FOUR COULEE BOYS AND THE CIVIL WAR

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a study of four men during the time they were in the Civil War. The chief figure was James Mellor, a farmer from the Coulee Region.

The letters they wrote home featured life in the camps, thoughts on the battles and their concerns of home conditions. The purpose of this paper is to examine the life of the common soldier as shown in these letters and published sources. Comparing their letters with other Civil War collections added insight into the thoughts and comments of the fighting men from La Crosse.
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INTRODUCTION

This writer examined forty-five items in the Small Letters Collection #36 located in the Area Research Center at Wisconsin State University—La Crosse. The letters used for this paper date from December 20, 1861 to January 15, 1864, with most of them written in the years 1862 and 1863. James Mellor\(^1\) dictated twenty-three letters to Robert Rogers and wrote one himself. Robert Rogers wrote ten, Ed Cronon four and David Cronon two. Included in this collection are one letter by Susan Grissell, probably a nurse or hospital worker, two by Thomas Cunningham, a Corporal of Company I, and one by John Phillips to Mrs. Mellor on the death of her husband.

Robert Rogers did not punctuate his letters and scattered capital letters throughout the text. When quoting from the letters, this writer has added punctuation, has inserted missing words, and has corrected obvious accidental misspellings, such as "thing" for "think" to aid in the reading of the paper.

The Outset

President Lincoln's mobilization order of April 14, 1861.

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\(^1\)James' last name is spelled as Mellor and Mallor. He is listed in The War of the Rebellion, a compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies as Mellor which will be the form used in this paper.
1861 called upon the Union states to enlist 75,000 men for the armed services. The war between the states had commenced.

On September 22, 1861 James Mellor, Robert Rogers, Edward Cronon and David Cronon enlisted in the Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers from La Crosse, Wisconsin. Mellor, born in 1830 in England, was a farmer. Rogers was a personal friend of the Cronon and Mellor families. Edward Cronon, born in 1836 in New York state, moved to La Crosse in 1855. After the war he became active in local affairs in such various posts as deputy collector for internal revenue, constable and coroner. He married James Mellor's sister, Anna, after he was discharged from service. All that published accounts report of David Cronon is that he survived the war. He died at home in 1868.

The letters the men wrote home described their feelings toward the war and the battles they fought, included advice to the home folks and most of all comments on life in the camps. The purpose of this paper is to examine the life of the common soldier as shown in these forty-one letters, in

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3. Cronon was discharged from service after he lost his left arm at the battle of Corinth, 1862. For a biography of Ed Cronon see Benjamin F. Bryant, ed., *Memoirs of La Crosse County* (Madison, Wisconsin: Western Historical Association, 1907), pp. 273-274.

published diaries and Bell Wiley's *The Common Soldier in the Civil War: Book One, The Life of Billy Yank*. This writer has found that the "Coulee Boys'" experiences in the field and camps were similar to those contained in other accounts. However, some of the published sources do not include the personal worries of the soldiers.\(^5\) Lack of these is a serious defect, for home conditions affected the soldiers' morale.\(^6\) Therefore, included in this paper are observations Mellor wrote to his wife on the care of the farm. Bell Wiley observes that most Yanks writing home after a battle would first tell of how the writer fared.\(^7\) This was not the case with James Mellor. The farm was evidently his major concern as all his letters first contained lengthy instructions on its maintenance.

If James Mellor cared so much about his farm, why did he leave it to become a soldier? There were generally four main reasons for volunteering for armed duty: the chance to visit faraway places, the enlistment of friends and associates, love of country and the salary in a time of depression.\(^8\) Ed Cronon proclaimed his love of country when

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\(^7\)Ibid., p. 82.

\(^8\)Ibid., pp. 37-38.
he wrote: "they fired on the Flag and we fought to restore it. We fought to preserve the Union, and to resent the insult to our Flag; they fought to destroy the Union." Rogers evidently supported Cronon's feelings for Mellor wrote home "I think they will get no one in our company to reinlist but Robert Rogers, he is bound to reinlist. He is a hearty soul for the suppression of the Rebels." Not all the soldiers put it so bluntly, although other letters expressed similar sentiments.

After enlistment the Coulee Boys traveled to Camp Randall, Wisconsin for instruction in army routine. From there the unit traveled to De Soto, Missouri and then marched to Pilot Knob, Missouri to enter the fighting officially.

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10 Big Black River Bridge, Mississippi, October 23, 1863.


LIFE IN THE CAMPS

The ordinary soldier spent a major portion of his army life waiting for a battle. While in the camps, his interests were proper clothing, enough money, physical well-being and food.

The government gave the soldier forty-two dollars a year to buy his clothing which consisted of a cap or hat, blouse, overcoat, dress coat, trousers, shirts, drawers, socks, shoes, and a blanket. Clothing was difficult to obtain at the beginning of the war because of insufficient supplies and the manufacturers’ use of inferior material. The soldier’s habit of discarding anything not needed at a particular time contributed to the shortage. Once the soldier had spent his government clothing allowance, he was forced to purchase any additional items or replacements out of his pay. (See Appendix A) At the beginning of the war a private’s pay was only eleven dollars a month. On August 6, 1861 Congress increased this amount to thirteen dollars and finally in

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1864 to sixteen dollars a month. However, the increases did not keep pace with the decreased value of the dollar. Besides receiving insufficient wages and helping his wife with the farm expenses, Mellor never positively knew when he would receive more money. Scheduled for every two months, payday was often four or even up to eight months late. Mellor wrote: "I have not get any pay yet and do not know when I shall as we are in the field. It is likely we will not get it for sometime." The infrequent pay periods worried the soldier. General Grant complained that "the greatest drawback to the spirits of the troops has been the great delay in paying them." Grant had reason for concern, for a young soldier's faith in the Army could weaken because of no pay, as one letter home testified: "The Col. says that we will get our pay next week but we have been put off so long that I don't believe much that they tell us now. Although I guess it is about time that we got it..."

Waiting for the paymaster could be bearable if the


17 Camp in the Field at Point Pleasant, Missouri, April 6, 1862.


soldier was in good health, a rarity in the Civil War. During the war four deaths occurred from disease for every soldier killed in battle.\textsuperscript{20} For the soldier wounded on the battlefield, the chance of recovery was better than the chance of recovery for a sick man. From the \textit{Official Records} Fred Albert Shannon compiled statistics showing that for every two men who died from their wounds, five died from disease.\textsuperscript{21}

One place to contact disease was the hospital. Rogers had the misfortune to break his leg while in Tennessee. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
You cannot think how lonely I am here and will not be sorry when I get away from this place for when a man has got over one disease he is apt to have several others if he stops around the Hospital, small pox for instance. There are many cases of it now here and that is one disease I do not wish to get hold of me, besides many other contagious disease. One of them I have had a short trial of since I have been here. It was the (Itch) but got it drove off in a few days.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Rogers' comments were typical of the soldiers' feelings about the medical care they received. Like the rest of the Union, the medical branch was not ready for a conflict. The department was staffed with elderly men reluctant to change. It was not until William Hammond took charge that the branch attempted to control medical conditions. He resigned under

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20}Wiley, \textit{Common Soldier}, p. 124.
\item \textsuperscript{21}Shannon, \textit{Organization}, I, 225.
\item \textsuperscript{22}From Ward W. Gayoso Hospital, Memphis, Tennessee, March 4, 1864.
\end{itemize}
pressure before his work was done. Joseph K. Barnes succeeded him and slowly continued his work. Medical care remained poor throughout the war. It was not until 1864 that the War Department finally issued guidelines for building hospitals. Rogers' comments about the hospital were typical. Other soldiers wrote home expressing negative views of the medical profession: "He is a jackass--a fool--and an ignorant man...." or "Our doctor knows about as much as a ten-year-old boy." When Mellor died, Susan Trussell, a hospital worker, wrote to Mrs. Mellor:

We had twenty-two deaths in this hospital during the past month. Most of them came here in a dying condition having remained in their camps or barracks without proper treatment too long. Most of them had pneumonia or fever.

With these conditions it was little wonder that the home folks read letters with comments like "The surgeon insisted on sending me to the hospital for treatment. I insisted on taking the field and prevailed--thinking that I had better die by rebel bullets than Union quackery." or "If a fellow has to go to the hospital, you might as well

25Ibid., p. 131.
26Foundry General Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky, February 5, 1865.
say good bye," or "So the field for me before a hospital anytime."  

In some instances the soldiers were responsible for their illness. Camps were notoriously dirty, with no concern for garbage disposal, latrines or even a suitable water supply. Doctors knew the results of drinking impure water and recommended that it be boiled or filtered before use. Soldiers, although aware of the dangers, did not take the time or did not know enough about disease to follow the doctors' orders. Throughout their letters were comments on the water situation. "The health in general is not very well, several troubled with ague, etc., supposed to be owing to the water which is very bad, being taken out of an artifical pond."  

At Corinth, Cronon wrote of water so bad that the smell was enough to make a person ill. Brigadier General Alexander McCook reported sickness caused by impure water and the odor of unburied animals. Mellor knew the results of drinking impure water, but did not seem to know how to purify it. He wrote home about the presence of chronic diarrhea: "It is on account of so much poor water, it being nothing more than

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surface water--we have had no spring or well water for a long time...."30

Diarrhea or dysentry, which caused more deaths than any other disease, seemed to be in every camp and sooner or later affected almost every soldier. A soldier in a good state of health was fortunate. Cronon wrote home, "I believe we [Robert Rogers and Cronon] are the only two in the whole regiment that has not had sickness of some kind."31 During the long siege of Vicksburg in 1863 Mellor wrote:

There is a good deal of sickness in our regiment. The effects of the long march and so much exposure. There is not more than 150 or 200 men for duty in our regiment at present. Some deaths from Pneumonia and principal disease, it and the ague.32

Conditions became worse. On July 4 Mellor wrote from Young's Point that "... there is a good deal of sickness here and a great many die daily."33 Similar conditions were present in other regiments for one La Crosse soldier wrote, "In fact, I am the only one of Company F that has been through the siege well so far."34 It was with relief that Mellor informed his wife that he would be leaving Vicksburg. Evidently General Halleck did not visit these

30Germantown, Tennessee, March 9, 1863.
31New Madrid, Missouri, April 10, 1862.
32Young's Point, Louisiana, June 18, 1863.
33Young's Point, Louisiana, July 4, 1863.
34La Crosse Daily Democrat, August 16, 1863, p. 1.
regiments, for he reported that the army was in the "finest possible health and spirits." 35

Directly affecting the physical well-being of the soldier was food. The government established daily allowances for each soldier as the following:

twelve ounces of pork or bacon, or, one pound and four ounces of salt or fresh beef; one pound and six ounces of soft bread or flour, or, one pound of hard bread, or one pound and four ounces of corn meal; and to every one hundred rations, fifteen pounds of beans or peas, and ten pounds of rice or hominy; ten pounds of green coffee, or eight pounds of roasted (or roasted and ground) coffee; or, one pound and eight ounces of tea; fifteen pounds of sugar; four quarts of vinegar; ... three pounds and twelve ounces of salt; four ounces of pepper; thirty pounds of potatoes, when practicable, and one quart of molasses. 36

No soldier seemed to get this amount. The government paid the company officers cash for missing amounts of supplies, but they used the money for themselves. 37 The soldiers considered the processed vegetables uneatable, and fresh vegetables were scarce. 38 As a result the basic fare for a soldier became salt pork, hard bread and coffee. This unbalanced diet helped the well soldier become ill and the sick soldier to remain that way.

Food shortages were common throughout the war as the troops overextended their supply lines. When Grant started

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37 *Stern, Soldier Life*, pp. 73-74.
his campaign to the Mississippi River, his supply line started at Columbus, Kentucky, with the goods going to Holly Springs via a two-hundred mile single-track railroad through hostile country. In the beginning of the war the officers usually discouraged foraging, so soldiers devised ways of obtaining food. Two soldiers had an arrangement using to their advantage ague and what food was available. When one was sick the other would have double shares and vice versa. This worked until both felt well and then the rations were not enough. Rogers wrote that he was on one-fourth to one-half rations, usually just two crackers and coffee a day for two weeks. While at Vicksburg Mellor sent home a piece of hardtack so his wife could see what he lived on.

Those living in the camps were not only concerned with health and food. When there was a lull in the fighting the officers used drill to occupy the soldier's time. The men did not relish routine drill and dress review. Rogers realized that it was busy work and wrote that "we had a general inspection this morning, have it about twice or three times a week, not

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39 Bruce Catton, Grant moves South (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1960), p. 330
40 The rules of warfare stated that soldiers must respect the persons and possessions of the civilians. Catton, Grant moves South, p. 291.
41 Ambrose, Wisconsin Boy, p. 117.
42 Germantown, Tennessee, February 8, 1863.
43 In Bivouac in rear of Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 23, 1862.
much else to do so they must keep us at something."

There was comic relief during the boredom of review in one instance. Rogers wrote of a general inspection when the commander of his division, General Smith, fell off his horse while reviewing the troops. Rogers enjoyed his misfortune.

To relieve the monotony of camp routine, the soldiers welcomed any diversion—cards, smoking, reading or drinking. Cronon wrote of whiskey costing only twenty-five cents a canteen. However, spirits were not always so readily available. After receiving a letter about a friend drinking too much, Mellor wrote that he would not get a chance at the beverage at his camp. Rogers especially missed the social drink. "Tobacco we have plenty so you see I can take a smoke—but for whiskey, our bottle is ran dry and cannot (which is the advantage you have over us) nor knows not when to get it replenished." When Rogers was able to obtain whiskey, he enjoyed drinking and the fun-making associated with it. He wrote about one such incident.

... General Prentiss thought we were making to much

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44 Camp Woods near Bear Creek, Mississippi, September 16, 1863.
45 In Camp in Louisiana, April 3, 1863.
46 In Camp near Young's Point, Louisiana, April 16, 1862
47 Camp Cairo, Cairo, Missouri, February 12, 1862.
48 Germantown, Tennessee, February 17, 1863.
noise on the Sabbath morning and sent his forty dollar men down with fixed bayonets to drive the Conscripts aboard, but he found out we were not afraid of the Bayonet, so we pitched in with mud and coal and made them beat a hasty retreat.... We all got on board and Prentiss ordered us to the other shore under arrest—he got struck several times with coal and arrested some of our Boys for doing it.  

Rogers was not always merry making. There was a serious and proud side to this Coulee Boy. During the war he wrote "A Ballad on the Vicksburg Canal" and "A New Song Called the Two Day's Battle fought at Nashville 13th" (See Appendix B)
Part of camp routine was waiting for marching orders. Commands to move on came frequently for the Eagle Regiment. The outfit fought in thirty-two battles and forty skirmishes and traveled over 14,000 miles. The Coulee Boys gave very little description of the battles they participated in. Their failure to write details was unfortunate for future historians, but common for a Civil War soldier. Cronon wrote:

If you have expected me to describe all the features of the engagements, or any of them, you will be disappointed; as I found I had enough to do to obey orders, and to keep my musket busy. It is true, after the battle was over, I could tell which side was licked and that was all I cared about, ... I simply did what I considered my duty, nothing more, I have known soldiers, who, after a battle, could tell how it was lost or won, and 'if' this movement was made or that one was not made, things would have been different. I have always thought that if they had kept their muskets busy, they could not tell so much after the battle was over.

Mellor usually briefly mentioned his fights and indicated that his wife could read about them in the paper. The excuse for the soldiers' not writing more information on

50 Williams, The Eagle Regiment, pp. 37-38. See also Appendix C for encounters of the Eighth Regiment.
52 Cronon, Personal Remembrances.
battles was that the newspaper coverage could give the people back home a more accurate account than they could. In the forty letters, the Coulee Boys wrote detailed accounts about Corinth, Holly Springs and Vicksburg.

**Corinth**

Corinth, Mississippi, a railroad junction, became a gathering place for 50,000 Confederates under Generals Johnston and Beauregard. Only twenty miles away were Grant's 42,000 soldiers at the banks of the Tennessee River. While Grant waited for General Halleck's arrival, he fought the Rebels at Shiloh. After Shiloh Halleck finally arrived to assume command of the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio. Halleck was hesitant to attack Beauregard and so the enemy evacuated Corinth without Union interference. On May 31, 1862 the Union forces of 100,000 men entered the city. There the Army of the Tennessee remained to hold the city and keep the communication and supply lines open from there to Cairo.

The Coulee Boys were at Corinth from April until October, 1862. They were expecting to attack Beauregard at some time and were apprehensive of a fierce battle. Although the Coulee Boys were not in the Shiloh battle, they feared

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that it would be mild in comparison to the expected Corinth engagement. By May the skirmishes occurred more often. Mellor was involved in one of them. In one of the few letters that he wrote any amount about a fight he reported:

we were in quite a fight the other day...it was the hottest place ever I was in or ever want to be again. Bullets, shot, shell, cannister and grape could not fly thicker—we have been to work on trenches here most all the time. We are well entrenched here now and plenty of batteries in about one-half mile of our lines.

Mellor was worried for instead of his usual closing, "your loving husband," he signed the letter, "best hope." General Halleck reported that the troops met strong resistance from the Confederate advance forces. The general, realizing that his soldiers would be facing an enemy stronghold, stated his anxiety about a fierce contest.

However the battle was postponed while the Rebels temporarily abandoned the site. By June Cronon became impatient. The only marching they had done was a twenty-five mile forced march to a better camp site. Evidently Cronon was not the only one tried of waiting. He wrote of reports by deserters of dissatisfaction among the Rebels. Cronon did not blame them, for they were constantly retreating. He

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55 Camp in field near Corinth, Mississippi, April 28, 1862.
56 Camp near Corinth in General Popes Division, May 22, 1862.
58 In Camp 8 miles south of Corinth, Mississippi, June 12, 1862.
was getting tired just chasing after the rebs while they not only had to withdraw, but also must tear down bridges and trees. Cronon wrote of one such chase:

We had a little brush with them before they left Corinth. It did not last long although bullets flew pretty thick. Our Regiment lay under cover of a hill and they advanced steadily on our battery. Being so they supposed sure of capturing it their commander cheering them on saying to his men see the Yankees run, another Bulls Run and when we got orders to fire we not time to give them more than five rounds apiece before they broke and ran. That is the last we have seen of them.  

After the Union forces captured Corinth, the soldiers were not sure what was next. Camp rumors varied between remaining there for two or three months or marching at once to the Mississippi. Cronon wrote they were there for the summer.  

He was early with his prediction. The Eighth Regiment remained around Corinth, chasing the Rebels from Iuka, Riply, and Rienzi. Mellor was present at Rienzi but did not fight because of the lack of suitable guns. Since the Eleventh Missouri had Enfield rifles, they fought, but commanders held the Eighth in reserve. As an observer, Mellor wrote more, but not necessarily accurate, details about the battle:

The battle was short, but I believe the bloodiest one fought during this war, according to the numbers engaged. Only about 2500 of our men, how many the

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59 In Camp 8 miles south of Corinth, June 12, 1862.  
60 Ibid.
Rebels had I do not know. The battle lasted two hours and thirteen minutes. During that time we lost about 4 or 500 killed and about 750 wounded. The rebel loss was about the same. 61

After Rienzi, the Confederate forces led by Major General Van Dorn and Brigadier General Price united outside of Corinth. On October first they attacked Rosecrans' 23,000 men at Corinth. Van Dorn failed to take the town and after a second attempt he retreated toward central Mississippi. During the three days of fighting the Confederates lost 4,233 men and the Union 2,520. 62 The Eighth Wisconsin was active in the fighting which started on October 3, when it made a rapid fifteen-mile march to Corinth where they fought for four hours. At the end of that time a portion of the line gave way and the regiment fell back about half a mile and remained out of action until morning. The Eighth suffered twenty-one men dead, eighty-three wounded, and eighteen missing. 63 Again Mellor was not accurate in his count of 130 men killed or wounded. 64 One of the wounded was Ed Cronon.

On to Vicksburg

62 Dupuy, Compact History, pp. 174-175.
63 Williams, Eagle Regiment, p. 12.
64 Corinth, October 15, 1862.
By November Grant was ready to begin his overland conquest of Mississippi via Vicksburg. The Coulee Boys were part of the activity. Mellor wrote to his wife not to expect many letters for he would not have paper or ink nor would the mail be very regular. He expected to chase Price all winter.\textsuperscript{65} Mellor came close to fighting Price at Grand Junction, Tennessee when the Confederate forces were only twenty-five miles south of them. However the destroyed railroad lines, the swamps and the lack of seige guns prevented a battle.\textsuperscript{66} There were other delays for Mellor. Part of Grant's plan was to have Sherman attack Vicksburg by water as Grant pursued Lieutenant General Pemberton by land. Sherman had to halt outside of the city at Chickasaw Bluffs.\textsuperscript{67} The Eighth Regiment stopped at Germantown, Tennessee for two weeks in February. Van Dorn was harrassing the troops, so Mellor was on picket duty every other day or at times every third day. He wrote that they were expecting an attack at any moment and so he was always prepared. With constant contact with the enemy, Mellor's friends became worried. He wrote:

tell them that the Papers does not tell the truth.

\textsuperscript{65}In Camp 14 miles south of Holly Springs, Mississippi, December 2, 1862.
\textsuperscript{66}Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee, undated.
\textsuperscript{67}Dupuy, \textit{Compact History}, p. 189.
We have been taken Prisoners, shot, and often lucky has not got in a trap as yet. And as you have been told before, do not be alarmed to you see something to be alarmed at.  

At Germantown the Coulee Boys were worried about another Holly Springs surprise. Mellor wrote, "...Old Van Dorn is around again with his forces so as to make another Holly Springs...." Rogers seconded his feelings when he wrote, "We are preparing for them so I think they will not find us and the 11th asleep as they did the 101st Illinois and others at Holly Springs." A second surprise attack did not materialize. On March 22, 1863 the Coulee Boys received their marching orders. The leaders did not announce the destination, but Mellor suspected it was Vicksburg. He did not believe there would be a battle there for he had heard rumors that the enemy was evacuating the city. But wise to army routine, Mellor did not quite believe the information and waited to find out for himself. By March 31, 1863 Mellor's opinion had changed about the ease of capturing Vicksburg. He wrote, "I suppose we are destined to

68Germantown, Tennessee, February 6, 1863.
69Ibid.
70Germantown, Tennessee, February 8, 1863. (Colonel R.C. Murphy and the Eighth Regiment were left to guard Holly Springs. Van Dorn attacked and caught the troops still in their beds.) Dupuy, Compact History, p. 189.
71Germantown, Tennessee, March 9, 1863.
take part in the reduction or capture of the Place—which I no doubt think will be a hot contest as the rebels no doubt are bond to hold if it possible and we are equally confident of success." 72

_Vicksburg_

Mellor and Rogers boarded the steamboat Empress bound for Lake Providence, Louisiana. During a layover Rogers, the Captain, and Joseph Scott went strolling through Memphis and "of course we had something to eat, and something to drink and other things that is good but not proper to mention here and when I got on the boat I was pretty well." 73

The Empress traveled eight miles and then landed on a small island. On the island the Coulee Boys unpacked, although there was barely enough room for the tents. Mellor's only favorable comment was that the place had grass on it, the most he had seen in one place since he joined the army. 74

From the island they transferred to the 17th Army Corps under General McPherson and to Young's Point under the command of Sherman in the 15th Army Corps. 75

72 Camp in the Field, In Louisiana, March 31, 1863.
73 In Camp in Louisiana, April 3, 1863.
74 Camp in the Field in Louisiana, March 31, 1863.
Grant was stalemated by the strategic defense of Vicksburg. Located on the bend of the Mississippi, Pemberton had securely reinforced the city into a seemingly impenetrable fortress. Grant made four attempts to bypass the guns by canal. Rogers and Mellor participated in the work and the former was not enthusiastic about the heavy labor:

The great canal is a failure. When we had it most finished we found at the lower end of it a snag bad for gunboats in the shape of a 120 pound Parrott gun the Rebs had planted on the other shore. ... We have commenced another one here and we are here to do it so we will have to give up soldiering and go to canalling.\(^7\)

Not only did Rogers have to work on it, but "when it is finished I suppose we will have to go through it to some point below Vicksburg...."\(^7\) The canals did not work, and by the time of the fourth failure Grant was ready for the southern route.

Admiral Porter successfully ran the Confederate guns and started a new base below the city, and Grant crossed at Bruinsburg. Since a Confederate force had gathered at Jackson, Grant marched his army between Vicksburg and Jackson to capture the latter. Mellor participated in the taking of the city and did guard duty there.

\(^7\)In Camp in Louisiana, April 3, 1863.

\(^7\)Young's Point, Louisiana, April 16, 1863.
Mellor did not go into detail about what the troops did at Jackson, but he "had a good time for awhile in it."78 Rogers wrote more:

We went and helped ourselves to tobacco, rum, sugar, meat and anything we wanted and we wanted it, I tell you for we were a tired, muddy and wet. ... We destroyed everything in the town, burning about one half of it. The Confederate house was the first to get the torch. There must have been over one hundred tons of tobacco destroyed and any quantity of sugar, commissary stores, ammunition, etc. We tore up and destroyed about four miles of the railroad track and then put for Vicksburg.79

Sherman censured Brigadier-General Mower, commander of the troops at Jackson, for the pillaging as it "will injure the morals of the troops and bring disgrace on our cause."80 Rogers did not write as if it hurt his morale but rather improved it, for it gave him clean clothes, skin and food.

The Eagle Regiment was part of the May 22 attack on Vicksburg designed to take it by force in an effort to avoid a siege. The regiment came under heavy fire, as Mellor testified:

There was a simultaneous charge on the rebels work here yesterday. Some of our divisions charged three times, but we charged but once and this once I

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78 In Bivouac in Rear of Vicksburg, May 23, 1863.
79 Young's Point, Louisiana, June 12, 1863.
thought would be my last. I have never been in a hotter place, but fortunately for me and the boys we were not hurt. Our flag has been on their works nearly all day. We get (I mean our forces not our regiment) to the works and over the ditches but cannot get over—so our boys had to lie there (Neither party could hurt the other) and fall back under the cover of night.\textsuperscript{81}

The report of Captain Frederick E. Price and Cyrus B. Comstock supported Mellor's letter.\textsuperscript{82} By the time this fight was over, Mellor was willing to conquer the enemy by siege rather than by battle. As he wrote home:

\begin{quote}
I think it is the intention to besiege it now and I hope they will. I think we can starve them out in a short time, but to take it by storm (I will not say we cannot) but they will kill more than half our men.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

Mellor was correct in his assessment of the situation. Only the day before General Halleck wrote that Vicksburg could be taken only by a siege.\textsuperscript{84}

The siege became very long for both sides. Mellor told his wife "we have suffered much lately by exposure, short rations, or in other words, some of the time nothing at all...."\textsuperscript{85} Besides food shortages, the boys were dirty.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{81}On Bivouac on Rear of Vicksburg, May 23, 1863.
\textsuperscript{83}Bivouac on Rear of Vicksburg, May 23, 1863.
\textsuperscript{85}Bivouac on Rear of Vicksburg, May 23, 1863.
\end{flushleft}
When Mellor wrote home on May 23, he had not changed clothes since the second. It was not until the early part of June that the men received their knapsacks. Rogers summed up their physical condition:

...had a chance to change clothes and get cleaned up, something I am not sorry for--for I assure you I had more company than I actually wanted and you might plant potatoes as the saying is on any part of my body with fair prospects of a good crop....

Under these conditions the health of the soldier was not good. In May, 1863 Halleck reported that the army was "in the best possible health and spirit." By contrast, the following month Rogers wrote, "...now there is over sixty reported sick in two days. The new troops that was with us gave out entirely. ... They had over forty men struck dead and then ambulances and wagons were all loaded down." Conditions had not improved by July. Mellor commented that "there is a good deal of sickness here and a great many dies daily." Mellor was relieved when Vicksburg fell for "...it is likely we will be moved to some more healthy locality then the one we at present occupy...."

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86 Ibid.
87 Young's Point, Louisiana, June 12, 1863.
89 Young's Point, June 12, 1863.
90 Young's Point, July 4, 1863.
91 Ibid.
The Eagle regiment did march on and were in more battles in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama throughout the years 1863-1865. Two letters from the Coulee Boys are available for the later years. While near Vicksburg Rogers wrote of the rebels following them at a discreet distance, but the number of Confederates was not enough to bother with. The boys did not mention battles again until May 9, 1864. They were now at Montgomery and the town folks were talking about the end of the war.

David Cronon was in a two days' fight at Clifton, Tennessee. He commented that "It was pretty hard fighting. All though you have heard all about the amount of prisoners and the cannon captured, they never drove us back and we drove them every charge." On January 2, 1865 in Louisville, Kentucky, James Mellor died from wounds received in battle.

92 Big Black River Bridge, Mississippi, October 22, 1863.
93 Camp Montgomery, Alabama, May 9, 1864.
94 Camp near Clifton, Tennessee, January 3, 1865.
95 Williams, The Eagle Regiment, p. 130.
THOUGHTS OF HOME

Mellor remained a farmer throughout the war. Soldiering was his duty, but not his first love. His letters home were filled with information to his wife. They gradually changed from giving explicit instructions to doing what she thought best. By January 26, 1862 the livestock needed hay. He recommended purchase of hay and oats from the Norwegians to obtain the best buy and added a warning not to overfeed the cows.

Mellor did not want his wife to assume responsibility for selling produce. He told her in December, 1861 not to "sell anything such as grain or potatoes until you hear from me again...."96 In the fall of 1862 Mellor again wrote not to sell any of the "butter, pork, or anything else you can help...."97

As the war continued, Mellor allowed his wife to do more of the marketing. By then it became necessary for Mellor to be more specific in his directions and to warn her of possible foul play by the people she hired. He wanted the trees

96Bailey's Station, December 20, 1861.
97Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee, Fall, 1862.
removed from a field and a coulee. Mellor instructed her to have the laborers leave the good trees and be sure to watch that the timber was cut low enough for wagon axles' clearance. He further warned her to measure the cord of wood before paying the help. Mellor wrote, "when he says it you measure it or get someone to do it for you. Look out and see that he has the work done before you give him any money...."  

Winter came before the land was cleared and in April Mellor again wrote about it. He instructed her to keep the helpers cutting wood and rails for as long as she could afford it without shorting herself of money. Mellor had started to depend on her judgement as he wrote her to "do the best you can do...." More chores came as the summer progressed. By July the grain was ready to harvest. Mellor advised his wife "not to buy a sickle, you might cut yourself and then what?" Instead he sent her money to have it done. As the work continued and expenses increased, Mellor expressed concern. "Do not be too careful and saving and working hard is the worst of all things, try and take care of yourself."

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98 Camp Cairo, Cairo, Missouri, January 26, 1862.
99 Camp in the Field at Point Pleasant, Missouri, April 6, 1862.
100 In Camp near Corinth, Mississippi, July 2, 1862.
101 Ibid.
Because of troop movements, Mellor was unable to write to her again until September 29, 1862. It was time once more to prepare for winter. He wrote "be sure and have fodder enough and do not think that if you had a pile ahead that would probably do two weeks that you would have enough to do you through the winter." Fall plowing was next and Mellor advised her to hire it done and make sure that they ploughed it deep enough.

As with many wives at home, problems arose. With winter approaching the house needed fixing. Mellor was not anxious to have a large amount of work put into it and wrote "not to do more with it than you can help /But/ make it comfortable for the winter." Not only was she having house troubles, but also tax difficulties. Mellor received her letter after she paid the taxes. His reply was that she did not have to pay them.

I am sorry that you had so much trouble about them taxes. You should not troubled so much but as you have paid them, it is all right, but do not pay any more taxes to I come home for they cannot sell the land for taxes accruing after my enlistment in the U.S. service so let them whistle.

With Mellor away, the neighbors started encroaching on his property. He warned his wife to look out for the

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102 Rienzi, Mississippi, September 29, 1862.
103 Ibid.
104 On Camp 10 miles south of Holly Springs, Mississippi, December 2, 1862.
timber on the ridge or the neighbor would have it all. "I am afraid that when I get back (if you do not look out) there will be neither land or timber. I am afraid that when I get home I will have more trouble than I have here...."\textsuperscript{105}

Mellor's worries were increased by poor mail service, lack of postage stamps and at times the absence of paper and ink. Frequently mentioned in his letters are references to the postal service.

I have not received an answer to the last letter wrote to you by Robert Rogers and myself, perhaps you have not received it or perhaps it is the neglect of our Post Masters in their slowness in forwarding our mail. I sent for some postage stamps for we can hardly get them here. I will enclose five dollars. I would send more but I think it is enough to ask from this place as our mail facilities are not the best.\textsuperscript{106}

Communications did not improve for Mellor. Although there was no direct censorship, at times General Halleck informed the soldiers that no mail would be forwarded.\textsuperscript{107} This made life only more difficult. Out of his pay Mellor tried to send money home, yet was afraid to trust the mail. "I will send you five dollars in this and would send you more, but afraid it might be like your\textsuperscript{\textit{7}} letter\textsuperscript{\textit{7}} get lost.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{105}Young's Point, Louisiana, July 4, 1863.
\textsuperscript{106}Camp in Field near Corinth, Mississippi, April 28, 1862.
\textsuperscript{107}Camp near Corinth, May 22, 1862.
\textsuperscript{108}Germantown, Tennessee, March 9, 1863.
Mellor was not alone in his troubles with the mail, for other soldiers complained about the poor service.

The incoming mail was also irregular. One soldier's letter expressed jubilation at receiving mail for the first time in twenty days. Mail did not always take so long, but from the letters it seemed that it was unusual to receive mail sooner than a week. However the soldiers were not deterred by the mail service. Mellor kept writing as did the rest of the boys. Wiley reported that from a regiment of 1,000 there were an average of 600 letters a day going out.

Aware of the importance of contact with home, Grant tried to provide good postal service. Mail wagons traveled after the troops to insure prompt delivery and Grant took pride in the fact that mail delivery was as regular as city service. Nevertheless, the troop movements and long communication lines delayed the mail longer than the soldiers desired.

109 Jones, An Artilleryman's Diary, p. 25.
112 Catton, Grant Moves South, pp. 62-63.
Delays in mail, poor food, inadequate health and fighting affected the morale of the soldier. During the years 1862 and 1863 when the war was going in favor of the South, morale among Union soldiers was poor. A soldier's letter to a girl friend showed an extreme attitude about war and death when he wrote, "Eat, drink, smoke and be merry, for tomorrow you may die." In December the Coulee Boys were optimistic and carefree. Mellor wrote home that he enjoyed himself at Bailey's Station and thought he would get home in spring. By April he was still talking about going home, only now by the summer. At Corinth Mellor was in the war long enough to worry about death, but was still confident of arriving home in a month or so. Halted at Corinth, Mellor still thought of being released in the fall. He hoped to be near St. Louis so he could attend the government sales of mules and horses in order to obtain teams to sell in La Crosse. By the following month he was becoming discouraged and wrote that "the war will not last forever," apparently in fear that it might. His apprehension of a

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114 Bailey's Station, December 20, 1861.
115 Camp in the Field at Point Pleasant, April 6, 1862.
116 Camp in Field near Corinth, Mississippi, April 28, 1862.
117 In Camp near Corinth, June 21, 1862.
118 In Camp near Corinth, July 2, 1862.
long war remained and in April, 1863 he wrote home for her
not to sell the woods because he would want it, "when I get
home, if ever." 119

Discouragement about the war was partially due to
military failures and inefficiencies. The Coulee Boys thought
part of the reason for poor morale was because of the professional
soldiers' seemingly desire for war. While chasing Van Dorn
around Corinth, Cronon wrote:

So goest soldiering for a country so loved. The
officers undoubtedly love it, yes, but it is its
gold, if they had pay according to the Private or
no officers but all privates, none ranking above
orderly sergeant, this war would be finished in a
little while. But the way it is carried on at
present I have no hopes of it ever coming to an
end, at any rate not speedily. Although things may
change for the best, at any rate I hope so. 120

Soldiers' criticism of the war was justified as
military errors were frequent. Major General McClellan's
failure at Antietam, Halleck's failure to attack Beauregard
at Corinth and his splitting of the Armies of the Ohio and
Tennessee, are just three examples of many. 121 However,
military blunders and defeats never completely discouraged
the soldier.

119 In Louisiana, April 2, 1863.
120 In Camp 8 miles south of Corinth, Mississippi,
June 12, 1862.
121 Dupuy, Compact History, pp. 165-167.
CONCLUSION

After reading The Common Soldier, it is interesting to note what the Coulee Boys did not write about. Wiley found a large amount of antipathy toward the colored people which ranged from hatred to derogatory comments to a benevolent attitude. The Coulee Boys mentioned Negroes just once when Cronon was in Tuscumbia, Alabama. His comment was that the government employed many of them for camp work which relieved him of extra duty.

Beyond one mention of re-enlistment, Mellor and Rogers gave no reasons for being in the war, nor at any time did they comment on the enemy. Although the Coulee Boys were from the famous Eagle Regiment, only Cronon mentioned the fact, but did not write any details about the bird. They did not write about discipline, vices, except for an occasional drinking bout by Rogers, or spiritual life.

The lack of comments on the above is understandable because of Mellor's major concern for the farm, the idea that newspapers gave all the information the homefolks needed, and

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123 Tuscumbia, Alabama, August 29, 1862.

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the lack of paper and ink and time to write during a large part of the time they were in battle. Perhaps since they considered their daily life as uninteresting and boring, they attempted to write about the unusual.
APPENDIX A

Price list of Army Clothing from March 3, 1865.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatigue caps</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hats</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirts</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawers</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socks</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gt. coat</td>
<td>14.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painted ponchos</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber ponchos</td>
<td>5.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackets</td>
<td>9.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery pants</td>
<td>5.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blouse</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross cannon</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX B

A BALLAD, ON THE VICKSBURG CANAL

You Western heroes, get ready. Attention one moment I call
And I'll sing a few words of a ditty that's made on the
Vicksburg Canal
Operations we'll make on that Stronghold, and navigate up the
Yazoo
While Monitors float on our waters, the rebels were sure to subdue.

Chorus, --So girls don't be in a hurry
We'll be home in a year from next fall
Don't marry a home sick coward
Take a Soldier here from the canal.

Let Irishmen flock to our Standard, and foreigners come without fail
Columbia's your land of adoption, Americans need no appeal;
Rebellion we'll soon crush forever, our cup of joy then will be full
And discountenance peace arbitrators, including that far famed John Bull

Chorus

All Europe looks on at our movements, their wonder description defies
They know our resource is unbounded, to interfere would be unwise
The Copperhead armistice traitors, who'd sacrifice Union for peace
Let patriots spurn them forever, and envelope them in disgrace.

Chorus

We look for a speedy submission of Jeff, and his whole rebel crew
And the plot that the South has concoted, brave Lincoln men soon will undo
All parties are now close united, brave Union men answered each call,
They are ready to fight any moment, and help for to dig the Canal.

Chorus
When Missouri once more tries her Mettle longside of the Wisconsin Boys, Minnesota is close by to help us, assisted by brave Illinois; Indiana is standing here waiting, Ohio is just within call, And Iowa's loaded and ready, to fight when we dig the Canal.

Chorus

And Michigan is close behind us, and Kansas you'll find her too, Their battle cry always is freedom, and down with the vile Rebel crew; When victory has crowned our labors, Secesh Sympathizers 'twill fall, Broken hearted, they'll die unregretted, by those that now dig the Canal.

Chorus

Let each Regiment vie with each other, their valor and courage to show It will be but the work of some hours, to give Vicksburg the fatal blow The Confederacy then will go under, when Vicksburg and Hudson will fall Their flag will no more make appearance above or below the Canal.

Chorus

Our sharpshooters they will advance first, the Star Spangled Banner will hoise Our Batteries will open fire, and thunder a terrific noise; If Munition gets exhausted, more supplies on transports we'll haul, The Father of Waters we'll turn and make it run through the Canal.

Chorus

Good-bye to my friends and relations, also my true love so dear, My course I'll continue through Dixie, so let you all be of good cheer; So now to conclude and to finish some news of importance to all, You'll hear valiant deeds done by heroes that's now digging on the Canal.

Chorus
A NEW SONG CALLED THE TWO DAYS' BATTLE FOUGHT AT NASHVILLE 13th 126

Brave Comrades you have been victorious.
And ther's no armed Rebel in Sight,
In confusion they fled most inglorious,
Under cover of the darkness of night.
For Hood that vile, reckless Commander
His army now numbers but few,
Demoralized, Scattered, they wander,
Pursued by the Boys wearing Blue!

Through the cold chilly winds of December,
For nights and days without rest,
And expecting each moment, remember,
That your valor might be put to the test;
But our bugles the Signal note sounded,
And their works we some took, one by one,
While our Cavalry flanked and surrounded,
Their Forts and Guns we seiged upon.

It was glorious for to see our columns!
It would cause your blood thrill for awhile
As the sulph'rous smoke rose up in volumes
Like clouds o'er the Brave rank and file.
Though death stared them, they did not falter;
They have never been whipped on the field;
They would take choice and die on freedoms altar,
Before they to traitors will yield.

The First Division of the old Sixteenth Corps
On our right wing first opened the ball,
While like thunder our cannons did roar
And hundreds of traitors did fall.
The Second Brigade it is well known
Have wrote their own record in blood.
And in the late battles they have shown
Contempt for that traitor old Hood.

When their guns poured their missiles with fury.
And caused many a hero to lay lo,
You could see the brave Seventh Missouri
Charge the lines of the insolent foe.
The brave fifth Minnesota assisted,
Just like tigers they sprang on their prey;
As veterans they all re-enlisted,
Such heroes can't be found every day.

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126 Ibid.
Also the Eighth Wisconsin done well;
For they boldly foreseed on alongside
As the bullets and shot in their ranks fall;
That State in such heroes may pride.
While the Second Iowa Battery kept throwing
Their cannister, grape, Shot, and Shell.
Like a reaper the Rebel ranks mowing
Where's the men such heroes can recall?

Ther's others deserving of merit
But I have not space to mention them here;
They're entitled to the highest of credit
In my next song their names shall appear.
Now the whole Rebel Works--they are taken;
The last hopes of Jeff Davis and crew
And the Rebels foundations are shaken.
High, Hurrah for the Red, White and Blue!

Thus closed out two days' operations;
We bivouacked then wherever we could
And dreamed of our friends and relations;
As we lay on our pillows of mud.
All night there we lay just waiting
For to renew the contest at dawn;
But we soon found the Rebs were retreating
And that most of their army had gone.
Mustered—September 13, 1861.
Left State for St. Louis, Missouri, October 12 moved to Pilot
Knob, Missouri, October 14.
Fredericktown, October 17-21.
Sulphur Springs, November 25 until January 17, 1862.
Cairo, Illinois, January 17 until March 4.

Served under--
3rd Brigade, District of Cairo, Illinois, January to March, 1862.
1st Brigade, 5th Division, Army of the Mississippi, to April, 1862.
1st Brigade, 3rd Division, Army of the Mississippi, to April, 1862.
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, Army of the Mississippi, to November, 1862.
2nd Brigade, 8th Division, Left Wing 13th Army Corps (Old),
Department of the Tennessee to December, 1862.
2nd Brigade, 8th Division, 16th Army Corps to April, 1863.
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, to December, 1863.
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 16th Army Corps, to December, 1864.
2nd Brigade, 1st Division Detachment, Army of the Tennessee,
Department of the Cumberland to February, 1865.
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 16th Army Corps (New), Military
Division West Mississippi, to September, 1865.

Operations
New Madrid, Missouri, March 6-14, 1862.
Island No. 10, Mississippi River, March 15-April 8, 1862.
Fort Pillow, Tennessee, April 13-17, 1862.
Corinth, Mississippi, April 29-May 30, 1862.
Farmington, May 9, 1862.
Occupation of Corinth, May 30-June 12, 1862.
Rienzi, June 30-July 1, 1862.
At Camp Clear Creek till August.
Iuka, September 13-14, 19, 1862.
Battle of Corinth, Mississippi, October 3-4, 1862.

Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the
Pursuit of Ripley, October 5-12, 1862.
Operations on the Mississippi Central Railroad, November 2, 1862 to January 10, 1863.
Duty at LaGrange and Germantown, Tennessee, January to March, 1863.
Mississippi Springs, May 13, 1863.
Jackson, May 14, 1863.
Siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 18-July 4, 1863.
Mechanicsburg, Satartia, June 4, 1863.
Richmond, June 15, 1863.
Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863.
Camp at Bear Creek till September 26, 1863.
Expedition to Canton, October 14-20, 1863.
At Big Black River Bridge till November 7, 1863.
Expedition to Pocahontas, December 2-4, 1863.
Duty at LaGrange and Salisbury till January 27, 1864.
Back to Vicksburg, January 27-February 3, 1864.
Meridian Campaign, February 3-March 2, 1864.
Red River Campaign, March 10-May 22, 1864.
Fort DeRussy, March 14, 1864.
Occupation of Alexandria, March 16, 1864.
Henderson's Hill, March 21, 1864.
Battle of Pleasant Hill, April 9, 1864.
About Cloutiersville, April 23-24, 1864.
Alexandria, April 26-May 13, 1864.
Mansura, May 16, 1864.
Yellow Bayou, May 18, 1864.
Moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 20-22, 1864.
Lake Chocot, Arkansas, June 6, 1864.
Smith's Expedition to Tupelo, Mississippi, July 5-21, 1864.
Camargo's Cross Roads, near Harrisburg, July 13, 1864.
Tupelo, July 14-15, 1864.
Smith's Expedition to Oxford, Mississippi, August 1-30, 1864.
Abbeville, August 23 and 25, 1864.
Expedition up White River to Brownsville, Arkansas, September 1-10, 1864.
Pursuit of Price through Arkansas and Missouri, September 17-November 16, 1864.
Battle of Nashville, December 15-16, 1864.
Duty at Eastport, Mississippi, December 28-February, 1865.
Campaign against Mobile, March 17-April 12, 1865.
Siege of Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely, March 27-April 8, 1865.
Capture of Fort Blakely, April 9, 1865.
Occupation of Mobile, April 12, 1865.
Duty at Montgomery and Unontown, April-September, 1865.
Mustered out at Demopolis, Alabama, September 5, 1865.
To all whom it may Concern.

Know Ye, That James Mellen, a Private of Captain Duncan A. Kennedy's Company, (1st) 8th Regiment of W3d. Vols. Infy. who was enrolled on the twenty second day of September, one thousand eight hundred and sixty one to serve three years during the war, is hereby Discharged from the service of the United States, this eighteenth day of January, 1864, at Danbistburg, Tenn. by reason of re-enlistment in the Veteran Corps.

(No objection to his being re-enlisted is known to exist.)

Said James Mellen was born in the Kingdom of England in the State of England, is thirty four years of age, five feet eleven inches high, sandy complexion, blue eyes, sandy hair, and by occupation, when enrolled, a farmer.

Given at Danbistburg, Tenn. this eighteenth day of January 1864.

[Signature]

[Signature]

Gov. Print Office, March, 1862

[Signature]

[Signature]
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