

**The Union Occupation of Munfordville, Kentucky,
1861-1865:
a Narrative Summary**

by

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THE UNION OCCUPATION OF MUNFORDVILLE, KENTUCKY, 1861-1865: A NARRATIVE SUMMARY

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INTRODUCTION

During the Civil War the small town of Munfordville, Kentucky was viewed as very strategic by both the Union and Confederate commanders. The location of the town at the intersection of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and the Green River, and at the position of one of the largest railroad bridges in Kentucky gave it great strategic importance. Early in the war both sides attempted to secure this bridge and in September 1862 an important battle was fought over its control. After October 1862 the town and bridge would remain firmly in the Union's hands and the town would become an important supply depot and garrison with the primary purpose of keeping the Louisville and Nashville Railroad secure and running smoothly.

In this report, funded by the Kentucky Heritage Council and the Hart County Historical Society, the Union occupation of Munfordville will be outlined and summarized. This discussion will especially focus on the military administration of the town and region, the regiments stationed in town, the physical layout of the garrison and fortifications, and the military commanders. This study involved archival research in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Washington, D.C. with research in secondary sources. To assist future research on Munfordville and to facilitate the Hart County Historical Society in their preservation and interpretation, an annotated bibliography of references and documents examined in this project is presented at the end of this narrative. In most cases, photocopies of the relevant documents have also been provided to the Hart County Historical Society. In a few cases, such as with fragile documents or bound manuscript materials, photocopies were not allowed.

INITIAL UNION OCCUPATION

Kentucky's short lived neutrality ended on September 1861 when Confederates occupied Columbus and Union forces crossed the Ohio River and entered Paducah. The war entered the region of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad on September 18, 1861, when Confederate troops under Brig.Gen. Simon Bolivar Buchner occupied Bowling Green. On this same day Buckner dispatched a force under Maj. James M. Hawes to occupy Munfordville as follows.

AMajor J. M. Hawes, C.S.A: Bowling Green, Kentucky: Sir: You will establish yourself without delay, with an infantry battalion of 600 men and Byrne's battery of artillery at the railroad crossing on Green River, to cover the bridge and the line of defense on the river....It is suggested that you establish a strong picket at Bacon Creek bridge, 8 miles in advance of Munfordville....and that you carefully watch the Green River bridge 10 miles above Munfordville (Official Records Series I, Vol. 4:415)

The Union commander of the Department of the Cumberland, Brig. Gen. Robert Anderson and his successor, Gen. William T. Sherman, countered this move by sending troops first to Muldraugh Hill and then to Camp Nevin near the Nolin River bridge in southern Hardin or Hart County. The latter camp was established on October 9 by the brigade of Brig. Gen. Lovell Rousseau. Soon an entire division under Brig. Gen. Alexander M. McCook was encamped at Camp Nevin. McCook's division held this position for two months when it was ordered by the new commander of the Army of the Ohio, Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell, to defend the Green River Bridge 203 miles to the south. By this time McCook's division was designated the 2nd Division, Army of the Ohio and consisted of four brigades, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th. These brigades were commanded by Lovell H. Rousseau, Thomas J. Wood, Richard W. Johnson, and James S. Negley, respectively. Rousseau's 4th Brigade consisted of the 6th Indiana Infantry, the 5th and 6th Kentucky Infantries, the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry, Battery H. 5th U.S. Artillery, and Battery A 1st Kentucky Light Artillery. Wood's 5th Brigade consisted of the 29th, 30th, 38th, and 39th Indiana Infantry regiments. Johnson's 6th Brigade contained the 34th Illinois Infantry, the 32nd Indiana Infantry, and the 15th and 49th Ohio Infantry regiments. Finally, Negley's 7th Brigade consisted of the 77th, 78th, and 79th Pennsylvania Infantry regiments, the 6th Battery Indiana Light Artillery, the 1st Wisconsin Light Artillery, and Battery A 1st Ohio Light Artillery (Dyer 1959; Welcher 1993).

In early December 1861 McCook was ordered to move his division south to Munfordville to protect the Green River bridge. On December 9, 1861, some regiments of the 2nd Division left Camp Nevin and encamped at Bacon Creek. The next day, December 10, these regiments moved into Munfordville and established Camp Wood on the north and west sides of town. The first regiments to move into Munfordville included all of Johnson's 6th Brigade, two regiments of Rousseau's 4th Brigade (the 2nd

Kentucky Cavalry and Battery A 1st Kentucky Light Artillery), and Battery A 1st Ohio Light Artillery that was unattached, but later joined Negley's 7th Brigade. After December 13 Wood's Brigade entered town, and after December 17 the remainder of McCook's 2nd Division transferred to Munfordville. Both the 15th and 49th Ohio Infantry regiments claimed to have founded Camp Wood (Cope 1916). Camp Wood was named in honor of Hon. George Wood, a member of the Kentucky Military Board who lived at Munfordville (Cope 1916).

As can be seen in Figure 1, Camp Wood (the camp of the 2nd Division) was located in an arch to the north and west of Munfordville. A member of the 15th Ohio Infantry described the camp as one-fourth of a mile north of town and further states, "The regiment was encamped on a steep hill and in some cases the ground had to be graded and leveled off before the tents could be properly placed (Cope 1916:48). Another soldier described the camp as within a square two miles each way and containing 40,000 men. Francis Kiene of the 49th Ohio Infantry placed his part of the camp on the west side of Munfordville (Kiene, December 31, 1861). Lyman Widney of the 34th Illinois stated that,

"Our entire brigade pitched its camp on the farm owned by the father of our beloved commander, Gen. T. J. Wood, where the former still resided. The General set up his spacious tent in the orchards under the same boughs that sheltered him in infancy and boyhood (Widney n.d.).

Some sections of camp were apparently healthier than others.

"The camp was located in a low damp spot on the edge of a cemetery and all the drinking water for the thousands of soldiers encamped there was taken from ponds of standing water whose color partook of the clayey soil of the region. Sickness and disease made its inroads . . . The camp was afterwards moved two miles from town to a high and dry location and to his place Dr. Bentley came from the city and dispensed his pills and calomel to the already reduced and emaciated troops (Haddack 1861).

Conditions could be rather rough, as Lyman Widney described,

"December's wintry winds and chilling rains deluged us with the usual discomforts of camp life until we learned to better our condition. We had the unhappy choice of shivering in our flimsy tents or standing around an open fire outside, to be alternately frozen on one side and toasted on the other if we tried the windward, or to be more gently warmed but greatly smoked if we stood on the leeward! (Widney n.d.).

Figure 1. Munfordville and the Battle of Rowlett's Station (National Archives Cartographic Section n.d.)

Some soldiers still described the camp in rather poetic terms, as the following descriptions illustrate.

AThe weather is magnificent. The most beautiful Indian summer you Ever Saw & has been so on a average Ever Since Well for the last three weeks. I can look out of my tent door & see for miles in Every direction. Hills some of them wild & rugged as nature left them. Strongly reminding me of many a scene in Old Pennsylvania upon which you & I have often looked. O how I love to Gaze for many hours upon Sights so Naturally Grand & Glorious. My Eyes never tire looking upon Such Sights. My vision now reaches beyond Green River into Country held by the Enemy though by a very Slender Claim which may be wrested from them almost any moment when our army moves forward which I presume it will do soon after the completion of the Bridge (Reynolds, Dec 19, 1861).

AAll was so quiet in Camp Wood, below me with its white tents nestling in the shadows of the wooded Kentucky hills or glistening in the pale moonlight, that it almost seemed to be a city of white sepulchers and I alone was chosen with my trusty musket to guard it from attack (Widney n.d.).

Not all soldiers were encamped within Camp Wood proper. As a soldier of the 15th Ohio stated,

AThe Thirty-second Indiana was encamped between our quarters and the bridge and had erected a bakery over where some of the men got some soft bread (Cope 1916:49).

The soldiers initially lived in A6 by 9 ft or Awedge tents, but between December 18, 1861 and January 11, 1862 some regiments received Sibley tents (Cope 1916:51). Other structures mentioned in camp were log stables (A Committee 1906:26). By late January a warehouse and hospital were under construction as Pvt. Kiene described,

AThis morning I went to the railroad depot after Provision. The new warehouse is nearly finished and a provision and feed house is now being build about 20 rods from the depot and near the river a large Hospital is nearly completed...everything shows that this will be a important station...sappers and miners ware detailed from the different Regiments and the sick were sent to Louisville this morning (Kiene, January 24, 1862).

While stationed at Munfordville, most soldiers had a rather dull time. They were

engaged in drilling and picket or guard duty on the north and south sides of the river. Most of the regiments had come from Camp Nevin on the Nolin River where they had encamped only since October. Therefore, most of the troops were still very green and needed much drilling. In letters and diaries, soldiers describe food, housing, drilling, picket duty, and the muddy and sickly conditions in camp. The following quotes give a picture of these activities in Munfordville during the winter of 1861-1862.

AAAt noon we only have coffee and crackers Morning and evening we set what is called a soldiers table which consists of crackers, meat, sometimes potatoes, rice or beans. Our company got a barrel of onions and you may better believe we have some regular old fashioned dutch soup. It is not much of a trick to learn to be a splendid cook in the army (Bloomfield, January 18, 1862).

AYou all wished me a Merry Christmas. I will tell you how I spent the day - rose in the morning at roll call - ate crackers and coffee. At dinner ate bread and butter, supper took tea or rather oysters with one of the neighboring messes. The remainder of the performances was a usual, tramping mud. To tell the truth our camp is muddy as the middle of the road in LaPorte after a rain - So very deep, not over boot top but well tramped (B. H. Brown, December 30, 1861).

ASome of the men had got oysters and had prepared to have a royal Christmas dinner, but after hearing of the order to go on pickett decided to have them Christmas eve (Cope 1916:52).

AOur new [Sibley] tents are quite nice - all like them. I have fifteen bunk mates - all very clean, good boys. We rather take the shine from other bunks - our quarters are remarked upon for their neatness. I think there is not a crawler in the bunk. I have worn my comb nearly out searching for the critters - but fruitless are my searches (B. H. Brown, February 9, 1862).

AThe tents were still crowded, and in consequence unhealthy, for only five [tents] were allowed to a company. The season was rainy and the mud was deep but on the whole the condition of the troops at Camp Wood on Green River was much more comfortable than it had previously been (John A Berges 1862).

AThe men all getting on happily drilling, studying, etc. until the sickness broke out like a storm cloud (Benjamin Franklin Scriber 1861).

AThe camp proved to be an unhealthy one, during the first two weeks of our stay here many of the men were taken sick and sent to the hospital (A

Committee 1906:26).

One soldier even described a caving expedition,

A...we did not find eny [beer] but bought a candel and went to see a Cave back of the camping ground of the 49th...The entrance to the Cave is low but as we advanced it got higher and in different places it is not less than 30 feet high...It might reather be called a winding passage in the earth for I could have tutchted boath sides all the way...It is about 100 yards long and sollid stone all the way through (Kiene, December 22, 1861).

Soldiers the diaries and letters of soldiers also discuss three topics of particular interest - the construction of earthworks, the building of the pontoon bridge (by the 32nd Indiana), and the repair to the railroad bridge.

When Union troops arrived at Munfordville they noted Confederate earthworks on the south side of the river near the railroad (Figure 2). They were described as follows,

AThe rebbels had thrown out an earthwork at the railroad and one about 1/4 of a mile up the river but did not make any use of them ... The works are prety securely put up but small..... the trenches are about 6 feet wide and the bank 10 or 15 feet ... the works are in a sick sack forum ... large piels of iron stone and rubbish are piled up on both sides of the track (Kiene, January 9, 1862).

AThe rebels had built two earth works on the other side of the river, each one for two guns. They were twelve feet thick. The folks tell us they had two twelve pounders and the rest were not as large as our guns. The guns were taken away six weeks ago (Bloomfield, December 12, 1861).

The Union soldiers soon began constructing their own fortifications on the south side of the river using soldiers and impressed slaves (Figure 1). The construction of these fortifications was described by two enlisted men as follows,

Athere went about 2 or 3 Thousand men out with picks shovels and axes ... they threw up an entrenchment all around the railroad ... on the other side of the river the entrenchment is at least one mile long (Kiene, January 10, 1862).

AOur men have been very busy for the last ten days building brestworks on the other side of the river. They are built out of logs, with a deep ditch on the outside, so it is proof against cavalry; there are some from rifle pits. There is over a mile of it (Bloomfield, January 18, 1862).

Figure 2. Metzner's Map of Rowlett's Station (Metzner ca. 1880s).

When Col. John T. Wilder entered camp in September 1862 he noted these works, and later stated that,

AThey consisted of a low line of infantry breast works encircling the south end of the bridge, and a weak stockade for fifty men at the river bank near the bridge and a small redoubt or star fort for two hundred men and two guns at Woodsonville, about a half mile up the river, on ground commanding the bridge and the line of entrenchments near the bridge (Wilder 1936:57).

Interestingly, Private Bloomfield of Battery A, 1st Ohio Light Artillery, described initial efforts to construct a battery on the north side of the river as follows,

ABuilt breast works and today they have begun to make fortifications for cannon, on this side of the river, and if we keep on at the work as we have the next four months I think the rebels will be ready to give up (Bloomfield, January 27, 1862).

According to Munfordville residents, Confederate soldiers evacuated town only Atwo hours before Union soldiers marched in (Bloomfield, December 10, 1861). Before they left the Confederates attempted to destroy the Green River Bridge, and in fact did blow up one pier and the iron spans above it. This bridge seemed to be quite an engineering marvel to the soldiers and they described it as follows (Figure 3).

Alt is eight hundred feet long, all iron with four piers, that is between the abutments there are two supports thus making 160 foot spans. This bridge is 120 feet above the water. The rebels blew up the east pier with powder and that let two spans fall. They had three kegs of powder under one of the other piers but from some cause it did not go off. Some of the citizens took this powder out (Bloomfield, December 12, 1861).

AThe Green River Bridge ... it is a monster structure but the rebbels had only one pillar blown down not 3 as was said (Kiene, December 15, 1861).

AOne of those stone pillars was drilled at the base and 2 or 3 kegs of powder put in and blown down, throwing the iron structure to the earth from above the space between the 1 and 3 pillars on the south side of the river. The space destroyed is about 100 feet, and the average height 100 ft. (Harrison, Dec. 20, 1861).

Soldiers also described the repair process as it occurred.

AMay be you wonder how they raise the bents of a rail road bridge so I will tell you. They put a rope and tackle on them, then hitch a locomotive to one end of the rope , and they raise it up as nice as you please. The timber for this bridge they [got] up toward Louisville and brought down the cars, and rolled it off on this side of the river. When they wanted them across, they fastened a rope to a large tree on the other side, about fifty feet from the ground. The end was then brought across and tied to a stick, then the locomotive would pull them across (Bloomfield, January 2, 1862).

AThere is a great deal of Timber laying at the bridge and meny hands are imployed in frameing...They are building a Trussel work in the place of the two spans that were blown and have commenced raiseing the trussel Work... (Kiene, December 25, 1861).

AWork began upon the bridge immediately, and soon it became an interesting sight to stand at the water's edge and look up at the network of massive timbers stretching like a spider's web from pier to pier. A work locomotive, darting back and forth on the frail temporary track reaching half way across the span, reminded one of a spider, so small it looked as it tugged away at a rope to which were attached heavy timbers being elevated from the water to their aerial supports. These sturdy timbers, so bulky at the start of their journey, seemed to shrink as they ascended until they dwindled to the size of matchsticks (Widney n.d.).

The railroad bridge was finally repaired in the middle of January. A Harpers Magazine reporter stated,

AThe wooden substitute for the central portion of the iron railroad bridge over the Green River, destroyed by the rebels, was at last finished on Tuesday, and the evening before last, a locomotive made an experimented trip to the south bank. I had some misgiving as to the strength of the frail looking trestles; but it promises to answer until something more durable can be put in its place (Harpers Magazine Feb. 1, 1862 (letter dated Jan. 16) from Engerud 1962:2).

Upon arrival at Munfordville in December 1861, Union soldiers of the 32nd Indiana under Lt. Pietzuch also began construction of a pontoon bridge just north of the railroad bridge (see Figures 1 and 2). A similar pontoon bridge at Bowling Green is illustrated in Figure 4. This bridge and its construction are described as follows.

Figures 3 (rr bridge) and 4 (pontoon bridge)

AThey are building a floating bridge across the river. Maybe you would like to know how it is constructed. They take boats that are made out of plank and are about thirty inches deep and five feet wide and twenty-eight feet long. Those are put in the water side by side and all fastened to a rope that is stretched across the river. Then timber is laid from one to the other for sleepers for the plank. There has been two hundred of the infantry at work on the grade on the banks (Bloomfield, December 29, 1861).

AThere are 24 flat Boats over which the floating Bridge is to be build...they are about 20 feet long 6 feet wide and 3 feet deep...there are not enough to reach clear across the river...the Officers of the German or 32 Indiana Regiment are superintending the building of this Bridge and a great number of these men are at work at it.. There were not less than 200 or 300 men were at work...some at cutting a road to git to the bridge...they had to level the road for a quarter of a mile along a steep bank along a gully...it was a double track that is along boath side of the ravine at the Bridge...they had to cut the road about 20 feet deep...the same has to be done on the other side...meny Teams were employed at hauling stone to fill up ravines and bad places in the road...there are several large piles of timber of all disscription laying at the bridge...all brought from Louisville...There is a sawmill at the bridge but they cannot saw as fast as timber is used.. ...In the afternoon I went down to the river to see the floating Bridge... A(Kiene, December 30, 1861).

AThe floating Bridge about 5 rods above the railroad bridge is done ... there are 13 boats in the watter ... they are about 8 feet apart and 2 inch planks laid acrost and lashed together. 11 boats are still laying on the bank. The bridge is kept in place by anchors (Kiene, January 2, 1862).

Alt consisted of boats connected at intervals by cables stretched across the river. A platform was built over the cables and boats, and its buoyancy was sufficient to sustain the weight of our baggage wagons and artillery (Widney n.d.).

A third bridge was also worked on by the army at this time. The location of this bridge is unclear. Interestingly, this bridge was destroyed in a January 1862 flood which is described below.

AThe river has risen seventeen feet since yesterday morning. The bridge that the government first built across was washed away about three this

morning. There was a company of soldiers there to watch it and they saved all the timber. The pontoon bridge is all right yet. And if it had not been such bad weather for the last three or four days the cars would have crossed the river today. There is but one more bent to be put up and I guess that will be up before night (Bloomfield, January 5, 1862).

Immediately after their arrival at Munfordville, Union soldiers began serving picket duty on the south side of the river. Their purpose was to guard the bridges and observe Confederate movements. The soldiers mention a few small skirmishes and forays before the December 17, 1861 battle of Rowlett's Station.

AWhile I was in Camp Colonel Willis men had a little scermish with the rebbels ... there were only 10 of the German Regiment (32nd Indiana Volunteers) and about 30 or 40 rebbel Cavalry. 2 of our men were severely wounded and they killed 4 rebbels in return (Kiene December 15, 1861).

ASeventy-five rebel calvary came up to Woodsonville at 5 a.m. this morning, got behind a horse, and fired a volley. Our pickets returned it. The rebels fled. (Cope 1916:48).

A...The Southern scouts kept in frequent touch with our outpost, the very finger ends of Johnson's army by which the slightest advance toward Bowling Green could be detected.

We tried once, while our picket was on duty, to entrap one of the prowling parties. Our Captain selected 25 men and concealed them after dark in a deserted cabin near the main road well in advance of our line. Two sentinels were stationed still further down the road to give timely notice should the Rebel scouts ride up the road as they had been doing routinely. In such event, we intended to spring in behind them and try to prevent their escape. Time dragged on and all as silent, except for the varied sounds of life that floated up from the valley where the tiny hamlet of Rowletts stood at the railroad crossing. The wail of a child and the bark of a dog did not indicate danger from that quarter.

Midnight came and went without enemy scouts making an appearance, so our hearts quit thumping as we were relieved and returned to the cabin. Next morning a scouting party from our camp joined us. We followed a road nearly two miles when we caught sight of three Gray cavalrymen. We tried to keep after them two miles more, but failed to secure any closer acquaintance. We returned back to our picket lines to resume our posts decidedly vexed at this adventure, like all our exploits so far, having ended so tamely (Widney n.d.).

The Battle of Rowlett's Station was the most exciting event of the winter 1861-1862 occupation and a number of soldiers described it and the Union soldiers involved (the 32nd Indiana). Some of these descriptions are presented below (see Figures 1 and 2).

AAAt about half past 2 O'clock our pickets saw a rebbel force move up...they sent word to there Colonel who went over the river with 4 Companies...the rebbels attacked his force...our men received them gallantly but had to retreat and call for help when the 49 Ohio and 39 Ind went over the rebbels then immediately fled...They had brought a battery with them...fired several shots wich were promptly answert by Cotters and Stones Bateries...There ware 11 killed, 5 missing, and 20 woundet out of the 39 Ind Regiment...The fight was fearfull savage while it lasted...the rebbel Cavalry rode up to the point of the bayonet and meny ware killed with the Bayonet...the correct statement is, The Lieutenant Colonel was on Guard on the other side of the river and called for the 6 Companys...The 4 Companies that ware out on guard done the most of the fighting...the fight was on the west side of the river...There ware about 50 rebels ware left on the Field and meny ware carried away...the rebbels loss must exceed 75 in killed among which was the Colonel of the (Texas) rangers (his name was Terry) and a Major...the Boddy of the Colonel was taken to the rebbels under a Flag of Truce... (Kiene, December 17, 1861).

AAAbout one o'clock, having just finished our dinner of hard crackers and coffee, we were alarmed by the sound of musketry a short distance across the river. We all sprang to our arms and I formed the company in line prepared for action. The fighting was between Colonel Willich's regiment, which was thrown over the river as skirmishes, and from three to five thousand rebels, with a battery of four pieces. Colonel Willich's regiment is the 32nd Indiana and is composed entirely of Germans. They fought the overwhelming force of the enemy with obstinate and desperate courage. In fact, there were but 200 of this noble regiment actually engaged-the balance having been sent in another direction to a point where it was supposed the main body lay. This handful of men held in check for three-quarters of an hour over five hundred Texan Rangers who fought with great bravery and desperation. These Rangers would charge right upon them making it almost a hand to hand fight. But the Germans stood firm and slew them right and left and caused them to fall back before their murderous fire. These charges were frequently repeated and as often repulsed, until our men, driving the enemy before them, ran into range of the enemys battery only a few hundred yards away. They did not know until the battery opened out on them that the enemy had an artillery with them. The German finding themselves in the presence of a large force of

the enemy fell back until reinforcements could reach them (Cope 1916:50-51).

AWell the way it was the Dutchmen did not need our help they were enough for them without our help the report is that there were about 50 or 60 of the Rebels killed and 15 or 18 of the Dutchmen killed and several wounde. (Jack F. Pase, December 18th, 1861).

AThe 32nd is a german regiment. All the commands are given in the german language and it is the best drilled regiment that I have seen (Bloomfield, December 12, 1861).

AThose German boys are out of the 32nd. Indiana. This is one of the best regiments in this state (Bloomfield, December 12, 1861).

AOn Tuesday the German Regt Col Willich the Ind 32 had a fight with the Rebels. You no doubt have seen newspaper accounts of it, but none of them contain the truth. 4 Companies of the Germans were attacked by the advance of the Rebel General Hindman's Miss brigade consisting of 4000 troops. They were coming forward to attack us. The Texas Rangers were in the advance 4 of their companies were in the fight besides 4 companies of infantry & 4 pieces of artillery. Our men were not 300 strong. The fight lasted 3/4 of an hour. Willich had 11 killed. 3 have since died and about 20 more are wounded and 6 missing. The Rebels lost the Col of the Texan Rangers, Terre, one Capt and about 20 others killed and wounded.

The fight took place 2 miles from Camp across Green River. The 39th Ind and 49 Ohio were ordered to support our men and as we came in sight of the action the Rebels fled so we had no part of the fight, but was on the field to see the sad effects, and time enough to help gather up the dead and wounded. It was one of the most severe fought contests of this war. 4 times the Texan Rangers charged upon our men, and 4 times they were repulsed by the bayonet and with the butts of their guns. Our Reg't 30 laid on the verge of the Battle field all night, and part of next day. About 10 O clock it was announced that the Rebels were approaching, but on examination it was a party of them with a flag of truce. When they neared us I galloped forward as did their officer. We met on the open field. He introduced himself as Major Phifer of the Texan Rangers. I myself as Col Harrison of the 39th Ind. A Cordial shaking of hands followed. He informed me his mission was to ask permission to bury his dead. I informed him I would Communicate that fact to Gen'l Johnson my Commander and in the mean time he must remain outside my pickets. AGen'l Johnson! he replied. ATell Gen'l Johnson that my name is Phifer. I was his First Lieut, he captain of USA Cavalry for 5 years. Tell him I will

capture every picket he puts on this side of Green River. I replied, that I heartily thanked him for his promise; that I belonged to Gen'l Johnson's Brigade: I should be on picket frequently with my Command; and as two could play at the game of Capturing: I should take pleasure in meeting him at any time he desired. After some further jesting, I reported to Gen'l Johnson. He at once ordered his horse, and rode out with me to see his old Lieut. A hearty greeting followed. Many incidents of the past were talked over. Then we all rode leisurely over the Battle field together; the Rebels Collecting their dead, and we reflecting over the fierce Conflict on the preceding evening. On parting Phifer took each of us by the hand repeating his thanks for our Courteousness and Kindness, on that occasion; and expressing the desire to reciprocate the favor with similar kindness (Harrison, Dec. 20, 1861).

According to Engerud (1962:2) this battle took place

Ain an area near and about the juncture of the L&N Railroad and the Bowling Green pike. Colonel Willich's position extended across the angle formed by these two lines. The left of his line resting on the Bowling Green Road about 670 yards north of the railroad crossing. The Confederate position opposed this being about 400 yards south of it and on the west side of the railroad track (Colonel Willich's position was entirely on the east side of the railroad track).

Another interesting event which occurred during the winter occupation was the passage of the bodies of Confederate Gen. Felix Zollicoffer and Bayle Peyton through town on January 13, 1862. Zollicoffer and Peyton were both killed at the Battles of Mill Springs. The transportation of these bodies is described as follows.

A...the Track was blocked so that the Body of Gen. Zollicoffer and Colonel Paten...early this morning this morning the escort to the Bodies was formed headed by Gen. Johnson and Staff about 9 Oclock the train starded...the Bodies had been put in Metalic Coffins and Inbalmed and ware hauled in a large two horse Ambulance...it is reported that General Johnson took a good dinner with the rebel General and that the Soldiers conversed freeley. The Flags of Truse met 2 1/2 miles from Camp at Bells Tavern (Kiene, January 13, 1862).

AGenl. R. W. Johnson, Staff and escort with the remains of Zollicoffer & Balie Peyton crossed the pontoon bridge at 8.30 A.M. To-day. I accompanied them. After reaching Rowlett's Station we turned to the left (SE) and took the Glasgow (mud) road. About one mile below Horse Cave we came in sight of the enemies picketts. They galloped back to

Woodland House. At which place we were met by the officer in comand who gave his name as Captain James of the ATexas Rangers. Hindman came up at 3 P.M. Accompanied by certain of his officers.....and an escort of a company of these troops (Terrill, Jan 31, 1862) (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Terrill's Trip with Zollicoffer (Terrill, January 31, 1862).

McCook's 2nd Division remained at Munfordville until February 13 - 17, 1862 when they began marching out. They were joined by Ormsby Mitchel's Division from Bacon Creek and William Nelson's Division from Elizabethtown who came through Munfordville, and moved toward Nashville. This move was hastened by news of Grant's victories at Forts Henry and Donelson that led to the Confederate evacuation of Columbus and Bowling Green and eventually Nashville itself. Apparently a small detachment from the 2nd Division was left to guard the Green River Bridge.

MUNFORDVILLE DURING BRAGG'S KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN

In September, 1862 Confederate General Braxton Bragg and his Army of Mississippi entered Kentucky and occupied Glasgow. This action sent the Union command of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad in a panic. Gen. Horatio G. Wright and Col. Charles Gilbert in Louisville ordered all strategic locations reinforced. Col. John T. Wilder of the 17th Indiana Infantry was ordered to reinforce and take command of Munfordville. When he arrived on September 8, the garrison consisted of 200 unarmed recruits of the 33rd Kentucky Infantry (Companies C and G) and 1400 men of the 67th and 89th Indiana Infantries. He also brought with him 214 new and unarmed recruits of the 17th Indiana Infantry.

Soon after arriving at Munfordville, Wilders began strengthening the fortifications on the south side of the river which Aconsisted of a low line of infantry breastworks and a blockhouse (Wilder 1936:57) (Figure 6, see points A and N). As Wilder states,

APart of those built by General McCook I destroyed. His works were built for infantry; I wanted works for artillery. I tried to arrange the works to employ a small force of from 200 to 1000 men. There was a stockade built at the end of the bridge which 1,200 men could have held against any infantry force (Official Records, cited in Engerud 1962:3).

AWe worked hard putting the rifle entrenchments in order, and placed a head-log on top of the earth embankment; also cut down timber in the pasture in front of our entrenchment, thinking that it might break the force of an attack in line (Wilder 1936:58).

AAAt my left flank, in the little fort a half mile east of Woodsonville, two hundred men, under Major Abbott, of the Seventy-seventh Indiana, had two twelve-pounder guns (Wilder 1936:59).

These fortifications were further described by Confederate officers who participated in the September 14 assault (Figures 7 and 8). Confederate General James S. Chalmers also described the Union earthworks as follows.

AThe enemy works consisted of three distinct parts. On their right was a range of rifle pits sufficient to contain 3000 men, semicircular in form, and terminating on the extreme right in a strong stockade, which stood on a lofty bluff overlooking the Green River. About 100 yards to the left of this was another rifle pit capable of sheltering at least one regiment and still farther to the left and upon higher ground, stood their principal work, a regular bastion earthwork in and about which were stationed about 3000 men (Official Records, Vol. 16/1:973-980).

Figure 6. The Battle of Munfordville (Edwards ca 1870s-1880s).

Figure 7 (battle of Mun) and 8 (battle blow up)

Confederate Colonel E.C. Walthall of the 29th Mississippi goes on the state,

A...the earthworks were about 10 feet high and surrounded by a deep ditch about 8 feet wide. Fallen trees, logs and brush in front of the position served as an abatis to check and hold any attacking force under fire (Official Records, cited in Engerud 1962:3).

By September 13 Confederate Cavalry under Col. John Scott were at Munfordville demanding its surrender. Wilder did not comply and on September 14 the Mississippi Brigade of Brig. Gen. James R. Chalmers attacked the Union defensive line south of the river. This attack was repulsed with more than 200 Confederate casualties. Later that same day Col. Cyrus L. Dunham with six companies of the 50th Indiana Infantry and one company of the 78th Indiana reinforced Munfordville. The garrison was further reinforced on September 15 when the 60th, 67th, 68th, and 74th Indiana Infantry regiments, Company I, 28th Kentucky Infantry, Company K 34th Kentucky Infantry, Battery D 1st Ohio Light Artillery, and batteries with the 13th and 17th Indiana Light Artillery regiments entered camp. This brought the total Union garrison to more than 4,000 men. The later reinforcements arrived just in time to become surrounded, on the North and South sides of the river, on September 16 by more than 25,000 Confederates.

On September 17 Wilder surrendered his garrison to Gen. Bragg and Confederates moved into Munfordville (see Engerud 1963; Miller et al. 1998; or Wilder 1936 for a description of the battle and surrender.) The Confederates did not stay long, however, and by September 20 they were gone, after again damaging the railroad bridge. Union cavalry regiments of Maj. Gen. Buell's Army of the Ohio were the next to enter town.

POST BATTLE OCCUPATION

The first Union regiments to enter town after Bragg's withdrawal were probably the 3rd and 6th Kentucky Cavalry regiments who arrived between September 20 and 22. These troops were doing reconnaissance for Maj. Gen. Buell who was advancing north from Glasgow.

Following the battle of Perryville on October 8, 1862, Munfordville was more fully garrisoned again. In October or November the town was occupied by the 80th and 123rd Illinois Infantry regiments, the 18th and 27th Kentucky Infantry regiments, the 105th Ohio Infantry, and the 101st Indiana Infantry (Dyer 1959).

James Nesbitt of the 105th Ohio described the condition of Munfordville and its railroad bridge when he arrived in October.

The rebels agreed that they would not destroy anything but as soon as they got possession they blew up the RR bridge across Green River and committed many other depredations just because they had the chance to do it but they are mean enough to do anything. They destroyed that bridge twice and it is almost ready for them again. It is 1000 feet long and 140 ft high from the bed of the river. It is a very nice structure (Nesbitt, Oct 26, 1862).

Other military units passed through town at this time, including Col. Edward McCook's first Cavalry Brigade (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 16/2:652). The situation in Munfordville remained rather fluid until December, 1862. The transfer of command of the Army of the Ohio, which was renamed the Army of the Cumberland, from Maj. Gen. Buell to Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans in late October, 1862 and the formation of the District of Western Kentucky, Department of the Ohio on November 12, 1862 no doubt contributed to this fluid situation.

By December, 1862 steps were taken to establish a permanent garrison and depot at Munfordville, with the overriding goal being the protection of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. The primary functions of the camp were as a supply depot, a defensive garrison, and an administrative center for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad region. To reach these goals, many improvements needed to be completed, including the establishment of a garrison of well trained and equipped troops, strengthening the fortifications, and expanding the storage, administrative, and living facilities. These topics will be covered separately below.

Administrative Structure and Troops

By December, 1862 Munfordville became fully garrisoned. It was placed under the command of Col. Edward H. Hobson, commander of the 13th Kentucky, and garrisoned five infantry regiments (13th, 27th, and 33rd Kentucky, 25th Michigan, and 107th Illinois), detachments from three cavalry regiments (4th and 5th Indiana and 12th Kentucky) and one artillery battery (Andrews' Michigan). This made a total of 3, 857 soldiers stationed at Munfordville (Flint 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3514). This is the most troops documented at Munfordville after the battle.

Edward Hobson remained commander of the camp, until April 11, 1863. At this time he was replaced by Col. Charles D. Pennebaker of the 27th Kentucky Infantry, who had been camp commander at various times during Hobson's absence. Generally, the highest ranking regimental officer or his designee during an absence was made camp commander. Pennebaker was in command until September, 1863 when much of his regiment moved out and he was replaced by Lt. Col. James F. Laucks of the 33rd Kentucky. The regiments present under Hobson, Pennebaker and Laucks are shown in Table 1 below.

In October, Munfordville was made the headquarters of the District of Southern Central Kentucky, with Brig. Gen. Edward H. Hobson in command. The district headquarters remained in Munfordville until December, 1863. At this time Col. Horatio G. Gibson of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery was in command of the camp. In fact, the ranking officer of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery, either Gibson or Maj. Lafayette Hammond, was commander of Munfordville from October, 1863 until April, 1864. Other regiments in camp at this time included the 33rd and 48th Kentucky Infantry Regiments, the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery and the 6th Michigan Battery (Light Artillery). The garrison size ranged from 924 to 458 men (Table 1).

In April, 1864 Munfordville again became a regional headquarters. This time it became the headquarter of the Second Division of the District of Kentucky, with Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Ewing commanding. Interestingly, Hugh Ewing was the son of former U.S. Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing and was the brother-in-law of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman. The divisional headquarters remained in Munfordville until August, 1864.

From May to August, 1864 Munfordville was usually commanded by Col. Henry T. Burge of the 48th Kentucky Infantry or a subordinate (Table 1). This regiment was the most numerous in camp although the Third Battalion of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (Companies H, K, L) remained. An exception in the command occurred in May, 1864 when Col. James Gavin of the 134th Indiana was in command of camp for a few weeks.

Table 1. Commanders and Regiments at Munfordville from December 1862 to June 1865 (from National Archives 1863-1865, Microfilm, Record Group 617 - Returns from U.S. Military Posts, Roll 821 and Flint 1864, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3514). The commanders were typically the highest ranking regimental officer present.

December 1862, Col. Edward H. Hobson, Commanding Post

13th Ky Infantry., 25th Michigan Infantry, 27th Kentucky Infantry, 107th Illinois Infantry, 4th Indian Cavalry (two companies), 5th Indiana Cavalry (two companies) Andrews Michigan Battery, 33rd Kentucky Infantry (detachment), 12th Kentucky Cavalry, (3,857 men).

May 1863

Three regiments and two companies (1,264 men)

June 1863, Col. Charles D. Pennebaker, Commanding.

27th Kentucky Infantry, 33rd Kentucky Infantry, 6th Michigan Battery (932 men)

September 1863, Lt. Col. James F. Laucks, Commanding Post.

27th Kentucky Infantry, 33rd Kentucky Infantry, 6th Michigan Battery, 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (Company M) (607 men)

October-December 1863, Col. Horatio G. Gibson, Commanding Post.

33rd Kentucky Infantry, 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (three companies), 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery, 6th Michigan Battery (924 men)

February 1864, Major Lafayette Hammond, Commanding Post

2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (458 men)

April 1864, Col. Horatio G. Gibson, Commanding Post

2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (three companies), 48th Kentucky Infantry (909 men)

May 1864, Col. James Gavin, Commanding Post

48th Kentucky Infantry, 134th Indiana Infantry, 35th Kentucky Infantry, 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (841 men)

June 1864, Col. Henry T. Burge, Commanding Post

48th Kentucky Infantry, 35th Kentucky Infantry, 139th Indiana Infantry, 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (769 men)

*August 1864, Lt. Col. John S. Bishop, Commanding Post

108th U.S.C. Infantry, 12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery (two companies), 48th Kentucky Infantry, 35th Kentucky Infantry, 139th Indiana Infantry, 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (819 men)

September 1864, Capt. Le Roy Weston, Commanding Post

12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery (three companies), 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (detachment)** 108th U.S. C. Infantry (740 men)

October-November 1864, Lt. Col. Walter Babcock, Commanding Post

12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery (4 companies), 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (detachment) (605 men)

December 1864, Lt. Col. James H. Ward, Commanding Post

27th Kentucky Infantry, 12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery (4 companies) (924 men)
January 1864, Major Charles E. Behle, Commanding Post
12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery (4 companies), 27th Kentucky Infantry (926 men)
February-April 1865, Major Charles E. Behle, Commanding Post
12th U.S. C. Heavy Artillery (four companies) (556 men)
May 1865, Col. Norman S. Andrews, Commanding Post
12th U.S. C. Heavy Artillery (four companies) (566 men)
June 1865, Capt. J. P. Waldorf, Commanding Post
12th U. S. C. Heavy Artillery (three companies) (423 men)

*First month the U.S. Colored Troops occupied Munfordville. This continued until September 1865 when the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery was sent to Columbus, Kentucky.

**12 men of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery stayed to train members of the 12th U.S. C. H. Artillery in artillery drill and tactics.

August, 1864 marked the beginning of a new stage in Munfordville's garrison. This was the first month that African American troops, designate U. S. Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.) were garrisoned in town. Kentucky began enlisting African American slaves, who would receive their freedom upon enlistment, and freemen in February and March, 1864. Enlistment started rather slowly because of restriction meant to pacify slave owners, but by late Spring and Summer of 1864 there was literally a flood of enlistments at centers such as Camp Nelson, Louisa, Louisville, Bowling Green, Paducah, and Covington. In the end, 23 U.S.C.T. regiments containing over 23,000 men were organized in Kentucky.

The Munfordville regiments included the 108th U.S.C. Infantry, which was organized in Louisville, and the 12th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery, which was organized at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County. The 108th at Munfordville included companies A, C, E, H, and G, which were under the command of Lt. Col. John S. Bishop and only stayed in camp until September 17, when the regiment was ordered to Tennessee.

The Second Battalion of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery had a much longer tenure at Munfordville and was posted here from August, 1864 until September, 1865, when they moved to Columbus, Kentucky. This battalion consisted of Companies E, F, G, and sometimes I and was commanded by Lt. Col. Walter Babcock (Table 1). Babcock or one of this subordinates (Maj. Behle, or Cpts. Weston or Walford) were usually commanding the post until September, 1865. Exceptions to this include

December, 1864, when Lt. Col. James H. Ward of the 27th Kentucky was commanding the post, and in May, 1865 when the 12th U. S. C. H. A. regimental commander, Col. Norman S. Andrews, was in command.

Most members of the Second Battalion 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery were from western Kentucky, and enlisted at Bowling Green, where they may have received some preliminary training. Some recruits even entered Munfordville to enlist, but these were escorted on foot or by train to the official enlistment station in Bowling Green (Burge 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857).

While at Munfordville, members of the Second Battalion received the bulk of their training, including their first training on artillery. A detachment of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery assisted in this training. While at Munfordville these soldiers performed drill, fatigue, garrison, and guard duty. After August, 1864, they were the primary occupants of the four forts on the north side of the river.

A December 16, 1864 inspection of Munfordville gives an evaluation of the soldiers of the 12th as follows.

AThe 12th U. S. C. H. Art. with Head Qrs at Munfordville are doing guard duty in the fortifications at Munfordville and Muldraugh's Hill, four companies under Command of Capt. J P. Cole at Munfordville and three Companies under Command of Major Behl at Muldraugh's Hill, the other companies of this Regiment are serving in Second brigade under command of Major N. H. Foster; much praise is due the officers of this Regiment for the energy and interest they are taking in it. The men, considering the time they have been in the service, go through the various evolutions of the drill in an admirable manner, most especially in the AManual of Arms. They are under good discipline and their arms, clothing, and quarters are kept clean and neat. I consider the Regiment good and efficient in every respect and deserving of great praise (T. H. Farrell, Dec. 16, 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 2217).

The soldiers of the 12th, like many soldiers, sometimes overstepped their authority and had to be reprimanded by their colonel.

Alt having come to the knowledge of the Colonel commanding that soldiers of this command have been guilty of unauthorized interference with citizens of Munfordville and vicinity in demanding of them provisions, remuneration, and the privilege of searching their houses; and by this bringing discredit upon the whole command....

Your officers are responsible for your good conduct, they have voluntarily taken command of you and have to bear the odium attached to

officers of Colored Troops and by their Gentlemanly department have so far overcome the prejudice existing against them that the Community are not only beginning to respect them, but AYou, and as soldiers and freeman. You should do everything in your power, to uphold your officers in their endeavors to elevate you. You are no longer slaves but soldiers and men, and as such must conduct yourselves orderly and Gentlemanly, be vigilant and truthful, and nobly earn the freedom which has been offered you. You receive the same pay, and are on the same footing of white soldiers, and your term of service is the same as theirs. Yet in addition to your pay you obtain the greatest boon of life, your own freedom and that of your families. As your Commanding Officer, I shall bestow the praise you merit; I shall as certainly punish the refractory and disobedient (Col. N. S. Andrews, May 23, 1865, National Archives, Record Group 94, 12th USCHA Regimental Papers).

Very few personal accounts by Kentucky's African-American soldiers have been published or located in archives, so it is difficult for us to gain an understanding of their perspective of this experience, but a few do exist. One letter by Sgt. George Thomas of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery is particularly insightful on experiences along the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

I enlisted in the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery in the Fall of 1864, and my only sorrow is that I did not enlist sooner.....Our regiment now numbers nearly seventeen hundred men, and is stationed all along the Louisville and Nashville railroad, from Louisville to this place [Bowling Green]. The first battalion is stationed here doing garrison duty; almost too easy for soldiers, me thinks. We have dress parade downtown in the public square, and we are drilled *very well*, the former slaveholders open their eyes, astonished that their former Kentucky *working stock* are capable of being on an equal footing with them at last (George Thomas, July 18, 1865, cited from Redkey 1992:189-190).

As was noted above, in the fall of 1865, the Second Battalion of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery marched out of Munfordville. By October 21, 1865, forts Willich and Terrill were ordered to be dismantled and all guns shipped to the Allegheny Arsenal in Pittsburgh (National Archives 1865b, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857). Soon after this the post was abandoned by the army.

Strengthening of Fortifications

One of the necessary tasks in establishing a stronger and more permanent garrison at Munfordville after the September, 1862 battle was to improve the

fortifications. The battle and siege educated the Union army about the need to fortify the northern side of the river and all efforts were placed here. A December 9, 1862 Engineer's Report stated that,

On the S. side of the Green River are some old works viz. one enclosed earthwork, a stockade, arranged for artillery and musketry, and rifle pits. On the N. Side of the river - three earthworks have been started. They are not far advanced. One earthwork (enclosed) is for 4 guns, one (with three faces, not enclosed and to be protected on the flanks and in rear by rifle pits) is for 3 or 4 guns and the other (to be similar to the last) is for about 2 guns. (Burroughs 1862, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541).

In a December 24, 1862 report, Lt. John A. Tarchy included a sketch of his plan for the defense of Munfordville (Figure 9) and the following report.

The work is now progressing under the immediate direction of my assistant [Lt. Burroughs] at that point. The work will consist of four redoubts connected by infantry parapets or rifle-pits according to the nature of the ground. It is proposed to arm each of these redoubts with at least two field pieces, embrasures being cut in the parapets, in order to admit of the guns being shifted to the several faces of the work...The redoubts only to be reveted with logs (National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541).

Construction of the north fortifications continued into the Spring of 1863. By April 22, 1863, an inspection reported that,

The redouts at A and B are about complete - can now receive their armament. The connecting infantry parapet is complete. The remaining works are all traced and in progress as rapidly as the strength of fatigue parties available from the garrison will permit

Proposed armament 2 30 pdr. Parrot Guns (now in position), 5 Rifled field guns (4 of which are at hand), and 10 smooth-bore field guns. Proposed garrison 2350 men (M. D. McAlester 1863, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541).

This April 22, 1863 report is also interesting in that it gives an assessment of the works on the south side of the river as follows.

The principal works on the south bank were constructed by the rebels, infantry parapets and rifle trenches having been added from time to time by our own troops. When the new position shall be sufficiently fortified it is

proposed abandon the

Figure 9. Munfordville Fortifications Under Construction (Tarchy, December 24, 1862).

south bank (except as an outpost, to be occupied by picket reserves) (M. D. McAlester 1863, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541).

Later in 1863 Lt. Asa W. Slayton, who assisted in the construction of these works, first named the Munfordville fortifications. The two large forts were named Forts Willich and Terrill after Brig. Gen. August Willich and Brig. Gen. William R. Terrill, respectively. The two smaller batteries he named Hale and Slayton after Capt. Luther Hale of the 6th Michigan Battery and Slayton after himself (Slayton 1863c, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541).

Although the Slayton map published in the Official Records Atlas identifies these batteries as McConnell and Simons, and is dated 1863, these later names were not given officially until May 28, 1864 (National Archives 1864, Figure 10). Just before this, in early May 1864, Col. Horatio G. Gibson, commander of Munfordville, renamed Batteries Hale and Slayton, Batteries Jones and DeHart and changed Fort Terrill to Fort Colburn (Gibson 1864, National Archives, 393 Part 1, Entry 3541). These names were never approved, however. McConnell was named after Lt. Joseph McConnell, 18th U. S. Infantry, who died at Stones River, Tennessee, and Simons was named after Lt. James Simons, U. S. Infantry, who also died at Stones River. The date on the Slayton map comes from the original draft, which had the names Hale and Slayton until they were covered over with the new names (Figure 11). The 1863 date was simply left on the 1864 redrafted map.

Even when largely completed, the forts needed maintenance, and officers sometimes complained of the lack of well trained troops to staff them.

AThe Season being at hand favorable for revetting with sods the fortifications under the charge of the regiment, commanders of all forts garrisoned by it are directed to the immediate steps to complete the defenses, and put them on neat, clean, and handsome condition (Order No. 68, April 6, 1864, Regimental Orders of the Second Ohio Heavy Artillery).

AAAt Munfordville Capt. Cole, 12th US Cold Art (Heavy) Commanding. The forts are in pretty good condition. The rats are however making roads over the parapets and magazine and will soon become a serious annoyance. The guards are comparatively new recruits, but had they been properly instructed, they would certainly give some evidence of it (H. B. Grant, Oct. 20, 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393 Part 1, E 2217).

Figure 10. Defenses of Munfordville (Slayton 1863a).

Figure 11. Defenses of Munfordville (Draft) (Slayton 1863b).

Soldiers were quickly ordered to correct the condition of the forts, as follows (Babcock 1864c, National Archives, Record Group 94).

ASpecial Order No. 7
1864

October 24,

A sufficient number of men under the superintendence of a commissioned officer to do the necessary repairing and policing at Forts Willich, Terrill, and Batterys Simons and McConnell.

Officers superintending the last mentioned working parties will pay particular attention that all filth, rubbish, chips, and stone are removed. That the drainage is properly attended to, that the grass on the slopes, except on the glacis is mowed, weeds eradicated, and gullies and rat holes filled up.

Capt., Co. E., 12 U.S.C. H.A.
Munfordville

In 1864, Fort Terrill was armed with two 30-pounder Parrotts and two 12-pounder light guns; Fort Willich was armed with one 10-pounder Parrott, one 3.8-inch James (rifled), two 12-pounder light guns, two 6-pounder smooth-bores, and two 24-pounder howitzers; Battery Hale (later McConnell) was armed with two 12-pounder light guns; and Battery Slayton (misnamed Dayton) (Later Simons) was armed with two 12-pounder light guns (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 39/2:783). These armaments remained the same throughout the Union occupation (National Archives 1863-1865, Record Group 617, Roll 821).

The Munfordville forts were originally garrisoned by light artillery batteries, including Andrews 5th Michigan Battery and the 6th Michigan Battery, but for most of their history they were manned by heavy artillery batteries and infantry companies. The heavy artillery units consisted of the 2nd Ohio Heavy Artillery (3 companies) from September 1863 to August 1864 and the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery (3 to 4 companies) from August 1864 to June 1865 (National Archives 1863-1865, Record Group 617, Roll 821). The 27th Kentucky Infantry and the 139th Indiana Infantry also garrisoned these forts.

Forts Willich and Terrill were generally garrisoned by one or two companies while batteries McConnell and Simons were generally garrisoned by half a company or a detachment (Babcock 1864a, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857). For instance, in August 1864 the garrisons for Fort Willich, Battery Simons, and Battery McConnell consisted of Capt. LeRoy Weston's Company, Lt. J. B.

Strother's detachment, and Lt. Stanley Hasted's detachment (all members of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery), respectively (Babcock 1864b, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857). As was noted above, Forts Willich and Terrill were ordered to be dismantled in October, 1865. At this same time the artillery was removed to the Allegheny Arsenal in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (National Archives 1865b, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857).

Infrastructural Improvements and Quartermaster and Commissary Operation

The establishment of a permanent depot and garrison at Munfordville also lead to changes in the encampment and a great increase in the number of government buildings in or near town. It is not clear whether or not the old Camp Wood grounds were reoccupied after the September 1862 battle, although it is likely that they were. We did not document any use of the name after this time, however. Two October, 1862 letters indicate that at this time soldiers were first housed in railroad buildings and then about a half mile from the railroad station.

AAbout noon we moved about 3/4 of a mile to the railroad station and we are now quartered in the railroad buildings, which makes us more comfortable at nights. We have to cook out of doors but we can eat and sleep in doors. We will get our tents and knapsacks in a day or two and then we can live again (Nesbitt, Oct 26, 1862).

ASince I last wrote to you we received our tents and knapsacks and moved from the RR Station to a large field a half mile distant and now we are living quite comfortable in our tents.....We had sweet potatoes rice fresh beef boiled and then fried molasses and coffee yes and sugar (Nesbitt, Oct 30, 1862).

After December, 1862, the encampments were moved closer to town and closer to the railroad depot. There was also a trend to house more and more troops into barracks and out of tents. An April 6, 1863 report mentions the camp of the 25th Michigan Infantry being within the works on the north side of the river (Charles McAlester 1863, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3541). The first mention of separate barracks at Munfordville was in a June, 1864 inspection which stated,

AAAt Munfordville, Ky. There are ten barracks to be erected, only six have been completed. The barracks at Ft. Terrill, are in course of construction. Officers quarters not yet commenced. The Barracks for Ft. Willich: two sets are completed, but one sett of Officers Quarters. At Battery Simons Barracks and Officers Qrs. Complete. At Battery McConnell barracks

complete, Officers quarters nearly so. Five sets of barracks at the present camp of the 48th Ky. Vol. Inf. Complete. Officers quarters nearly so (Hammond 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393 Part 2, Entry 1111, Box 1).

In July, 1864 there was an order to construct three more barracks and one more officers' quarters at Munfordville (Humphries 1864a, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857). Unfortunately we do not know where these barracks or even the camp of the 48th Kentucky were located. We do know that the 139th Indiana Infantry was lodged in the barracks at Ft. Terrill and Battery McConnell in August, 1864 (Humphries 1864b, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857). Mention of other buildings and activity areas include the post headquarters opposite the railroad depot, parade ground near Battery McConnell, and finally a July, 1865 list of all government buildings at Munfordville (National Archives 1865a, Record Group 92, Entry 225), reproduced as Table 2 below.

_Table 2. Government Buildings, July 1865.

Buildings erected by the Quarter-master' Department at Munfordville Kentucky.

- 1- Office- fronting on R.R. Track- 25 ft. wide by 30 feet long- shingle roof- ceiled inside
- 1- Ware House- fronting on R.R. Track- 65 ft. Long by 30 ft. wide - shingle roof
- 1- Stable - fronting on R.R. track - 62 ft. wide by 72 ft. long - felt. roof
- 1- Commissary - Building - fronting on R.R. track - 160 feet long by 30 feet wide - shingle roof
- 1- Bakery - near R.R. track- 60 ft. long by 56 feet wide - shingle roof
- 1- Carpenter's Shop- 18 feet long by 14 feet wide - shingled roof
- 1- Stable - shed - open sides - 180 feet long by 26 feet wide - felt roof
- 1- Stable- shed- open sides 125 feet long by 20 feet wide - felt roof
- 1- Mess House - 80 feet long by 18 feet wide Board roof
- 1- Mess House - 48 feet long by 26 feet wide- shingle roof
- 1- Blacksmith Shop - 84 feet long by 26 feet wide - felt roof
- 1- Mill House - 30 feet long by 16 feet wide- board roof
- 1- Mill (Saw) 81 feet long by 30 ft. wide - Board roof - no sides - partially down
- 1 - Qrs and Office for Veterinary Surgeon - 15 feet long by 12 feet wide - Board roof
- 1 - Mess House at Stables - 18 ft. long by 17 ft. wide - Board Roof

Artillery Barracks

- 4 - Officers Quarters - 30 feet long by 25 feet wide - felt roof -
- 4 - Barracks - 100 feet long by 25 feet wide - felt roof -

Infantry Buildings or Barracks

- 5 - Officers' Quarters - 30 feet long by 25 feet wide - felt roof -

These Barracks are within the fortifications

1- Ordinance Building - 64 feet long by 34 feet wide - felt roof -

1 - Pest House - 44 feet long by 24 feet wide - felt roof.

Elevation drawings of seven quartermaster buildings, including two stables, a forage house, a store house, a blacksmith shop, and repair shop and a barracks, are illustrated in Figure 12. The location of some buildings are shown on the 1863 Slayton map, including a bakery, commissary house (RR Depot), depot barracks, quartermaster house, hay shed, stable (Ft. Willich), commissary house (Ft. Willich), ordinance house, and stable (Battery McConnell).

As part of its role as an important regional Union base, Munfordville also expanded its quartermaster and commissary facilities. A December 19, 1862 inspection of Munfordville noted that the post commissary store house was located at the railroad depot and had 100,000 rations on hand (Flint 1862, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3514). Capt. O. J. Hopkins was the post commissary and Lt. H. L. Cummings was the post quartermaster. There was also a bakery in operation by December. Later the depot possessed additional quartermaster and commissary warehouses, carpenter shops, and blacksmith shops (see Table 2 and Slayton 1863 Map). Supplies stored in these buildings would have been loaded in wagons made or repaired at these shops and shipped to smaller subsidiary garrisons in the region, or even further south into Tennessee.

The quartermaster and commissary functions of Munfordville are also illustrated by the number and types of employees. In August, 1864, a total of 55 men were employed in the quartermaster department under Capt. O. Blanchard. These included five clerks, a forage master, a general superintendent, a veterinary surgeon, 13 carpenters, 12 teamsters, three wagon makers, three blacksmiths, four laborers, two watchmen, an engineer, two mill sawyers, five stablemen, and a harness maker. Commissary department employees under Capt. G. Evans included one clerk, two laborers, and two bakers (National Archives 1863-1865, Record Group 617, Roll 821).

The employee lists also indicate that Munfordville was an important hospital facility as well. Thirty-four people were employed in the hospitals under Acting Assistant Surgeon William B. Dods in August, 1864. These employees included 12 nurses, six cooks, three teamsters, two head(?) masters, two woodchoppers, one hostler, one druggist, one clerk, one commissary, one steward, two washer women, and two matrons (National Archives, Record Group M617, Roll 821).

Where the hospital or hospitals were located is unclear. From late 1862 onward, housing of the sick was a problem and they were at times housed in vacant buildings in Munfordville and Woodsonville. The inspector stated that the Woodsonville hospital had burned and those sick were moved into a hotel (Flint 1862, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 3514). On March 27, 1865 it was ordered to have a suitable building erected near Munfordville for a smallpox hospital (Behle 1865b, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 2, Entry 1024). It is possible that private buildings were also used as hospitals throughout the occupation.

Figure 12. Building Elevations, Munfordville, Kentucky (National Archives Cartographic Section 1864).

- a. Barracks
- b. Office, Forage House, Stove House, and Stable
- c. Stables
- d. Blacksmith and Repair Shop

Interestingly, no post battle references to the pontoon bridge were located. It is clear from the Slayton (1863a) map that the original pontoon bridge was gone and a new one had been constructed at Woodsonville.

Defense of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad

As has been stated above, the main purpose of the Munfordville garrison, depot, and fortifications was the defense of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. After October, 1862, real and perceived threats to the railroad and region, in the view of the Union army, came from Confederate raiders and pro-Confederate guerrillas and sympathizers. While the defense against the former was a rather straight-forward military affair, defense against the latter two groups was often quite complex and sometimes entered into the realm of political and economic divisions and jealousy.

The first major raid on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad line following Perryville was John Hunt Morgan's famous Christmas Raid of 1862-1863. During this raid he and his men destroyed a number of tressels, tunnels, locomotives, and rolling stock and captured many Union troops, much livestock and other booty. Union defense of the railroad and even their garrisons was quite ineffectual. The poor showing of the Union army led the new commander of the Army of the Ohio, Major Ambrose Burnside to order in the Spring of 1863, major improvements in the railroad's defenses.

During Morgan's Christmas raid, Union commanders at Munfordville and other garrisons were in a panic. Letters and telegrams stating the possible position and strength of the Confederates forces were sent out hourly. Letters from Munfordville noted the presence of 60 Confederate Cavalrymen at Bear Wallow and complained of the low number of Union cavalry in the region (Gray 1863, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 858). In late December, 1862 two companies each of the 4th and 5th Indiana Cavalry regiments arrived at Munfordville. Almost immediately these troops were involved in a skirmish with Morgan's men, as their colonel describes (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 20/1:151).

Munfordville, December 31, 1862.

COLONEL: In accordance with your order, I took the forces under my command, consisting of two companies of the Fourth Indiana Cavalry and two companies of the Fifth Indiana Cavalry, and proceeded to scout the road. I had just reached the pike with the column when my advance, which was about 1 mile ahead, was fired upon by the advance of the enemy. I immediately ordered the fences to be thrown down on each side of the road, and directed Captain Purdy's company, or Fourth Indiana Cavalry, to proceed through the field on the right of the pike, and form his company in

line of battle. He had just got his company formed when the enemy came on at full speed, on a charge, 300 strong, and, when within shooting distance, commenced firing. I sent Lieutenant Smith, in command of Company C, of Fifth Indiana Cavalry, through the field on the left of the pike, and ordered him to proceed down a hollow in the field out of view of the enemy, who did not discover him until he commenced firing at not to exceed 50 yards range, which threw him into confusion and caused him to retreat in disorder, with a loss of 9 killed, and , as near as I can ascertain, 22 wounded and 5 prisoners. My loss was 1 killed and 2 taken prisoners, by being intoxicated and straggling behind the command. I had also several horses shot, I had scarcely got my command reorganized before the main force of the enemy, 4,000 strong, came on at full speed, flanking at both sides for the purpose of surrounding my command, but were not fast enough to effect this object.

Yours, most respectfully,

ISAAC P. GRAY
Colonel, Fourth Indiana Cavalry

Another significant Confederate raid on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad occurred in October, 1863. As Brig. Gen. J. T. Boyle states (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 30/4:194),

Rebels captured Lebanon train, burned baggage cars, robbed passengers.

Richardson, commanding rebels, stated they were scouting party and main force would strike Louisville & Nashville this morning. I have no force; cannot force be sent to-night from Indianapolis.

Brig. Gen. E. H. Hobson at Munfordville gives additional information on this force as follows (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 30.4L198).

MUNFORDVILLE, October 8, 1863

Captain HARE:

I have just received reliable information that rebels, supposed to number 100, burned train on Lebanon branch road to-day. I have information also that rebels design making a raid on Louisville and Nashville road for purpose of destroying Rosecrans' line of communication. Use the greatest vigilance and precaution to prevent the destruction of the bridge [at Bacon Creek].

Respectfully,
E.H. HOBSON

Brigadier-General

Both Boyle, in the letter above, and Hobson, in the letter below, complain of the shortage of mounted troops in the region. This problem was present in December, 1862 and continued until the end of the Civil War. Hobson describes the unfortunate situation in the following letter (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. 30/4:195).

Munfordville, October 8, 1863,

Capt. A. C. SEMPLE, Louisville:

No rebels have been at Rowlett's Station to-day; none are advancing. I have no cavalry at this place; have quite a number of horses but no equipments. I have no cavalry force in this vicinity. Have 50 mounted infantry in vicinity of Cave City and Glasgow. Notice has been given to all the posts on the railroad north of this point to look out for rebels.

E. H. HOBSON,
Brigadier-General

After the October, 1863 raid, the major threat to the railroad came from guerrillas rather than regular Confederate army troops. The Union army also perceived a growing threat from Confederate sympathizers (disloyal citizens) and took steps to curtail this. In order to curb pro-Confederate activities, the army at Munfordville was involved in fighting guerrillas, restricting trade, restricting who could run for political office, impressing property of Rebel sympathizers, and even threatening to retaliate by shooting prisoners.

Guerrilla depredations were commonly mentioned in official Union correspondence. These date from June, 1863 and continue until the Spring of 1865. Guerrilla activity included stealing horses, harrassing loyal citizens, attacking small Union garrisons, and even attacking the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

As with the Confederate raiders, the Union army had difficulty curtailing guerrilla activities. Again, a shortage of cavalry was a major problem, as Lt. Col. Walter Babcock, stated in November 1864 that,

I would respectfully request that one company of cavalry or mounted infantry be sent to this place. Since the withdrawal of mounted force, guerrilla depredations have greatly increased in this section of the state. I am informed by citizens that they prowl around, with impunity, in close proximity to this place, well knowing we have no mounted force here to send after them (Lt. Col. Walter S. Babcock, 1864d, National Archives, Record Group 393 Part 2, Entry 1111, Box 1).

This problem still existed in March 1865, as Col. Eli Murray stated,

Terrible guerrilla problem, 1000 - 2000 guerrillas in mounted squads of 10 to 100 (all mounted) and he has but 400 cavalry, union people taking refuge in garrisoned towns. Needs four times cavalry that he has. Outlaws say >We know there are few federal cavalry in the county (Logan) therefore we will sweep everything before us' (Murray 1865, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 2, Entry 1108).

The depredations of guerrillas could sometimes lead to extreme measures, as the following 1864 order to Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing demonstrates.

The General [Maj. Gen. Burbridge] commands you to take 4 guerrillas prisoners in your hands to Russelville and shoot them in the street as retaliation for recent treatment of Mr. Porter's property and the shooting of his family (Dickson 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 1, Entry 2164).

Ewing did not follow this order and eventually got it changed, but such retaliations did occur within the state.

Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing believed that cavalry alone could not control the guerrillas. Local armed citizen organizations were needed. As he stated,

The guerrilla and robber bands which infest the district have been dealt with as effectively as the force at my disposal would admit; it is, however, quite insufficient to protect every locality without the aid of a home organization (Ewing n.d.:33-34).

In the fall of 1864 Ewing authorized the raising of a Pro-Union Home Guard to not only counter pro-Confederate guerrillas, but also to identify and counter Adisloyal citizens. Actions of the Home Guards included arrest of these people and impressment of their horses and other property. These activities caused much controversy and complaints, as the following letter of Col. C. Maxwell illustrates,

You will proceed with a detachment of the 26th Ky as soon as possible to the vicinity of Calhoun, Ky and make enquiry into the conduct of the officers and men of the various so called State Guard, Home Guard and independent Companies in Muhlenburg, McLean, and Davis Counties and especially the Companies of Capt. Vick, Capt. Wilson, and Captain Little. If you find that these officers and their men are still seizing horses and other property of peaceable and law abiding citizens and or maltreating them and committing other outrages upon them, you will forthwith arrest the

officers disarm and disband the men and bring the officers to this place under arrest (Col. C. Maxwell 1864a, National Archives, Record Group 393 Part 2, Entry 1111, Box 1).

A series of letters to and from Lt. Col. Walter Babcock at Munfordville in October and November, 1864 also illustrate the problems with Brig. Gen. Ewing's Home Guard policy. In this case, Grayson County Home Guard, under Capt. David Johnston, seized property from Adisloyal citizens and distributed it among themselves. This was proper procedure if the citizens were acting against the United States. According to Brig. Gen. Ewing, Johnston was authorized

to raise a company of men for the protection of their homes and property against depredations of guerrillas....[They] are to be mounted on horses taken from unauthorized bands of citizens in arms and will be paid by money and property from the same... (Ewing Papers, Box 3, Oct. 13, 1864).

Johnston and his men were charged with terrorizing and robbing the local loyal citizenry of Grayson County. As Col. C. Maxwell stated,

These men ... Were a terror to the great majority of people...They committed all kinds of depredations, arrested and maltreated citizens... (Maxwell 1864b, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 2, Entry 1111, Box 2).

Both Maj. General Stephen Burbridge and Governor Thomas Bramlette ordered Johnston's arrest in October, 1864, and the return of seized property (Johnston 1864; Winchel 1864). This arrest and seizure was carried out by Col. P.G. Reese and Capt. Bates of the 45th Kentucky Militia (Reese 1864).

Captain Johnston had his supporters, however, and in early November Lt. Col. Walter Babcock, the commander at Munfordville, ordered Johnston released and all property taken from the Home Guard returned (Stevens 1864). Babcock was acting under orders from Ewing to enforce the Home Guard policy. Although Johnston was released, and some confiscated property returned, in the end Governor Bramlette and Maj. Gen. Burbridge disbanded Ewing's Home Guards (Col. C. Maxwell 1864b). Ewing was rather bitter about the nullification of his policy and stated,

The Governor, for want of capacity, or inclination, I know not which, had taken no measures to protect his people, or to organize and arm them for their own defense; but it was not at all apprehended that he would interfere, and forbid them to organize and arm and defend, or aid in defending themselves. But he did interfere; and through impotent to save

and protect, he was sufficiently potent, through his angry and threatening proclamation, to prevent his people from preparing for their defense. This gave the guerrillas and robber bands partial impunity (Ewing n.d.:34).

In their efforts to curtail the activities and power of suspected disloyal citizens, the Union army attempted to control candidates for political office and stop overt pro-Confederate acts, including making speeches. On July 25, 1864, George T. Wood and Samuel Haycraft requested that Brig. Gen. Ewing prohibit a certain Adisloyal candidate named Charles E. Nourse from running for county clerk. Ewing complied with this request. On that same day a disgruntled candidate named S. W. D. Stone requested that Ewing countermand the prohibition on him to run for county sheriff. Ewing did not change this restriction (Ewing Papers, Box 4, Folder 1). The potential for abuse of such policies and powers was enormous.

The following letter by an officer of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery further illustrates the policing activity of the army.

In accordance with orders received from Hd. Qrs. U.S. Forces Munfordville, Ky, I proceeded to Litchfield, Grayson Co, Ky and arrested Anthony Lemons; but on investigation became satisfied that the AHurraing for Jeff Davis and like acts said to have been committed by him, were committed by one AMarion Lemons, who is not under bond to the United States. No proof of any disloyal or treasonable acts having been brought against him, Anthony Lemons was released (First Lt, 12th USCHA, Nov. 28, 1864, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 2, E 1111, Box 2).

Another action by Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing was his attempt to stop the trade of pro-Confederate citizens which he believed put these goods in the hands of the Confederate army. In July, 1864 Ewing issued his famous General Order 14, which stated,

No rebel or disloyal person shall ship produce to market or receive supplies by railroad or rivers. A military permit is required to ship or receive goods. No arms or ammunition should be sold without special permit (Ewing Papers, Box 4, Folder 2, General Order No. 14, July 4, 1864).

This order met with both support and protest, including that of George T. Wood of Munfordville (Ewing Papers, Box 4, Folder 2). It again gave the army enormous power over civilians' lives.

Camp Life

Life at Munfordville for the common soldier continued to be much the same as it was before the battle. They tended to write about the same topics, such as the weather, food, and recreation. During the late fall and winter of 1862 a soldier of the 105th Ohio described the weather and conditions in town as follows.

It was Terribly cold; we were crowded into a few of the buildings which had escaped the general destruction, and shivered about the fires we built of what we could pick up. In a day or two we were provided with tents, and remained here a month, engaged in constant drill, with occasional expeditions to obtain forage for the animals (Albion 1896:157).

The variety of foods available to soldiers and their Aforaging practices were common topics in letters, as is shown below,

We have fresh beef about two thirds of the time and good smoked shoulder the balance of the time. We have beans rice and occasionally some mixed vegetable (such as that I sent to you) and good coffee and first rate crackers besides other little mic macs such as dried apples and peaches and other kinds of dried fruit and then we have what I used to call flour gravy too sometimes and it is very good on crackers (Nesbitt, November 27, 1862).

We travelled a good while without finding anything but finally we found some game in the shape of two secesh hogs one of which would dress 200 and the other 250 lbs and we picked on the latter.....You may call this stealing but we don't. I think to take from a rebel that which a man wants to eat is not stealing but to take it and destroy it that is wrong (Nesbitt, Nov 16 1862).

The last letter also illustrates the propensity of Northern soldiers, particularly those from the Midwest, to refer to Kentuckians generally as Asecesh. They do not seem to make any effort to separate loyal and disloyal citizens.

The unhealthy conditions which existed in the camp before the September, 1862 battle continued afterward. In November, 1862, James Nesbitt noted,

I don't know why it is but there is a good many of our regt getting sick and some are dying but those that are well are getting fat. There has been as high 5 funerals in the 101st Inda reg't in one day and there has been as high as 2 in our reg't in one day (Nesbitt, Nov 27 1862).

In January, 1863 another soldier stated,

The measles are raging in camp. I have not taken them as yet but do not know how soon I may. The small pox is up in town but I do not go there often so I think there is no danger of my getting that disease (Livengood, Jan. 19, 1863).

Conditions were no better in 1865 when Major Charles A. Behle of the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery described the great mortality of African-American troops. He observed that,

Between October 1864 and January 1865 36 of 500 died of typhoid and epidemic fever (Behle 1865a, National Archives, Record Group 393, Part 4, Entry 855/858).

One difference from earlier camp life was the presence of African-American troops after August 1864. Unfortunately there is very little written on these experiences, especially from a personal perspective. The day-to-day duties of the U.S.C.T. were the same as the white troops, but we know little of their day-to-day interactions with other soldiers or civilians.

One incident that was recorded involved an exchange of gunfire between a guard detail of the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery and members of the 27th Kentucky Infantry. An investigation resulted in conflicting testimony as to who fired first. While this incident may have been a case of mistaken identity or simply failure to follow proper procedure, it could have resulted from animosity between black and white troops.

Camp life occasionally offered some diversions. The caves of Western Kentucky continued to be of great interest to the soldiers and field trips to Mammoth Cave or to smaller caves closer to Munfordville were often organized. Private James Nesbitt of the 105th Ohio Infantry described a trip to a nearby cave as follows,

Orderly I H Mansfield and I went out yesterday a mile from camp and explored a cave that extends about 400 feet under ground and it is about 15 feet high and there are rooms off the principal cave. It is really a nice sight. It is the greatest natural curiosity I ever saw (Nesbitt, November 27, 1862).

On a lighter note, life in camp could be quite pleasant, with interesting diversions for the soldiers and their families. Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing, who was commander of the Second Division of the District of Kentucky, with headquarters in Munfordville, describes the construction of a bath house over the Green River.

June 29, 1864. The swimming House is completed. It is a perfect success

containing a dressing room, and steps leading into the water, a part of the bed is floored to give a shallow paddling place for children and the remainder deep for swimming. The sides reach a little below the water so that it is perfectly shut in and private! The current of the river, clear as crystal and green rushes through. Nothing will be better. The family went in swimming. Edith was very courageous, and Nell was timid, though she boasted largely before she got down the steps into the water (Ewing Papers, Box 6).

INTERPRETIVE THEMES

The complex and varied history of the Munfordville area during the Civil War offers many areas of possible interpretation. Much effort has previously been expended on interpretation for the battle of Rowlett's Station, in December, 1861, and the main battle of Munfordville, in September, 1862 (Miller et al 1998). I will not deal with these battles, but rather offer some suggestions regarding interpretation of the pre and especially post battle Civil War occupation of Munfordville. Interpreting themes such as these could help visitors obtain a deeper understanding of the nature of the larger Civil War experience, beyond the low percentage of time that was spent in battle, or in any military maneuvers.

First among interpretive themes might be the early Union organization in Kentucky in the fall and winter of 1861-1862. This was the beginning of Kentucky's involvement in the Civil War, and both the Union and Confederate armies were testing each other, learning how to be soldiers, and developing strategies of how to defend or invade territory. As an important base for recruiting, training, and drilling and as a major transportation node, Munfordville can be used to tell this story.

Also important are the infrastructural preparations needed to protect the important transportation corridors of the area, especially the Louisville and Nashville railroad and the Green River. The engineering of the railroad and pontoon bridges, and the efforts to keep them intact are especially significant. The railroad and railroad bridge also play heavily in the actual battles at and near Munfordville and campaigns in Tennessee and Mississippi.

The nature of the Civil War fortifications, the various forts and batteries constructed at Munfordville, and the strategy behind them, as well as the general defense of the post, would be of interest to many visitors, particularly since some of these are in a good state of preservation. The sequential nature of the fortifications, beginning with the original series of forts in December 1861 to February 1862, and then Wilder's Improvements in September, 1862, and then finally the post battle fortifications, could be interpreted separately. Which troops manned the individual forts and batteries could also be illustrated.

Crucial to all these defensive activities were the quartermaster and commissary functions of the Munfordville camp. The historical records can provide many details in this area. Having a smoothly functioning quartermaster department was also important if Munfordville was to function successfully as a regional headquarters for the District of Western and Southern Central Kentucky, through which many men and supplies moved. Of related interest might be the organizational and command changes in the Union army, at Munfordville. What commanders and regiments were stationed at Munfordville would be of interest to visitors with a genealogical bent.

The ethnic diversity of the troops stationed at Munfordville is also an area which needs to be interpreted, and which should be of interest to a large number of visitors. Munfordville was an important center for African American troops, in a state which supplied more African American troops than any other, except Louisiana. Munfordville was also the station for some units of distinctive immigrant background, such as the Germans of the 32nd Indiana. The ways in which these groups interacted with the more typical Euro-American troops, usually of more mixed ethnicity and/or several generations removed from immigration, could be interpreted. How these various groups interacted with the local population should also be of interest.

Also of great interest would be general camp life, and what it was like on a daily basis for the soldiers to live in this area. Potential issues include the constant threat of disease, a very frequent problem given the high population density and relatively poor sanitation of most army camp sites. The fact that mortality rates from disease were often higher than those from battles could be used to illustrate this problem, which may not be well understood by visitors to this site. The military activities of the soldiers, and their recreational pursuits could all be included in interpretive materials. One side effect of the Civil war was the movement of people into regions they had never before visited; impressions of out of state soldiers about Kentucky might be of special interest to Kentucky visitors.

A military occupation of any populated area is a complex thing, but especially complex in the context of a civil war with divided loyalties. This is a very fruitful area for interpretation. Two areas seem especially germane to this topic for the Munfordville occupation. These are 1) the guerrilla activities that took place around Munfordville and the various defenses against them, such as the activities of a Home Guard, and 2) the nature of civilian life under Union occupation. For example, the hardships experienced by the local population and the split nature of their loyalties could be interpreted. Documents researched above suggest that the Union occupation often extended beyond matters of defense (or offense) and extended into political and social life, anticipating issues that would become important after the war, during the Reconstruction efforts.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESOURCES

Most of the research for the above narrative has been conducted using primary documents, located at a number of local, state, and national repositories. Although I have tried to cover those repositories thought most likely to contain relevant records, and feasible to visit within a limited budget, it is certain that additional relevant documents exist. For example, since Illinois and Wisconsin troops were at Munfordville, there may be diaries or letters with information about Munfordville curated at Illinois and Wisconsin state repositories. Internet research suggests that some relevant Ohio regimental records might be available at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. However, it is hoped that the bulk of the most easily accessible material has been located. It also should be mentioned that since the original focus of the grant which funded this research was the post battle occupation, only records dating primarily after December, 1862 were examined at the National Archives. There is sure to be additional material for the earlier periods at the National Archives, likely in many of the same record groups discussed in this report. In the following discussion, I highlight those repositories that we visited and summarize the relevant collections. For fuller citations of the various collections, see the References Cited section immediately following, organized alphabetically by author or manuscript collection compiler.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland

Letters. The main collection here is the James **Nesbitt Papers**, which are the letters Nesbitt wrote from Munfordville in October and November, 1862, while a member of the 105th Ohio Infantry. These letters cover the weather, conditions in camp, food, drilling, and caving explorations.

Ohio Historical Society, Columbus

This archive held many useful items, including Civil War diaries, letters, regimental histories and papers, and the private papers of Gen. Hugh Ewing.

Diaries. In terms of diaries, of particular interest is the **Kiene diary**, an excellent diary kept by a soldier (Francis Kiene) in the 49th Ohio Infantry. In this diary Kiene discusses a wide variety of activities in Munfordville from December, 1861 until February, 1862. Particularly good are segments on camp life, foodways, bridge construction, and the Battle of Rowlett's Station. Also of interest is the series of diaries compiled and published by **Alexis Cope**. These diaries are from soldiers of the 15th Ohio Infantry, who were at Munfordville from December, 1861 to February, 1862. These contain good descriptions of camp life, the Rowlett's Station battle and Camp Wood. Another diary from an 15th Ohio Infantry member is that kept by **Amos Glover**, (Volume 308 at the

Ohio Historical Society). It is rather brief, with little information. Another diary from this same unit is that kept by **Samuel T. Evans**, curated in the Memorandum Books Collection, VFM 2768. Evans was at Munfordville February 16-18, 1862 and passed through again September 22, 1862. Information on Munfordville is limited.

Letters and Papers. A useful collection of letters is the **A. S. Bloomfield letters**, which are typed and bound, Volume 967. This is an excellent series of letters describing life in Munfordville between December, 1861 and February, 1862 by a soldier in Battery A, 1st Ohio Light Artillery. They contain good descriptions of camp life, the bridges and the fortifications.

Of special importance at this repository are the **Hugh Ewing Papers**, Collection 108, Boxes 3, 4, and 6. This collection includes letters, diaries, orders, and journals of Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing, who was the commander of the District of Southern Central Kentucky at Munfordville, April to June 1864. These papers provide information on the disposition of troops, problems with guerrillas and disloyal citizens. Box 4, Folder 3 contains Ewing's *A Military History* (see **Ewing n.d.** in Referenced Cited below).

Regimental Histories. Several regimental histories that contain relevant materials are curated at the Ohio Historical Society. **Reid (1868)** gives detailed regimental histories of each Ohio regiment. A passable **regimental history of the 1st Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery** is available at this repository (see citation under **Anonymous** in References Cited below). This history provides some information on camp life at Munfordville between December, 1861 and February, 1862. Another relevant regimental history available at this archives is that compiled by **Sechler (1912)** for the Second Ohio Heavy Artillery. The only interesting section is an eight page history of the regiment written by Col. Horatio G. Gibson in 1900. It mentions the 1863-1864 occupation of Munfordville. The Ohio Historical Society also has the **Second Ohio Heavy Artillery Regimental Orders**. This unit occupied Munfordville in 1863 and 1864. A good regimental history of Battery D, First Ohio Veteran Volunteers, which occupied Munfordville December, 1861 through February, 1862, (and was captured there in September 1862) is provided in **A Committee (1906)**. Information is provided about Camp Wood, the siege and surrender. A very good regimental history of the 105th Ohio Volunteers is provided by **Albion (1896)**. This history provides information on setting up camp at Munfordville in the fall and winter of 1862.

Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis

Since many Indiana men were at Munfordville, this repository contained many relevant materials, including diaries, letters, and regimental histories.

Diaries. The **John Fritz Diary**, Collection F85, was kept by a soldier in the 101st Indiana Infantry, who was at Munfordville in the late fall of 1862. Some information is provided on camp life and foodways. The **James Daniels Diary** was kept by a member of the 4th Ohio Cavalry, encamped near Munfordville in January, 1862. Curated as Collection M584, F4, this diary gives descriptions of scouting along the Green River and the railroad. The diary of **James M. Little**, of the 39th Indiana Infantry, is curated as Collection SC 2483. Little was at Munfordville December, 1861 through February, 1862 and provides brief descriptions of activities such as guard and pickett duty. The diary includes drawings of bridge bent, breastworks, bridge span, and bridge pier. It could not be photocopied.

Letters and Papers. In terms of collections of letters, two very useful collections are from men in the 29th Indiana Infantry, which was at Munfordville from December, 1861 to February, 1862. First is the **Berges, John A. and Jack F. Pase Collection**, Collection SC 84, which contains good descriptions of camp conditions. The second is the **Bergun H. Brown Papers**, Collection BV 400, which give information on camp life, foodways, and a small skirmish. Another series of letters, penned by **Albert Forder**, are in the William Forder Collection, Collection F90-P. Forder, a member of the 38 Indiana Infantry, wrote a few letters from Munfordville in December, 1861, describing camp life, the pontoon bridge, and drilling. Another valuable set of letters are found in the **Joseph C. Haddack Papers**, Collection SC 664. These are the letters of a soldier in the 4th Indiana Battery, who was at Munfordville December, 1861 to February, 1862, and who gives descriptions of Camp Wood's location and condition, and mention of illnesses.

One of the more unusual manuscript collections is the **John R. Cannon Papers**, Collection SC 2213. Cannon was the official quartermaster for the 38th Indiana Infantry, and the collection includes many lists of supplies issued at Camp Wood in January and February 1862.

Regimental Histories. Several regimental and personal histories are also available at this repository. Robert E. **Walker (1994)** published a biography of Gilbert Moore, a member of the 101st Indiana, who describes life and food at Munfordville on October 26, 1862. A member of the 5th Indiana Cavalry, **John H. Sammons (1890)**, published a memoir that mentions his being at Munfordville March 1, 1863, but gives little detail. A small pamphlet compiled by the **Fourth Indiana Battery Veteran Association**, Collection SC 589, describes sickness at Munfordville, and a hospital tent being 30 rods from the main camp.

Cincinnati Historical Society, Special Collections

The Wilson Collection, FU58Ac, contains Special Orders for the Central Division of the

Department of the Cumberland, and includes quartermaster records from Camp Wood which date between December 1861 and February 1862. The latter records were written mostly by Capt James F. Boyd, post quartermaster.

Hart County Historical Society, Munfordville, Kentucky

The Historical Society has a large collection of transcribed and photocopied letters and diary sections from the Union occupation of Munfordville. Some of the more useful manuscripts include those of **Pvt. Nathaniel M. Reynolds** (December, 1861), **Pvt. James B. Livengood** (January, 1863), **Col. Thomas J. Harrison** (December, 1861), **Pvt. Lyman S. Widney** (n.d.- covers December, 1861 - February, 1862), **Pvt. John L. Barnett** (December, 1861). These letters and/or diaries give descriptions of camp life, pickett duty, foodways, illness, and the railroad bridge. The Hart County Historical Society also has copies of the **Cyrus Edward's Map** and the **A. Metzner** map of Munfordville.

National Archives

The National Archives is by far the richest source of official records relevant to the Civil War occupation of Munfordville. Almost all these records come from the Military Reference Section of the National Archives, in the main repository in downtown Washington, D. C. Map resources were researched at the Cartographic Section, College Park, Maryland. Most of these records were readily accessible and if pieces were loose, as is the case with most letters, were in good physical condition and could be photocopied. Many of the regimental books were not available, being in the process of restoration, and even those that were could not, as bound volumes, be photocopied. Whole regimental books (or portions) can be microfilmed, but this takes about 6 months as the National Archives has a backlog of such requests. In many cases records such as letters are organized by the name of the sender or receiver, so locating relevant materials is dependent upon knowing the various commanders and other parties involved in the Civil War activities. Thus as more parties are known, additional records might also be located. However, most letters or other records give some geographical citation, which is very helpful. It is also crucial to have a good grasp of the administrative structure of the Union Army (which changed several times during the war), as this provides the broader organization for these records.

The following discussion is organized by Record Groups (RGs), as this is the key to locating these records at the National Archives. A number of record groups were examined, but seemed to contain no relevant materials. To help future researchers, these record groups are listed below.

Records Examined but from Which No Munfordville material was found:

In Record Group 393, Part 1, Entries 2214; 3482; 3504; 3505; 3513; and 3543/3544; and In Record Group 303, Part 2, Entries 849; 850/851/854; 853/856; 1022; 1024-Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 5 of 5 (but Volume 4 was useful, see below); 1107; and 1124.

Record Groups from which relevant materials were located, Military Reference Section:

Microfilm:

RECORD GROUP 617, Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916, Roll 821 (Microfilm). Contains returns from Munfordville for June, 1863 until June, 1865. Returns list officer in command, regiments and number of troops present (both sick and well). Some months also list the number and occupation of civilian employees.

Manuscript Records:

RECORD GROUP 92, Entry 225. Consolidated Correspondence of the Quartermaster Department, AMunfordville, Kentucky section. Contains quartermaster correspondence related to Munfordville. Includes a list of quartermaster department buildings at Munfordville, a list of public property (tools, etc.) under Capt. Ozias Blanchard (Quartermaster), letter of support for Capt. Huntington signed by citizens, and a list of quartermaster stores on hand at Munfordville and Bowling Green (does not split them).

RECORD GROUP 94. Records of the Adjutant General's Office. Regimental Books of the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery. Includes regimental and company level general and special orders, descriptive books, morning reports, and correspondence, including lists of officers, mention of buildings, where officers are housed, and proceedings of a Board of Investigations.

RECORD GROUP 159. Inspector General Reports. Entry 1A. Includes September 20, 1865 inspection of U.S. Colored Troops in Second Division, Department of Kentucky. 12Th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery is included. Lists men and equipment.

RECORD GROUP 393. Records of the United States Continental Commands. This is a very rich record group and to do it justice, individual entry groups are discussed separately below. This record group is divided into parts and it is essential to have the part number in locating an entry.

RG 393, Part 1, Entry 2164. 2nd Division, District of Kentucky, Letters Sent, May 1863 - February 1865. Master log of troops, list of men executed and prisoners who escaped, supply requests, troop disposition and movements, shooting of guerrillas in retaliation.

RG 393, Part 1, Entry 2177. 2nd Division, District of Kentucky, General Orders, October

1862 - April 1864 and Reports of Inspections, July 1864 - August 1865. Gives names of forts in District of Kentucky, assignments of commanders, court martials, organizational structure, conditions of forts.

RG 393, Part 1, Entry 2178. 2Nd Division, District of Kentucky, Special Orders, Vol. 2 of 2, October 1862 - December 1863. Information on troop movements and dispositions, post commander appointments, garrisoning fortifications.

RG 393, Part 1, Entry 3514. Department of the Ohio, Letters Received, 1862-1865. Includes important December 19, 1862 inspection of Munfordville which gives troop dispositions, quartermaster stores, and buildings.

RG 393, Part 1, Entry 3541. Department of the Ohio, Chief Engineer, Letters and Reports Received, Jan., 1862-June, 1865. Box 2, maps, and Box 3, and Box 4. This is a very useful entry, with reports and inspections of fortifications, including Munfordville, Bowling Green, and Glasgow. Mentions contraband work on forts, includes Terrill's description of the trip with Zollicoffer's corpse.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1022/1034. District of Southern Central Kentucky, General Orders and Letter Sent, October 1863 - April 1864. Orders and letters related to appointments, troop disposition, and movement, guerrillas, transportation, supplies, court martials, and impressing slaves.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1024, Vol. 4 of 5. 1st Division, District of Kentucky, Special Orders, October 1863 - December 1863. Special Orders related to commander appointments, headquarter placement, defense of the railroad, hospital appointments, and pontoon bridge.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1026. 1st Division, District of Kentucky, Telegrams Sent and General Orders, October 1863 - April 1864. Includes telegrams from Gen. Ed Hobson, information on Rebel movements, supplies, troop disposition and movements.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1108. 2nd Division, District of Kentucky, Special Orders, March 6, 1865 - April 1865. Gives information on troop movements, guerrilla problems, headquarter location, and distribution of rations.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1111, Boxes 1 and 2. 2nd Division, District of Kentucky, Letters Received, May 1864 - January 1865. Lists Quartermaster property, impressing rebel citizens' horses, troop movements, construction of barracks, guerrilla activity, guarding cattle, appointments, condition of forts and quarters, transportation, militia and home guard conflicts, complaints about U.S.C.T, U.S.C.T and white soldier conflicts.

RG 393, Part 2, Entry 1114. 2nd Division, District of Kentucky, General and Special

Orders, April 1861 - April 1865. Gives appointment of commanding and other officers, mention of control or rebel activities.

RG 393, Part 4, Entry 856/857. District of Southern Central Kentucky, Telegrams Sent, General and Special Orders, June 1863 - August 1863 and May 1864 - November 1865. Includes many interesting orders and telegrams related to Munfordville, including railroad transportation, officer appointments, distributing rations, troop movements, housing of troops, fortification repair, garrisoning of forts, recruitment of African American troops, ordnance at forts, barrack construction and repair, camp conditions, troop behavior, dismantling of forts, and guerrilla activity.

RG 393, Part 4, Entry 858. District of Southern Central Kentucky, Telegrams, Letters Received and Letters Sent, August 1864 - July 1865 and General and Special Orders, December 1862 - February 1864. Very useful entry. Includes information on troop disposition, list of post commanders, guarding cattle drives, appointment of post sutler, arms and ammunition, mortality of U.S.C.T., fortification construction and repair, detailing troops for fatigue duty, disposition of rebel cavalry, inspections, troop behavior, and cooking and rations.

National Archives, Cartographic Section, College Park, Maryland

Three useful maps were located at this repository. They include a draft map of the map published in the Official records, by Asa Slayton (see **Slayton 1863b** in References Cited). This map shows fortifications, buildings, railroad bridge, pontoon bridge, and roads. The main difference from the published version is that you can see his scratching out of older fort names and use of later names. The second map located is Map 1.158, giving four elevation drawings of offices, shops, a forage house, barracks, and stables at Munfordville in May, 1864 (see **National Archives Cartographic Section 1864** below). The third map, Map 2.81 (see **National Archives Cartographic Section n.d.** below), is in two pieces that fit together, and show Munfordville to Rowlett's Station at the time of the battle of Rowlett's Station. The town, roads, bridges, fortifications, and some buildings are shown. The camp of the Second Division (Camp Wood) and Union and Confederate positions during the Battle of Rowlett's Station are labelled.

Official Records of the War of the Rebellion.

These records were researched at the University of Kentucky Special Collections, but are available widely at libraries, and recently, in CD version. Correspondence from Camp Wood is located in Series I, Vol 7:439, 484, 490, 522, 557, 563, 627, and in Series II, Vol 3: 260. Information on the organization of Alexander McCook's Division can be found in Series I, Vol 4:332-333 and Vol. 10/2:149, 264.

Descriptions of the Battle of Rowlett's Station are found in Series I, Vol. 7:14-21. Correspondence and descriptions related to the September 1862 siege and battle are found in Series I, Vol 16/1:825-830, 893-895, 971-986, 1090; and Series I, Vol. 28:47, 205-212, 960-985.

These records contain numerous correspondence dating to the post battle occupation of Munfordville. Topics covered include the following:

ordering troops to Munfordville - Series I, Vol. 16/2:650-652;
the behavior of troops during the battle - Series III, Vol. 2:590-591;
scouting along the railroad - Series I, Vol. 20/1:151;
rebel raiding - Series I, Vol. 30/4:195-198;
troop dispositions - Series I, Vol. 23/2:491, 584; Series I, Vol. 31/1:811-817; Series 1, Vol. 31/3:559-563; Series I, Vol. 32/2:292-296; Series I, Vol. 32/3:550-573; Series I, Vol. 39/2:71-73, 568-573;
the disposition of African American troops - Series III, Vol. 4:1017-1019;
and the disposition of artillery at the forts - Series I, Vol. 39/2:783.

Much use of the Official Records is made by **Engerud (1962)**, who gives good descriptions of the early Union occupation of Munfordville, including its fortifications, and a good summary of the September, 1862 battle, with many quotations from the Official Records.

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