

University of Nebraska at Kearney

OpenSPACES@UNK: Scholarship, Preservation, and Creative Endeavors

Books and Monographs: CTR Library

Calvin T. Ryan Library

5-6-2020

The 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, Pt. 1: Galvanized Yankees Along the Platte

Ronald Wirtz

Follow this and additional works at: <https://openspaces.unk.edu/ctr-books>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

The 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry: Pt. 1.
Galvanized Yankees Along the Platte

By: Ronald Wirtz

The history of the 3rd United States Volunteer Infantry Regiment in Nebraska, Colorado and Wyoming is not known as well as that of units that were active in the eastern and western theaters of the Civil War, but the more than nine hundred soldiers and officers of this unit, and nearly five thousand other “Galvanized Yankees,” fulfilled an important function on the western frontier during the last year of that conflict. Other than a general overview of the 1st through the 6th Regiments of “Galvanized Yankees” authored by D. Alexander Brown,¹ and an in-depth treatment of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Infantry by Michèle Tucker Butts,² formal published materials on the “Galvanized Yankees” have been relatively scarce,³ and even fewer documents focus specifically on the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry.

The formation of the six “Galvanized Yankees” regiments was prompted by serious shortages of troops on the Civil War’s eastern theatre of battle, and the necessity of withdrawing most regular army troops from the frontier areas for service there, to be replaced primarily by

¹ Brown, D(ee). Alexander. 1963. *The Galvanized Yankees*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

² Butts, Michèle Tucker. 2003. *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: the Face of Loyalty*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

³ This situation is beginning to change, however. Two new books on Galvanized Yankees were published more recently. See: Hester, Albert Lee. 2015. *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees*. Athens, GA: Green Berry Press. See also: Lowry, Thomas Power. 2015. *Galvanized Virginians in the Indian Wars*. Portland, OR: Idle Winter Press. Accessed 2016.

state or territorial volunteers.⁴ By 1863, manpower shortages in the east were becoming critical because of increased battle casualties, time-limited enlistments, problems with the parole system, and cessation of prisoner exchange.⁵ Desertion, active and passive resistance to conscription, and general war weariness had become increasingly serious problems for the Confederacy, while recruitment of new soldiers for the Union armies was hampered by declining public support for the war, resistance to the draft, and sedition on the part of Copperheads, Peace Democrats, and other Southern sympathizers among the Northern population.⁶ By the election of 1864, there was a great deal of war-weariness and opposition to the administration's continuation of the conflict among the U.S. troops serving on the Plains. Eugene Ware, who was an officer in the 7th Iowa Cavalry, then stationed at Julesburg, was astounded by the level of opposition to the re-election of President Lincoln:

⁴ Schmucker, Kim. 1988. "War Spreads West and South." Chapt. 4 in *The Second Front: The Indian Wars on the Western Plains, 1861-1865*. Kearney, NE: Kearney State College. (9-12, 36-39). See also: Thorburn, John. 2014. "Origins of War: The Fluctuating Balance of Power on the Plains in the 1860s." In *Plum Creek: The Rest of the Story*, (Kearney), NE: Morris Press. (57).

⁵ McAdams, Benton. 2000. *Rebels at Rock Island: the story of a Civil War prison*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press. (136). See also: Segars, J H. 1995. *Andersonville: the Southern Perspective*. Vol. XIII: Journal of Confederate History. Atlanta, GA: Southern Heritage Press. (186-7); Pickenpaugh, Roger. 2013. *Captives in Blue: the Civil War Prisons of the Confederacy*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press. (73); Hesselstine, William Best. 1998. *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. (75-83); (Butts 2003, 1).

⁶ Weber, Jennifer. 2006. *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*. eBook. EbscoHost. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (103-5, 154). See also: (D. A. Brown 1959, 274-291); (D. A. Brown 1963, 3); (McAdams 2000, 136, 154-156).

When the time came for voting, a great number of the soldiers, fully one-half, declined to vote one way or the other, and when the vote was taken it was twenty six for Lincoln and fourteen for McClellan. This shows in what a dangerous condition and how perilous a crisis, the nation was in. It is a great wonder and a great mystery that the Union was saved, as I look at it now; although I was in the middle of it all, I cannot understand it. (...) time after time it was saved almost by a scratch. The Union managed to just get through, and that was all.⁷

The idea of recruiting Confederate troops into Federal ranks actually began to emerge early in the war.⁸ Major-General Benjamin Butler, placed in command after the Federal capture of New Orleans, converted a regiment of Confederate Native Guards to service with the Union in 1862.⁹ Butler continued to promote the recruitment of Confederates when he was appointed as the agent of exchange in 1863, although both Secretary of War Stanton and General Grant were

⁷ Ware, Eugene F. 1960. *The Indian War of 1864*. Ed. by Clyde C Walton. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. (268).

⁸ Maul, David C. 1963 Summer. "Five Butternut Yankees." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* (University of Illinois Press \ JSTOR) 56 (2): 177-192. See also: (McAdams 2000, 75-76). Both Maul and McAdams state that prison camp recruitment actually took place as early as February, 1862 at Camp Douglas, when Col. James Mulligan began recruiting Irish-born prisoners for service in Virginia. McAdams also states that in January 1864, Acting Master John Harty began recruiting for the U.S. Navy at the Rock Island prison camp. As occurred later with the recruitment for the 2nd and 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, those who could not pass the medical examination during the Harty recruitment were released after taking a loyalty oath to the United States.

⁹ Butler, Benjamin. 1862, Oct. 24, 159. Series I, Vol. 15, Chapt. XXVII, The La Fourche District, LA. In *United States. War Department.. "The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies."* Vers. Electronic. *Making of America*. Edited by Cornell University Library. Ithaca NY Cornell University, herein after referred to as: (United States. War Department n.d.) <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar/waro.html>; See also: (McAdams 2000, 137).

opposed to it. President Lincoln overruled their objections in September, 1864, in part due to the political advantages that would result in Pennsylvania from a new plan proposed by two individuals from that state, Congressman Newton Pettis and General Henry Huidekoper.¹⁰ This plan would have special relevance for the prisoners at the Rock Island prison camp, and for the future members of both the 2nd and 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiments.

Pettis and Huidekoper had conceived of a plan to credit prisoner recruits from Rock Island to the draft quota for Pennsylvania, with a \$100.00 per year enlistment bounty being paid by the town or other locality receiving the credit. This had the potential of generating political capital for Lincoln, who was concerned about his re-election campaign against the former general and Pennsylvanian McClellan. It might provide as well a small occasion of profit for Pettis and Huidekoper, the reason being that drafted individuals in that state were willing to pay up to \$1000.00 to obtain a substitute.^{11 12}

¹⁰ (McAdams 2000, 136-139) (D. A. Brown 1963, 11-14).

¹¹ (McAdams 2000, 138); (D. A. Brown 1963, 11-13).

¹² Although there is some variation in the form and notations on the Muster and Descriptive Roll card from the file for each recruit, seemingly dependent on the person responsible for recording that information, the majority of those examined indicate either that the \$100 bounty was paid, or include some variation of the statement that “The \$100 bounty provided by law is assumed and paid by the localities receiving the credits.” In the latter case, hospital rolls, desertion lists, or other records have served to confirm that the bounty was paid. See: Ancestry.com\Fold3. 2012. *Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates Who Served in the 1st Through 6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiments, 1864-1866*. Intellectual Reserve, Inc. http://www.fold3.com/title_45/civil_war_soldiers_union_csa/.

It was considered likely that many prisoners would look favorably on a way to obtain a release from the prison, one important reason being that they were quite literally starving to death. Originally the prison ration was the equivalent of the daily ration issued to U.S. soldiers while in service, but that began to change as early as March 1862, with the creation of the Prison Fund by William Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners. Hoffman believed he was being cheated on the weight of bread received from contract bakers for a given weight of flour, and proposed instead that the bread should be baked by the prisons.¹³ The consequent savings in flour would then be sold back to the commissary, with the proceeds deposited in a fund for each prison. He also believed that he could cut back the total ration, since it was intended for soldiers in active field service, rather than for rather inactive prisoners in confinement.¹⁴ These savings could also be applied to the Prison Fund.¹⁵

¹³ Hoffman was correct in feeling that he was being cheated, but the situation was even worse than he believed. A simple dough for prison bread would have been composed of flour, water, salt, and leavening in the form of yeast or a sourdough. Depending on protein content and water absorption of the 22 ounces of flour noted by McAdams (p. 9), approximately 13 ounces of water would have been added to produce a dough of around 35 ounces in weight. After baking and cooling, the “baking loss” from evaporation would range from seven to fifteen percent, depending on shape, size and weight of the dough piece, and whether a baking pan was used. This should have produced around 27.5 ounces of baked bread, not 20 ounces as Hoffman received from the contract bakers. Typically, to produce the desired 22-ounce bread ration, only about 17.6 ounces of flour would normally have been required. (Strouts 2016). For factors contributing to baking loss, see: (Schunemann and Treu 1988, 68-69)

¹⁴ (McAdams 2000, 9.)

¹⁵ (Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*. 2009, 191)

An additional reduction to the daily ration which the U.S. government was required to provide was made by Camp Commandant Johnson in November 1864,¹⁶ with a further reduction ordered in January, 1865. This reduction, by Commissary General Wessells, allowed coffee or sugar only for the sick or wounded “on the recommendation of the surgeon in charge.”¹⁷ General Wessell’s order did, however, restate the increased ration allowed for those prisoners engaged in the construction of public works.

As the war continued, and Union soldiers returning from southern prisons voiced complaints about the quantity and quality of the ration that they had been provided during their captivity,¹⁸ the quantity and variety of foods received by prisoners at Rock Island and other Union prison camps underwent a further decline in retaliation.¹⁹ McAdams quotes prisoner William Dillon, who stated “...There is no doubt that Lincoln holds on to us for the diabolical purpose of starving as many as possible into the ranks of his army.”²⁰ Food packages from

¹⁶ Johnson, A.J. 1864, Nov. 23, 16. "Series II, Vol. 8, Prisoners of War and State." In United States War Department. "The War of the Rebellion." *Making of America*. See also: (Hesseltine 1998, 43).

¹⁷ Wessells and Hartz 1865, Jan. 13, 62. "Series II, Vol. 8, Prisoners of War and State." In United States War Department. "The War of the Rebellion." *Making of America*.

¹⁸ Hesseltine (1998, 115, 116, 121, 137, 147, 155) discusses the rations issued to prisoners in the south, and notes in several instances that these were the same rations provided to the guards. Cornbread was often issued in place of wheat bread and was the source of much dissatisfaction. In principle and by regulation, the rations provided to Federal prisoners were the equivalent of those issued to Confederate soldiers. Due to lack of transportation, the effects of the Union blockade and military action, huge increases in the prices of commodities, and declines in agricultural production, meat might or might not be included in the ration supplied to prisoners in southern prisons.

¹⁹ (Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*. 2009, 189), (Butts 2003, 16-17).

²⁰ McAdams, Benton. 2000, 141. *Rebels at Rock Island : the story of a Civil War prison*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press. Accessed July 2, 2015. McAdams also gives Dillon’s comment from his unpublished

outside were no longer allowed, and from August 1864 until shortly before Christmas that year, Albert Dart, the camp sutler, was not permitted to supply anything to the prisoners.²¹ When sales by the camp sutler were again permitted, even luxury foods were available, but at inflated prices, and only to those who had money.²² For many other prisoners, rats became a regular supplement to the diet until they were hunted to scarcity, and dogs that strayed into the prison compound were also fair game, including the sutler's unfortunate bulldog.²³ Gathering acorns from oak trees on the island was another expedient used by some prisoners, but that was not without danger, since the guards often fired at those who dared to climb the trees.²⁴ Others sought to supplement their ration by working on prison work details, but the pay rate was very low, at only 5 cents per day for laborers.²⁵

memoir on the normal daily ration: "12 ounces of bread on an average per day – it was never more than 14 ounces and sometimes as low as 8 and 9 ounces, but as I said they will average 11 or 12 ounces – our meat remains the same: when cooked 4 or 5 ounces of fresh or 6 or 7 ounces of pickled beef three days in every ten – we will have 1 ½ pts. Hominy or rice for dinner – that is our whole amount of rations, less than half sufficient for us – I myself at the present am truly weak from hunger – my rations make me one small meal per day – I remain hungry all the time." (*Ibid.*, 147).

²¹ (D. A. Brown 1963, 14, 169)

²² McAdams (2000, 96) cites Hoffman, who stated that he found the sutler at Camp Douglas selling "...cider, butter, eggs, milk, canned fruits, boots, &c., underclothing, and all the minor articles usually found in a sutler's stock." See also: (Pickenpough, 2009, 186).

²³ (McAdams 2000, 149)

²⁴ (Pickenpough 2009, 193)

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 184. The main incentive for participating on work details would have been the increased daily ration, available since June 13, 1864, as noted in (Wessells and Hartz 1865, Jan. 13, 62).

Other important reasons in the desire of the Rock Island prisoners to be delivered from the prison were the sanitary conditions of the camp, the prevalence of disease, and the inadequate housing in a severe northern climate.²⁶ The prisoners had been transported in boxcars from Nashville and Louisville to Rock Island in cold winter weather without adequate food, water or sanitary facilities.²⁷ Consequently, many arrived suffering from pneumonia or diarrhea, or even from smallpox, since several active cases had been deliberately sent on the trains from Louisville.²⁸ A host of other diseases soon manifested themselves, among them scurvy, which was easily preventable.²⁹ Pickenpaugh notes that there is no evidence that Hoffman ever issued any orders to deal with this condition, although an 1865 order by Hoffman's subordinate Wessells did do so.³⁰ Draining raw sewage and kitchen waste in an open trench from the camp into the river channel near where the camp water supply was drawn out served to further imperil the health of the camp inhabitants.³¹ While a great many prisoners died from disease, others simply died from the cold, which reached as low as twenty-eight to thirty-one degrees below zero.³²

²⁶ McAdams (2000, 45-46) notes that frost first appeared at Rock Island on August 29, 1863, and that later in the winter, in spite of burning coal in the barracks stoves 24 hours per day, water would freeze within five feet of the stove. Consequently, frostbite was common in the camp due to the poor building construction, lack of blankets, and inadequate bedding.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 34, 36.

²⁸ (Pickenpaugh 2009, 213).

²⁹ McAdams (2000, 52) provides a list of these diseases, including pneumonia, diarrhea, typhoid, purpura, rheumatism, bronchitis, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc.

³⁰ (Pickenpaugh 2009, 209). See also: (Wessells and Hartz 1865, Jan. 13, 62)

³¹ (McAdams 2000, 113).

³² *Ibid.*, 45, 47, 49, 50-1, 52. See also: (Pickenpaugh 2009, 203-204).

The prisoners feared as well the punishments meted out to those who had committed even minor transgressions, and the trigger-happy tendencies of some of the guard regiments. On many occasions, prisoners would be punished by having to wear a ball and chain; others were placed on bread and water in solitary confinement for a period of time; still others had to endure hours sitting on “Morgan’s Mule” – a narrow board suspended five or six feet from the ground between two posts, or hanging by the wrists with feet barely touching the ground.³³

Two of the several regiments assigned to guard duty at Rock Island demonstrated a tendency to shoot prisoners for little reason, or even for no reason at all. The 133rd Illinois included many young men with no battle experience, but who displayed few qualms about shooting another human being. One of the 133rd soldiers shot a prisoner on his way to the latrine just four days after the guard regiment arrived at the prison, with three more being shot the next day. In another instance, 17 prisoners from a single barracks were admitted to the camp hospital in a single day, all with gunshot wounds. The 108th U.S. Colored Troops, which arrived at Rock Island near the end of September, exhibited similar tendencies, and within three days had shot six prisoners.³⁴

Recruitment at Rock Island for the Union navy had already taken place in January, 1864, but army recruitment did not began until October of that year.³⁵ This was initially conducted by Captain Henry R. Rathbone, who supervised interviews and personally signed the enlistment papers for individuals recruited through mid-October, before being replaced later in that month

³³ (Pickenpaugh 2009, 94, 133).

³⁴ (Pickenpaugh 2009, 141-142). (McAdams 2000, 106-7, 145-6).

³⁵ (Pickenpaugh 2009, 200-201).

by Captain Alex Murray.³⁶ While some in the camps considered anyone who agreed to “take the oath” to be deserters or traitors, the willingness of many Confederates to do so was indicative of a trend that was becoming increasingly apparent among prisoners, civilians and Confederate soldiers alike. The willingness to abandon the Confederacy was due not only to the military dominance of the Union in certain regions, but also to the devastation wrought by the armies of both sides of the conflict on the civilian population.³⁷ Vast stores of cotton, sugar and molasses had been destroyed, grain harvests depleted, livestock appropriated, and homes and farms damaged, creating hardship and hunger among those on the erstwhile Confederate “home front.” As a result, as early as 1862, many among the Confederate rank and file became convinced that they had been betrayed by the upper classes.³⁸

³⁶ Brown (1963, 13) notes that Captain Rathbone was one of Lincoln’s “favorite young officers,” but that he failed the President at Ford’s Theatre, where he and his wife had accompanied the Lincolns. In fact, however, Clara Harris was the fiancé of Henry Rathbone, rather than his wife, and they would not be married for another two years after the Lincoln assassination. Rathbone experienced mental problems later in life, perhaps as a result of feelings of guilt and post-traumatic stress. These problems culminated in the murder of his wife and attempted suicide, and subsequent confinement in a mental hospital until the end of his life. (Ruane, Michael. 2009. "A Tragedy's Second Act: Did Col. Henry Rathbone's Agony as an Eyewitness to the Lincoln Assassination Lead Him to Murder His Wife, Clara Harris, 18 Years Later?" *The Washington Post*, April 5. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-yn/content/article/2009/03/27/AR2009032701576.html>). See also: *The National Police Gazette (1845-1906)*. 1884, Jan. 19, 10 "Col. Rathbone's Mad Act.."

³⁷ (Weitz, Mark A. 2005, 192-195. *More Damning Than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.). Weitz also notes that there were serious problems in Tennessee, North Carolina, and later in Mississippi with large groups of armed Confederate deserters that had formed into outlaw bands. These lawless gangs preyed on civilians, but also actively resisted the authority of the Confederate government.

³⁸ (*Ibid.*, 53-55).

Surely, going to war on behalf of the Confederacy, a war that clearly benefited the aristocracy, went far beyond deference and would be more than enough of a sacrifice to encourage the rich to provide for soldiers' families in their absence. But they did not (...) these men were not cattle and they were not stupid. They know the promise had not been kept and reacted accordingly.³⁹

The largest single contingent of Rock Island recruits, consisting of 220 men,⁴⁰ was from Tennessee, which between 1862 and 1864 had come effectively under Union control. The number of Confederate soldiers in the field who surrendered to the Union or deserted was highest from Tennessee in comparison to other states, since retaliation against their families or themselves was less of a consideration.⁴¹ This also may have been a factor in the willingness of so many Rock Island prisoners from Tennessee to volunteer for service in Union forces on the frontier. There were 156 recruits from Alabama and 119 from Georgia, in both of which states significant levels of desertion by Confederate soldiers had also occurred.⁴² Fewer recruits came from other southern states: 68 from Kentucky, 56 from South Carolina, 55 from both North Carolina and Mississippi, 46 from Virginia, 22 from Florida, 8 from Arkansas, 8 from Louisiana, and 5 from Texas. There were also recruits from those border states and states and territories that

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁰ Note: numbers in this section were determined by a systematic examination of records obtained from several sources, including the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Database of the National Park Service, indexing for service records of personnel of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry on Ancestry.com, digitized individual service records on Fold3.com, and microfilmed copies of the record books of the Regiment obtained from the National Archives. The origins of five individuals could not be determined from their military records

⁴¹ (Weitz 2005, 130-131).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 204-205, 212-215.

had remained in the Union, including 9 from Missouri, 7 from Ohio, 5 from Illinois, 4 from Pennsylvania, 3 from Indiana, 2 from Maryland, and 1 each from Maine, Washington DC, and even the Nebraska Territory. In addition, there were men from foreign countries – the original targets of President Lincoln’s recruiting memorandum – including 19 from Ireland, 3 from England, 2 from Wales, 1 from Scotland, 8 from Germany, 2 from Holland, 2 from Switzerland, 1 from France, and 1 from Canada.

As might be expected, the majority of these were small farmers – 752 of them according to their enlistment records.⁴³ However, there were also blacksmiths, boatmen and sailors, carpenters, butchers, mechanics, engineers, merchants, printers, students, shoemakers, and an assortment of other professions, ranging from masons to shingle makers, and from school teachers to bar keepers. Except for two overseers and one planter, very few of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry appear to have been associated with slave holding in any capacity.⁴⁴

⁴³ Brown (1963, 123) in his discussion of two companies of the 5th U.S. Volunteer Infantry, notes that at the time of the Civil War, “half the population earned their bread by tilling the soil.”

⁴⁴ A close examination of the enlistment records of the 3rd U.S. Volunteers, found that the following professions were represented in the regiment: Farmer (752), Blacksmith (12), Bar Keeper (1), Boatman (3), Bookbinder (1), Bookkeeper (1), Brass Worker (1), Brick Mason (1), Bricklayer (1), Butcher (2), Carpenter (27), Clerk (7), Cooper (1), Coppersmith (1), Engineer (3), Farrier (1), Hatter (1), Herdsman (1), Laborer (8), Machinist (1), Mail Carrier (1), Manufacturer (1), Mason (5), Mechanic (8), Merchant (5), Miller (4), Millwright (1), Miner (2), Moulder (1), Overseer (2), Painter (2), Planter (1), Printer (4), Saddler (1), Sailor (3), Schoolteacher or Teacher (2) Shingle Maker (1), Shoemaker (5), Stone Cutter (1), Stone Mason (1), Storekeeper (1), Student (5), Tailor (1), Teamster (1), Tinner (1), Tobacconist (1), Trunk Maker (1), Wagon Maker (2), Wagoner or Wagon Master (2), Wheelwright (2), Wood Keeper (1), Unknown (4).

In comparison to the other five regiments of “Galvanized Yankees,” the 3rd U.S. Volunteers “stood out” in one respect. The average height of Civil War soldiers was between 5’5” and 5’9,⁴⁵ and companies C&D of the 5th U.S. Volunteers were mostly “...small men. Only four were as tall as six feet; several measured only five feet, three inches.”⁴⁶ By contrast, enlistment papers show that there were 117 soldiers of the 3rd U.S. Volunteers who stood six feet or above, and another 208 who were either 5’10” or 5’11” in height.⁴⁷

Since returning the new recruits to the general prison population while waiting for their units to be organized would have subjected them to retaliation from those prisoners who remained loyal to the Confederacy, they were moved to eighteen barracks within a separate enclosure called the “calf pen”⁴⁸ within the walls of the main camp, which was known as the “bull pen.” Although they began to receive better rations in the “calf pen,” their problems were far from over.⁴⁹

The winter of 1864-5 was milder at Rock Island than in the previous year. However, staying warm was still a factor in maintaining health, since there was a shortage of coal for heating and of straw for bedding. In this northernmost of Union prison camps, the new recruits suffered especially from a lack of adequate clothing. Most of them had only the same rags they had worn as prisoners. Since they had not yet been mustered into the service, they could not be issued uniforms, and since they were no longer prisoners, they could not be provided with prison

⁴⁵ (Butts 2003, 39)

⁴⁶ (D. A. Brown 1963, 123).

⁴⁷ These numbers were derived from descriptive roll cards in individual soldier’s military record files in the Fold3 database.

⁴⁸ (*Ibid.*, 140)

⁴⁹ (D. A. Brown 1963, 14, 140).

clothing. The camp Commandant, Colonel Adolphus Johnson, made repeated requests to his superiors in an effort to provide adequate clothing for the recruits, but his letters were ignored, and the best he could do was to order his quartermaster to sell 446 blankets to the recruits at government cost – surely an insufficient measure for a group of nearly 1000 men.⁵⁰ The effects of severe cold weather in poorly-constructed, drafty barracks from October to February, when the unit was finally organized and mustered into the army, adversely impacted many who had been considered adequately healthy at date of enlistment.⁵¹

Altogether more than 4000 prisoners out of the approximately 8200 on hand at the Rock Island prison actually “volunteered” for frontier service.⁵² A potential recruit had to undergo a brief physical exam, but fewer than half of them were actually passed by the surgeons and accepted by Captains Rathbone or Murray.⁵³ Enlistment papers included a surgeon’s certification that the recruit was “free of all bodily defects and mental infirmity, which would in any way disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier.”⁵⁴ Those who were rejected for medical

⁵⁰ (McAdams 2000, 167-169).

⁵¹ Hesseltine (1998, 182) quotes Hoffman, who directed that the housing should be of the cheapest, most primitive type, and in fact would constitute “mere shanties.”

⁵² This was not an unusual situation and was not limited to Rock Island. Hesseltine (1998, 229) notes that by early 1865 only 336 prisoners confined at Camp Morton were willing to be sent south for exchange, that one-third of the prisoners at Camp Douglas were willing to take an oath of loyalty to the Union in place of being exchanged, and half at Elmira were also willing to take the loyalty oath in exchange for release from prison. At that same time, 1300 of the remaining prisoners at Rock Island refused to be sent south in exchange.

⁵³ (McAdams 2000, 159).

⁵⁴ This affirmation, under oath and with the surgeon’s signature, is included on the enlistment documentation for nearly all the soldiers of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry regiment, as provided in digitized form from Fold3 military

reasons posed a different problem for Colonel Johnson. Returning them to the general prison population was not possible, since as traitors their lives would have been endangered; however, Johnson believed that he had found a solution. Judge Pettis' interpretation of President Lincoln's original order applying to foreign nationals who were prisoners of war included a provision that recruits who were rejected for medical reasons would be released. Based on that previous order, Johnson set free 2,294 prisoners who had volunteered to "take the oath" in October 1864 alone, simply releasing them from the prison to the charity of the local inhabitants. In the case of the October medical "rejects from Rock Island, and a smaller group released in November 1864, they were free of any military obligations, but were left without supplies or the transportation later provided to prisoners released at the end of the Civil War.⁵⁵

records. Very few files are missing this enlistment document, which is also signed individually either by Captain Rathbone or Captain Murray.

⁵⁵ (McAdams 2000, 159). While this would be unheard of today, large-scale releases of war captives on parole after taking an oath did occur on occasion during the Civil War and were carried by those on both sides of the conflict. Hesseletine (1988, 74) notes that Union prisoners captured during the Peninsular Campaign or Shiloh were quickly released on parole after those Confederate victories. Grant paroled thirty thousand Confederate prisoners after Vicksburg, and another twelve thousand after Gettysburg. (*Ibid.*, 99-100). Parole records in the individual Fold3 files often include administration of a loyalty oath. Parole releases caused problems for both sides, however, since it appeared that in some cases soldiers straggled until captured or even deserted to surrender in anticipation of parole. (*Ibid.*, 77-78.) Soldiers often were not willing to return to full duty until exchanged, if at all, and the practice was restricted due to problems with the operation of parole camps and the breakdown of exchange discussions in the latter months of 1863. See also: Pickenpaugh, Roger. 2013, 57-73. *Captives in Blue: the Civil War Prisons of the Confederacy*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, and Pickenpaugh, 2009, 67-71.

While the recruits at Rock Island were enduring the privations and boredom of a long cold winter, the unrest that had smoldered for years among Native American tribes on the Great Plains had begun to flare into violence. The reasons were many and complex: one cause was inefficiency among the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the failure to observe treaty provisions and allotments, as shown by the Sioux uprising in Minnesota in 1862. A second cause was a growing realization among the tribes that mining, settlement, and western migration through their hunting grounds was adversely affecting the migration of buffalo. A third was the accurate perception on the part of the tribes that the Civil War in the East had adversely affected the ability of the U.S. Government to provide protection to the white population on the Frontier. Not only had most Federal troops departed for the eastern theatre of the war, but the state volunteer troops, many of whom had enlisted for fixed terms of service, were becoming increasingly rebellious.⁵⁶

By 1864, the war had also given greater impetus to the horde of emigrants who were willing to brave the dangers of a long and difficult transcontinental trek,⁵⁷ including the

⁵⁶ Schmucker (1988, 110) notes that members of Company D of the 16th Kansas Cavalry had, in fact, shot and killed the lieutenant of the company when ordered to Julesburg, Colorado Territory. The First Nebraska Cavalry had to be threatened with grape and canister shot when on the verge of mutiny at Fort Kearney (*Ibid.* 116). Later, General Connor also had to threaten to turn his artillery on the 16th Kansas Cavalry at Fort Laramie when they refused to obey his orders. (*Ibid.* 117). See: Wagner, David E. 2010, 275. *Patrick Connor's War: the 1865 Powder River Indian Expedition*. Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company. See also: Jones, Robert Huhn. 2005, 275. *Guarding the Overland Trails: the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War*. Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, and Grinnell, George Bird. 1915, 196. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. Electronic. eBook Academic Collection. New York, NY: Digital Scanning Inc.

⁵⁷ Johnson, Hervey. 1979, 119. *Tending the Talking Wire: a Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country 1863 - 1866*. Edited by William E Unrau. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press. Johnson comments in his letter of April

possibility of conflicts with the Indians. Eugene Ware, who witnessed this remarkable dislocation, also understood how it differed from the earlier “gold rush” migration:

(...) the Civil War was loosening up whole blocks of society and giving them an impulse to the West. The war was on; in strong Union communities, if situated anywhere near the lines of the combatants or within the sphere of their influence, they made it hot for the secesh or for people who had relatives in the Confederate army. In places where Rebel sympathizers prevailed the Union men were hung or driven out; hence in both such cases the minority party in groups sold out and moved away. The Union men went to the open lands of the North and the Northwest, and the secesh to the mountains, the west, and the Pacific Coast, away from the theatre of possible strife, as if trying to forget it. These conditions, coupled with the growing demands of legitimate business, gave a constantly increasing impetus to the vast travel westward and eastward along the Platte River.⁵⁸

By August 1864, the situation in the Plains had evolved into a war fully as savage as the one that raged in the east – or perhaps even more so. In retaliation for the murder of a family of settlers near Denver in June of that year, Colorado state troops under Colonel Chivington killed and scalped Cheyenne men, women, and children at Sand Creek, and brought home scalps and

22, 1864, on the presence of many suspected “Copperheads” from Missouri among the emigrants, who were traveling to the west in order to avoid the military draft.

⁵⁸ Ware, Eugene F. 1960, 274. *The Indian War of 1864*. Edited by Clyde C Walton. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. Ware also notes (p. 281) that that the defeat of General Sterling Price in Missouri had prompted “a perfect hegira of emigrants and mule teams, mostly from Missouri.”

body parts as grisly trophies for open display in Denver.⁵⁹ Far from bringing hostilities to a halt, the massacre inflamed them even more.⁶⁰ In the month of August alone, more than fifty civilians were killed, others wounded or carried off in raids by the Cheyenne and Sioux at Plum Creek and on the Little Blue River.⁶¹ Along the Overland route by midyear raids were frequent: ranches, stage and telegraph stations were plundered and burned,⁶² stock was stolen or killed, telegraph

⁵⁹ Sides, Hampton. 2006, 470. *Blood and Thunder: the Epic Story of Kit Carson and the Conquest of the American West*. New York: Anchor Books / Random House. Sides relates that the soldiers displayed “Scalps, fingers, tobacco pouches made from scrotums, purses of stretched pudenda hacked from Cheyenne women” at a Denver theatre, but does not reference this claim. See also: Scott, Bob. 1994, 181-182. *Blood at Sand Creek: the Massacre Revisited*. Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. Scott states that this is supported by testimony from Robert Bent, who served as Chivington’s guide. However, Scott also points out that scalping and other such practices were carried out by white soldiers and civilians as well as by Indians.

⁶⁰ (Schmucker 1988, 66-94).

⁶¹ Jones (2005, 164-166) states that besides the massacre at Plum Creek, there were attacks and killings at Gilman’s Ranch, in the Little Blue Valley, Cottonwood, and Thirty-Two Mile Creek, as well as the killing of members of several emigrant trains, all within the time span of August 6 through August 8, 1865. See also: Young, Frank C. 1905, (2016), 99. *Across the Plains in '65: A youngster's journal, from "Gotham" to "Pike's Peak"*. Denver (San Bernadino), CO, (CA): Lanning Bros., (ULAN Press). Young notes that all five of the Ewbanks family were murdered, while the women of the Roper family were carried off “into a captivity from which death would have been a merciful release,” and the men were killed. See also note regarding recovery of Mrs. Eubanks and her daughter in (H. Johnson 1979, 252n).

⁶² Wilson, D. Ray. 1980, 127. *Fort Kearney on the Platte*. (Place of publication not identified): Crossroads Communications. Wilson states that: “Every stage station between Big Sandy and Thirty-two Mile Station, except at Fort Kearny, was burned and the stock scattered over the prairies. The stage company had to abandon 500 miles of line leaving livestock, feed, provisions and furnishings to the Indian raiders. The company employees, traders and ranchers 150 miles in either direction of the fort fled from their outposts with many seeking refuge at the fort.”

lines were torn down, and civilians were murdered.⁶³ From September through the end of the year, the Army was actively involved in efforts to increase security along the Platte,⁶⁴ but in January, 1865, the town of Julesburg, Colorado Territory was attacked and burned, and fourteen troopers from the Seventh Iowa Cavalry at nearby Fort Rankin were killed.⁶⁵ The larger emigrant trains,⁶⁶ sometimes up to ten to fifteen miles long, were relatively safe because of their size, and

Young (1905, (2016), 132-201), mentions many of the burned and surviving stations in sequence in his narrative, and provides brief discussion of the few surviving stations.

⁶³ Johnson (1979, 146-150) describes some intermittent clashes with Indians, and details the aftermath of an attack on a small wagon train in mid-July, 1864. Men and children were slaughtered, while women and younger children were carried off. Wolves and scavengers had to be chased from the bodies of the slain. Johnson, a Quaker, also expresses his willingness to kill Indians indiscriminately after witnessing the results of Indian depredations.

Johnson's cavalry unit at Sweetwater was relieved by men from the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry on June 3, 1865. (*Ibid.*, 254). See also: (Young 1905, (2016), 134-135) where he mentions a grave marker for Joseph Berry, and gives the text of the headboard for victims of the Plum Creek massacre.

⁶⁴ Livingston, Robert R, and Thomas J Majors, *et. al.* 1864, 824-849.. "Reports: First Nebraska Cavalry. Series 1, Vol. 41 (Part 1). Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi. September 29 - November 30, 1864. Operations Against Indians in Nebraska and Colorado." (United States. War Department) See the detailed reports of actions taken by the First Nebraska Cavalry to set up a series of strengthened or fortified posts from Columbus, Nebraska Territory in the east to Julesburg in the west. Livingston and others also report on depredations committed by Indians in this area. All this occurred several months prior to the arrival of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry regiment.

⁶⁵ (D. E. Wagner 2010, 24-26).

⁶⁶ Root, Frank A. 1901, 1950, 242. *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*. Edited by William Elsey Connelley. Topeka, KS; Columbus, OH: W.Y. Morgan; Long's College Book Co. Root notes that up to 500 wagons per day were not uncommon, and that during the spring of 1865, a total of 6000 wagons were counted, with 300 per day during the last three days of the counting period.

Mormon trains could pass unescorted and unmolested without any concern⁶⁷ but smaller trains were placed under the strict restriction of having at least 100 armed men in the train, or having to be combined with other trains until that minimum had been met before they could continue on their way.⁶⁸ Mail shipments, stage travel and freight transport even ground to a halt for more than a month, and on February 6, 1865, Denver was placed under martial law.⁶⁹ That same day, General Pope, Commander of the newly-organized Military Division of the Missouri, was authorized by General Halleck to form the former prisoners recruited at Rock Island during the previous October into the 2nd and 3rd regiments of United States Volunteer Infantry.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ (Ware 1960, 101, 244). Ware states in several places in his narrative that the Mormon emigrant trains resisted being protected by troops, and that there seemed to be a “sort of Masonic understanding of some kind between the Indians and the Mormons which we never understood” (149). Elsewhere he states: “These Mormons traveled through the Indian country more safely than if they had been Indians themselves.” (255), and that “no Indian every killed a Mormon.” (290).

⁶⁸ Raymond, Sarah. 1971, 75, 79-80. "The Diary of Sarah Raymond." In *Overland Days to Montana in 1865*, edited by Raymond W Settle and Mary Lund Settle, 232 pp. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Raymond notes that wagons had to be organized “into companies of from forty to sixty wagons, elect captains and try to camp near each other for mutual protection.” The group to which her family’s wagons belonged included twenty freight wagons. She also states that the wagons are arranged in an oblong circle, with the wagon tongues outside so that all draft horses can be harnessed at once, but that the oxen had to be yoked inside the circle. Young (1905, (2016), 127-28) states this no westward travel is allowed “with less than one hundred wagons or a like number of armed men,” and that the same rule is enforced at Ft. McPherson (Ibid., 153).

⁶⁹ Moonlight, Thomas. 1865, Feb. 6, 845. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*. (United States. War Department n.d.)

⁷⁰ Halleck, H.W. 1865, Feb. 6, 761. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX: Correspondence, etc. -- Union." *Making of America*. (United States. War Department n.d.)

Through much of 1864 and early 1865, cavalry had been engaged in often futile attempts to pursue and punish the raiding Indians, but infantry was now needed to rebuild and garrison the destroyed posts and stations between the existing forts, and to provide protection for the ranchers, stage and telegraph station personnel, and settlers brave enough to return to the devastated areas. In that respect, the combined use of infantry and cavalry stationed at small posts along the Platte River during the final year of the Civil War presaged the way that these same two types of forces would be used together during the later years of the Plains Indian wars:

Images of the army on the post-Civil War frontier bring to mind cavalry units engaged in combat with very mobile Indians. The names of Sheridan and Custer, not Miles or Hancock, are familiar to most. Yet in reality, infantry units, alongside the cavalry, garrisoned the posts throughout the nation's frontier. They fought Indians, guarded and escorted traffic on the overland trails, escorted railroad construction parties, and attempted to keep the peace between white settlers and the Indians. Yet very few published works focus on the role of the infantry in the development of the western frontier, though they were the Army's mainstay on the frontier.⁷¹

Infantry had some advantages over the more mobile cavalry forces, one being that they were less expensive to maintain in the field. Cavalry horses could not subsist on graze alone, as the generally smaller horses of the Indians were accustomed to do. Horses for mounted soldiers were also in short supply because of the war in the East, and cavalry units on the frontier had considerable difficulty in finding enough mounts to provide one for each trooper. Indian

⁷¹ Sullivan, John M. 1997, 6. *Infantry on the Kansas Frontier: 1866 - 1880*. Master's Degree Thesis, Command and Staff College, United States Army, Fort Leavenworth, KS: Defense Technical Information Center.

warriors, on the other hand, often had many hardy “ponies” available, and could change from one to another whenever necessary. Consequently, cavalry mounts became worn out, and unable to deal with the extremes of weather on the plains, as was shown by the death from hunger and exposure of hundreds of horses and the consequent failure of the Powder River Expedition.⁷²

Infantry in good condition could travel some 10 to 15 miles per day -- about half that of cavalry -- and they did not require specialized tack and equipment, nor did they need to transport the bulky loads of fodder or grain that were required for cavalry horses to survive.⁷³ Although infantry might require a small number of horses – or more likely mules – for wagon transport of supplies and equipment, they generally walked if rail or water transportation was not available. Another advantage was the standardization of the long, rifled musket with which they were equipped. Soldiers of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer infantry appear to have been armed with the .58 caliber Springfield rifled musket. However, some of the individual Fold3 service records, especially those describing deserters or making reference to lost or stolen items, mention Enfield rifled muskets, which were .577 caliber, but which could use the standard .58 caliber round.⁷⁴ In either case, these were formidable weapons, and far outranged the smoothbore trade muskets and

⁷² (Wagner, 2009, 191-194) (Springer 1971, 53, 79n).

⁷³ Sullivan (1997, 40) quotes Colonel Hazen of the Sixth Infantry, concerning another advantage of infantry: “After the fourth days march of a mixed command, the horse does not march faster than the foot soldier, and after the seventh day, the foot soldier begins to out march the horse, and from that time on the foot soldier has to end his march earlier and earlier each day, to enable the cavalry to reach the camp the same day at all.”

⁷⁴ Smith, Graham. 2011, 186. *Civil War Weapons*. New York, NY: Chartwell Books. Smith states that more than a million Springfield rifled muskets were manufactured during the war with over 400,000 Enfield rifled muskets being imported by the Confederacy (*Ibid.*, 134). Hess, Earl J. 2008, 38, in *The Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat: Reality and Myth*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, notes that 436,000 Enfields were also imported by the Union.

bows and arrows possessed by the majority of warriors in the Indian tribes at this time,⁷⁵ since the Springfield had a theoretical range of up to 500 yards.⁷⁶ The Springfield used a standardized prepared load of a conical lead .58 caliber “minié” projectile enclosed in a paper or linen “cartridge,” and if necessary ammunition could be produced by troops in the field.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ The situation would be reversed during the later stages of the Plains Indian Wars, however, as warriors acquired up-to-date repeating rifles through plunder or trade, but cavalry and infantry continued to be largely restricted to the types of arms used during the Civil War, including single-shot breech-loading “trapdoor” Springfield rifles and carbines and multi-shot repeating carbines such as the Spencer. Custer’s Seventh Cavalry, for example, was armed almost exclusively with “trapdoor” Springfield carbines. See: Philbrick, Nathaniel. 2010, 75, 93-94, 126. *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. New York, NY: Viking Penguin. See also: (McAulay 1996, 102), showing that by 1875 the 7th cavalry had been issued 808 Model 1873 carbines.

⁷⁶ Although most Civil War battles utilized formations and tactics developed to maximize the effects of volley firing with smoothbore muskets, specialized units equipped with rifled muskets were organized by both the Federal and Confederate armies. These units of sharpshooters and skirmishers engaged in extensive training and regular competitive target practice at up to 1000 yards.(Hess 2008, 139). Hess notes documented instances of individual Confederate snipers delivering effective fire against Federal positions at ranges of 500 yards with a standard Enfield rifled musket, and between 700 and 2200 yards with specialized Whitworth or Kerr target rifles that had been smuggled in from England. The Army of Tennessee had several divisions that included sniping squads that employed these types of rifles. (*Ibid.*,179-181, 184-187).

⁷⁷ McChristian, Douglas C. 2008, 275n. *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the Plains*. Norman, OK: The Arthur C. Clark Company. McChristian notes that prepared .58 caliber ammunition was sometimes in very short supply. In 1866, when Carrington requisitioned 100,000 rounds of ammunition for rifled muskets, there were fewer than 1100 rounds in the magazine at Fort Laramie. Providing that lead, powder, paper or linen, a melting pot and a wooden dowel of the appropriate diameter were available, ammunition could be made up on site by the soldiers themselves, but this would have been highly inconvenient at any time, and impossible in the heat of battle.

The various makes of carbines used by calvary troopers generally did not have a comparable range and used a variety of different types of ammunition. This often caused serious logistical problems. For example, the Smith carbines used by soldiers of the 11th Kansas Cavalry, which served alongside the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry at the Battle of Platte Bridge, were single-shot break-open .50 caliber Smith breechloaders.⁷⁸ They were much easier to handle and to load when on horseback than the longer Springfield, but they could not use .58 caliber ammunition, utilizing instead a special rubber or gutta-percha cartridge case to seal the breech – a definite disadvantage when sources of supply were far distant.⁷⁹

It was not until February 6, 1865, nearly three and a half months after the majority of recruits had actually volunteered for service with the Union, that authorization was received to

⁷⁸ Wickman, Johanna. 2014, 58. *Bridgeheads on the North Platte: Defending the Wyoming Frontier*. Kearney, NE: University of Nebraska at Kearney. Wickman quotes William Drew, who stated in an April 20, 1882 article in the *Osage County Chronicle* that fewer than 20 rounds of ammunition per man for the Smith carbines were available at the Battle of Platte Bridge. Units of the First Nebraska Cavalry, which also served with the 3rd U.S.V.I. on the Platte, had been issued the Joslyn breech-loading carbine in .52 caliber, but had a few Sharps carbines as well. The troopers of the 11th Ohio at the Battle of Platte Bridge were armed with Spencer carbines, also in .56-.56 caliber. Ammunition for the Joslyn, Sharps, and Spencer were all incompatible with the Smith carbine. See: McAulay, John D. 1996, 85, 93. *Carbines of the U.S. Cavalry, 1861-1905*. Lincoln, RI: Andrew Mowbray Publishers. See also: (Smith 2011, 89).

⁷⁹ According to Charlie Springer (Springer, Charles H. 1971, 79). *Soldiering in Sioux Country: 1865*. Edited by Benjamin Franklin III Cooling. San Diego, CA: Frontier Heritage Press), at least some of the 12th Missouri Cavalry on the Powder River Expedition had Spencer carbines, in .56-.56 caliber, but the Ordnance Department had also issued .56-50 caliber Gallagher carbines to soldiers of this unit. The 7th Michigan, which also served on the Powder River Expedition, had been issued Spencer carbines in .56-56 caliber, but had some .54 caliber Burnside carbines as well. See also (McAulay 1996, 46, 68). Jones (Jones 2005, 230) cites General Connor, who reported to his superior that his troops were “nearly out of ammunition.”

form them into two regiments, the 2nd and 3rd United States Volunteer Infantry.⁸⁰ Non-commissioned officers – corporals and sergeants – were appointed from among the recruits in late February, 1865, before the regiment was transported to Fort Leavenworth. There they underwent training while awaiting the arrival of regimental officers,⁸¹ prior to being ordered to Fort Kearney, the terminal point for all travelers heading west.⁸²

Obtaining a full complement of commissioned officers proved to be a continuing challenge for the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, and in fact this was never achieved. Because of the demands of the war in the eastern theatre, there was a shortage of qualified officer candidates. Some officers of the regiment were recruited from “civil life,” which might – or might not – mean that they had little or no actual military experience.⁸³ Others were selected from among non-commissioned officers of other state or volunteer units, or even from the lower ranks.

⁸⁰ (D. A. Brown 1963, 15).

⁸¹ (Jones 2005, 210).

⁸² Frank Root (1901, 1950) quotes Moses Sydenham, long-serving postmaster at Ft. Kearney, who states that the fort was originally named Ft. Child, only later being named after General Stephen Watts Kearny in 1849, with the name of the post office being misspelled as *Kearney* from at least 1856. Dee Brown (Brown 1971, 17) adds that the name was spelled with an additional *e* in “in so many official records that became recognized as the standard spelling,” while a note by Unrau in *Tending the Talking Wire* (H. Johnson 1979, 45) poses the possibility that in fact it may have been named after Colonel James Kearney, the army engineer who was involved in the original planning for the fort. Virtually all the original correspondence, printed forms, and notations in military personnel records examined in the course of this study use the spelling *Kearney*.

⁸³ Dee Brown (1963, 7) comments on the military experience and quality of most of the officers. Although a number were recruited from the ranks, most of those had actual battlefield experience. Even those who had been “recruited from civil life” had been in some instances mustered out of military service so that they could comply with recruiting regulations.

Consequently, there were numerous delays in officers taking command of or being mustered into their units, sometimes even months after the Regiment had deployed to the territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and points west.

Individual service records and notes in the record books of the Regiment serve to illustrate the scope of this problem.⁸⁴ Christopher McNally had received a serious wound in a skirmish at Mesilla, New Mexico territory early in the war, and his promotion from Captain to Colonel in command of the regiment was delayed since his condition had to be reviewed by the Board for Examining Sick and Disabled Officers under General Sherman. As a result, he did not take command of the regiment until May 12th, 1865, more than three months after the regiment was authorized.

Captain Stephen Mathews, who had started his career as a Private in the 29th Iowa Infantry and served as a Sergeant in the 2nd Battalion of the Veteran Reserve Corps, did not assume command of Company G until May 1, and was then absent on leave for a month in September and October due to the hospitalization and impending death of his wife.

Richard Montrose (or Montross) was advanced from his rank as a Private in the 6th Iowa Volunteer Cavalry to serve as Lieutenant and Regimental Quartermaster. He reported for duty at

⁸⁴ Information for this section is based on an examination of the individual officer records in the Fold3 database, and by reference to four regimental record books obtained as microfilm from the National Archives & Records Administration. See: United States. War Department. Adjutant General's Office. 1828 - 4/28/1904. "Regimental Descriptive, Letter, Endorsement and Order Book. Descriptive Book for Companies A-K. Order Book for Companies A-K. Morning Reports for Companies A-K." *Regimental and Company Books of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment*. Washington, DC: National Archives, hereinafter noted as: (United States. War Department. Adjutant General's Office.)

Fort Kearney on March 17, was commissioned on March 24th, but was not officially mustered in at that rank and duty until July 29th at Denver, Colorado Territory.

Byron Richmond was serving as a Commissary Sergeant with the 6th Iowa Cavalry when he was appointed on March 1, 1865 as Captain of Company C of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry. He assumed command of the Regiment as senior officer on April 8, and of Company C on April 20, 1865. However, he had never been mustered out of the 6th Iowa Cavalry, and that had to be done on June 12th before he could officially be mustered in as Captain. Appointed to serve as Sub-District Inspector and Assistant Chief of Cavalry for the South Sub-District of the Plains, which required extensive travel in Nebraska and Colorado, he requested to be relieved of that duty to focus on command of his Company.

Captain John Cochrane of Company A was promoted from 2nd Lieutenant in the 1st Maryland Cavalry. He reported to Ft. Kearney on March 15, but was on detached duty in April and again from May to October as Assistant Chief of Cavalry for the South Sub-District of the Plains.⁸⁵ Under suspicion of an incident of financial irregularity that occurred in Iowa, he was subsequently court-martialed, relieved of duty and mustered out of the service on Oct. 30, 1865.

Alexander Abell was 1st Lieutenant for Company F but was placed on detached duty with the Iowa Cavalry as Assistant Inspector of Cavalry with travel to Forts Rankin and Sedgwick. At Ft. Laramie on July 23, 1865 he was cited for drunkenness, conduct unbecoming an officer, and lack of proper uniform. He subsequently requested a release from duty and was mustered out on August 30, 1865.

⁸⁵ Price, George F, and P. Edward Connor. 1865, May 5. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 326. Gen. Ord. 9: Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." (United States. War Department n.d.) Both Richmond and Cochrane were appointed to their duty as inspectors in an order from Adjutant General George F. Price.

Thomas Smith was a Sergeant in the 33rd Iowa Vol. Infantry before being commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant of Company A, 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry and taking command of the company on Feb. 22, 1865 until Apr. 9, 1865. However, he was not mustered in until Oct. 20, 1865 at Fort Kearney. (Livingston and Majors 1864)

When the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was ordered to Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory, from Fort Riley, Kansas, Lieutenant Lafayette Campbell was the most senior officer present, and was placed in charge during the long march to Fort Kearney.⁸⁶

In other cases, officers were carried on the rolls of the Regiment, but were on frequent or prolonged detached duty, or never actually served with the Regiment in the field at all. Individual service records show that Byron Richmond, Captain of Company C, was not mustered in until early July 1865, as was David Ellison, Captain of Company F.

Prior to being appointed 1st Lieutenant of Company I on Feb. 27, 1865 and promoted to Captain of the company on March 7, A. Smith Lybe was an unassigned Private. He was not mustered in until November 23, 1865 upon return to Ft. Leavenworth.

Henry Lefeldt underwent a similar promotion from 1st Lieutenant to Captain of Company K, but was mustered in much earlier, on July 2, 1865. Lieutenants Whitlock, Bartlett, Campbell, Stone, Smith, Woodward, and Coburn were not mustered in until months after they had assumed rank and commission in March 1865.

J.L. Forman was appointed Chaplain of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, but never actually served with the regiment in the field at all, since he spent his entire term of service in St. Louis, in charge of soldiers' homes.

⁸⁶ (D. A. Brown 1963, 17).

Although the regiment had a nominal strength of more than 900 men and officers, not everyone was well enough to undertake such a long journey on foot. This was due in part to the reduced food rations while prisoners, and conditions of their residence at Rock Island prison, both before and after enlisting in the Federal service.⁸⁷ Franklin Parham died at Rock Island, as did Francis Simpson. Jerome Jones was assigned to the wrong company through clerical error, left behind in the hospital at Rock Island, and reported as absent without leave from Feb. 27 through October 1865. Jones died in the hospital at Rock Island on April 11, long before the error was discovered.⁸⁸ William Hardin was hospitalized at Rock Island, and subsequently at Fort Leavenworth until November 6, 1865. James Hubbard died on April 18, 1865 of a head wound at Fort Leavenworth under undisclosed circumstances.⁸⁹ Jacob Pollock, James Tiney, Andrew Wallace, George Walters, and William Billingsly were too ill to travel, were left at Fort Leavenworth, and subsequently discharged from the service without ever having served in the field. Reuben Bundren was also hospitalized at Fort Leavenworth, and discharged in June 1865, as were Amos Capp, Thomas Coates, Joseph Coward, Morgan Delacey, James Garren, Woodson

⁸⁷ Major-General Alfred Sully commented on the many deaths and poor health of the men of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Infantry at Fort Rice for the same reasons. See: Sully, Alfred. 1865, May 14. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 432: Correspondence, Etc. -- Union." (United States. War Department n.d.).

⁸⁸ Two muster-in cards exist for Jones, one dated 10/15/65 assigning him to Company E, the other dated 10/17/65 assigning him to Co. K. He was reported as AWOL from Co. K until muster-out at Ft. Leavenworth on Nov. 29, 1865. The muster-out card for Co. E notes the date and location of his death at Rock Island. See: Fold3 record at <https://www.fold3.com/image/139922204>. Jones is buried in the Rock Island National Cemetery, plot SW-250, as listed on Find a Grave Memorial #2890160.

⁸⁹ Hubbard is buried in the Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery, section D, plot 1001, as listed in the U.S. Dept. of Veterans Affairs directory and on Find a Grave Memorial #3657424.

Gett, Seborn Golden, and William Hilliard. Oliver England was sick at Fort Riley, and remained there until mustering out in early November 1865. Paul Henson died on April 16, while returning to Fort Leavenworth to be hospitalized. William Harvey reached Fort Kearney but died there on April 17. Gilbert Shoemaker also reached Fort Kearney on April 12 but was left in the hospital there until he died on July 8, 1865. Numerous other soldiers were ill, sometimes for months at a time, but remained with the regiment until mustering out in late November 1865.

A few simply left the regiment before reaching Nebraska. T.B. Robertson deserted at Rock Island on Feb. 25. John Lipps, from Switzerland, deserted on March 9 from Fort Leavenworth. Thomas Bennington, originally from Lancashire, England, deserted near Fort Riley, KS on April 1, 1865, as did Jesse Doyle. William Hayde, Hardy Leverett and Daniel Cleaveland deserted from Salt Creek, KS on March 30. Although all were posted as deserters, no records indicating that any of them were ever apprehended have been found.⁹⁰

The remaining soldiers in the regiment reached Fort Kearney on April 9, 1865,⁹¹ but for most of them their long trek was just beginning. Some companies would be stationed as far from

⁹⁰ *Ancestry.com* provides indexing and information for many Civil War information sources. It also links to *Fold3*, which provides additional indexing with links to digitized versions of transcribed military record cards for both U.S. and Confederate soldiers. For this project, it was often useful to find both the U.S. and Confederate records for each soldier, wherever possible, since the Confederate records often include information as to the date and location of capture, the battle with which capture was associated, occasional notes from interrogations, prison locations and transfers, and date of entry to Federal service, if any. Information relative to individual soldiers and officers in the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was obtained directly from digitized records in the *Fold3* database or from microfilm copies of the regimental record books.

⁹¹ Connor, P. Edward. 1865, Apr. 9. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 60: Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." (United States. War Department n.d.). Brigadier-General Connor reports the arrival of both the 3rd

Kearney as South Pass, now in Wyoming.⁹² Two companies (A&B) would be based at Fort Kearney. Companies C&D would be stationed at Post Cottonwood, later to be known as Fort McPherson, and today the site of a National Cemetery. Camp Rankin, near the present site of Julesburg, CO, was selected as the headquarters for the regiment, with companies E&F based at that location. Companies G&H marched south and slightly west of Julesburg on the trail to Denver, to the Junction / Camp Tyler station. There they would complete the construction of Camp Wardwell,⁹³ later renamed Fort Morgan. Company K established its headquarters at Camp Marshall, approximately 65 miles west of Fort Laramie, while Company I was based at Three Crossings, with small units posted to the stage and telegraph stations at Sweetwater, St. Mary's, and South Pass.⁹⁴

U.S. Volunteers at Ft. Kearney and of the Sixteenth Kansas at Post Cottonwood. Note: on page 42 of this same volume 48, General Dodge expresses his vexation with the 16th Kansas, who had taken two months to travel from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Cottonwood.

⁹² Whether he was the actual source of the idea of placing small contingents of soldiers at approximately ten to twelve mile intervals, or simply promoting an existing pattern that he had observed, the eventual disposition of the forces along the Platte bears a resemblance to a communication sent by General P. Edward Connor in 1864. See: Connor, P. Edward. 1864, Nov. 5, 908-911. "Series I, Vol. 41 (Part 1). Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." (United States. War Department n.d.).

⁹³ Root (1901, (1950), 380) states that during the "Indian troubles Wardwell became quite an important camp, a military officer being stationed here, who performed the duties of provost marshal (...) to keep people from proceeding without a minimum strength of thirty armed men, for safety against the redskins."

⁹⁴ (D. A. Brown 1963, 17-18); (Jones 2005, 231); (Schmucker 1988, 110). Specific orders for the disposition of the soldiers of Companies K and I are detailed in an order from Acting Adjutant General George F. Price to Colonel Moonlight. See: Price, George F. 1865, May 5, 326. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part2). Chapter LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." (United States. War Department, n.d.)

After some initial apprehension, cavalry soldiers with whom they shared garrison duty at small posts came to respect the former Confederates:

All the posts from Laramie to south pass are garrisoned by infantry (3rd US Volunteers) and four of our Co. at each post. There are three regiments of U.S. Vols in this country, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd, all infantry. They were recruited out of the military prisons in the north. Every one of them except the Officers have been in the rebel army. The boys are all a quiet civil set of fellows. (...) I have been thrown in contact with parts of two companies of the 3rd regiment, "I" and "K". Those of "I" company evidently have sympathy with the South, but they keep their places admirably, and speak in terms of contempt of any who would violate their oaths. There have been but three cases of desertion from the reg't and they were from Co "I." The boys of "K" Co are very sociable and good natured, I have heard some of them speak in terms of approbation of the movements some of the southern states are making to come back into the Union.⁹⁵

Soldiers of companies A and B found that some run-down quarters constructed of cottonwood logs and sod were already in place at Fort Kearney, having been built in late 1848, with additional quarters and a large frame building added by 1850.⁹⁶ For lack of suitable timber, the Fort had originally been built on an open plan, with no stockade. However, palisaded

⁹⁵ (H. Johnson 1979, 262-3).

⁹⁶ (Wilson 1980, 32, 37).

fortifications had been added beginning in 1864, before the “Galvanized Yankees” were stationed there.⁹⁷

Also prior to the arrival of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, a “vast warehouse in which supplies for the west were stored in great quantities” had been constructed. This was large enough that a securely locked interior room, “almost as big as a small house,” was in use for the storage of barrels of liquor – an essential commodity on the Plains. Although the supplies in the warehouse were intended for use by the garrison, for emergencies, and to stock the supply rooms and warehouses of other forts and posts along the Overland emigration route, they were also sold at cost through the post commissary to travelers who had run short of provisions.⁹⁸

When they eventually reached their posts, the other companies of the Regiment were assigned to reconstruct buildings damaged in earlier Indian attacks, and to construct new buildings, fortifications and walled corrals from whatever materials were available. Most frequently this was sod or adobe, but in some locations, cottonwood logs or slim cedar pickets.

⁹⁷ This was initiated by order of Lt. Colonel William Baumer of the 1st Nebraska, who was commander of Ft. Kearney until Sept. 30, 1864. He was succeeded as post commander by Capt. Lee Gillette, who served in that capacity until early January 1865. Wilson (1980, 124-125) notes: “A series of interior fortifications were built around Fort Kearny’s central facility when the threats of an Indian attack on the fort seemed imminent. Capt. Gillette was in charge of this detail. Fortifications erected at the northwest corner of the fort, near the sutler’s store, were called West Fort or Fort Livingston. Fort Gillette was the name given to the fortifications near the corrals on the north side. East Fort or Fort Mitchell commanded the southeast approach and was connected to a long rifle pit designed to protect any attack from the south.” The palisaded reconstruction that is located at Fort Kearny Historical Park today replicates the Fort Mitchell fortification. Several other reconstructed buildings are also visible on the Nebraska State Parks website at: http://www.stateparks.com/fort_ Kearney_state_park_in_nebraska.html?

⁹⁸ (Ware 1960, 32, 33).

Where wells had not already been dug, this was also done by soldiers, resulting in a considerable improvement over the quality of the water that had been available at Rock Island, and because of the frequently muddy nature of the Platte, much preferable to drawing water directly from that source. Access to good water was greatly appreciated by the emigrants:

I have always supposed that good water would be very scarce on this road; we have not found it so, there are always from one to three wells at the stage stations, with excellent water, free for all – thanks to Uncle Sam for this provision for our welfare. ⁹⁹

This rebuilding was a matter of some importance due to the destruction that had taken place during the latter part of 1864 and early 1865,¹⁰⁰ and the need to provide adequate shelter for men and livestock. Among other examples, Lieutenant William Bartlett, of Company C, was

⁹⁹ (Raymond 1971, 112). Raymond also notes that she met one of the former Confederates at Fort Kearney, that he gave her a drink of water from a roadside well, and that: “he seemed a perfect gentleman, but had such a sad expression.” (*Ibid.*, 84)

¹⁰⁰ See: Livingston, Robert R, and Thomas J Majors. 1864. "Reports: First Nebraska Cavalry. Series 1, Vol. 41 (Part 1). Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi. September 29 - November 30, 1864. Operations Against Indians in Nebraska and Colorado." (United States. War Department n.d.) Col. Robert R. Livingston, writing from Fort Rankin (near Julesburg) reported on skirmishes and destruction that had occurred within the month following the battle of Julesburg in January 1865. He noted that stage stations at Beaver Creek, Antelope, Spring Hill, and Julesburg had all been burned, along with ranches including Morrison’s, Wisconsin, Lillian Springs, Buffalo Springs, Harlow’s, Gittrell’s, and Buler’s. This was in addition to the capture a train of twenty-two wagons of Government stores and private freight and the burning of 100 tons of Government hay at Valley Station, the cutting of telegraph lines, the loss of 1,500 head of cattle, and the killing of a number of settlers or ranchers. (Livingston and Majors 1864). Four months later, Raymond (1971, 109) writing from just west of Julesburg on June 25, 1865, saw that nothing yet had been rebuilt, and that “Every station and ranch building that we are passing these days have been destroyed.”

occupied from May to July superintending the construction of barracks for guards and stage escorts at many of the posts between Fort Kearney and Julesburg and did not actually join his company until July 5. Lieutenant Henry Leland of Company B also supervised construction of stables and soldier's quarters between Ft. Kearney and Post Cottonwood from May through August, with time out in July to serve on a board of Courts Martial.¹⁰¹ Benjamin Kilcrease was in charge of a crew constructing government buildings at Pawnee Station – at least until he decided to desert.¹⁰²

Although the timber, sod or adobe-walled structures may have been primitive at best, they were certainly more comfortable than the housing the men of the Regiment had endured at Rock Island. One distinctive feature of nearly all buildings from Columbus on west was the use of pounded clay, laid over brush and poles, forming a cement-like roofing material that was impervious to weather. At Post Cottonwood, there was sufficient timber to build twenty-foot-square log cabins, which were roofed with the customary pounded clay.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Digitized individual record cards from Fold3 show that Privates Walter Childers, Henry Clifford, William Ervin, Milton Gallagher, Thomas Green, Henry Hickman, William Hutton and August Deal of Companies A & B were assigned to construction crews, and likely were members of Leland's or Kilcrease's working parties. In addition, William Deals, John Denton, Eli Downey, Solomon Johnson, and the brothers George and Sith Loverne were on daily duty constructing adobe buildings at Fort Rankin in July and August.

¹⁰² Kilcrease's records show that he deserted in style, taking with him two rifled muskets, two sets of accoutrements, one knapsack, one haversack, one canteen, one shelter tent, a saddle, a bridle, and – to add insult to injury – a mule belonging to First Lieutenant Whitlock of Company A. In spite his desertion, Kilcrease's military record shows that the charge of desertion was removed in 1896, he was given an honorable discharge as of August 30, 1865, (the date of his desertion), and awarded a Federal soldier's invalid pension.

¹⁰³ (Ware 1960, 31, 48-49).

In addition to building sod-walled corrals for the protection of the transport stock and cavalry mounts, the infantrymen worked at other tasks for the benefit of the animals. Men from Company E at Fort Rankin (near Julesburg) were reported as being assigned to daily duty with the Quartermaster Department storing large amounts of bagged corn,¹⁰⁴ nearly all of which had been transported by wagon from Omaha or Atchison, Kansas.¹⁰⁵ The Company C men at Post Cottonwood were especially busy over the hot summer months cutting, drying, transporting and storing large amounts of hay to enable the animals to survive through the winter. The records of more than thirty-five soldiers from this single company show notations concerning this task,

¹⁰⁴ The amount of corn required to feed draft animals and cavalry mounts, in addition to hay or grass fodder, was considerable. Ware (*Ibid.*, 39) states that his unit fed each horse a quart of shelled corn three times per day. This was carried in the form of sacks that each held sixty-four quarts, each sack weighing one hundred twelve pounds, or two bushels. Corn transport was a constant concern for the Army on the Plains. In, for example, on April 29, 1865, Colonel Potter, Quartermaster at Leavenworth, assured Major-General Dodge that he had 25,000 bushels of corn on the way to Denver. A similar message was sent to Major-General Dodge on May 15, noting that Potter had contracted for 25,000 bushels to Denver, with 20,000 additional each to Laramie, Ft. Cottonwood, Julesburg, and Kearny. See: Potter, J. A. 1865, May 15. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 455: Correspondence, etc. -- Union." (United States. War Department n.d.).

¹⁰⁵ Wagner (Patrick Connor's War 2010, 33) notes that when preparing for the Powder River expedition that began in August 1865, General Connor ordered 100 wagons for transport of at least 25,000 bushels of corn to Fort Laramie. Along the route, post commanders requisitioned from this total, including 80,000 pounds offloaded at Alkali station alone. (*Ibid.*,38), (Jones 2005, 230). A bushel of shelled corn usually weighs about 56 pounds, so the total weight to be transported for the Powder River expedition would be approximately 1,400,000 pounds. Civil War era Army wagons were generally pulled by six mules and carried up to 3000 pounds of cargo. (Sherman 2006, 11). Each of the 100 wagons would have to make about five trips hauling corn, with five trips empty back to the reloading stations at Omaha or Atchison, assuming that all the wagons remained serviceable, and the mules healthy.

which was done almost entirely in August.¹⁰⁶ They had the use of a horse-drawn mowing machine, but the work of windrowing, turning, transporting and stacking the hay all had to be done by hand.¹⁰⁷

Guard duty and protection of both military and civilian posts was an important function of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry. The basic pattern included stationing small units of up to ten men under the command of a non-commissioned officer, with larger units at home stations of the stage line and military posts and forts. In actual practice, as few as three to five soldiers from one or two units might be stationed at a small telegraph post or line station.¹⁰⁸ Service at the smaller, isolated posts such as Gardiner's Ranch could sometimes be rather trying:

Several soldiers came to our camp this afternoon; they confirmed what we heard yesterday. They are Confederate soldiers, they were prisoners, and their homes are in far-away Georgia and Alabama, and they are desperately homesick. (...) I do hope this cruel, homicidal war will soon be over, and these fine-looking

¹⁰⁶ In most cases, this is listed in Fold3 records as daily duty for an entire month or more (July and/or August), and involved primarily – but not exclusively – those with a previous farm background. William Adams, with pre-war experience as a student, worked at this task at Post Cottonwood with Jasper Adams and Silas Dunn, both of whom had been shoemakers in civilian life, with George Coffey, who had been a carpenter, John Cowan, a former painter, Abraham Greer, who was a blacksmith, and Martin Curl, who had listed his occupation as mechanic. Jefferson Fields, who had been wounded by Indians near Elm Creek, also worked on haying at Post Cottonwood.

¹⁰⁷ This was hot work and required drinking a lot of water in order to avoid heatstroke. It is not surprising that at least five of the soldiers, exhausted at the end of a long day in the sun, lost their canteens during this time. Their record cards show that they to pay for them when they were finally mustered out of service.

¹⁰⁸ (Jones 2005, 244, 254); (D. A. Brown 1963, 20).

Southern gentlemen will be permitted to go to their homes and loved ones, who, no doubt, are waiting and longing for their return. My heart aches for them.¹⁰⁹

Garrison duty on the smaller posts was often tedious but might even be pleasant at times. Hervey Johnson, who was at Deer Creek Station (to the east of Platte Bridge) with a small detachment of cavalry in March, 1864, before the arrival of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, wrote that: “We have nothing to do but hunt, fish and get firewood.” Of course, this was before hostilities became more frequent by mid-June of that same year.¹¹⁰ For the most part, however: “Instead of excitement, the soldiers found instead isolation and an often very dull routine. Located on the stark and inhospitable plains, the soldiers occupied dreary and primitive posts.”¹¹¹

On occasion, the tedium of garrison duty, the strain of watchfulness against the possibility of Indian attacks, and the ache of homesickness simply became too much, and both soldiers and officers took refuge in strong drink.¹¹² Private Asher Longshore of Company A of the 3rd U.S. Volunteers had evidently fallen victim to both boredom and alcohol on June 8, 1865, when he was charged with drunkenness and disloyal practices by Colonel Carroll Potter, Commanding Officer of the 6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry. Both Longshore’s record and the

¹⁰⁹ (Raymond 1971, 85)

¹¹⁰ (H. Johnson 1979, 107, 139-141, 135)

¹¹¹ (Sullivan 1997, 9).

¹¹² Ware frequently speaks of the effects of alcohol on the men of his cavalry unit. He related that his Captain sometimes carried a canteen filled with whisky, although he seldom drank it (Ware, 43), but that he often rewarded his men with a gill of whisky for their hard work (*Ibid.*, 47), and was soon obliged to acquire seven more barrels when the first had been used up by also providing a gill in the morning as well. (*Ibid.*, 92). He also discusses the general attitude towards drinking that was prevalent in society at the time (*Ibid.*, 93-95).

regimental books show that at Willow Island Station, the first post west of Plum Creek, he drunkenly approached a unit of the 6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry and shouted “You go to Hell! Hurrah for the 6th Louisiana Regiment! Hurrah for Jeff Davis!” There is no record in his file of the outcome of these charges, but it is entirely possible that he spent at least a few days in the guardhouse at Fort Kearney.¹¹³ Even officers were not immune to the temptations of alcohol. As noted previously, Alexander Abell, the First Lieutenant of Company F of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry, could not cope with the demands of his appointment as Assistant Inspector of Cavalry, and was found to be drunk on duty and in improper uniform. He requested release from that duty, which was granted.¹¹⁴

Officers could purchase whisky and bitters from the post sutler, or elsewhere, but the proprietors of the road ranches and the post sutlers were forbidden to sell alcohol to the soldiers. Saloon keepers in the wretched settlements such as Dobytown (later the town of Kearney) did not abide by those regulations, however, and surreptitious drinking and gambling establishments appeared from time to time. Ware, who was seeking three of his troopers who had disappeared into that settlement shortly after arriving at Fort Kearney, remarked that “Large quantities of the meanest whisky were consumed here, but strange as it may appear, there were also quantities of champagne sold and drank here.”¹¹⁵ Other dangers to the well-being of the Fort’s soldiers also

¹¹³ The 6th Louisiana was, of course, a Rebel unit. Longshore had been captured at Missionary Ridge with other members of the 14th (Austin’s) Battalion of Louisiana Sharp Shooters, before being sent to Rock Island. Prior to service with the 14th Battalion in 1862-3, he had served in 1861 with the 11th Regiment of Louisiana Infantry, not the 6th Louisiana as might be supposed from his outburst.

¹¹⁴ (Ancestry.com\Fold3 2012. See digitized card records at: <https://www.fold3.com/image/153590018> and <https://www.fold3.com/image/153590014>).

¹¹⁵ (Ware 1960, 298-303, 32.).

were common in Dobytown: Suttle notes that: “Four out of every five buildings on Main Street were either saloons or gambling dens, and sometimes from one to three men were killed here each week.”¹¹⁶

Soldiers were frequently detailed to serve as guards for installations such as the important pontoon bridge at Columbus, Nebraska Territory, which was guarded in one to three month long detached-duty relays by men from Company B,¹¹⁷ or the 1000-foot-long Platte Bridge located near the site of present-day Casper, Wyoming.¹¹⁸ In addition, they escorted mail shipments, stages, emigrant and supply trains, and at times groups of dignitaries, although this would have been done riding on a wagon or stagecoach or mounted on horses or mules.¹¹⁹ On at least one occasion, mounted infantry soldiers were part of a unit of troopers engaged in an unsuccessful pursuit of a band of hostile Indians.¹²⁰ Individual service records provide month-to-month summaries of activities for individual soldiers, and many include clarifying information for events or unusual assignments.

Although some soldiers from the regiment were engaged in skirmishes with hostile Indians, there were relatively few battle deaths among the members of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry. Private William Mers of Company B, traveling with a detachment of unarmed soldiers who were enroute to rejoin their units, was killed on May 18, 1865 in an attack by Indians in the

¹¹⁶ (Raymond 1971, 84)

¹¹⁷ (Jones 2005, 257)

¹¹⁸ Unruh, cited in (Johnson 1979, 122n) noted that the bridge, which had been built in 1859 by the French-Canadian trader Louis Guinard as a toll bridge, was burned by the Indians in 1867.

¹¹⁹ (D. A. Brown 1963, 28); (Jones 2005, 234).

¹²⁰ (D. A. Brown 1963, 22).

“Little Blue” river valley near Elm Creek. Private John Tyman was wounded and scalped, and Rinaldo Hedges, Peter Flynn and Jefferson Fields were also wounded in this same unprovoked attack.¹²¹ Private John Hall of Company D was wounded in action against a band of hostile Indians near Midway Station on May 12, 1865, but subsequently recovered from his wounds, and worked on the post farm and as a teamster until mustering out. Privates John Reel, David Carr, Robert Caves and John C. Oney were also wounded in this same action. A 14-man platoon from Company I, marching from Sweetwater to Fort Laramie on July 25-26, 1865 under their company commander Captain Lybe, performed with discipline and bravery while serving as infantry support to a cavalry squad at some distance from the fort during the Battle of Platte Bridge. This was the same battle at which Lieutenant Caspar Collins and twenty-five other soldiers lost their lives, most from the 11th Kansas Cavalry.¹²²

Poor nutrition and unhealthy living conditions at Rock Island, combined with limited access to a variety of foods while at their posts along the Platte, doubtless contributed to the state

¹²¹ He was one of a group of fifteen soldiers who had been recuperating from various illnesses and had been left at the hospital at Fort Leavenworth or Fort Riley. The group was sent without any arms to defend themselves.

¹²² (Wickman 2014, 57-58, 65, 67). See: Connor, P. Edward. 1865, July 27. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX, 357: The Powder River Indian Expedition." (United States. War Department n.d.).

of health of many soldiers,¹²³ and most casualties appear to have been caused by disease.¹²⁴ Both Paul Henson and William Donaly are noted in the casualty records for Company A as having died from disease. Henson, who had typhus, died on April 16th, after having been ordered back to the hospital at Ft. Leavenworth to recuperate. Donaly (or Donnelly) died more than a month later, on June 18th, while on night duty at Craig's Mail Station near Fort Kearney. The cryptic notation "Died while on duty at night," as recorded in the descriptive books of the Regiment really does not communicate why, more than two months after arriving in Fort Kearney, Private Donaly (or Donnely or Donnelly) would have been placed on night duty at Craig's Station if he suffered from a condition serious enough to kill him.¹²⁵

Records for Company B note that William Fannin died from pneumonia at Fort Kearney on July 1, 1865. Samuel Cowart, of Company C died of "brain disease" at Post Cottonwood on July 6, 1865. Aaron Newton of Company D died at Post Cottonwood of typhoid on May 19th.¹²⁶

¹²³ Eugene Ware, (1960, 282-283) who served with the 7th Iowa Cavalry at some of the same posts as the men of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer infantry, noted that scurvy was a problem at Julesburg, in spite of the issue of "dressed vegetables," which were considered nutritious and palatable, but did not resolve the problem. Doubtless this was due to the intensive steaming, pressing and drying process by which the vegetables were processed, since much of the vitamin C content would have been destroyed. Ware recounts that the post surgeon used boiled and mashed prickly pear to combat the disease, and that men consuming the concoction were "immediately cured."

¹²⁵ Although his individual card file states that he "Died of disease," and that a Final Statement is included, the latter document is in fact missing from his record. (Fold3 2011). More research to attempt to locate the Final Statement, which has possibly been misfiled due to variations in the spelling of his name, may shed more light on why this soldier died so suddenly.

¹²⁶ Newton is buried in the Fort McPherson National Cemetery, section A, plot 319, as listed on Find a Grave Memorial #3381787. A photo of his monument was added by Tracy Lichtenwalter.

Jerome Jones of Company E died in the hospital at Rock Island of chronic diarrhea on April 11, after having been left accidentally at the prison camp when the regiment departed. William Harvey of Company E died on April 17 at Fort Kearney of “inflammation of the lungs,” without ever having reached his duty station. William Burke of Company F died at Camp Rankin near Julesburg on August 13, 1865 of “inflammation of the bowels.”¹²⁷ John Cochran or Cochrane of Company I died of an unspecified disease at Fort Kearney on May 3, 1865, also without having reached his duty station. Gilbert Shoemaker, also of Company I, died at Fort Kearney on July 8, 1865, after having been left in the hospital there on April 12, 1865.

The men of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Regiment proved, in the main, to be steady and reliable soldiers, and served from early April to October 1865, when much of the regiment was re-assembled at Julesburg prior to marching to Ft. Kearney. Because of their reliability,¹²⁸ General Pope had asked for permission to re-enlist men from both the 2nd and 3rd Volunteer Infantry Regiments, and to consolidate them into a single regiment, but as the regiment was already past the end of its term of service, his request to General Grant was denied. (Brown 1963, 6). On Oct. 22nd, the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was ordered to Fort Leavenworth for

¹²⁷ Burke is buried in the Fort McPherson National Cemetery, section B, plot 74, as listed on the National Cemetery Administration site and Find a Grave Memorial #439413. A photo of his monument was added by TiogaRose on July 4, 2010.

¹²⁸ McChristian (2008, 250) notes that: “Surprisingly, he (General Pope) considered the U.S. Volunteers (former Confederates) to be the most highly disciplined and trustworthy troops then available. Unlike the Union state volunteers, many Southerners had little incentive to return home to a war-ravaged countryside and decimated economy. Even though soldiering meant serving under the flag they had formerly renounced, at least military service provided food, shelter, clothing, and pay. Moreover, many ex-Rebels saw in the West opportunities for mining, farming, business and other ventures once their military obligation was fulfilled.

mustered out. (Wilson 1980, 142). From Julesburg they marched to Fort Kearney, where they were joined by Companies A and B. On November 3rd the regiment left Fort Kearney, and proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, where the men were discharged and mustered out of the service on November 29, 1865.

There were few actual desertions from designated posts during the months that the regiment was stationed along the Platte. However, when their contractual period of enlistment had been reached and relief units had arrived, not everyone felt obligated to complete the long walk back to Fort Leavenworth for discharge. Even some of those who did complete the trek to Leavenworth slipped away before the final mustering-out formalities. Soldiers who did not go through the mustering-out process were listed as deserters. No distinction was made at the time that it occurred, but those who deserted near or after the end of their one-year contract eventually came to be treated differently from those who deserted earlier in their term of service.

Desertion near the end of 1865 among all types of units was so common that Congress eventually passed laws that enabled men who had completed – or nearly completed – their term of service to apply for a certificate of discharge.¹²⁹ It appears that at least nine of the soldiers of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry who left the regiment before being mustered out eventually were

¹²⁹ This was H.R. 5334, 23 Stat. 598, ch.298, of the 48th Congress, passed on July 5, 1884. Another entitled “An act for the relief of certain volunteer and regular soldiers of the late war and the war with Mexico,” was enacted by the Fiftieth Congress, Session II, Chapter 390, on March 2, 1889 and provided that any soldier who served until the expiration of his term of enlistment, could apply to have the charge of desertion removed from the soldier’s record during a three-year period beginning July 1, 1889. Applications after that three year period would not be considered.

able to have the charge of desertion removed from their service record and to receive an honorable discharge, making them eligible for a Federal military pension.¹³⁰

| Number of soldiers who left the regiment either before or after their one-year term of enlistment without receiving a formal discharge (United States. War Department. Adjutant General's Office. 1828 - 4/28/1904) | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of soldiers deserting from 3 rd U.S.V.I. | Desertion before Oct. 15, 1865 (service term ending date) | Desertion After Oct. 15, 1865 but prior to Nov. 29, 1865 <u>mustering-out</u> |
| Company A | Mar. 30 (3), Aug. 30 (2), Sept. 4 (1), Oct. 3, (2) | Oct. 15 (1), Oct. 17 (1), Oct. 25 (2), Oct. 27 (2), Oct. 31 (1) |
| Company B | Sept. 7 (1) | Oct. 18 (5), Oct. 24 (1), Nov. 4 (4) |
| Company C | Mar. 9 (1), Sept. 23 (3) | Nov. 18 (2) |
| Company D | Prior to Feb. 25 (1), Sep. 28 (1) | Nov. 11 (1) |

¹³⁰ Known “deserters” who later received discharges and pensions in this way include John J. Dilbeck (Co. A), who filed from Alabama on Sept. 6, 1890 (app. 925391, cert. 1064.096), and who included a notation of his service with the Quartermaster Dept. of the U.S. Volunteers. The military record of Joshua F. Buch or Beech (Co. A) includes a War Dept. Record & Pension Division form dated Dec. 1, 1891, removing the charge of desertion, and providing a Discharge Certificate with a date of Oct. 3, 1865. John Pitts (app. 1393890, cert. 1164082) and Nathan Land (app. 407969, cert. 583033), both of Company A, also received Federal pensions. The military record file of John P. Brown (Co. B) includes a form dated Oct. 22, 1884, removing the charge of desertion, and providing a Discharge Certificate dated Oct. 18, 1865. A pension application was filed from Louisiana in the name of Jasper J. Duke (Co. B) (app. no. illegible, cert. 1123362), and later by his wife as a survivor through attorney W.H. Wills. A form from the Pension Office of the War Department for Thomas C. Keen (Co. B) dated Feb. 16, 1899, removes the charge of desertion and provides a discharge date of Nov. 4, 1865. Keen’s pension application, (No. 1220443, Cert. 1113922) and that of his widow, Loves K. Keen (No. 1084496) were filed on Feb. 25, 1899 and Nov. 9, 1917 respectively from Indian Territory / Oklahoma).

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------|
| Company E | | |
| Company F | 0 | Oct. 24 (1) |
| Company G | July 4 (1), July 29 (1), Sept. 23 (1), Sept. 26 (2), Sept. 27 (1) | 0 |
| Company H | June 11 (1), July 1 (3), Sept. 30 (2) | 0 |
| Company I | April 1 (3) | 0 |
| Company K | 0 | Nov. 20 (2) |

Although several writers note that “Galvanized Yankees” who returned to their homes must have been subject to harassment and ostracism at best, that may not always have been the case.¹³¹ One factor may have been that thousands of Confederate soldiers took the Federal loyalty oath in order to be released from prison. Many of these did not wish to return south while hostilities were still going on, since they no longer wanted to fight. Other thousands swore not to bear arms against the United States in order to be freed on parole after a Federal military victory. Still others were actively opposed to Confederate authority for much of the war, even in Deep South states of the Confederacy. Calling into question the loyalty to the Confederacy of returning individuals after the war might have raised uncomfortable questions about their own military service and loyalty to the Confederacy.

Of course, many of the regiment’s former soldiers may not have had much, if anything, to return to, and may have decided to become part of the large-scale migration that occurred near

¹³¹ (Borger 2005, March 5) states that according to the granddaughter of Henderson Goad, he had no serious trouble with friends and relatives because “people from the mountainous regions of the South tended to be far less committed to the Rebel cause than lowlanders.”

the end of, and after the termination of hostilities. Others, particularly in mountain states, may have had families and property that were less affected by the war.

More than 180 hours of research into pension records has been carried out since this document was begun, showing that the at least 598 of the 893 individuals recorded as members of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry did, in fact, seek and receive Federal pensions. Most Civil War pension applications and those based on postdated discharges normally include the location from which the application was sent, which incidentally provide at least some indication of where the former members of the regiment settled after the end of their Frontier service. For example, of the 118 men from Georgia, large swathes of which had been devastated by Sherman's "March to the Sea,"¹³² less than a quarter -- only 23 -- returned there and later filed in that state. Those filing from other Southern states included 22 from Alabama, 6 from Florida, 5 from Arkansas, and 4 from Mississippi, while only two filed from Colorado, with one each from Illinois, Iowa and Missouri.¹³³ Of the contingent of 159 soldiers from Alabama, 43 veterans or their survivors -- slightly over a 27 percent -- applied for Federal pensions from within Alabama, while 24 applied from Texas, 12 from Arkansas, 9 from Mississippi, 4 from Florida, 3 from Missouri, 2 each from Tennessee and Oklahoma or Indian Territory, and one each from Washington, Utah, South Dakota, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Nebraska, and Louisiana.¹³⁴

¹³² (Bailey 2017).

¹³³ State of application could not be determined for 6 of the Georgia veterans, and no Federal pension record was found for 35 of the men from Georgia.

¹³⁴ State of application could not be determined for 6 of the Alabama veterans, and no Federal pension record was found for 44 of the veterans from that state.

Contingents from other states of the former Confederacy showed widely differing dispersal patterns: of the 220 soldiers from the mountain state of Tennessee, nearly a third -- 64 men -- returned there and later filed for Federal pensions from their home state, while 19 filed from Arkansas, 13 from Texas, 9 from Missouri, 8 from Alabama, 5 from Georgia, 4 each from Kentucky and Mississippi, 2 each from California, Indiana, and Indian Territory, and 1 each from Idaho, Colorado, Kansas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Montana, Nebraska, and New Mexico.¹³⁵ Of the 22 men from Florida, more than a third -- 8 soldiers -- received Federal pensions following application from Florida, while another 5 were found from Alabama, and 1 from Tennessee. No pensions were found for the 7 others, but 2 of them had applied for and been granted discharge certificates,

Those states or countries of origin with smaller contingents also showed wide dispersal of the former "Galvanized Yankees occurred in the years following the war."¹³⁶

¹³⁵ State of application could not be determined for 14 of the Tennessee veterans, and no Federal pension record was found for 64 of this group.

¹³⁶ Of the five Texans in the regiment, only one applied for a Federal pension while living in Texas, with one from Alabama, one from Idaho, one application and certificate for which no state could be determined, and one who applied for and received a discharge certificate, but for which no pension record could be found. Of the eight soldiers from Louisiana, three applied from other states (California, Missouri, South Dakota), two died in service, and one deserted prior to reaching Ft. Kearney. Of the seven men from Ohio, three received pensions (California, New Mexico, and Tennessee), but no records could be found for the other four. Of the nine soldiers from Missouri, five received pensions (two from California, and one each from Arkansas, Colorado, and Kentucky). Only a death record from South Carolina was found for a sixth Missouri soldier. Three of the eight soldiers from Arkansas received Federal pensions in Arkansas, along with two others (one from Missouri, and one from Texas), but records could not be found for the other three. Of the five men from Illinois, three received pensions (two from Kentucky and one from Arkansas, but records could not be found for the other two. Of the four men from Pennsylvania, only

The 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was only in service in Nebraska and points west less than nine months, and they left a frontier highway along the Platte that was still under serious and continuing threat from hostile Indians. Their contribution during that time on the frontier was not unimportant, however. They helped to stabilize a situation that could have become much more volatile by serving as a protective garrison force in strong points over a widely dispersed front. In company with a number of cavalry units, they built and maintained forts, posts, stage and telegraph stations, repaired telegraph lines, escorted emigrant trains, provided protection for private property, and helped to stock and manage warehouses and supply centers used by both civilians and the military. They were a stable and dependable force during a period characterized by unrest, insubordination, and even open mutiny among other military units in the region. It is fitting that they should be better remembered and honored for their service.

A microfilm copy of the official record books of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was obtained from the National Archives in the course of this project. These materials are in the process of being digitized and transcribed, a solitary process that may take as long as two years.

Additional research into census, pension and burial records may provide some additional indication whether former Confederates who had “deserted” to the Union felt able to return to

one pension was found (Nebraska), but a Texas death record was found for a second. Of the three soldiers from Indiana, one received a pension following application from Iowa, and one from West Virginia, but no record was found for the third. Of the ten Germans and one Frenchman in the regiment, five received Federal pensions (one each from Kansas, Louisiana, Washington and Kentucky, and one for which a state could not be determined). Of the nineteen Irish, nine received pensions (two applied from Alabama, one each from Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, and one for which the state could not be determined).

their homes in the former Confederate states, if they experienced prejudice and discrimination to the point that they were compelled to go elsewhere, as suggested by Dee Brown and Michele Butts, and repeated by others, or whether they simply chose to join the masses of civilians and soldiers of both sides of the former conflict who formed the enormous social movement that culminated in the settlement of the West and the disappearance of the Frontier.

Finally, the 2nd U.S. Volunteer Infantry was another unit that originated in the Rock Island prison camp, and about which relatively little scholarly material has been published. This regiment also served in much the same fashion as the 3rd U.S. Volunteers, although primarily in locations along the Santa Fe Trail. It is hoped that the present work will stimulate additional interest in both these units on the parts of historians, archivists, and other researchers.

Photos to accompany text:

Hon. Solomon Newton Pettis of PA. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/brh2003001207/PP/>
(No known restrictions on publication according to Library of Congress)

Portrait of Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, officer of the Federal Army
(No known restrictions on publication according to Library of Congress)
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/cwp2003000292/PP/>

Washington, D.C. Gen. William Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners (at right) and staff
on steps of office, F. St. at 20th NW
(No known restrictions on publication according to Library of Congress)
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/cwp2003000915/PP/>

Lieutenant Lafayette E. Campbell, 1st Lieutenant, Company B, U.S. Volunteer Infantry
Requested from the [University of Wyoming American Heritage Center](#) on 2/10/2017
Identifier 101298 (No known restrictions on publication due to age of photo)
(Only officer when Regiment was sent from Ft. Riley to Ft. Kearney)

Bibliography

(Caughey, Donald C.). 2012, May 28. "Fiddler's Green: Christopher H. McNally." *Regular Cavalry in the Civil War*. Accessed 2016.

<https://regularcavalryincivilwar.wordpress.com/category/3rd-u-s-volunteer-infantry/>.

Ancestry.com. 2011. *U.S., Confederate Soldiers Compiled Service Records, 1861-1865*.
(database online). Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc.

Ancestry.com\Fold3. 2012. *Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates Who Served in the 1st Through 6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiments, 1864-1866*. Intellectual Reserve, Inc. http://www.fold3.com/title_45/civil_war_soldiers_union_csa/.

Bailey, Anne J. 2017. "Sherman's March to the Sea." *New Georgia Encyclopedia: History & Archeology; Civil War & Reconstruction, 1861-1877*. Edited by Chris Dobbs. Georgia Humanities Council & University of Georgia Press. January 4. Accessed January 13,

2017. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/shermans-march-sea>.
- Borger, Henry. 2005, March 5. "From Rebel to POW to 'galvanized' Yank." *The Washington Times*. Saturday. Electronic. Washington. Accessed March 20, 2013.
- Brown, D(ee) Alexander. 1959. *Morgan's Raiders*. New York, NY: Konecky & Konecky.
- Brown, Dee A. 1963. *The Galvanized Yankees*. Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press. Accessed 2013. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com/roxi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1185190%26site%3ded-live%26scope%3dsite>.
- Butler, Benjamin. 1862, Oct. 24, 159. "Series I, Vol. 15, Chapt. XXVII, The La Fourche District, LA." *Making of America*. Accessed 2015.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;idno=waro0021;node=waro0021%3A7;view=image;seq=173;size=100;page=root>.
- Butts, Michele Tucker. 2003. *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: the Face of Loyalty*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com/roxi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1665486%26site%3ded-live%26scope%3dsite>.
- Connor, P. Edward. 1865, July 27. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX, 357: The Powder River Indian Expedition." *Making of America*.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;g=moagrp;xc=1;q1=platte%20bridge;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0101;didno=waro0101;view=image;seq=0379>.

- . 1865, Apr. 9. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 60: Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*. Accessed 2017.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;idno=waro0102;q1=Potter;q2=Julesburg;q3=bushels;view=image;seq=62;size=100;page=root>.
- . 1864, Nov. 5. "Series I, Vol. 41 (Part 1), Chapt. LIII, 908-920: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;idno=waro0083;node=waro0083%3A7;view=image;seq=932;size=100;page=root>.
- Fold3. 2011. *U.S., Confederate Soldiers Compiled Service records, 1861-1865*. (Database online). Salt Lake City, UT: Intellectual Reserve, Inc.
- Grinnell, George Bird. 1915. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. Electronic. eBook Academic Collection. New York, NY: Digital Scanning Inc. Accessed Jan. 5, 2017.
- Halleck, H.W. 1865, Feb. 6, 761. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX: Correspondence, etc. -- Union." *Making of America*. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;xc=1;idno=waro0101;g=moagr;q1=Pope;q2=Rock%20Island;view=image;seq=783;size=100;page=root>.
- Hess, Earl J. 2008. *The Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat: Reality and Myth*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. Accessed 2015.
- Hesseltine, William Best. 1998. *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. Accessed July 6, 2015. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com/rosi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1446401%26site%3dedd-live%26scope%3dsite>.

- Hester, Albert Lee. 2015. *Putting on Blue: Confederates from the Athens, Georgia, Area Who Became Galvanized Yankees*. Athens, GA: Green Berry Press. Accessed 2016.
- Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. 1992. "The Galvanized Yankees." *The Museum Gazette*. National Park Service. July.
- Johnson, A.J. 1864. "Series II, Vol. 8, Prisoners of War and State, etc., p. 16." *Making of America*. Nov 23. Accessed 2017. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=flour%20or%20soft%20bread%2C%20sixteen%20ounce;s;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0121;didno=waro0121;view=image;seq=28;page=root;size=100>.
- Johnson, Hervey. 1979. *Tending the Talking Wire: a Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country 1863 - 1866*. Edited by William E Unrau. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press. Accessed 2015.
- Jones, Robert Huhn. 2005. *Guarding the Overland Trails: the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War*. Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Accessed 2015.
- Livingston, Robert R, and Thomas J Majors. 1864. "Reports: First Nebraska Cavalry. Series 1, Vol. 41 (Part 1). Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi. September 29 - November 30, 1864. Operations Against Indians in Nebraska and Colorado." *Making of America*. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=Livingston;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0083;didno=waro0083;view=image;seq=0848>.
- Lowry, Thomas Power. 2015. *Galvanized Virginians in the Indian Wars*. Portland, OR: Idle Winter Press. Accessed 2016.

- Maul, David C. 1963 Summer. "Five Butternut Yankees." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* (University of Illinois Press \ JSTOR) 56 (2): 177-192. Accessed 2012. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40190636> .
- McAdams, Benton. 2000. *Rebels at Rock Island : the story of a Civil War prison*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press. Accessed July 2, 2015.
- McAulay, John D. 1996. *Carbines of the U.S. Cavalry, 1861-1905*. Lincoln, RI: Andrew Mowbray Publishers.
- McChristian, Douglas C. 2008. *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the Plains*. Norman, OK: The Arthur C. Clark Company. Accessed Jan. 28, 2016.
- Moonlight, Thomas. 1865, Feb. 6, 845. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part 1), Chapt. LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=February%206;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0101;didno=waro0101;view=image;seq=867;page=root;size=100>.
- National Archives and Records Administration. 2000. *U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934 (Database online)*. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc. Accessed 2015.
- National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration. 1980. "Trans-Mississippi and Pacific Coast Theaters of Operations." *Military Operations of the Civil War: A Guide-Index to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865*. Compiled by Dallas Irvine, John Ferrell and Robert Gruber. Washington, DC: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. Accessed Mar 24, 2015.

search.ebscohost.com.rosi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1144053%26site%3dedlive%26scope%3dsite.

National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. 1992. "The Museum Gazette: the Galvanized Yankees." *Jefferson National Expansion Memorial: Experience Your America*. July. Accessed Jan 10, 2013.

http://www.nps.gov/jeff/learn/historyculture/upload/galvanized_yankees.pdf.

Philbrick, Nathaniel. 2010. *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. New York, NY: Viking Penguin. Accessed 2016.

Pickenpugh, Roger. 2013. *Captives in Blue: the Civil War Prisons of the Confederacy*.

Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press. Accessed Dec 8, 2014. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.rosi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1937401%26site%3dedlive%26scope%3dsite>.

—. 2009. *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press. Accessed Dec 8, 2014. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.rosi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1981142%26site%3dedlive%26scope%3dsite>.

Potter, J. A. 1865, May 15. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 455: Correspondence, etc. -- Union." *Making of America*. May 15. Accessed 2017.

<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=corn;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0102;didno=waro0102;view=image;seq=0457> .

Price, George F. 1865, May 5. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 326: Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*. May 5. Accessed 2017.

<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer->

idx?c=moawar&cc=moawar&idno=waro0102&q1=Potter&q2=Julesburg&q3=bushels&view=image&seq=328&size=100.

—. 1865, May 5, 326. "Series I, Vol. 48 (Part2). Chapter LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*.

<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer->

idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=May%205%201865;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0102;idno=waro0102;view=image;seq=328;page=root;size=100.

Price, George F, and P. Edward Connor. 1865, May 5. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 326. Gen. Ord. 9: Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi." *Making of America*. Accessed 2017. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar&cc=moawar&idno=waro0102&q1=Potter&q2=Julesburg&q3=bushels&view=image&seq=328&size=100>.

Raymond, Sarah. 1971. "The Diary of Sarah Raymond." In *Overland Days to Montana in 1865*, edited by Raymond W Settle and Mary Lund Settle, 232 pp. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company.

Root, Frank A. 1901, 1950. *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*. Edited by William Elsey Connelley. Topeka, KS; Columbus, OH: W.Y. Morgan; Long's College Book Co. Accessed Jan. 23, 2017.

Ruane, Michael. 2009. "A Tragedy's Second Act: Did Col. Henry Rathbone's Agony as an Eyewitness to the Lincoln Assassination Lead Him to Murder His Wife, Clara Harris, 18 Years Later?" *The Washington Post*, April 5: n.p. Accessed 12 28, 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/27/AR2009032701576.html>.

- Schmucker, Kim. 1988. "War Spreads West and South." Chap. 4 in *The Second Front: The Indian Wars on the Western Plains, 1861-1865.*, by Kim Schmucker, (139) pages. Kearney, NE: Kearney State College. Accessed September 2014.
- Scott, Bob. 1994. *Blood at Sand Creek: the Massacre Revisited.* Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd.
- Scott, Robert N, and et al. 1880, 2016. *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Making of America. Vols. Ser. 1, v60. Electronic. Comp. U.S. Government Printing Office. Prod. Cornell University Library. LaCrosse, WI: Northern Micrographics, Inc. Accessed 2016.
<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar/waro.html>.
- Segars, J H. 1995. *Andersonville: the Southern Perspective.* Vol. XIII: Journal of Confederate History. Atlanta, GA: Southern Heritage Press. Accessed 2014.
- Sherman, William T. 2006. "Chapater XXV: Conclusion -- Military Lessons of the War." *Memoirs of Gen. William T. Sherman.* Comp. Biography Reference Center. EBSCOHost. Accessed January 21, 2016.
- Sides, Hampton. 2006. *Blood and Thunder: the Epic Story of Kit Carson and the Conquest of the American West.* New York: Anchor Books / Random House.
- Smith, Graham. 2011. *Civil War Weapons.* New York, NY: Chartwell Books. Accessed January 12, 2016.
- Springer, Charles H. 1971. *Soldiering in Sioux Country: 1865.* Edited by Benjamin Franklin III Cooling. San Diego, CA: Frontier Heritage Press.
- Sullivan, John M. 1997. *Infantry on the Kansas Frontier: 1866 - 1880.* Master's Degree Thesis, Command and Staff College, United States Army, Fort Leavenworth, KS: Defense Technical Information Center, 137 p. Accessed 2014.

Sully, Alfred. 1865, May 14. "Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part II), Chapt. LX, 432: Correspondence, Etc. - Union." *Making of America*. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;idno=waro0102;q1=Fort%20Riley;view=image;seq=437;size=100;page=root>.

n.d. *The Civil War: Soldiers and Sailors Database*. National Park Service. Accessed 2014.
<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm>.

The National Police Gazette (1845-1906). 1884. "Col. Rathbone's Mad Act." Jan. 19: 10.
Accessed 2015.

1996-present. "The War for Southern Independence (Civil War) [Wiki]." *Mindspring.com*.
Accessed July 10, 2015. <http://www.mindspring.com/~kellcin/civilwar.htm>.

Thorburn, John. 2014. "Origins of War: the Fluctuating Balance of Power on the Plains in the 1860s." In *Plum Creek: the Rest of the Story*, edited by Sandra Slater and Patti Simpson, 271 pp. (Kearney), NE: Morris Press.

United States. War Department. n.d. "The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies." Vers. Electronic. *Making of America*. Edited by Cornell University Library. Ithaca NY Cornell University. Accessed December 22, 2015. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar/waro.html>.

United States. War Department. Adjutant General's Office. 1828 - 4/28/1904. "Regimental Descriptive, Letter, Endorsement and Order Book. Descriptive Book for Companies A-K. Order Book for Companies A-K. Morning Reports for Companies A-K." *Regimental and Company Books of the 3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment*. Washington, DC: National Archives. Accessed 2015. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/6880886>.

Wagner, David E. 2010. *Patrick Connor's War: the 1865 Powder River Indian Expedition*. Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Accessed January 14, 2016.

- Wagner, David E. 2010. *Patrick Connor's War: the 1865 Powder River Indian Expedition*. Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Accessed January 14, 2016.
- Ware, Eugene F. 1960. *The Indian War of 1864*. Edited by Clyde C Walton. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. Accessed February 2016.
- Weber, Jennifer. 2006. *Copperheads: the Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*. eBook. EbscoHost. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Accessed 2015.
- Weitz, Mark A. 2005. *More Damning Than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. Accessed Nov 2012, 2012. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com/rosi.unk.edu/login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dcat02875a%26AN%3dunk.b1593028%26site%3ded-live%26scope%3dsite>.
- Wessells, H. W., and W. T. Hartz. 1865, Jan. 13, 62. "Series II, Vol. 8, Prisoners of War and State, etc., General Orders No. 1." *Making of America*. Accessed Feb. 1, 2017. <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=flour%20or%20soft%20bread%2C%20sixteen%20ounce;s;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0121;didno=waro0121;view=image;seq=74;page=root;size=100>.
- Wickman, Johanna. 2014. *Bridgeheads on the North Platte: Defending the Wyoming Frontier*. Kearney, NE: University of Nebraska at Kearney. Accessed 2015.
- Wilson, D. Ray. 1980. *Fort Kearney on the Platte*. (Place of publication not identified): Crossroads Communications. Accessed January 23, 2013.
- Young, Frank C. 1905, (2016). *Across the Plains in '65: A youngster's journal, from "Gotham" to "Pike's Peak"*. Denver (San Bernadino), CO, (CA): Lanning Bros., (ULAN Press). (Includes map of stations and stops mentioned in text).