab—Resident of Aurora-Dearborn County, Indiana. Mustered into Company “C” on September 1, 1861. Born in Munchberg, Bavaria on February 6, 1843; 18 years old. Died in hospital December 19, 1861 of wounds received at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky on December 17, 1861.
- 5.) Private Henry Lohse—Resident of Aurora-Dearborn County, Indiana. Mustered into Company “C” on September 1, 1861. Killed in action.
- 6.) Private Christopher Reuter—Mustered into Company “F” on September 9, 1861. Born in Markstedt, Bavaria on January 1, 1818; 43 years old. Killed in action.
- 7.) 1st Lieutenant Max Sachs—Resident of Cincinnati-Hamilton County, Ohio. Mustered into Company “C” on August 24, 1861. Residence listed as Cincinnati, Ohio. Born at Fraustadt, Prussia on December 6, 1826; 35 years old. Killed in action.
- 8.) Private Ernst Schimann—Mustered into Company “F” on September 16, 1861. Born in Steindorfel, Saxony on February 26, 1826; 35 years old. Killed in action.
- 9.) Private Daniel Schmidt—Mustered into Company “G” on September 17, 1861. Born in Grabowa, Prussia on March 12, 1834; 27 years old. Killed in action.
- 10.) Private Theodor(e) Schmidt—Resident of Cincinnati-Hamilton County, Ohio. Mustered into Company “F” September 20, 1861. Born in Hemkirchen, Hessen-Kassal on February 8, 1839; 22 years old. Killed in action.
- 11.) Private Frederick Schumacher—Resident of Aurora-Dearborn County, Indiana. Mustered into Company “C” on September 1, 1861. Born in Harvenffeld, Hannover on January 14, 1834; 27 years old. Killed in action.
- 12.) Sergeant William Statts—Mustered into Company “F” on August 29, 1861. Born in Coblenz, Prussia on May 16, 1826; 35 years old. Died in hospital December 19, 1861 of wounds received in action at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky on December 17, 1861.
- 13.) Private Richard Wehe—Resident of Aurora-Dearborn County, Indiana. Mustered into Company “C” on September 1, 1861. Born in Leipzig, Prussia on March 28, 1832; 29 years old. Killed in action.

13. THE FIRST INDIANA GERMAN REGIMENT AT SHILOH.

General Lew Wallace.



The 32nd Indiana monument along the Corinth Road near the Water Oaks Pond, less than one half mile northeast of Shiloh Church . Photo by Michael A. Peake.

And now the enemy started forward, yelping. I looked at them, then at the woods behind us in which by that time my supporting force had been lost. Nothing more was to be expected from that force—and, in fact, I saw nothing more of it. Then—at the last moment, it seemed—from a corner of the field in the south a body not before observed began to file out of the forest. Who was it? Friend or foe?

Shortly the strangers gave me sight of their flag, at which my pulse gave a great jump; for through the glass I could see the stars in the dark-blue union, with the familiar colors of the morning about them....

They were but a regiment; yet at sight of them the enemy halted, about-faced, and returned to his position in the woods. There he struck out with a fire so lively that the new-comers halted and showed signs of distress.

Then an officer rode swiftly around their left flank and stopped when in front of them, his back to the enemy. What he said I could not hear, but from the motions of the man he was putting them through the manual of arms—this notwithstanding some of them were dropping in the ranks. Taken all in all, *that* I think was the most audacious thing that came under my observation during the war. The effect was magical. The colonel returned to his post in the rear, and the regiment, steadied as if on parade, advanced in face of the fire pouring upon them and actually entered the wood.

On my part, then, no time was lost pressing the division forward; and while the order was in delivery, I dispatched an orderly to the colonel of the unknown regiment with my compliments, and asking his name. "August Willich, of the Thirty-Second Indiana Volunteers," was the reply brought me.

"Willich—August Willich?" I repeated, it being impossible for me to recall him as of the Army of the Tennessee. Again, the orderly went to Willich, asking him this time to be good enough to give me the division to which he belonged. He answered, "McCook's division of the Army of the Ohio, Major-General Don Carlos Buell commanding".... Willich had no doubt been sent me by General McCook, then next on my left.... Colonel Willich succeeded in making the connection and shaking the assailants off....

Source: *Lew Wallace, An Autobiography*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906; facsimile reprint edition, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Archive Society, 1997) Volume II, 561-565.

14. MEN OF THE 1ST GERMAN, 32ND REGIMENT INDIANA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

14.1 INDIANAPOLIS SON FRANCIS ERDELMEYER

Michael A. Peake



Francis Erdelmeyer left Germany in 1852, before reaching age 18, to avoid military service, but less than a decade later he entered Union service commanding a company and later a regiment that experienced some of the most vicious fighting seen during the war. Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, photo #45, LC-USZ62-129680.

Frank Erdelmeyer was born 2 November 1835, in Herrnsheim near the city of Worms, Germany, to Philip and Elizabeth Tag Erdelmeyer. After graduating from school, he apprenticed as an upholsterer until age 17, when he immigrated to New York to pursue his vocation for three years before moving to Cincinnati. In 1858 Erdelmeyer relocated to Indianapolis where he established himself in the furniture manufacturing business as an apprentice at John Ott's furniture store at 215 West Washington Street, just across from the State House. Together with Indianapolis residents Clemens Vonnegut, Jacob and Alexander Metzger, and Karl Hill, Ott collaborated to organize the Indianapolis Turngemeinde. Young Francis held membership in the gymnastic organization meeting at Ott's store.

When the Civil War began, Erdelmeyer, along with many other Indianapolis Turners, enlisted in Colonel Lew Wallace's 11th Regiment Indiana Zouaves. He served in the regiment as a sergeant of Company E on the Upper Potomac until July 1861. With the expiration of his three-month term of service with the 11th Indiana, Erdelmeyer helped organize a company of Germans in August that became Company A, 32nd Indiana. With Turnverein members from Indianapolis, Fort Wayne and Louisville making up the ranks, the company became known as the Turner Company. While still at Indianapolis in September 1861, the company held elections and unanimously selected Erdelmeyer as captain. His official commission arrived 19 September. Erdelmeyer served the remainder of the war at command level in the 32nd Indiana, taking command of the regiment from before Stones River up to brief operations in Kentucky after returning from the trenches around Atlanta in 1864. He witnessed nearly every battle the regiment took part in and saw the attrition that reduced the ranks from the nearly one thousand souls he marched out of Indianapolis with in 1861, to the 281 he led back to that city in August 1864.

During his service Erdelmeyer attained a well-known reputation as a gallant, highly competent and dedicated officer attuned to the wants and needs of his men. Two months after his return home he wed Katherine Hoffman, a native of Germany, who gave him a son and three daughters. Settling down to life in Indianapolis, Erdelmeyer entered into a successful pharmacy partnership at 91 East Washington Street with his former comrade and close friend, Adolph Metzner, until he bought Metzner out in 1868. That same year he was elected to a two-year term as Marion County Treasurer. He sold the pharmacy business in 1873 to speculate in real estate, but returned to the drug business, opening a store on the corner of New Jersey Street and Fort Wayne Avenue. He operated that store until shortly before his death at his Central Avenue home on 16 October 1926, at the age of 91. He was buried in Section

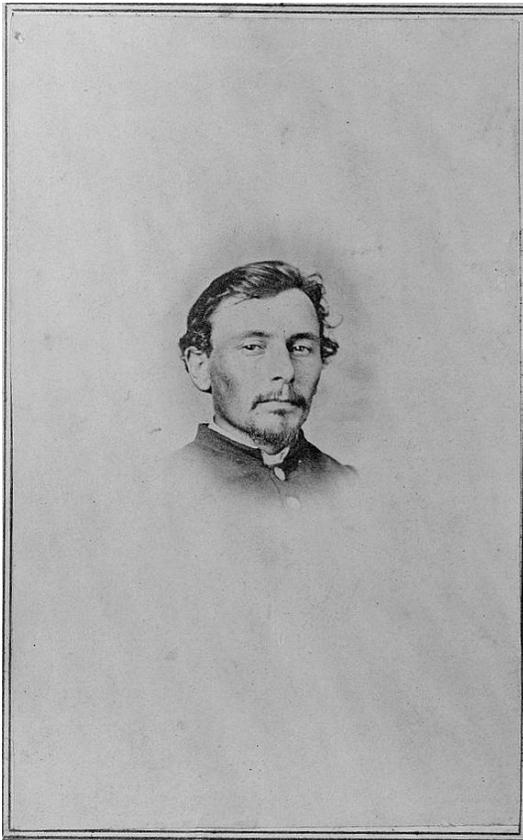
12, Lot #35 at the beautiful Crown Hill Cemetery in Indianapolis, beside his wife who passed thirty-nine years before.

Source: Unpublished biography by Michael A. Peake donated for the Adolph G. Metzner Collection of Photographs, Lot #8751, Library of Congress.

Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 807-809.

14.2 THE PREMONITION OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JACOB GLASS

Jacob Glass Correspondence



Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Glass organized Germans from around Madison that became Company B of the 32nd Indiana. He was another of the five lieutenant colonels from Madison who died in combat. Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, photo #70, LC-USZ62-129662.

Jacob Glass was born in the village of Dielkerchen in the former Rhein Province of Bavaria, Germany, on 9 April 9 1836. The Glass family relocated to the United States following the revolution and settled in Columbus, Ohio, where Jacob became deeply involved in a local athletic club, the *Socialistischer Turnerbund*. Following a brief ceremony at the Franklin County Courthouse on 7 October 1856, Jacob Glass was naturalized as an American citizen. The following year, the family moved to Madison, Indiana, where Jacob and his brother, Frederic Glass, operated a confectionary shop located at 126 Main Street. Aside from activity in the local Turner Club, Jacob became lieutenant colonel of the "Madison City German Guards," an organization he personally honed into a well-trained militia unit. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Glass organized a German company, within a matter of hours, largely from the Turner clubs of the city

and surrounding communities, including Cincinnati, Ohio. At 6:00 a. m. on the morning of 21 August 1861, 25-year old Jacob Glass led his company, escorted by the "Madison Guard," to the train depot for the rail trip north to Indianapolis. Lt. Col. Thomas J. Wood mustered them in on 24 August, as Company "B," Colonel Willich's 1st German, 32nd Indiana. The following month, the company unanimously elected Glass as captain. Glass fought with distinction leading his company during their baptism of fire at Rowlett's Station in December 1861. A wound temporarily disabled him at the battle of Shiloh in April 1862, and he returned to Madison to recover. Just prior to the battle of Stones River, he was appointed major of the 32nd Indiana and served in that capacity through the winter and summer of 1863, until promoted to lieutenant colonel in August. After the bloody battle of Chickamauga in September 1863, the army fell back into the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee under virtual siege.

On 22 November 1863, Lt. Col. Glass laid out the division of his estate with a voice of premonition in a letter to his brother Fritz in Madison, writing "If it should happen that I'll find death in the next battle, I want to ask you to execute my last wishes." He closed with "So I bid you all farewell and do not mourn my death as long as this Republic lives. Dearest Mother, fare well and don't be

grieved. Your son, Jacob Glass.” Three days later, he died during the assault on Missionary Ridge, a momentous battle that broke the siege and paved the way to Atlanta. Major William G. Mank escorted his body back to Madison for burial in the family plot and Captain Adolph G. Metzner, on medical leave at Cincinnati, met his comrades when they arrived at Madison. A large portion of the city turned out on 18 December 1863 to take part in the funeral of their beloved son, Jacob Glass. He was buried in Plat 3 in the western section of Springdale Cemetery. But the tragic suffering of war would not spare the Glass family. Less than a year later, on 27 October 1864, Jacob’s brother died at Louisville, Kentucky. Louis Glass, Commissary Sergeant of the 13th Indiana Cavalry, accidentally drowned after slipping into the Ohio River at the city wharf. His body was later recovered, transported up river to Madison, and buried beside his brother on 30 October. Again, the city of Madison turned out en masse to share the sorrow of the Glass clan.

Chattanooga, November 22, 1863

Dear Brother Fritz,

We just received orders to get ready for attack...and it is generally believed that we’ll do it no later than tomorrow morning.

If it should happen that I’ll find death in the next battle, I want to ask you to execute my last wishes as follows:

Distribution of my estate consisting of two-thousand-three-hundred dollar in U. S. Treasury Notes shall be handled by you, meaning that with the enclosed Notes of four-hundred-forty dollar of which \$40 (forty dollar) are to be paid to John Zimmermann, Sergeant in the 2nd Co., do as follows:

1st—To my dear Mother five hundred dollar (\$500), to my brother Georg Glass three-hundred dollar, (\$300).

2nd—Luise Mary Glass three-hundred dollar, (\$300).

3rd—To my sister Katharina Glass in Columbus, Ohio three-hundred dollar, (\$300).

4th—three-hundred dollar, (\$300) to the two sons [of] brothers Louis Glass, Georg and Louis Glass—which is to be held by Friedrich Glass and may only be used for the education of the two boys.

As under #4th and in the same manner \$300.00 shall be used for the two children of my deceased brother Karl.

The rest of the money you can use for covering the expenses of my burial, that is, if it is possible you can retrieve my body. I would like to be buried in Columbus, Ohio, and please have a monument put on my grave, of white marble, of considerable size and reflecting the occasion.

Should there be anything left, you can think about distributing it to those family members most in need.

My horse, saddle and trappings, weapons, all field equipage belongs to you, Brother Friedrich.

Dearest Mother, fare well and don’t be grieved. Your son, Jacob Glass.

So I bid you all farewell and do not mourn my death as long as this Republic lives.

Jacob Glass
Lt. Col. 32nd Rgt.

Source: Unpublished biography by Michael A. Peake donated for the Adolph G. Metzner Collection of Photographs, Lot #8751, Library of Congress.

Letters of Jacob Glass provided courtesy of Madison, Indiana resident Robert Glass, and translated by Eberhard Reichmann.

14.3 WARRIOR ARTIST OF THE 32ND INDIANA: CAPT. ADOLPH G. METZNER.

Michael A. Peake

Captain Adolph Metzner was employed as a druggist on Main Street in Louisville, Kentucky when William Mank recruited Metzner to serve three years with the German 32nd Indiana. The art Metzner created during that three years of service survives as a visual diary of what the regiment experienced while taking the war into the Confederate heartland. Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, photo #1, LC-USZ62-126332.

Adolph G. Metzner was born on 16 August 1834 in the Wiese River village of Lörrach, near the borders of France and Switzerland, in the southwestern corner of Baden-Württemberg, Germany. As a young man he attended the University of Freiburg, earning a degree as a prescription pharmacist. In 1856, he immigrated to the United States and established himself as a druggist in partnership with Henry J. Stein opening Metzner & Stein on Main Street in Louisville, Kentucky. After the start of the Civil War, Metzner assisted Frank Erdelmeyer and William Mank in organizing a German company of volunteer Turners at Indianapolis, Indiana, that became Company "A" of the 1st German, 32nd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry.

Almost immediately, Metzner began to set his impressions down on paper in the form of drawings, sketches, and watercolors. His early works reflect the general attitude of many young men called upon to preserve the Union. The quest was a lark and one glorious battle would defeat the Rebels. Metzner's art portrays humorous caricatures in those early days, but his art began taking on a more somber tone with the loss of comrades at the battle of Rowlett's Station, Kentucky, on 17 December 1861. After the battle of Shiloh the following April, the true gruesome horror of war appeared in the young man's work with impressions of the battlefield. From that point on Metzner created art that showed the turmoil and struggle interspersed with humorous caricatures. But humor was a fleeting spirit in the later days, and Metzner's work mirrored that fact.

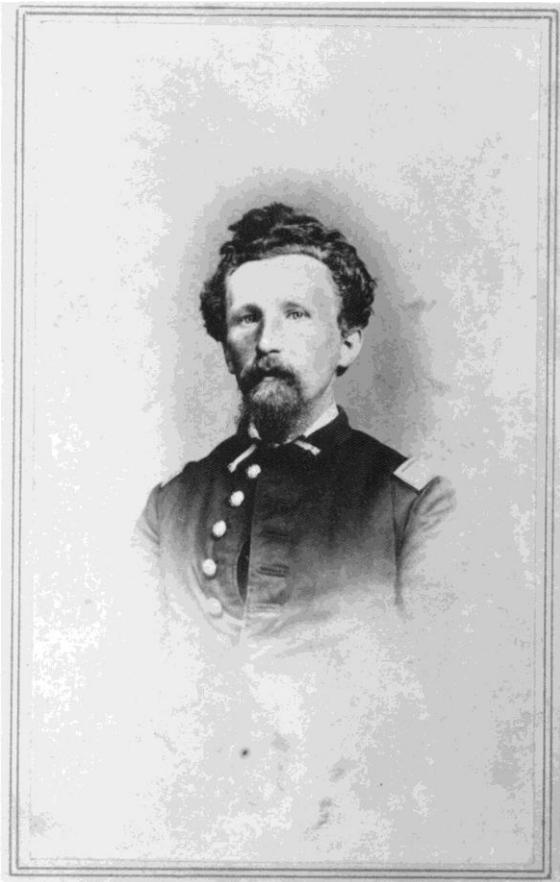
Adolph Metzner survived the war and returned to Indianapolis, a pensioned veteran suffering from a gunshot wound to the right leg and discharge of the lungs. He entered into a pharmaceutical business on North New Jersey Street with his former comrade Frank Erdelmeyer. Becoming interested in artistic tiles and glazes as a hobby, Metzner experimented in a backyard kiln during his spare time. In 1868, he sold his interest in the drugstore to Erdelmeyer. He quit the profession altogether after becoming discouraged with medicine and the fact that he could not save his first wife Louisa, who died in 1877. Metzner remarried in 1880 and relocated to Hamilton, Ohio, to found the Hamilton Tile Works. He later became associated with the American Encaustic Tile Works in Zanesville, Ohio. Then Metzner moved to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, to work for C. Pardee Tile Works from which he retired in 1912.



He died 13 February 1917, at Bayonne, New Jersey, survived by wife Emma, and six children. Emma had Metzner's body transported to Indianapolis and interred at Crown Hill Cemetery on 16 February beside his first wife and an infant son.

Source: Based on Michael Peake's manuscript, "The Civil War Illustrations of Capt. Adolph G. Metzner, 1st German, 32nd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry." See: Michael A. Peake, *Blood Shed in This War: Civil War Illustrations by Captain Adolph Metzner, 32nd Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2010.)

14.4 CAPTAIN PHILIP MONNINGER, COMPANY "E." *History of Vigo and Parke Counties*



Philip Monninger, a Prussian trained officer who sided with the German revolutionists in 1849, brought over one hundred men from Vigo County to Indianapolis to join the 32nd Indiana. Library of Congress, Adolph G. Metzner Collection, photo #64, LC-USZ62-129648.

In early August 1861, the *Terre Haute Express* reported on the organization of Indiana's 1st German Regiment that, "The intention of those composing the regiment is, we were told, to have only officers of experience and good military education, and, so far as possible, men who have seen service heretofore.—There are many Germans in our State who were officers in the European revolutions of 1848, and who have been thoroughly trained to arms in their native country." Terre Haute businessman Philip H. Monninger, operating the White Hall Saloon, fit that description perfectly. He was born 14 September 1831, in Ahrweiler, Rhine Province of the Palatinate, Germany, and at the age of sixteen years, attended the Berlin Military Academy, during a time of a growing political storm in Germany. In 1849, eighteen-year-old Philip Monninger received promotion to captain in the regular army on the eve of the revolutionary upheaval that engulfed the region. The young army officer found his allegiance with the

revolutionists against the superior Imperial forces of Hesse and Prussia. Monninger served with a force of 40,000 men who managed to fight through the left wing of the enemy near Strasburg in July 1849 to escape into exile. Later that year, Philip Monninger arrived in America, with Cincinnati, Ohio, his stated destination. He enrolled in school and attended classes until an employment opportunity as hotel bookkeeper arose downriver at Madison, Indiana. In 1851, Monninger relocated to Indianapolis to work for a mercantile business, but the following year he settled in Terre Haute.

After arriving in the Wabash Valley community, Monninger purchased the White Hall Saloon from Mr. J. H. Watson. For the next nine years, he managed the establishment until drawn again to the rumblings of revolution. While politicians in Indianapolis wrangled with Governor Morton for the formation of Indiana's German Regiment, in Terre Haute on 9 August 1861, Mr. Monninger began recruiting a company for that regiment from the German citizens of Vigo County. Thirteen days later,

Monninger led his company into Camp Morton at Indianapolis to muster in as Company "E," 32nd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He returned to Terre Haute on 29 August to settle business and gave notice that anyone desiring to join his company could report at his home located at Number 9, North Market Street. On 19 September, he was officially commissioned a company captain after being elected unanimously by the men of Company "E." Late in the evening on Christmas Eve, 1861, Captain Monninger received an injury on the picket line at Munfordville, Kentucky, that resulted in permanent disability. He resigned 7 January 1862, and returned to Terre Haute to create one of Indiana's finest wineries on thirty acres purchased in 1868.

P. H. Monninger & Sons vineyards grew to over 100 acres and became well noted for the fine Catawba, Riesling and Madeira wines produced from vines imported from Germany, and nurtured by generations of experience. Philip Monninger died in Terre Haute on 2 July 1907, survived by eleven children from two marriages.

Source: H.W. Beckwith, *History of Vigo and Parke Counties, Together With Historic Notes on the Wabash Valley* (Chicago: H.H. Hill and N. Iddings, 1880), 232-233.

14.5 PRIVATE NICHOLAS FILBECK, COMPANY "E." *Charles Cochran Oakly*

Among the best known citizens of Terre Haute is Nicholas Filbeck, who has been a resident of the city for over half a century, and during the greater part of that long period has stood as one of the leading men of the community, prominent in its business, political and social affairs. Mr. Filbeck is a native son of Germany, born 15 December 1843, at Viernheim, Hesse Darmstadt, a son of Philip and Anna M. (Winkler) Filbeck. The family, consisting of father, mother and four children, came to the United States in 1847, making their home for a time in Indianapolis, and it was in that city the mother died. The father placed his children in the keeping of friends and went west, but returned in 1850 and established his home in Terre Haute, his children joining him there three years later, but in the meantime two had died, Nicholas and Mary alone surviving.

Nicholas Filbeck attended both the public and Lutheran schools of Terre Haute. As a boy he earned his own way, working at various occupations, and after leaving school he worked for four years in his father's grocery store. When the Civil War broke out he was but a lad of seventeen years, but he was fired with a desire to do what he could as a soldier for his adopted country, and in August, 1861, without the knowledge of his father, he enlisted in the Thirty-second Indiana Infantry Regiment, known as the "First German Regiment," under Colonel Willich. The Thirty-second was to rendezvous at Indianapolis, and in order to get



Nicholas Filbeck remained in close contact with several of the 32nd Indiana veterans after the war, at one time hosting a reunion in Terre Haute at his hotel. He was among the handful of youngsters who joined with the original three-year men of 1861. Photo courtesy of Vigo County Historical Society.



The ninety-nine room Filbeck House, located at the corner of Fifth & Cherry Streets in Terre Haute, was predicted to be the kind of "hotel talking first rank with any in this State." Photo courtesy of Vigo County Historical Society.

conveyed him to the hotel. But the son made his escape and rejoined his regiment, and as the father came to recognize the extent of his son's determination, gave his consent to his joining the ranks of the Indiana soldiers.

Mr. Filbeck was with his regiment at the first Kentucky fight at Rowlett's station, in the second day's fight at Shiloh under General Buell, the siege of Corinth, and at Battle Creek, Alabama, from there passed through Jasper and Sequatchie valleys up to Walden Ridge Gap, from which point the army (McCook's Division) advanced on Chattanooga. There being no cavalry at the time with McCook's division, the Thirty-second was placed in advance, and Company E in the lead. Mr. Filbeck was given the honor of first scout to survey the route. When he reached the foot of Sequatchie valley, he halted with a flag of truce, and after being taken to a commanding officer he was recognized as one of our scouts (spies). His information was that General Bragg was on the mountain above the gap with 40,000 men. Our Army at once was ordered back on a new route to head off General Bragg, which took the Army to Louisville, and from there he went with his regiment to Frankfort and the fight at Salt river, was in the skirmishing along that river, on to Nashville in the battle of Stone River, where Mr. Filbeck was wounded 31 December 1862. This wound was in the fleshy part of the right leg, and as the tendons of the foot were cut, Mr. Filbeck became a cripple for life. After receiving his wound he was assisted away quite a distance and left lying on the field, and while lying there calling for help he attracted the attention of a passing cavalryman, who put him on his horse and carried him to a house. This friend was a rebel spy, and for some time our wounded young soldier was cared for by the people of the enemy, a kindness he has never forgotten. He was in the hands of Dick McCann's rebel cavalry for twelve days, during which time his wound could not receive proper treatment, but these rebel friends later helped him to reach the Union hospital at Nashville, where he remained from 12 January to 14 February. In the meantime, for the want of proper treatment, his wound threatened certain death, gangrene had set in and lockjaw followed. His father, notified by the authorities that he could not live, went to him and it eventually succeeded in getting him to the hospital at Louisville, Kentucky, where he was helpless in bed from 14 February to 5 May 1863. He was sent from that city to Indianapolis, thence to the Soldiers' Home, and when able to go on crutches, was given a forty days' furlough home. While still on crutches he begged the commanding officer to send him to his regiment, refusing an honorable discharge, and finally received the order for his return to his regiment, which he found on the eve of march. For appearance sake, he discarded his crutches for a cane, not at all adequate to his support, and he was, to say the least, totally unfit for duty. In order that he might ride he was temporarily assigned to duty with the quartermaster, joining his regiment at Bellefonte, Alabama, after Chickamauga. At Chattanooga the non-commissioned officers of his old company unanimously asked him to become orderly sergeant, but his physical disabilities prevented his accepting. He was then on detached service in the brigade quartermaster's department. He was never under orders, but was with his Regiment on all their moves to Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, Knoxville, to the relief of "Burnsides," then to Dallas, Georgia, Resaca,

New Hope Church, Lost Mountain, Kennesaw Mountain, Marietta, Chattahoochee River, the Atlantic Campaign, Peachtree Creek and from there was mustered out 7 September 1864. He was with his regiment during the entire time, but was unable to carry arms.

Returning home from the conflict Mr. Filbeck began working in his father's mill, the Old Telegraph Mill, and later, in company with his brother-in-law, B. Settele, he conducted the Cincinnati Hotel for three years. In 1869 he purchased the lease and fixtures of the Filbeck House, and in 1876 he purchased the house and grounds. He has been prominent in the public affairs of Vigo County and Terre Haute ever since the close of the war, and in 1868, when only twenty-five years of age, was nominated for sheriff of the county, coming within thirty-eight votes of the election, his extreme youth being the only thing that defeated him. In 1873 he was appointed postmaster of Terre Haute, and served two full terms of four years each. For twenty years, he was chairman of the Republican county central committee, six years, a member of the State committee and vice chairman of the 1896 campaign, and as long as he could be induced to fill the place of his party trusted the management of all the campaigns to him. He is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Masonic fraternity and the Germania Society.

Mr. Filbeck married, 23 April 1867, Rosina Kiefner, a daughter of Adam and Catherine Kiefner, of Lawrence County, Illinois, and to their union five children have been born as follows: Anne Marie, Louis Catherine, Charles Henry, Rutherford Nicholas and Nellie Cecelia. [Filbeck died at the age of 72 on 3 May 1915, and was buried two days later at the Highland Lawn Cemetery in Terre Haute.]

Source: Charles Cochran Oakly, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County: Closing The First Century's History of City and County, Showing The Growth of Their People, Industries and Wealth* (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), Volume I, 379-381.

14.6 DR. GUSTAVUS A. KUNKLER AT STONES RIVER *Gustavus Kunkler Papers*



Dr. Gustavus A. Kunkler attended the Ohio Medical College and the Cincinnati College of Pharmacy, where he became popularly referred to as the *wunder kind* [wonder child] by the German professors due to his extraordinary brightness and intelligence. He graduated with honors in 1852, but instead of accepting one of several lucrative offers, he chose to work in Grand Gulf, Mississippi until 1855, when he opened his practice in Madison. Photo courtesy of Navarro College Archives, Corsicana, Texas.

Thursday (sic), January 9th 1863
Camp 4 miles beyond Murfreesborough

Dear Wife

At last I find an opportunity to send you a few lines and to wish you a happy new year. It was a terrible opening of the new year to me I assure you.—You Must excuse my bad writing for I am so exhausted that I can hardly hold a pen. I have been a prisoner in the hands of the Rebels until last night when I was recaptured by 3 regiments of Cavalry. I was taken on Wednesday Morning, we were surprised by the Rebels at 6 o'clock early and while making my way to the rear with Genl

Willich, poor Billy was shot through the heart with a grape shot and I was struck by a spent musket ball on the left side of the chest we both fell together and the next moment the Rebel cavalry had me by the neck. Willich had his horse killed under him by a Cannon Ball and was immediately captured he was unhurt. I could write you a long chapter of all I saw and went through with during those awful eight Days—but I do not feel able to do it. We are in a comfortable camp and with care I shall soon be all right again so Don't trouble yourself. I have made up my mind to come home as soon as I can get off honorable. There are but 250 Men left in the Regiment. They were shot Down by hundreds. The 39th Regiment is even worse off. None of the Madison boys were hurt, they took the precaution to run off at the start and never stopped until they got to Nashville. I remained on the field While the bullets fell thicker than hail. Willich was sent through to Dicksburgh and they intended to serve me the same way being a General Staff officer, but our poor Wounded men about a thousand of them lay scattered on the field and finally I persuaded General Hardee the rebel General to allow me to take care of them, so I was on the battle field Day and Night without sleep or anything to eat and in constant Danger of being shot Down by Drunken rebel soldiers. Fortunately the Cavalry made a Dash and I thanked God when I was under the protection to the Stars and Stripes. I had no bandages and Dressed my wounded with strips of old tents which I cut up. Everything I had was captured. I have nothing in the world but what I have on my back.

You have Doubtless read the reports of the battle which lasted 4 days but a true report will never be made. I saw more perhaps than any-one person engaged in that fight. Santchie is well and escaped little. Fred Craig in Capt Graham's Company is severely wounded.

General McCook has promised me a fine horse to replace Billy. It will be here in a few days.

I enclose a few lines to Dr. Conway which you will please hand to him it is in regard to a position for him.

I wrote a letter to Chas from Nolinsville which he perhaps received. I was Commissioned by General Rosecrans as Surgeon in Chief of the 6th Brigade and Medical Director of the 2nd Division. I told him (Chas) to put the notice in the paper. If he has not done it he can do it now. Give my love to all the folks and Kiss Lolly. I often thought of you when all alone among the dead and dying. As soon as I can I will write again.

Farewell,
Yours, G~~

P. S. I send you a lock of hair from General Willich's splendid War horse I cut it off as a keep sake to remember him, it was the most Magnificent animal I ever saw.

(For the *Courier*.)
From the 32d Regiment.
In Camp near Murfreesboro,
January 9, 1863.

Mr. Editor:

Although you have doubtless by this time received full and detailed reports of the terrible battle fought near this place on the 31st of December and the first three days of the present month, it may, nevertheless, interest your readers to learn the part the old 32^d took in that action.

There was heavy skirmishing all day Tuesday (Dec. 30th) from the centre to the left, but was attended with no material results, only one rebel brigade being engaged with us. The fighting was mostly with artillery at long range, and the casualties consequently were low; night separated the combatants, leaving us the advantage. The heavy skirmishing indicated a great battle to be unavoidable, and at six o'clock on Wednesday morning, the engagement was opened by the corps of Gen. Hardee. The 2^d division, commanded by Gen. Richard Johnson, formed the extreme right of Gen. McCook's army corps. The 6th brigade, commanded by Gen. Willich, the extreme right of the division. The whole



Brigadier General August Willich's brigade suffered 1164 casualties. Many of the men, like their commander, were prisoners of war. The 32nd Indiana lost 12 men killed, 40 wounded, and 115 captured. Willich remained in Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, until exchanged in May 1863. Photo courtesy of U.S. Army Military History Institute.

line extended over a space of over three miles, partly in dense woodland covered with dense underbrush to, and here and there over corn and cotton fields. During the night, the enemy under the cover of darkness, had advanced to within a quarter of a mile of our line. As soon as the morning dawned, thirty thousand men under the command of Gens. Claiborne, Cheatham and Hardee, were simultaneously thrown upon the 2d division, which was wholly unprepared for such a terrific assault, and was compelled to fall back, under the close and murderous fire of the enemy. Gen.

Willich's brigade was the last to fall back. The artillery horses being all killed, the guns fell into the hands of the enemy and were turned upon us. The 32d Regiment fought as skirmishers, and under whatever cover they could find, poured a deadly fire into the enemy, but being pressed by overwhelming numbers, it was compelled to retreat, and at one time being nearly surrounded by the enemies Texas cavalry cut its way through; but alas, here it was where the ground was literally covered with the bodies of our brave boys. Of our noble Regiment, but two hundred men are left, a little band, but every one a hero. The entire army corps fell back about four miles, where it rallied, and under the personal command of Maj. Gen. Rosecrans, drove back the enemy; here the remnant of the 32d distinguished itself by a bayonet charge upon one of the batteries of the enemy, where it again lost 27 men, but held the ground, and was publicly complimented and thanked by Gen. Rosecrans.

Among the many lost we mourn over our gallant Gen. Willich. He was captured while directing his brigade to fall back in order. A cannonball shattered the hind leg of his horse, which fell, and made it impossible for him to extricate himself before the rebel cavalry dashed upon him. It is a consolation to know that he is unhurt.

Over fifteen surgeons were captured on the field, and relieved of all their possessions. It was a blessing, however, for our poor boys, that the medical faculty was gobbled up so largely. Nobly did they perform their part, remaining upon the field day and night, and without any assistance whatever, caring and attending over one thousand wounded men lying with shattered limbs on the wet ground, and exposed to the cold blasts of January. In consequence of the want of protection from the weather, lack of food, &c., during the four days of the battle, the mortality will be fearful among our wounded. They are well cared for now, but for many the comforts come too late.

All the surgeons were released.

G. A. K.

Source: Photograph and letter dated 9 January 1863 to Dear Wife, from Gustavus Kunkler Papers, Pearce Civil War Collections, Navarro College Archives, Corsicana, Texas.

Letter (for The *Courier*) and addressed to Mr. Editor from *Madison Daily Evening Courier*, Saturday, 17 January 1863.

15. MORGAN ATTACKS SOUTHERN INDIANA
15.1 MORGAN'S RAIDERS AND THE REV. PETER GLENN
AND MRS. WILFORD C. BUTT

General John Morgan and his men had crossed over the Ohio River from Kentucky into Mauckport, Ind. On the way to Corydon they decided to stop first at the Rev. Peter Glenn's home. Why did they want to stop there first? The (Lutheran) Rev. Glenn and a Rev. Abbott, a United Brethren minister, were known as "circuit riders" and had preached at a number of places in Kentucky and Northern Tennessee. In their sermons these two ministers bitterly denounced slavery which displeased slave owners. It is reported that some of these men were with Morgan, and they had these two ministers marked and had decided to kill them.

Hearing that the Rebels were coming, the Rev. Glenn and the Rev. Abbott hid in the hills back of the Glenn home. The Rebels searched the hillside but failed to find their hiding places. And they began yelling that they would set fire to the Glenn house. The Rebels had already shot and wounded the Rev. Glenn's son, John. When they had come up to the house, John shouldered his gun and went out to meet them. When John learned that it was Morgan's men he started to run back. They called for him to halt, and when he failed to do so, they opened fire and shot him in the hip. John still ran and was shot in the hip on the opposite side. He had five wounds which he carried to his grave. He crawled under a pig-pen and the Rebels lost track of him. His mother and his wife then first took him to the cellar, but figuring that the house would later be set on fire, they took him to the orchard and placed him in the shade of a tree.

The Rev. Glenn knew that his son was wounded and feared that the women folks were unable to take care of John. Besides, the Rebels had hoisted a white flag. So he decided to give himself up. Of course, that white flag was only a ruse on the part of the Rebels. The Rev. Abbott stayed in hiding.

Some of the Rebels had gathered in the living room. And as the Rev. Glenn came in, he said to them, "What will you have, gentlemen?" They asked for a drink of water. He went to the well and brought a bucket of water and a dipper and set the bucket on the floor before them. They told him to drink first. He did, and while the Rebels were drinking, one shot him in the bowels. After Rev. Glenn was shot he walked out passing John, who was lying under that shade tree, he said to him, "John, I am wounded too." And he went to another shade tree and laid down. The women folks rushed to his side, but he never spoke again, passing away in a few minutes.

Source: A mimeographed pamphlet by the Rev. and Mrs. Wilford C. Butt on the "History of the Mount Solomon Evangelical Lutheran Church, Harrison Twp., Harrison Co., Indiana" (1969), 6-7 [edited], printed in *Hoosier German Tales, Small & Tall*, ed. Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1991), 145.

15.2 MORGAN'S TROOPERS RAID OLDENBURG
Robert Wilken, O.F.M

Four thousand cavalymen under the Confederate [General John Hunt] Morgan, were raiding Indiana! One bright Saturday afternoon in July of 1863, two of the men in grey cantered up to Kessing's smithy. "New irons for the hosses, Yank, make it snappy." Mr. Kessing fibbed sweetly about no new shoes (although there were rows of them on the rafters overhead) but agreed to shoe the soldiers' horses and bring them down to Kuntz's beer emporia... where the men wanted to cool off.

When the horses were led over to the saloon, the southerners made a little curtsy, and vaulting into the saddle, comforted the empty-handed Mr. Kessing with some foolishness about the Quarter Master settling up accounts when they'd won the bloomin' war. Loping along out of town towards St.

Mary's, they met Dominic Siefert astride his trusty steed. "Buddy, we all wants that hoss." Ah! But Dominic was the born actor! Working up an insidious little tear in his voice, Dominic held forth on the lot of the small farmer; how bloody needful was his horse, etc., etc. In the end they struck a bargain: Dominic was to keep the bridle and saddle, but the Greys got the horse, which, according to Dominic, "twaren't much of a critter nohow."

Oldenburg was indignant. Then and there the burghers got together and organized the "Oldenburg Home Guard." Mr. Schanz was posted on top the Batesville hill with a heavy horse pistol to sound the warning if Morgan should show up. It wasn't long till he saw a cloud of dust far up the road. Wham! Wham! One slug clipped his horse's ear so his good beast flew into town on the double quick with Schanz yelling wildly about the whole blasted army of the rebels bearing down on the town. Men mustered grimly, and soon a bristle of muskets and shotguns flanked the road where it entered town.... Just when everyone's hair was on the verge of turning white from suspense and kindred emotions, a jolly little rig came clattering over the hill bearing a wide-eyed farmer....The whole blasted army of the rebels had finally showed up.

At night when things were quiet a few of the Greys did ride into town to have their boots mended at Mr. Kleinmeyer's place on Water Street. Mrs. Anna Hunteman, a little tot at that time, was snug in bed while her dad and three workmen kept to their lasts far into the night. The troopers, as her dad related the next morning, said to charge the bill to good old Uncle Sam.

Thus did Oldenburg figure in Morgan's raid: two shots, no deaths, one horse ear.

Source: Robert Wilken, O.F.M., *A Historical Sketch of the Holy Family Church and Parish, Oldenburg, Indiana, 1837-1937* (1937), 80-81, excerpted in Reichmann, *Hoosier German Tales* (1991), 146.

15.3 FOOLIN' MORGAN'S RAIDERS IN ST. LEON

Bernadette Stenger

When two scouting parties of Morgan's Raiders joined forces and began to advance on St. Leon in 1863, the citizens scared them off by firing a cannon and by exploding powder on an anvil. The powder was weighted down and then exploded, making a terrific noise. On hearing the artillery of St. Leon, the scouting party rejoined the main force at Dover. They then proceeded to Harrison, Ohio. The men responsible for using the anvil and the powder were John Frey, John Stenger, and Charles Wilhelm.

Source: Told by Bernadette Stenger, West Harrison, Dearborn Co., 1986 who noted "This story has been verified by several old-timers, many years back." Excerpted in Reichmann, *Hoosier German Tales* (1991), 147.

15.4 MORGAN'S RAIDERS IN NEW ALSACE: YOU NEVER CAN TELL.

Maxine Klump

Monday, July 13, 1863, the famous Confederate General John Hunt Morgan led a force of approximately 2,500 cavalry men through New Alsace. Philomena Young, whose parents had died, and who was cared for by an aunt, Elizabeth Vogelgesang, helped her aunt feed the soldiers at the tavern-blacksmith shop where they had stopped. Philomena served a pancake breakfast to the men. They were very polite and paid for their food.

In later years, Philomena's brother began searching for the members of his family who were scattered upon the death of the parents. He found that he was one of the Confederate soldiers actually served breakfast by his sister, although neither knew it at the time.

Source: Maxine Klump, *A History of St. Paul's Parish, New Alsace, Indiana, 1833-1983* (1983), 37-38, excerpted in Reichmann, *Hoosier German Tales* (1991), 147.

16. WAR TIMES ON A MISSISSIPPI RIVER STEAMBOAT

Julius Augustus Lemcke

The steamer "Fanny Bullitt," a side-wheeler of good dimensions and fair speed, of which I was part owner and head clerk at the time the war broke out, cleared port under Confederate sailing papers and made her last departure from New Orleans for Louisville on April 29, 1861. At Memphis, where the rebel authorities looked on us as Yankees, and I was known to be a republican, we barely escaped arrest and the boat confiscation. We arrived at Louisville with an empty cabin; and after discharging a scanty cargo of rosin, turpentine and a little sugar, the boat went to the "boneyard" below the falls at Portland, where, until November of that year, she "choked a ringbolt"....

Our captain, a Kentuckian and southern sympathizer, from constant worry over the deplorable condition of the country, fell sick, and in the early summer, died of a broken heart. At his death, the care of the boat and her considerable indebtedness fell to me; and when the patriotic boys in the north, at the call of the president, shouldered their guns, and with colors flying followed the fife and drum to glory, I found my hands tied and was thus prevented from enlisting. The summer wore on in anxious and irritating inactivity, and when, in the autumn, I proposed to offer the "Fanny's" services to the Union forces then gathering on the lower Ohio, I met with determined opposition from our Kentucky owners, who would not let the boat go into service against their southern friends and kinfolks.

Restive under the situation, and determined to break the deadlock, I bestirred myself. I was fortunate enough, with the aid of a friend, to raise the money in bank wherewith to buyout the disaffected and rebellious partners and thereby increased my already heavy indebtedness. Money in those days was very hard to get, and it took a Caesarian operation to deliver the bank of sufficient cash to satisfy my demand. I thus became the owner of five-sixths of the "Fanny Bullitt," and I also became her commander. The other one-sixth interest remained the property of my friend Captain Ronald Fisher, a staunch Union man, who continued second in command of the boat.

Organized bands of southern sympathizers, in the fall of that year, were operating on the shores of the lower Ohio in southwestern Kentucky. They were engaged in smuggling contraband munitions of war into the Confederacy, and in disturbing the people in the towns and villages on the Illinois side of the river. As yet, along this part of Mason and Dixon's line, no military posts had been established by the federal government.

At Shawneetown, ten miles below the mouth of the Wabash, an Illinois regiment of cavalry had gone into camp for recruiting and organizing purposes. Here I directed my steps, and to the officers of the regiment proposed to bring my man-of-war and help them put down the rebellion "in ninety days," and whip those blustering Johnnies who constantly boasted that each of them could easily whip five of us "northern mudsills." This offer of mine to volunteer was promptly accepted by the colonel and his officers. I knew full well that authority for such service vested in the war department only, and that no pay could be expected. I therefore stipulated that I should be enrolled on the roster of this horse regiment as captain of "horse marines," without shoulder straps, and should have authority to draw rations for my men from the commissary of the regiment, and that oil for the machinery, cordage and oakum should be furnished by the quartermaster; while the necessary fuel I engaged to requisition boldly from neighboring coal mines. These proceedings were altogether irregular, not ordered by the war

department, nor authorized in army regulations, but by us hotheads were held to be highly patriotic, laudable and necessary to bring the war to an end and “hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree.”

The colonel of the regiment, a pet of Governor Dick Yates, was troubled with ingrowing nerve; but he shall be nameless. I may call him “Old Liver-Pad,” for in civil life he was a quack doctor....

On taking the boat from her berth at Portland, where she had lain all summer and autumn, I “spared no wisdom” to induce the wharfmaster to take my I.O.U. in liquidation of accumulated port charges instead of cash, which I had not... At our arrival amidst alarums of drums and the huzzas from warriors and citizens on shore, we hoisted the stars and stripes at the jackstaff, and never lowered them again from that time on. As I had no money wherewith to pay wages, the crew patriotically went into writings with me, stipulating that unless the state of Illinois or the federal government at some future day paid the boat--for her services, no claim for wages should lie against me nor the boat.

We were all of us, the captain as well as his crew, in those days so impecunious that our tobacco was begged from the boys in blue, who were well supplied; of all other delicacies only the Sunday pie remained, which, for want of fruit, was made of beans until bugs and worms were found in the beans. At the little old post of Shawneetown that winter I was looked upon as representing the navy and feted accordingly by the patriotic dames of the town. This secured for me, now and then, a much needed "square meal," in return for which I never failed, in the most engaging manner, to make myself agreeable to maid and matron alike at any of their dances and evening parties.

In support of the proverb that “a sitting hen gathers no moss,” we bestirred ourselves strenuously in raids and expeditions along the Kentucky shores, where, under orders from the officers of the regiment and with the aid of its men, we pursued marauders, captured needed forage for the horses of our regiment, and confiscated and destroyed ferry-boats and other watercraft used for purposes of smuggling and disturbing that portion of the people in “Egypt” on the opposite shore of the river who were loyal, and who were not out in the smartweed and dog-fennel at midnight plotting treason and drilling with their Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle.

By the time the federal forces had established military posts at Paducah and Smithland, early in 1862, there came an order from General Grant to report with the “Fanny Bullitt” at headquarters in Cairo. On our arrival there my boat, together with other steamers, was ordered to anchor out in the middle of the Ohio and await orders. Meanwhile I kept up communication with the shore, and during my daily reports to General Grant had, when the tobacco smoke was not too dense, favorable opportunities to observe the silent commander. At Grant's boarding-house, where Charles A. Dana and George Boutwell, the latter an ex-governor of Massachusetts, then in Cairo on a war mission, and myself were the only other boarders, we found the general fairly communicative and genial...I was sent with artillery and ammunition to Fort Henry on the Tennessee river. Here Grant, with the aid of Commodore Foote's gunboats, made his first draw in the game which opened to him the western vitals of the Confederacy. We remained during the fight and then returned to Cairo.

Fort Donaldson on the Cumberland river surrendered on February 15, 1862. I was there with the “Fanny Bullitt” on the day of the surrender, and was ordered the next day to load up and take away from the battlefield to unknown hospital accommodations the first of our seriously wounded men, two hundred of whom completed the cargo. The season was an excessively wet one and the camp and battlefield were knee-deep in yellow clay, which, kneaded into slush, made life very sloppy and disagreeable for everybody.

The Cumberland river, out of banks, with its turbid drift-laden flood, rushed along at millrace speed. Surgeons could not be spared from the battlefield, so that I had to depart without a single doctor or nurse. As there were but few hospitals thus early in the war the “Fanny's” destination was, after reporting to General Sherman at Paducah, mouth of the Tennessee, left entirely to my judgment.

On leaving Donaldson we had not much more than straightened out, laying the boat in her course down stream, when night lowered her somber mantle upon us, and a stormy, dark and ugly night it proved to be. Barney Seals, the only pilot on board, was drunk; and as through Egyptian darkness with

lightning speed we rushed down a bend or rounded a point of that crooked river, the strings of my heart would tighten until the blood receding, would all but leave it at a standstill. The intoxicated Barney's catlike eyes, illumined as they were by the fumes arising from the liquor within, enabled him, however, to bring us safely past all submerged banks and invisible death-dealing obstructions. He skillfully managed to keep the boat out of the woods and away from cornfields, and held her steadily in the marks.

As in the course of the night, for a short space, I left my post on the hurricane deck to look in upon the cabin with its hospital of wounded sufferers, I stumbled over dead bodies brought, as they had died, from the cabin to the guards of the boiler deck. In the dimly lighted interior, where two hundred men lay on blood-stained straw, and feverish moans filled the air, a horrible vision came to my distressed brain. It pictured possible shipwreck. I could see the wounded men, with broken legs and maimed arms, frantically struggle and helplessly sink to their death in the merciless waves of the turbid flood.

Horried and disheartened at my helplessness and turning to escape this nightmare, I suddenly came upon a woman, who had entered through one of the cabin doors. She was of middle age, broad and stanch of posture, and had a kindly but resolute face. Her sleeves were rolled up to the elbow, and the skirt of her calico gown was tucked back. She carried in one hand a pail of hot water, and in the other an armful of the boat's bed-sheets and pillow-slips, torn into strips for bandages. Following her were two deckhands, carrying additional pails of hot water from the boilers below.

Spellbound at the sight of a woman (the only one of her sex on board) who had come as a volunteer and unauthorized, I followed her every movement as she dressed wounds, washed the blood and grime from them, spoke encouraging words to the fever-racked sufferers, and took last parting messages for widowed wives and sorrowing mothers from dying men, until I could see a halo of golden light encircle and illumine the head of this veritable Mater Dolorosa.

Mrs. Bickerdyke, a woman of great ability and determination, came to Cairo as a volunteer nurse at the time General Grant assumed command. She was at Donaldson when it fell, and on the evening of the "Fanny's" departure for the Ohio river, unaccompanied, she had boarded the boat without orders or asking permission from anyone. In the dead of night she appeared amongst us as an angel of mercy, and quietly went to work to relieve suffering. In her efforts she appropriated everything needful, and freely called on the crew of the boat for aid, which was cheerfully given and never refused. From the time she left us at Paducah the next day until the close of the war I never lost trace of this remarkable woman.

In appreciation of her kindly efforts and helpful work among the boys in blue she soon became known as *Mother* Bickerdyke; and when General Grant discovered her eminent executive ability and courage, the lines of his army and doors of the hospitals were opened without restraint; and she was invested with such power as, from that time on, proved a menace to drunken hospital stewards and a warning to dissolute or neglectful army surgeons....

A violet streak in the east, and then a luminous mist, followed by the golden chariot of Apollo, announced that day had come at last, to dispel the horrors of the night and soothe the misery of the afflicted. The blessed light was hailed with satisfaction by all on board; and those who, with closed eyes, lay stiff and stark upon the deck, appeared peaceful and submissive to their lot as their forms emerged from the gloom.

Arrived at Paducah I promptly reported at headquarters to General Sherman, only to learn that he had no place to send me and the poor sufferers in my charge, and over a glass of brandy, in which I joined him, he deplored the utter lack of hospital accommodations....

The scanty and incomplete hospital accommodations at Cairo and Mound City, fifty miles below Paducah, had already been exhausted; and Paducah then had not a single hospital bed prepared. So General Sherman, though powerless "to order," in a kindly and helpful manner, "advised" to try Louisville, where he thought I would find relief. Without doctors or nurses, a further journey of 400 miles, climbing a six-mile current, in a river filled with heavy drift, meant a tedious trip for the boat, and offered a dolorous outlook for the wounded and suffering men, who, from this time on, had to do

without even Mother Bickerdyke. This good woman was needed in Cairo, and she reluctantly left us to our fate.

Anxious to reach sorely needed help I determined to waste no time, and having "Promptly found my resolution I quick put it in execution," by weighting down the safety valve. With steam raised to the danger point, I now strove to overcome the heavy current of the swollen river.

Arrived at Shawneetown, where everybody knew me, I sent for some of the women and leading business men of the place, and after having told my tale of woe, I was partially relieved. Under the stimulus of their charitable and patriotic impulses all the Illinois men on board were taken ashore.

At Henderson, Kentucky, forty-five miles farther up the river, those citizens of the prosperous little city who were loyal to the Union cause, took what few Kentuckians I had.

At Evansville the authorities took all my Indiana men ashore, where, at the hands of the good women of the place and other patriotic citizens, sorely needed attention was furnished in kindly abundance...

At Louisville I found no difficulty from lack of hospital accommodations. On account of the extraordinary height of the river, however, no landing could be effected until, with much difficulty, I succeeded in sticking the boat's nose into Fourth street, a long ways up among the stores and offices of the city. Here we unloaded the last of our human freight into ambulances and upon spring wagons.

Now that the trip was ended, an inspection showed the condition of the cabin to be that of an abattoir after a hard day's killing. Every stanchion and bulkhead was smeared with human blood, and the boat's decks gave evidence of the abundant loss of the life-giving fluid on the spot where suffering humanity had breathed its last.

On returning to Cairo I was kept on waiting orders, and, like Mahomet's coffin, was hung up until the latter part of March. Then we were ordered up the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing with guns and ammunition. After discharging cargo, the "Fanny" was utilized by General Grant, up to the time of the battle of Shiloh, as a ferry between Pittsburg Landing and headquarters at Savannah, where Mr. White, one of my engineers, had two of his fingers shot away by the bursting of a rebel shell. During the days that the battle of Pittsburg Landing was being fought, and it rained bullets, we, under orders and in sight, lay at the landing sheltered from hostile shot by the protecting river bank....

At about the time that Albert Sidney Johnson, the commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces, met his doom in a nearby gully close to our landing, my pilot, Barney Seals, who enjoyed a thirst that was a pippin, was caught, while drunk, stealing chickens from a coop on a neighboring steamer and put in durance vile. I did not intercede in his behalf but left him to sweat in the guardhouse until we were ordered away and the scalawag's services were again needed. Pilots at this time were much in demand, and this insured Barney, in spite of the incorrigible whisky habit, a steady and well-paid job.

Soon after our return to the mouth of the Ohio, together with other transports, and convoyed by United States gunboats, we were dispatched into the heart of the Confederacy, as far south as the mouth of the Yazoo river, just above Vicksburg, where, under a flag of truce, an exchange of prisoners was effected with Confederate States Commissioner Oulds....

By the time our mission had been completed, and the exchanged boys in blue had been brought back, landed and furloughed at Cairo, General Curtis had brought his army through Arkansas to the Mississippi river and gone into camp near Helena. Quartermasters' stores and commissary supplies for his army had accumulated in such quantity at Cairo, that the "Fanny's" share of them made her fairly stagger and drag the guards in the water as I once more turned her head down stream towards the shores of Arkansas.

After arrival at Helena and during a prolonged stay there, I spent much time with the staff and line officers of Generals Curtis and Osterhaus, some of whom I had known in civil life in St. Louis....

During the operations of the Union forces in the southwest, steamboats were of great importance on the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. While their usefulness was completely paralyzed at the beginning of the war, this large fleet of watercraft afterwards became the main factor in

the transportation of troops and the carrying of ammunition, quartermasters' supplies and army stores. The "Fanny," one of this fleet, utilized for all sorts of service, was frequently sent into out-of-the-way localities, where she was exposed to ambushes from hostile batteries and volleys from the enemy's musketry. From these dangers we strove to protect ourselves by barricading the boilers of the boat with hay and cotton bales and by surrounding the pilot house with boiler iron; and, with the exception of slight wounds received by two of the crew, we succeeded fairly well in protecting life and limb.

My boat had now unremittingly been at work for nigh unto two years, during which time, repairing out of the question, absolutely nothing had been done to offset the heavy abuse and hard knocks she had endured. Much of the nosing around the guards and outriggers was worn off. The gallows frame supporting the starboard wheel, out of plumb, had an ominous leaning outward; and the wheel houses and bulkheads full of bullet holes, with the upper works badly dilapidated, had given her the appearance of a lopsided hobo, staggering under a heavy jag.

Steamboats by this time had again come into demand, but the "Fanny's" scanty earnings up to then were quite insufficient to pay for docking her and cover the large expense of giving the boat and machinery the thorough overhauling they needed. I therefore was glad to find a party who would buy. I consequently sold, and the purchaser immediately went to work on repairs which, when completed, he found had run up to the neat little sum of forty thousand dollars....

Source: Julius Augustus Lemcke, *Reminiscences of an Indianian, From the Sassafras Log Behind the Barn in Posey County to Broader Fields* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1905), 148-169 [abbr.] A native of Hamburg, Germany, Lemcke (1832-1911) served as Indiana State Treasurer from 1887-91.

17. INDIANA MEDAL OF HONOR RECIPIENT

James Cox



Frederick Wilhelm Fout, wearing a Grand Army of the Republic medal above the heart, was awarded the Medal of Honor in 1896 for his personal conduct during the Union defeat at Harper's Ferry, Virginia in September 1862. Following the war, Fout constructed homes in Franklin and Indianapolis, Indiana that are in use today. The Fout Cottage stands at 536 East New York Street in Indianapolis. Image from James Cox, *Old and New St. Louis: A Concise History of the Metropolis of the West and Southwest* (1894), 408.

Frederick W. Fout, the successful claim and pension attorney, was born 30 October 1839, in the little town of Meissen, near Buckeburg, Germany. His mother was Sophia (Spannuth) Fout, and his father, Frederick Wilhelm, was the village blacksmith of the little town of Meissen. His parents were thrifty and economical, and fully comprehending the benefits a good education confers, kept the boy in steady attendance at the school of his native village, which he left at the age of fifteen to go out in the world and seek his fortune. Sailing for America, his journey found an ending at New Palestine [Hancock County], Indiana, where an uncle lived, and with whom he made his home. There he continued his studies until he determined to become altogether independent, and

engaged himself to a carpenter to learn the trade. After his apprenticeship was completed, he worked at

his trade for a while, but aspiring to a higher calling and a better education, he temporarily laid aside his saw and plane to enter Franklin Academy, Indiana. This was in 1859, and he attended school in winter and returned to his carpenter work in summer, until the spring of 1861, which proved a momentous epoch in his life, as it did in the lives of thousands of other Americans.

He was filled with an intense patriotism for his adopted country's cause, and at the very beginning of the war, or in April, 1861, and enlisted at Indianapolis as private in Company I, Seventh Indiana Infantry. The regiment participated in the battles of Philippi, Laurel Hill and Carrick Fort, all in West Virginia, but as the men had only enlisted for three months, in August they were ordered back to Indianapolis and mustered out. But young Fout had enlisted in the beginning with determined and patriotic motives, which were not in the least abated by the service he had seen, and he accordingly at once re-enlisted in an artillery regiment. The latter was broken up by internal dissensions, but each battery entered the service as an independent organization.

In January, 1862, Mr. Fout was made orderly sergeant of the Fifteenth Indiana Independent Battery, and in August [sic, October] of the same year was promoted to a second lieutenancy for gallant service. In January, 1864, he was made first lieutenant, and after that time was almost continuously in command of the battery, which saw almost constant fighting under Generals McClelland, Miles, Burnside, Schofield, Sherman and Cox; and it may be mentioned incidentally that it was one of Lieutenant Fout's guns that threw the first shell into Atlanta. In June, 1865, the lieutenant and his battery were mustered out at Indianapolis, its commander having served from the first to the last month of the entire war.

Not having seen his parents for almost a dozen years, soon after the declaration of peace determined to visit them and sailed for the fatherland. He remained there but a short time, but long enough to form a tender attachment for Miss Mathilda C. Brandt, the daughter of his old school-master, who was a child four years old when he left home. The young lady reciprocated, and in 1866 came to New York, and on August 27th, in that city, they were married.

After the honeymoon the young couple went to Indianapolis, where Mr. Fout, with others became interested in the glass manufacturing business, their plant being at the time the first and only one in the West [Indiana Glass Works.] After a number of years he severed his connection with the glass company, and subsequently engaged in various commercial enterprises, meeting with success in some and reverses and others. In 1881 he came to St. Louis, and for seven years was considered by the Missouri Glass Company one of its most valuable traveling salesman. He resigned because the work kept him too much away from home. Surveying the field after his resignation, he decided to go into the claim and pension business. He fitted himself therefor, was admitted to practice before the government departments at Washington, and is now the head of one of the most extensive and successful pension and claim businesses in the West. In addition to his large practice he has, of late years, given considerable attention to building, and in the course of three years has enriched the city of St. Louis with some of the finest and most modern residences to be seen in the western part of the city....

[Editor's Note: It was not until decades after the war that Frederick Fout received the long overdue recognition for his gallant conduct during the siege of Harper's Ferry, Virginia in September 1862. During that battle, 40,000 troops under Major General "Stonewall" Jackson surrounded the Union garrison of 12,520 where Fout was serving as an orderly sergeant in Captain John C. H. von Sehlen's 15th Indiana Battery of six iron rifled three-inch pieces located in the center of the Yankee line. The Confederate noose tightened around the Union position over a five-day period, and for over two and a half days, the defenders were engaged in a continuous artillery duel with the Rebels while 100,000 troops of General George McClellan's Army of the Potomac remained motionless on the opposite side of the river. Toward the end of the engagement, Fout returned to his battery after a visit to headquarters to discover that the guns had been abandoned under orders from a lieutenant of the Thirty-ninth New York Infantry (Garibaldi Guard). He immediately gathered enough of a gun crew to man one gun, commenced firing on Confederate artillery positions and organized a second gun crew. Fout directed

the fire until the guns were rendered useless from lack of ammunition. On November 2, 1896, he was awarded the Nation's highest honor for his conduct during the siege. The Medal of Honor citation notes that Frederick Wilhelm Fout "voluntarily gathered the men of the battery together, remanned the guns, which had been ordered abandoned by an officer, opened fire, and kept up the same on the enemy until after the surrender." Two weeks after the battle he was promoted to second lieutenant, and he served as an officer to war's end. Fout died in 1905 and was buried in a family plot at the historic Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis, Missouri. Only a simple headstone bearing the surname marks the graves of the Fout family.]

Source: James Cox, *Old and New St. Louis: A Concise History of The Metropolis of The West and Southwest, With A Review Of Its Present Greatness and Immediate Prospects*, (St. Louis: Central Biographical Publishing Company, 1894), 408.

18. FARMER JOHANN HEINRICH ZUR OEVESTE WRITES TO GERMANY
ABOUT THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFLICT
Antonius Holtmann, (ed.)

Bartholomew Co., White Creek, April 18, 1861

Dear Brother,

Now I want to tell you a little bit about the present situation in this country. There is lots going on, but little that is good. Since the last presidential election it almost seems as if the Union can no longer be held together. Six slave states have already seceded from it, and others may soon follow. The new President, Abraham Lincoln [sic], a Republican, is against slavery or at least against its further expansion into the new territories. The South, or the slave states, are not agreed to this. The South says the government wants to curtail their rights and properties and put their life at risk. The North maintains that the South has no legal basis to secede from the Union. The South has already elected its own president and doesn't want to have anything to do anymore with the Federal Government. To be sure, the government still has troops in the forts, and Congress is still in session to come up with a peaceful solution, but so far nothing has been achieved. In a word, what the South wants, the North doesn't, and what the North wants, the South doesn't.

On both sides, too, preparations for war are being made and people fear that a civil war could start any day. Trade is quite paralyzed already and most big factories have stopped production, putting thousands of people on the street, esp. in the cities.

Our country--blossoming so quickly due to massive immigration and peaceful trade with almost all nations of the world--will perhaps get a heavy blow but not from the outside; no, we have no enemies on the outside, we have friendly relations with almost all nations... But it seems that the word of Christ is applicable here. A nation that loses its unity becomes a wasteland, and houses will fall upon each other ["A house divided cannot stand"]. Let me end this by adding: affluence, the greatest wickedness, the total separation from God in this country--all of this will, sooner rather than later, bring God's judgment.

But the Lord, who guides the hearts of men like the waters of brooks, will also here be still in control... (79-81)

Bartholomew Co., White Creek, April 30, 1863

Dear Brother,

I want to tell you a little bit how things are going here. First, the war is continuing and God alone knows when peace will return. Peace proposals have been made, but none with any success. On account of the bad road conditions in the winter time, no big battles have been fought during the last months, only small ones, but many of those, on land and water. One can hardly think that it will go on much longer. For wherever the big armies fight each other, the plow doesn't meet the ground anymore, the young men are either getting killed or if they don't lose their lives in battle they die from diseases or are sent home sick. Most young men from our area who, last summer, went to war for 1 or 2 years are already dead. So far, most were still volunteers, but now they are no longer getting any volunteers. Conscription was already decided in the last Congress: every citizen, age 18 to 45, is subject to compulsory military service, and I hear that selective draft will commence in May for another 200,000 men to fill the regiments again. At the same time, there is also the fear that bloodshed could occur, because in our state as well as in Ohio and Illinois and elsewhere certain organizations have been formed which are totally opposed to the government. But He who sits above us all and reigns will, in the end, bring about a good solution.

Apparently, the bloody war has already taken 300,000 to 400,000 lives in the North alone, and in the South perhaps no less. Last fall there were several big battles where 10,000 to 20,000 were killed. All hospitals are full of sick and wounded soldiers, and at some places there are not enough people to keep good farming going... (84-86)

Bartholomy Co., White Creek, Nov.10, 1863

Dear Brother,

Unfortunately, the war is still going on, but here, thank God, we have been spared so far. There is talk about peace all right, but so far in vain. It seems as if in recent days victory has been more on the Northern side, but the South will never give up. The immense loss of human lives has now resulted in a shortage of people; workers of all kinds have become very expensive.

Our president has again called for more troops. This means another 300,000 must serve. This is now the fifth levy within 2 1/2 years, which raises the number to 1,800,000. The South called nearly a million into service and for the length of the war. This adds up to a total of nearly 3 million in a time span of 2 1/2 years and from a population of 30 million, counting old and young, women and children in that figure. I believe this is more than our country can bear for another year; after all, that's one tenth of our total population... (89)

Your loving brother,

J.H. zur Oeveste

Source: Antonius Holtmann, *Ferner thue ich euch zu wissen... Die Briefe des Johann Heinrich zur Oeveste aus Amerika 1834-1876* (1995), 79-81; 84-86; 89 [abbr.]; trans. by Eberhard Reichmann. Zur Oeveste took part of his information from the German-language *Welt-Bote* (World Messenger), a weekly paper he read in addition to *Der Lutheraner* (The Lutheran). The American edition of his letters is in preparation; most of them have been donated to the Bartholomew County (IN) Historical Society; additional letters were found at the former homestead of the Zur Oevestes in northwest Germany.

19. LETTER FROM HUNTINGBURG: CHRISTINA KATTERHENRY'S CHRISTIAN
ACCEPTANCE OF DEATH IN THE FAMILY.

Paul F. Roller (ed.)

Huntingburg, November 25, 1861

Dear Uncle and Aunt, Cousins and Nieces!

Since I wrote you the last letter another change has occurred in our family. On the 16th of Sept. of last year a little son was given us by the Lord, for which gift we were truly thankful. We brought him to the Lord in holy baptism, and he received the name John Ernest. He grew up, and blossomed as a tender flower in our family garden, and soon became the darling of the whole family. But for only one year and one month were we allowed to enjoy his company before the Lord again called him back to Himself. After he had been ill scarcely two days he died of a throat ailment to which during the last year many children have succumbed--on the 16th of Oct., exactly the same date as when three years before our Henry, a little son of four-and-a-half years, departed from us. That is now the fourth of our dear children that we have had to witness falling into the cold arms of Death and have had to put to sleep in the cool earth, where they now peacefully rest, awaiting the glorious morning of the Resurrection.

It did indeed cause pain to separate ourselves from them, yet it was a comfort for us to recognize the hand that had given us the deep, deep wounds. This was the same as that one stretched out on the Cross that one day will awaken all the dead, that has carried so many quickly across.

Oh, he who knows that hand will nevermore despair even though that which is most precious is carried to the grave.

We now still have two children living, of whom the younger (named Frederick) will on the first of January be four years old, and the other, (named William) will be ten years old Jan. 13. As of now we are all of us quite well and have, insofar as earthly considerations are concerned, no deficiency to complain about. We have all that we need and can well say that we are not worthy of all the good that the Lord, as regards both body and soul, bestows upon us. May we not forget to do good and share with others, for such offerings please God well.

19.1 CHRISTINA KATTERHENRY LOOKS AT THE CIVIL WAR (1861)

Paul F. Roller (ed.)

Huntingburg, November 25, 1861

Dear Uncle and Aunt, Cousins and Nieces:

All of the people around here are not as fortunate as we up to now have been, for I believe that in the large cities Poverty and Distress prevail, because of the terrible Civil War that has broken out. What course it will take no one up to the present knows. We have in our neighborhood up to now had no pressure from it, except that many of the sons of our acquaintances and relatives have gone into the War. Even the son of my brother-in-law, William Katterhenry, is in it. The sons of my sister also had enough self-denial in regard to their lives to offer them, if need be, for the precious freedom and honor of the Fatherland. And since they are Christian youths they did not want to go against the wishes of their parents and are therefore still here.

Up to now there have been many volunteers. Because this is a free country they wish to fight it through of their own free will. Many men have abandoned their wives and children and gone away. Should the war continue for a long time it may yet come to pass that such as have so far held back will nevertheless have to go. God alone knows what the future will bring.

That our country very well needs a chastening every humble and sincere Christian must acknowledge. For while God was blessing us so greatly as regards worldly matters, Pride and Vanity took the upper hand. Yes, even the Christians who should certainly shine as a light "in the midst of a

crooked and perverse nation” began to put themselves on an even footing with the worldly. Not only that [the apathy of Christians], but also the abominable traffic in human beings has been carried on too wickedly and the slaves have been too terribly oppressed, and I believe nothing else than that God has heard their screams and will free them, as the Children of Israel out of Egypt. I hope that the American nation, along with us, will soon humble itself under the mighty hand of God and confess its sins and do penance for its transgressions, so that God may withdraw His hand. That we may all together, cleansed and reformed, go forth from this crucible of misery is my wish and prayer. “The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.”

And now, dear friends, how then do things look to you? Are you still, all of you, among the living and well, and well contented? I hope you are. I have heard that you have married Herman William. I do not know the new niece; her parents I believe I have known. But can't remember much more about this. I wish you much happiness and God's rich blessing in your married state. If you have God ever before your eyes and in your heart, then it will go well with you throughout time and eternity, for a very great joy in God is useful in all things and holds promise for this and the future life.

And now something more directed to you, dear Uncle and Aunt, this being perhaps the last time that I can write you; for, as I have noted in your writing you are already 70 years old, and will perhaps soon have ended your pilgrim journey, the closing time of your life not far away. I would think you might rejoice that you are so near the goal where you may enter into the rest that the Lord has promised his people, and where the Lamb of God Himself will minister unto you and lead you to the spring of living waters, and remove all tears of sadness from your eyes. For you have surely with tears in eyes sometimes trod your own Pilgrim path, especially as when it led you to where you stood beside the graves of your loved ones, something you have no doubt often had to do. But how it will reward the soul when they will approach you on Canaan's shore, and welcome you! Then all sorrow will be forgotten, happiness and bliss will take possession of you, and pain and sighs will flee from you. Yet it may yet turn out that I will reach the Heavenly Home sooner than you. For dying is an unavoidable conclusion; the young one can succumb to it, the old one must (*Denn Sterben ist ein fester Schluss, der Junge kann, der Alte muss*). Should this prove to be the case then I shall await you there; should you, however, precede me, then await me there. You should also soon be witnessing my going into Heaven to be with you. Through God's grace I have my hope, for my hope is now still a living one, never turning away from the Lord (*mein Hoffen ist jetzt noch lebendig, von Jesu unabwendig*). He is still my Comfort and Light; how I shall with a thousand joys praise Him in the home up there. For as long as I believe I shall not fall.

I should extend to you greetings from my Aunt Maria (along) with the message that her husband, my Uncle William, died this summer. I believe you have already heard. He had in the last years suffered much from the infirmities of old age. He was so stiff that he could often not help himself, but he was notwithstanding almost always contented with things as he found them. His daughter and son-in-law were also very good to him, and were resigned to everything that involved his care. Near the end of his life he was also not very ill.

He slept almost constantly for several days and at last slept his life away without having a death struggle. He closed his eyes himself, in eternal youth again to open them on that [future] Resurrection morn. One can truthfully say of him that he was confident [of his salvation] at time of death. When a friend asked him a few days before the end how it was with him he said, “Praise God, I'm on my way to Canaan.” His wife and daughter still weep much because of him, and my aunt is glad the sun of her own life will soon be setting, because she has a steadfast hope, along with all those who have preceded her into eternity to praise the Lord, for all the wonderful paths along which He has led her. As earthly matters go it goes well with them.

They have three children, a son and two daughters. It would be appreciated if you were to be so good as to extend greetings from them to all of your relatives and acquaintances, and to tell these that

my aunt still thinks often of you, and also longingly hopes and wishes one day to meet all of you again, before the throne of God. For as the poet says:

The friend will meet his friends again
At the throne of God.
The husband will be with his wife,
The brother with his brother.
The mother she'll embrace her
child where all the pious souls are found
in the City of God together.
'Hallelujah'

I would gladly write more, but the paper again becomes full too soon for me. Greetings also to all of my relatives and friends when you see them. And please write us a little letter soon in return, telling how it still goes with you, and do not follow my example of waiting a year before you reply to us. Herewith I close, and commend you to God's faithful guidance. Farewell.

Written by your loving niece and friend,
Christina Katterhenry

Editor's Note: This interesting letter indicates the continuing relationship that existed between immigrants to America and their kinfolk in Europe. It also illustrates a philosophical-religious position, a Weltanschauung, which is rare today. The translator and editor is Paul F. Roller of Berkeley, California. His mother, Mary Christina Roller, wrote a fascinating article about the family entitled "Father Made Brick," *Indiana History Bulletin*, July 1954, vol. XXXI, no. 7, 123-128.

20. FROM A DUBOIS COUNTY VOLUNTEER TO THE *JASPER COURIER*.

Lillian Doan (ed.)

October 23, 1861

Camp Hamilton, Md., Oct.14, 1861

MR. EDITOR: It gave me pleasure last mail to receive letters from home, and I am glad to hear that the war fever is getting so high in old Dubois. Send the boys along, the more the merrier, and the sooner we shall be through giving blue pills to the Secesh [Secessionists]. The nights are getting somewhat cold in this country--we had some frost last night--but the days are pleasant. We expect to leave here soon for Virginia, and you may look out for glorious news from the 27th Regiment if we meet the enemy.

The 27th is the glory of the world; our Col. is a Napoleon himself. Do the people at home think the war is a joke now, or is it in earnest? I am of the opinion it is in earnest. Tell the boys who have the fever so high to come ahead; we can cool them down in 3 nights by giving them a bed on the ground, where the mud is about 4 inches deep, and a few nice crackers for breakfast, and work it off with rice soup for dinner.

We commence drilling at daylight, and drill till 8 o'clock, when we take crackers and drill till 12, then comes soup, after which we drill until sunset. I tell you there is no mistake in our bravery, and I think by the time we meet the enemy, we will be so hungry as to become mad enough not to leave a grease spot.

The eastern men can do the talking and bragging, but they want Hoosiers to do the fighting, and we intend to do it. Our glorious State shall not go 2nd in rank, but 1st. I am happy to hail from Indiana, and all Indianians are proud of their State. Give my love to inquiring friends.

Yours, etc.,
Ferdinand Grass

Source: From the files of the late Lillian Doane, historian of the *Jasper Courier*.

21. SURGEON MAGNUS BRUCKER WRITES TO HIS WIFE

Pittsburgh 4 miles in the Woods
April 10, 1862

Dear Wife,

At last, a little time on hand for writing. You probably heard of the bloody battle. The details of which are better taken from the newspaper.

My Regiment lost 8 men and 42 were wounded.

This Monday the enemy surrounded my hospital 3 times. Our wounded were all taken down to the river.

The 32nd Rgt. with Col. Willich lost some 300 dead and wounded. I treated a lot of them. Capt. Bähr [Behr] and his Morton Battery lost all but one of their cannons. Bähr [Behr] himself is dead. I saw Lt.Col. [John] Gerber [from Madison] of the 24th Regiment a half an hour before his death [Battle of Shiloh]. Col. [James C.] Veach, 25th Indiana is slightly wounded.

Of people from our neighborhood I could only find out about Pda. Williams. He is wounded, twice at his arm and he had a grazing shot at his belly. I think young Wittmann is dead. You can't get any exact figures since the battlefield is about 6 miles in length, and all of it strewn with the dead. According to our records, I dressed about 400 men. We figure on about 10,000 to 12,000 dead and wounded. Our division put up a brilliant fight, esp. our Brig. Gen. Wallace. On Monday we formed the right wing. Our brigade consists of: 23rd Ind., 11th Ind., 1st Nebraska, 58th Ohio, and Capt. Thompson's Battery [9th Indiana]. I treated the first wounded soldier, a man from 1st Nebraska. The bombs flew and hissed above my head. Small arms fire could be heard all day long, like hail falling on a tin roof. Fighting--on both sides--took place with immense tenacity. We kept the battlefield with the help of Gen. Buell, but it seems to me our losses were as heavy as the enemy's. Our Colonel fights like the devil. Our Lt. Col. Anthony had his horse shot under him. I don't know if this letter gets to you, but I hope you are in good health.

Greetings to all my friends.

Take care!
M. Brucker, Surgeon
23rd Regt. Ind. Volt. Col. Anderson
Lew Wallace Brigade. Tennessee

Editor's Note: Dr. Brucker was born in Haslach in the Black Forest of south-western Germany. The 23rd Indiana was organized at New Albany, Indiana, and mustered in for three years, with a conduct in the field of "my unqualified admiration" (Col. J.M. Thayer, 1st Nebraska).

Source: This is one of 115 Brucker letters and other materials deposited at the Indiana Historical Society. Translated by Eberhard Reichmann.

22. COLONEL JOHN RHEINLANDER OF EVANSVILLE

Colonel John Rheinlander, secretary and treasurer of the People's Savings Bank, has achieved an honorable record as citizen and soldier. He was born 26 April 1828 in the city of Heiligenstadt, Germany. His parents, Godfried Rheinlander and wife, emigrated from Germany to this country in 1844. A year later, they reached Evansville, having sojourned for a time at Cincinnati, Ohio. They were respectable people, with the simple ways and the industrious habits of the pioneers of this section. The early training of Col. Rheinlander was obtained in schools of his native country. Soon after reaching this city and at the very commencement of his young manhood, he enlisted in the volunteer armies of the United States to assist in the campaign against Mexico. Going to the front he rendered efficient service. When the civil war broke out, he raised a company—B of the Twenty-fifth Indiana Infantry—and at its organization was commissioned captain. Nine months later, his valiant and faithful service won him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which he held until mustered out in the fall of 1864. In the battle of Hatchie River, Tennessee, he received a gunshot wound to the right thigh and for a time was seriously disabled. His army record is lustrous with heroism and patriotism. As a business man he has been enterprising and industrious. He began as a cigar manufacturer and for many years continued in that business successfully. His industry and good management constantly increased his business, and his integrity was always manifest in his dealings with his customers and employees. He has served the public in many important relations, notably as county commissioner and county treasurer. In 1873 he was made trustee and director of the savings bank, which important trust he continues to execute. In 1888 he was called to preside as chief executive of the bank.... Intelligent, manly and modest, he has attained in an enviable position in every relation of life. He has been married three times....

22.1 RHEINLANDER MILITARY HISTORY

The first infantry regiment that went to the front as a distinctively Evansville organization was the Twenty-fifth. It was being raised at Evansville at the same time General Hovey was raising the Twenty-fourth; was organized at that place July 17, and mustered into the United States service for three years, on the 19th of August, 1861. Among its field and staff officers, high in rank, were the citizens of Evansville; two of its companies were composed of Vanderburgh county men; and the entire regiment was made up of volunteers from the counties in the First congressional district....

Colonel John Rheinlander entered the service as captain of Company B; was promoted major April 30, 1862, and lieutenant colonel, October 18, 1862. The military achievements of Col. Rheinlander form a brilliant chapter in his history. When war was declared against Mexico, he enlisted as a private in Company E., Second Kentucky infantry, and went through the campaign under Taylor. By a detail of volunteers, he was attached to the First Kentucky infantry, and was in the battle at Monterey. His own regiment—he being with it—participated in the decisive battle at Buena Vista, and in that terrible engagement lost both of its commanding officers, Col. McKee and Lieut. Col. Henry Clay. In the



John Rheinlander personally organized men of Evansville and Vanderburgh County into what became Company B, 25th Indiana. He survived the war to father seven children. Photo from *History of Vanderburgh County*, 496.

war of 1861 Col. Rheinlander again performed a gallant part. At Fort Donelson, on the first day of the battle, he and Capt. Saltzman were sent forward by Col. Veatch to deploy as skirmishers. They advanced upon the enemy's works, and taking position on a hill protected the body of the regiment from the enemy's rifle pits and silenced a six-pounder field piece which was brought to bear on its flank. On the third day of the battle Capt. Rheinlander's company was the first to scale the wall and enter the enemy's works, but having no flag, the Second Iowa men were the first to set up a banner. At Shiloh, Capt. Rheinlander's company was continually kept skirmishing from the beginning of the first day's battle until about the time that Gen. Prentiss was captured. By the close proximity of his company to Gen. Prentiss, Capt. Rheinlander afforded some five or six hundred men an opportunity of escape, and had he known who they were, he could have saved from capture the entire command of Prentiss. He participated in the siege of Corinth, having been promoted to the rank of major for gallantry and efficient service. Soon thereafter, he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. At Hatchie's Run, with four companies of the Twenty-fifth Indiana, Col. Rheinlander charged the enemy, drove him back, engaged him in line, and finally completely routed him. There he was seriously wounded in the right thigh, and for some time was not able to be with his command. Returning, he led his command on the march to Atlanta, and took a conspicuous part in the battles of that illustrious campaign. It was only when he became so disabled that he could not mount a horse that he resigned on account of the disability. His military career, bright and honorable in all its parts, ended by the acceptance of his resignation, August 18, 1864.

Source: *History of Vanderburgh County, Indiana* (Madison, Wisconsin: Brant & Fuller, 1889), Banks—Biographical, 216-217 and Military History, 494-497.

23. THE LOST AMERICAN DREAM OF IMMIGRANT THEODOR HEINRICH BRANDES *Antonius Holtmann* (ed.)

The 33-year-old Brandes arrived in America in 1853, found work in Cincinnati and decided to start farming in Indiana's German area of Oldenburg. Although he looked at war as being an utter humbug, in 1862 he enlisted in the Union Army voluntarily and as a substitute for a wealthier farm heir less than half his age. The rewards for such military service, he had hoped, would help him reach his dream: a good farm and a modest life in peace for his family.

His granddaughter, Emma Wallpe of Oldenburg, kept the letters he wrote. Their original versions reveal his problem with spelling in both German and, even more so, in English, which may account for the fact that he didn't get all the letters his wife sent to this shaky return address: "83te indiende Regement, Cumni D Keppen Lemmel."

Brandes, serving under Capt. John Lemmel in Company D of the 83rd Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment, saw action all the way to the siege of Vicksburg. Disease took his life, June 20 or 21, 1862, four weeks before he would have been honorably discharged.

Jan. 13 [1863]

Oh my dear Wife,

I am writing to tell you and my dear friend Po[h]lman[n] that I am still fine. On the 28th [of Dec.] we advanced to Wissborg [Vicksburg] and we were under fire for 3 days and 3 nights, and in 5 hours of heavy fighting, millions of bullets flew over my head. But our dear Lord spared me. I called upon the Most Holy Trinity, Mary, my guardian angel and all the saints in heaven. They protected me. My words and thoughts were: "Jesus, I am Thine in life, Jesus, I am Thine in death." From there we moved to Arkansas on Jan. 10, and we captured the fort. The battle lasted 4 hours, and we took 8,000 prisoners. It is beyond description how awful everything looked with all the dead, wounded and

crippled. Our Regiment, the 83rd, captured the Rebel flag. We were the most courageous in the field and got the highest commendation. Our Regiment lost 18 men, dead and wounded, at Vicksburg, and in the second battle in Arkansas we had a loss of 20 killed and 8 wounded. We don't know where we will be headed next.

My dear wife, please have a Holy Mass read for me at church and a prayer. You are in my thoughts and love day and night, my dear wife and my dear 3 children.

What a miserable life this was in the last 3 weeks, it is beyond words. Awful food and drink, lying and standing in swampy grounds, and little sleep for 3 weeks. Do pray earnestly for me so I may come home again safely...

It is as cold here as in the north. Day and night we are lying in snow and in wet swampy grounds. Our health can't take that much longer. I beg you, write again soon.

Heinrich Brandes

March 28 [1863]

Dear Pohlman,

We just returned from a reconnaissance patrol 40 miles from Vicksburg searching big plantations for Southern brethren. All the Negroes that were there we took with us, 'cause Abraham Lincoln is a nigger-friend. May God have mercy upon the poor land of America. We were gone 11 days, 't was terrible. We had to march through bad terrain and more than knee-deep in water. The life we must lead here is a sad one.

The Negroes are always as good as we are who have been drafted. Many officers, who get big pay and have but little to do, are desirous of prolonging and keeping up the war until all the money is gone, or until they have got it all in their pockets, and that's going to ruin good old America...

We've served almost 6 months and haven't gotten a cent. I have 75 dollars coming.

Please write again soon. 4 other Oldenburgers are still here with me: Thedor Mormann, Bernard Hölscher, Bernard Brune, Heinrich Winrich.

Give my love to my wife and children.

Heinrich Brandes

June 7 [1863]

Dear Wife,

I must let you know that I am not feeling good. I've got it in my legs and I'm coughing. But food still tastes pretty good.

I am now away from the Regiment and in the camp where we were last winter. Our Regiment is now positioned 2 miles from Vicksburg. It is hard to conquer Vicksburg. We've been battling now for 4 weeks in this blasted heat. What an awful fate for us and the South that so many thousands are getting butchered. If we should be so lucky that Vicksburg falls into our hands, we would be saved. You can imagine that time passes slowly between the 7th and the 8th in this camp where I am now. All here are either wounded or sick.

I'll be staying here until I'm back to health. Then my tour of duty should also near its end, which is something I'm longing for with all my heart. For you can give me all of America, but I'll never go by the soldiers again. After all, what's there with money as compared to health and life. I really got knocked around here up to this hour. But I took refuge in the Lord, and He has helped me through it all. I pray day and night that our dear Father in heaven might protect and keep me. I think you should do likewise. For it will all soon be over. I'll have tears in my eyes when I see you again. And that will end my troubles and my misery. Let me add that the Southerners wanted to take our field hospital by surprise, between the 7th and the 8th, and take us prisoners. Still, it had caused great commotion at the camp.

The heat here is terrible; you can hardly cope with it. All of us still alive here have lost a good deal of our health.

Please write to me again.

Greetings, my dear Wife and my dear children and my dear Pohlman friends. I shall see you again soon.

H Brandes

Source: Antonius Holtmann, *A Lost American Dream. Civil War Letters (1862/63) of Immigrant Theodor Heinrich Brandes in Historical Contexts* (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 2005), 64-66; 77-78; 86-88. American edition, trans. by Eberhard Reichmann. Original German edition: "Für Gans America Gehe ich nich Wieder Bei die Solldaten": *Briefe des Ochtruper Auswanderers Theodor Heinrich Brandes aus dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg 1862/63* (1999).

24. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN THE CIVIL WAR

John Christian Wenger

Because Mennonites, along with German Baptists (Church of the Brethren), the Society of Friends (Quakers), and Brethren in Christ (River Brethren), refused on grounds of conscience to take human life, the coming of the Civil War brought a certain amount of social pressure and perhaps misunderstanding upon the so-called peace churches. It is interesting to leaf through *The Times*, Goshen, Indiana, for the early days of the Civil War to watch developments. In May 1861, Goshen citizens subscribed \$3,000 in one week for the families of Northern volunteers who were serving in the Civil War; 16 men each gave \$100 toward this amount. The 19 September issue reported that on 12 August 1861, President Lincoln had designated 26 September 1861, as a national day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. *The Times*, for 26 June 1862, reported that as of the 18th of June, 60,000 Indiana men had volunteered for service in the Union Army. In June 1862, the governors of the Northern states invited Lincoln to "call upon the several numbers of states for such numbers of men as may be required" to win the war (*The Times*, 10 July 1862). On 1 July, Lincoln responded by calling for an additional 300,000 men. The 17 July 1862 *Times* reported that Indiana's quota was 16,000 men.

Finally, on 10 September 1862, the paper gave attention to the question of "those who are conscientiously opposed to bearing arms." It was explained that the quota of soldiers for each township will be fixed by the authorities at Indianapolis. Those who have conscientious objections will be excused from military service but compelled to pay a fee of \$200. The government would then use the money so paid to hire a substitute.

How many objectors registered? *The Times* (11 September 1862) indicated that for the 16 Elkhart townships plus the Goshen and Elkhart Corporations Co. 3,483 men had been enrolled of which 235 were "conscientious exempts."

The editor of *The Times* pleaded, "Let Elkhart Co. be saved from the draft" (21 September 1862). It was his plea that the quotas should be filled by volunteers. J.P. Siddall, in charge of raising the quotas for Indiana, reported in *The Times* (24 September 1862) that if there were enough volunteers in a given township no draft would be made there, and 6,000 men were needed in Indiana to prevent a state draft. On 2 October, *The Times* wrote that the draft would be made in the Elkhart County Courthouse in Goshen. The names of all citizens liable for the draft were to be placed into a box, and a blindfolded person was to draw out slips until the quota was met.

J.P. Siddall, "General Commissioner," explained the procedures to be followed as to conscientious exempts: "Our State Constitution exempts this class of persons from military service, but provides that they shall pay an equivalent for exemption." The sum of \$200 had been fixed by the

Secretary of War. Siddall also reported that at that date there were in the State of Indiana 3,169 conscientious exempts between the ages of 18 and 45.

So serious was the national emergency that 40 percent of the male citizenry of this age bracket in Indiana needed to be drafted. Siddall commented: "I have tried to justice to the 3,169 conscientious, without infringing on the rights of the 273,000 citizens of Indiana who are on the militia roll, and who are either in the service or liable at any time to be called on to perform military duty."

The Times (9 October 1862) published a list of 97 conscientious exempts who were required to pay the \$200 fee. It is impossible to ascertain which names were Amish, German Baptist, and Mennonite. By August 1864 the conscientious exempts' fee was \$300. Later on it was raised to \$400. Because David Burkholder was not yet a member of the church he had to hire a substitute in the fall of 1864, which cost him \$600.00. A number of young men from Mennonite families, perhaps most of who were not yet members of the church, entered the Union Army when drafted.

Early in 1865, George Funk of the Bower congregation in Clay and Owen counties reported to the *Herald of Truth* that four young men had been drafted in 1864 because they were baptized after the draft. However, these men were permitted to attend the sick in hospitals, "which we believe is not contrary to the dictates of our conscience; and no violation of the Gospel or the principles of our church."

Source: John Christian Wenger (1910-1995) was a Mennonite professor and theologian who taught at Goshen College and Goshen Biblical Seminary, Goshen, Indiana. He wrote extensively on theology and the history of the Mennonite Church in the U.S. and Indiana.

25. A NOT SO PATRIOTIC INCIDENT AT FERDINAND, DUBOIS COUNTY.

Elfrieda Lang

...Around Ferdinand the feeling of loyalty to the Union was not so apparent. Although the German Americans of this township were slow to defend their country, they, however, seldom sought exemption. Even though the people of Ferdinand Township may have been somewhat reluctant to enlist, the sentiment in Dubois County as a whole was strongly in favor of the Union.

While Herman Beckmann and Frank Kometscher, volunteers in the Ninety-first Indiana Regiment, were home on furlough, they attempted to induce others to volunteer. This step angered the members of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" living in Ferdinand Township. One day when Herman Beckmann was in his father's store, Victor Drach, an exceptionally strong young man twenty-one years of age, and some of his comrades entered the Beckmann store, dragged Herman into the street and threatened to cut his throat. Herman's friend, Frank Kometscher, was approximately a block down the street when he received the news. He immediately ran to the scene..., drew his service pistol and fired on the man who was struggling with his friend. Victor Drach was seriously wounded but continued to fight with Kometscher and finally collapsed. Victor's associates were stunned for a few moments. Beckmann and Kometscher, however, lost no time in entering the Beckmann store and locked the doors.

Friends of the dead man were determined to take revenge. The two soldiers, however, escaped and hurried to Troy [on the Ohio]. Their enemies followed them, but fortunately for the soldiers, they arrived at the boat first. Since there were quite a few soldiers on board, further attempts at violence were averted. Kometscher, upon the advice of Father Chrysostom requested that he be placed before a court martial. The court justified his action, and the military authorities informed Ferdinand that if any more disturbances occurred there, the town would be placed under martial law. The people of the locality claimed that whisky had been responsible for the tragedy. Father Chrysostom denied Victor Drach ecclesiastical burial because he had not attended church on the day of the tragedy, had started the brawl, and though fatally wounded, he did not give evidence of repentance at any time before his death.

 Source: Elfrieda Lang, “The Germans of Dubois County, Their Newspapers, Their Politics, and Their Part in the Civil War,” *Indiana Magazine of History* (September, 1946), XLII, 229-248 [abbr.]. *Indiana Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 6, shows Herman Beekman [Beckman, age 20] of Ferdinand mustered as sergeant Company E, 91st Regiment Indiana Infantry 12 August 1862 and mustered out as 1st sergeant 26 June 1865; *Indiana Report of the Adjutant General*, vol. 6, shows Francis Komacher [Kromacher, age 18] of Ferdinand mustered as private Company E, 91st Regiment Indiana Infantry 12 August 1862 and mustered out 26 June 1865.

26. WHAT THE GERMANS SANG IN THE WAR.

Eberhard Reichmann (ed.)

A little-known treasure of German-American history is the pocket-size booklet of *Soldatenlieder* [Soldiers’ Songs], that accompanied many of the more than 175,000 Civil War soldiers and officers born in Germany and serving in the Union army. The booklet—without melodies—was printed by the *Deutsch-Amerikaner Gesellschaft* [German-American Society] of St. Louis with that telling address: 1848 *Freiheit Gasse* [Freedom Alley] referring to the failed democratic German Revolution of 1848.

Among its 32 songs are traditional lyrics such as: *Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden* [I Once had a Comrade], *Morgenrot, Morgenrot* [Morning Sun, Rising Red], *Die Wacht am Rhein*, *Die Gedanken sind frei*, *Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen ließ*, *Wohlauf Kameraden*, *Gebet während der Schlacht*, *Was blasen die Trompeten*, *Steh’ ich in tiefer Mitternacht*, *Es, es, es und es ist ein harter Schluß*—all very popular throughout the 19th century and beyond.

Songs of the 1848 Revolution include: *Badisches Wiegenlied*, a cradle song, fine-tuned from the original *Schlaf, Kindlein, Schlaf* [Sleep, Little Child, Sleep], for the defeat of the Baden revolutionaries by the Prussian army, but with the indefatigable hope for freedom, ending in “Scream, My Little One, Scream / The Prussian out There Is Dead.” And *Fürstenjagd* [Prince Hunt] is about “hunting the princely foxes all over the Fatherland.”

In addition to those brought to America by the Forty-Eighters, some songs were recast to fit the Civil War situation, and some, such as *Fort Sumter Has Now Fallen* and *There Is A General In The West/Our German Volunteers*, are original German-American, the latter being included in the book in



Title page of *Soldatenlieder* [Soldiers’ Songs], no date.

English. “The Star-Spangled Banner,”—one of several 19th-century translations—had all four stanzas rendered in German.

Two of the best-known *Soldatenlieder* are undoubtedly *Ich hatt' einen Kameraden* (text by Ludwig Uhland) and *Morgenrot, Morgenrot, leuchtest mir zum frühen Tod?* (text, Wilhelm Hauff.) They were both set to music by Friedrich Silcher (*Morgenrot*, in 1824 and *Ich hatt einen Kameraden* in 1825). Silcher was born 1789 in Schnait in the Rems Valley (today part of Weinstadt, Württemberg), became a well-known German composer, mainly for his *lieder* [songs], and as an important folksong collector.

He arranged many German and international folk songs that even today remain standard repertoire of many choirs in Germany and became an integral part of German daily life. In 1829, Silcher founded the *Akademische Liedertafel* [Academic Choral Society] in Tübingen and directed it until his death 26 August 1860.

ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN
I ONCE HAD A COMRADE

*Ich hatt' einen Kameraden,
Einen bessern findst du nit.
Die Trommel schlug zum Streite,
Er ging an meiner Seite
/: In gleichem Schritt und Tritt. :/*

*Eine Kugel kam geflogen:
Gilt sie mir oder gilt sie dir?
Sie hat ihn weggerissen,
Er liegt zu meinen Füßen
/: Als wär's ein Stück von mir :/*

*Will mir die Hand noch reichen,
Derweil ich eben lad.
“Kann dir die Hand nicht geben,
Bleib du im ew'gen Leben
/: Mein guter Kamerad!” :/*

I once had a comrade,
a better one you will not find.
The drum was rolling for battle,
he was marching by my side
|: in the same pace and stride. :|

A bullet came flying
is it meant for you or me?
It tore him away,
he is lying at my feet
|: as if he were a part of me. :|

He wants to reach his hand to me,
while I'm just reloading my gun.
“Can't give you my hand for now,

you rest in eternal life
|: My good comrade!" :|

The drum was rolling for battle,
he was marching by my side
|: in same pace and stride. :|

German poet Ludwig Uhland wrote the text for *Ich Hatt' Einen Kameraden* in 1809. Uhland was born 26 April 1787 in Tübingen, then Württemberg. Aside from his rich contribution to German literature, he worked as a lawyer in Stuttgart, in the bureau of the minister of justice. In 1848 he became a member of the Frankfurt Parliament that convened in the course of the 1848 Revolution. He died on 13 November 1862 in Tübingen. A town located south of Austin, Texas is named in his honor.



*MORGENROT, MORGENROT, LEUCHTEST MIR
ZUM FRÜHEN TOD?*

MORNING SUN, RISING RED, ARE YOU
SHINING FOR MY EARLY DEATH?

*Morgenrot, Morgenrot,
Leuchtest mir zum frühen Tod?
Bald wird die Trompete blasen,
Dann muß ich mein Leben lassen,
Ich und mancher Kamerad!*

*Kaum gedacht, kaum gedacht,
Wird der Lust ein End gemacht!
Gestern noch auf stolzen Rossen,
Heute durch die Brust geschossen,
Morgen in das kühle Grab!*

*Ach wie bald, ach wie bald,
Schwindet Schönheit und Gestalt!
Strahlst du gleich mit deinen Wangen,
Die wie Milch und Purpur prangen,
Ach, die Rosen welken all!*

*Darum still, darum still
Füg ich mich, wie Gott es will.
Nun, so will ich wacker streiten,
Und sollt ich den Tod erleiden,
Stirbt ein braver Reitersmann!*

Morning sun, rising red
Are you shining for my early death?
Soon the trumpet will sound,
Then I must sacrifice my life,
I and many a comrade!

Barely imagined, barely imagined,
The enjoyment comes to an end!
Yesterday still proud on horseback,
Today shot through the breast,
Tomorrow into the cool grave!

Oh how soon, oh how soon,
Looks and appearance are waning!
Though your cheeks are radiating
still like milk and crimson,
Alas, the roses wither all!

Therefore calmly, therefore calmly,
yield I to God's will.
Now I shall fight bravely,
And am it to suffer death,
A courageous horseman dies!

Wilhelm Hauff wrote *Morgenrot, Morgenrot, Leuchtest Mir Zum Frühen Tod?* in 1824 as part of his work in editing *Kriegs und Volkslieder* [War and Folksongs.] Wilhelm, the second of four children, was born 29 November 1802 in Hoppenlau-Friedhof, Stuttgart, Germany to August Friedrich Hauff, a secretary in the ministry of foreign affairs, and Hedwig Wilhelmine Elsaesser Hauff. He was educated at the Klosterschule at Blaubeuren, the University of Tübingen and four years of theological studies at the Tübinger Stift. Hauff became a prolific writer and served as editor of the well established *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* [Morning Newspaper for the Educated Classes.] His career was cut short when he died 18 November 1827, eight days after the birth of his daughter and eleven days shy of his 25th birthday.

FORT SUMTER IST GEFALLEN /ALS DAS LAND RIEF
FORT SUMTER HAS NOW FALLEN/WHEN THE NATION CALLED

*1. Fort Sumter ist gefallen
In der Rebellen Hand,
Sein Notsignal ertönen
Läßt das bedrängte Land.
Entfaltet hat sein Banner
Der schändlichste Verrat
Wer wird zum Lande stehen
Mit todesmuth'ger Tat?*

*3. Wenn alle untreu warden
Dem Land und seinem Recht,
Wenn gegen seine Einheit
Anstürmt ein falsch Geschlecht,
Und wenn dem Land der Freien
Verrath und Meuterei
Von seinen Söhnen drohen,
So bleiben wir doch treu.*

1. Fort Sumter has now fallen
into the Rebels' hand.
Alarm! Alarm!'s resounding,
through this our hard-pressed land.
They have unfurled their banner
in infamous betrayal.
Who will defend the country
defying death, remaining loyal?

3. When all become disloyal
to this land and its rights,
when 'gainst its solid unity
a treach'rous generation fights,
when from its very own native sons
high treason and rebellion rise
against this land of the free,
We will forever stand by it from
Here to eternity.

4. *Jenseits des Ozeanes*
Das alte Vaterland,
Hat, ob wir sehr es liebten,
Feindselig uns verbannt.
Das neue Land gab freundlich
Uns eine Heimat neu;
Dafür in seinen Nöthen
Dank ihm jetzt - deutsche Treu'.
Melodie—O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden

4. Across the sea
the old fatherland,
no matter how we loved it,
malevolence did have us banned.
But this new land,
humane and friendly,
it gave us a home and new hope.
It is now our turn
to help in its dire need.
We thank you, dear America
with German loyalty in word and deed.

Melody—O Head of Blood and Wounds.

(A famous church song referring to the head of Christ, according to Hans Leo Hassler, 1601)

THERE IS A GENERAL IN THE WEST/ OUR GERMAN VOLUNTEERS

1. There is a General in the West
Whose deeds have come to fame,
He is a gallant soldier,
And in movements he is game;
Then let us raise our voices high
And give three hearty cheers
:For Sigel, hero of the West
And his German volunteers:

2. Now at the Battle of Bull-Run,
We fought well, everyone can say,
But panic struck our army,
And we had to move away,
And, in that great confusion,
Of our rear we had great fears,
But it was protected by Blenker
And his German volunteers:

5. Now as I close my little song,
I'll say a word or two:
Should you be called upon to fight,
Stand by your colors true,
Then raise your voices
Stand by your colors true;
Then raise your voices
With one accord
And give three hearty cheers
For McClellan, Scott, and Sigel,
And their Union volunteers:

**Kriegslied der Division Blenker /
Wir sind Deutsche und wir kämpfen**

**1. Wir sind Deutsche und wir kämpfen
Für die Freiheit der Union.
Fest im Glauben an die Einheit,
So wie '48 schon;
Yankee-Doodle auf den Lippen,
Ist Gerechtigkeit der Lohn,
Für das Banner der Union!**

Refrain:

**Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Für das Banner der Union!**

*KRIEGSLIED DER DIVISION BLENKER /
WIR SIND DEUTSCHE UND WIR KÄMPFEN*

*WARSONG OF THE DIVISION BLENKER /
WE ARE GERMANS AND WE FIGHT*

*1.[of 4] Wir sind Deutsche und wir kämpfen
Für die Freiheit der Union,
Fest im Glauben an die Einheit,
So wie '48 schon;
Yankee Doodle auf den Lippen,
Ist Gerechtigkeit der Lohn,
Für das Banner der Union!*

Refrain:

*Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Auf, für Lincoln und die Freiheit,
Für das Banner der Union!*

*We are Germans and we fight
For the freedom of the Union,
Firm in the belief in unity,
as we did already in '48;
Yankee Doodle on our lips,
Justice is the wage,
For the Banner of the Union!*

Refrain:

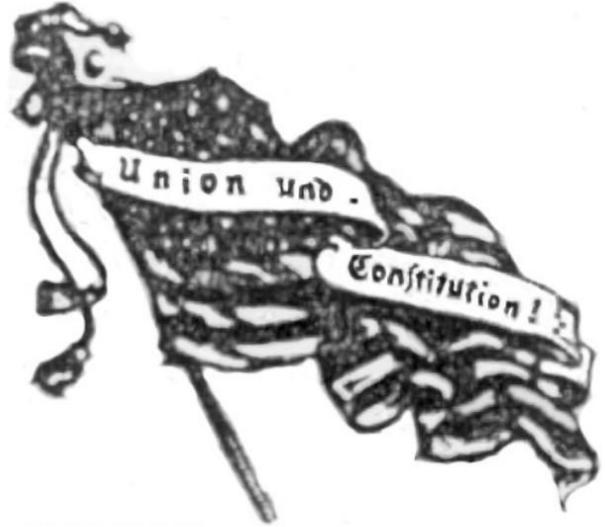
*Rise up, for Lincoln and for freedom,
Rise up, for Lincoln and for freedom,
Rise up, for Lincoln and for freedom,
For the Banner of the Union!*

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

1. [of 4] *O, sagt, könnt ihr seh'n
Bei der Dämmerung Schein,
Was so stolz wir begrüßten
In Abendroths Glutten?
Des Streifen und Sterne
Durch Kämpfender Reih'n,
Auf dem Walle wir sahen
So weniglich [sic] fluten;
Die Raketen am Ort
Und die Bomben vom Fort,
Sie zeigten bei Nacht,
Daß die Flagge noch dort.*

CHOR:

*O sagt, ob das Banner
Mit Sternen besäet
Über'm Lande der Frei'n
Und der Tapfern noch weht?*



O say can you see by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.

CHORUS:

Oh say, does that star spangled banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Source: *Soldatenlieder* (St. Louis, Missouri: Deutsch-Amerikaner Gesellschaft, 1848 Freiheit-Gasse, n.d.). All songs translated by Eberhard Reichmann; *There Is A General In The West/Our German Volunteers* orig. in English.