**Support for the Confederacy in Southern Illinois and Its Consequences**

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23 September 2022

Southern Illinois provided over 40,000 Union troops during the Civil War, well over its quota. Despite the strong enrollment of men in the Union army, there was also strong support for the South, support for slavery, and opposition to war. The purpose of this paper is to tell the story of that opposition, the reaction of the government to that opposition with suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the formation and disbanding of the 128th Illinois Infantry resulting from the controversy over support for the Confederacy, and the aftermath.

**Sympathy and Support for the Confederacy**

Southern Illinois was overwhelmingly Democratic in the election of 1860. Although Republicans Abraham Lincoln and Richard Yates carried in the presidential and gubernatorial races in the state, they each carried only two of 28 counties in Southern Illinois[[1]](#footnote-1): Edwards and St. Clair. Southern Illinois was within the 8th and 9th Congressional Districts in 1860. Democrat Peter B. Fouke was re-elected with over 55% of the vote over Republican Joseph Gillespie with over 44% of the vote in the 8th Congressional District, which included two counties not in Southern Illinois (Madison and Bond)[[2]](#footnote-2). Democrat John A. Logan (1826-1886) was re-elected to Congress for the 9th Congressional District with over 80% of the vote over David Linegar.

Lincoln was inaugurated on 4 March 1861. Seven states had already seceded before the inauguration. Lincoln attempted to alleviate the fear of the southern states in his first inaugural address. He stated that he had no intention of abolishing slavery:

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

His efforts to prevent the secession and war were unsuccessful. Fort Sumter was fired upon on 12 April 1861 and surrendered the following day. Lincoln called for 75,000 militia on 15 April to suppress the rebellion in those seven states preventing the execution of the law of the United States and “…too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings.” ***The Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*** Vol. 1 (hereafter ***AdjGen*** followed by the volume number) provides details.[[3]](#footnote-3) That day Secretary of War Simon Cameron notified Governor Richard Yates to call 6 regiments of militia into service and on 19 April directed him, “As soon as enough of your troops is mustered into service, send a Brigadier General; with four regiments at or near Grand Cairo [***AdjGen1***, pp. 5, 7].” On 21 April a force of 595 men left Chicago for Cairo under Gen. Richard K. Swift of the Illinois State Militia. A detachment was left at the Illinois Central Railroad’s Big Muddy Bridge in Jackson County on the way to Cairo [***AdjGen1***, p. 244-245; ***AdjGen2***, p. 141]. This was Capt. James R. Hayden’s Chicago Zouaves (Co. A of Col. Joseph Scott’s Regt.) and was soon reinforced with Capt. John H. Clybourne’s Chicago Zouaves (Co. B) and men of the Chicago Light Artillery under Lt. Charles M. Willard. Col. Benjamin Prentiss of the 10th Illinois Infantry relieved Gen. Swift at Cairo on 22 April and sent reinforcements to the bridge. Prentiss ordered Companies A and D of the 8th Illinois Infantry to the bridge under the command Capt. Isaac Pugh [***AdjGen1***, p. 428].

Even before shots were fired at Ft. Sumter there was pro-south activity in Southern Illinois, especially in Williamson County. Some men willing for southern states to secede. Others supported use of force to prevent the northern states from using force against the South and even seceding with the south. Still others sought compromise. Some even advocated that Southern Illinois also secede. Perhaps the most influential man in Southern Illinois was John A. Logan. He spoke in Congress on 5 February 1861 before Lincoln’s inauguration criticizing both the South for seceding from the Union and the Republicans for not compromising to keep the southern states in the Union.[[4]](#footnote-4) Logan’s position in April and May was not entirely clear but shifting as the opportunity for compromise diminished.

Three days before the first shells were fired at Ft. Sumter, on 9 April 1861, ten to fifteen men met in a Marion saloon and agreed to call a public meeting about the crisis. Ed Gleeson names the men[[5]](#footnote-5):

Participants in the Marion Saloon Meeting, 9 April 1861

Archibald T. Benson G[eorge] W. Goddard Peter Keifer

Thorndike Brooks Isaiah Harris James D. Manier

Hibert “Hibe” Cunningham Harvey L. Hays William H. Scurlock

John M. Cunningham Henry C. Hopper James M. Washburn.

Gleeson says that these men were called the twelve apostles by pro-union men. A committee was formed to work on resolutions. On 15 April a meeting for public safety was held. James Manier was elected president of the meeting and John M. Cunningham, G.W. Goddard, James Washburn, Henry C. Hopper, and William R. Scurlock were asked to prepare resolutions [Metcalf, Frank: “The Illinois Confederate Company,” ***Confederate Veteran*** (May 1908), Vol. 16, pp. 224-225].[[6]](#footnote-6) Milo Erwin named the same leaders [***The History of Williamson County, Illinois*** (1876), p. 257].[[7]](#footnote-7) The men who were to prepare the resolutions had been at the saloon meeting and already had resolutions:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Williamson county, firmly believing, from the distracted condition of our country—the same being brought about by the elevation to power of a strictly sectional party, the coercive policy of which toward the seceded States will drive all the border Slave States from the Federal Union, and cause them to join the Southern Confederacy.

Resolved, That, in that event, the interest of the citizens of Southern Illinois imperatively demands at their hands a division of the State. We hereby pledge ourselves to use all means in our power to effect the same, and attach ourselves to the Southern Confederacy.

Resolved, That, in our opinion, it is the duty of the present Administration to withdraw all troops of the Federal Government that may be stationed in Southern forts, and acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy, believing that such a course of action would be calculated to restore peace and harmony to our distracted country.

Resolved, That in view of the fact that it is probably that the present Governor of the State of Illinois will call upon the citizens of the same to take up arms for the purpose of subjugating the people of the South, were hereby enter our protest against such a course, and, as loyal citizens, will refuse, frown down and forever oppose the same.

Metcalf and Erwin both reported that the resolutions were written by Henry C. Hopper. The resolutions were passed with a single dissenting vote: Archibald T. Benson. Frank Metcalf of Jackson County replaced Benson as one of the twelve apostles [Gleeson, p. 6].

The citizens of Carbondale were alarmed at the prospect of a civil war in Southern Illinois [Erwin, pp. 259-260]. On 16 April they sent John M. Campbell to recommend that the resolutions be repealed. A different group of men met and repealed them, but the first group denied that the repeal was valid. Archibald Benson went to Cairo and delivered a copy of the repeal to Col. Benjamin Prentiss.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Daniel H. Brush (1813-1890), a strong Unionist, did not have inside knowledge of pro-South activities but was attuned to what was happening. Brush reported that a few days before the troops came through Carbondale by train, about 25 or 30 men met in Carbondale to try to get Illinois south of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad to secede [***Growing Up in Southern Illinois, 1820-1861*** (hereafter Brush) pp. 248-249].[[9]](#footnote-9) The railroad ran from Cincinnati (Ohio River) to East St. Louis (Mississippi River), entering Illinois just west of Vincennes and passing through Flora.[[10]](#footnote-10) Brush named 24 men who participated in the meeting. Their names were redacted from his published memoires, but are found in the original manuscript:[[11]](#footnote-11)

Participants in Carbondale Meeting to Promote Secession of Illinois South from Ohio & Mississippi Railroad

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Jeff Allen | Tim Corder | Abe Morgan |
| W[illiam] J[oshua “Josh”] Allen | Capt. [John M.] Cunningham | J.M. Morgan |
| Jo. Benoist | Jno. Gillett | R.M. Morgan |
| Jo. Besley | Wm Goodwin | Lindorf Ozburn |
| Israel Blanchard | James Hampton | Jas. D. Pulley |
| Doctor [Thorndike] Brooks | [Henry C.] Hopper | Chas. Rogerson |
| ----- Clarkson[[12]](#footnote-12) | R[obert] M. Hundly | Henry Sanders |
| A[nderson]. P. Corder | P. Master | Eph. Snider |

Brush said the men went from town to town passing resolutions and declaring that the town supported the South.

Daniel H. Brush also wrote of attempts by southern supporters to obtain telegraph messages that might involve troop movements [Brush, pp. 245-248]. The telegraph office in Carbondale was in the same building as Brush’s bank. About 20 April Brush was asked by the Illinois Central Railroad if telegraph dispatches could be confidential. Brush arranged for telegraph business to be conducted over the bank counter, to the consternation of supporters of the South. He said,

A few disloyal young fellows from Marion, amongst them one named Eubanks[[13]](#footnote-13) and a Doctor [Thorndike] Brooks, seemed to have been put forward to investigate. They annoyed me to some extent, but I kept them at bay. Quite a body of their fellows, I was afterwards informed, were in town to watch. They had deposited their arms in handy places near by and were around the Ultra Secession Corners awaiting orders. Luckily for them ignorance of coming events prevailed, and so they waited. For on, as I now remember, the twenty-second of April the down trains passed through our village about the middle of the day loaded with soldiers, cannon, gun carriages, and other munitions of war. The Unionists cheered, the Rebels slunk back into their hiding places. The mystery was solved; Union troops had gone south to take possession of Cairo, and shut out secession from southern Illinois. The track was not torn up; the railroad bridge still stood. [Brush, pp. 247-248]

Erwin mentioned another public meeting held on 27 April 1861 [Erwin, pp. 261-262]. A motion was introduced to seize money in the hands of the sheriff to equip the southern army. John A. Logan told the participants in the various meetings that the resolutions were treasonous and they would be hanged. Logan had been among the staunch opponents of Lincoln. Some now viewed Logan as a turncoat. Logan as defending himself, saying:

…he would suffer his tongue to cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his right arm to wither and fall palsied by his side, before he would take up arms against his Southern brethren, unless it was to sustain the Government; and, that if the war was prosecuted solely for the purpose of freeing the negroes, he would not ground his arms, but would turn and shoot them North [Erwin, p. 262].[[14]](#footnote-14)

Erwin concluded that Logan’s opposition to abolitionism at this time “…was lost in this terrible opposition to treason and traitors [Erwin, p. 262].” However, Frank Metcalf began his article by saying that he was at Murphysboro about the 1st of May when Logan gave a speech strongly supporting the South [Metcalf, p. 224].

Some citizens of Marion, led by Thorndike Brooks and Harvey Hayes, prepared to take the Illinois Central bridge over the Big Muddy River by force [Erwin, pp. 262-263]. Not all opponents of Lincoln supported this action. John A. Marshall relates in ***American Bastile*** [sic.] (1880) that Dr. Samuel H. Bundy argued long with the men not to resort to force [p. 386].[[15]](#footnote-15) Isaiah Harris scouted the bridge and discovered that the soldiers were at the bridge and armed with cannon. That, rather than Bundy’s arguments, persuaded the men to cancel their attack.

John A. Logan began taking steps in private to support the Union. He met with George W. Goddard, John H. White, and John M. Cunningham met in White’s office on 30 April 1861 [Erwin, p. 264]. They agreed to stand by the Union, although Cunningham’s sympathies were with the South. Logan would go to Congress and return to raise a regiment for the Union with White as Lieutenant Colonel. Goddard would be a captain. White and Goddard would resign their offices as Williamson County Clerk and Circuit Clerk. Cunningham would assume both offices.[[16]](#footnote-16) All of this came to pass as Logan became a staunch and outspoken Unionist in public. Perhaps the first clear public statement of his support for the Union was on 18 June 1861. He and John McClernand spoke the 21st Illinois Regiment, commanded by Col. Ulysses S. Grant. They encouraged the men whose enlistments were about to end to volunteer to serve three years. Grant wrote in his ***Memoirs*** of Logan’s speech, “It breathed a loyalty and devotion to the Union which inspired my men to such a point that they would have volunteered to remain in the army as long as an enemy of the county continued to bear arms against it [Vol. 1, p. 197].”

About one and a half-dozen soldiers were seen on the outskirts of town in early May. No flag was flying above Marion. Fearing overt military action, John White said that the United States flag must be raised [Erwin, p. 265]. This was done, but the flag was later removed.

Thorndike Brooks and Harvey Hayes took action, raising about 35 men to join the Confederate army. They left for Tennessee on 25 May and were joined by additional men on the way. After arrival at Union City, Tennessee they were organized into Co. G, 15th Tennessee Infantry. Co. G included men from other northern states, from the border state of Kentucky, and from Tennessee but was named the Illinois Company for the presence of the Williamson and Jackson County men [Gleeson, pp. 119-121].

Illinois Soldiers in Co. G (The Illinois Company), 15th Regt. Tennessee Infantry

Williamson County men:

James Bell Henry C. Hopper Calvin Randall

Thorndike Brooks Flemming Jent Ronald M. Randall

W.J. Brown Robert R. Kelly Gardner Sherman

Hibert A. Cunningham J.C. Kyle W.R. Tinker

R.L. Walker A.J[oshua] Lowe William Wallace

W.J. Davis Alex McKensie G.W. Wandell

George H. Dodson A.R. McKinelley A.J. Wilkerson

John Finnegan G.L. Patterson J.K.P.Witt

Henry Gifford G.W. Perry E.J.J. Wortham

Harvey L. Hayes

Jackson County Men:

Spince Blankenship P. Timothy Corder, Jr. J.T. Roland

P. Timothy Corder, Sr. Frank Metcalf M.V. Williams

Thorndike Brooks was the first captain of the company and Hibert A. Cunningham the 1st Lieutenant. It was the only Confederate military unit to bear the name of a free state.[[17]](#footnote-17)

The extent of John A. Logan’s activities in support of the South was unclear and became a matter of controversy. Both early in the War and afterwards accusations were made that Logan supported the secession of Southern Illinois, sending men south to join the Confederate Army, and that he himself planned to take men there.[[18]](#footnote-18) J.M. Cunningham, W.R. Tinker, R.J. Pulley, G.C. Campbell, Joshua Low, Geo. W. Lowe, and B.F. Lowe signed a statement that Logan did not participate in an April 1861 meeting to take Southern Illinois into the Confederacy or encourage men to go South to fight for the Confederacy [***Illinois State Journal,*** 29 October 1866, p. 1]. The same article also published statements denying the charges against Logan by D.R. Pulley, who had served as a 1st lieutenant in the 31st Illinois Infantry, and William Cook of Marion. Some of the men who did go South stated that they had only assumed that he supported their action, including Thorndike Brooks, Hibert Cunningham, A.H. Morgan, William R. Tinker, and Joshua Lowe [Erwin, pp. 269-270]. During the War Logan made strong speeches in support of the Union. In a speech two years later at Du Quoin (31 July 1863) Logan made points that he had made the previous day in Carbondale: it was the duty of men to stand by the government, the war and measures taken by the United States were Constitutional, secession was Unconstitutional, and “…certain gentlemen had gotten too large for their boots.”[[19]](#footnote-19)

One man was steadfast that he did not merely assume that Logan’s support. Frank Metcalf stated that he was present when Logan made a speech at Murphysboro in Jackson County about 1 May “in which he was outspoken for the South [Metcalf, p. 224].” Metcalf went on to say,

On May 24, 1861, in the town of Carbondale Timothy Corder and the writer were on the southeast corner of the public square when Logan came up where we were standing and shook hands with both and asked us when we were going South. We replied: “To-morrow.” He said, “Boys, when you get over there (meaning the Ohio River), keep together. I will follow you shortly [Metcalf, p. 224].

Metcalf concluded,

Every man in the Illinois company knew that he had the unqualified indorsement and approval of John A. Logan, and that his sympathy was with the South at the time cannot be successfully denied. All the leading men residing in Southern Illinois were then for Southern rights. Sympathy for the South became stronger every day, and the organizing of companies and regiments was advocated. Secession was advocated almost daily on the streets and in public places [p. 224].

A second person disputed Logan’s denial after the War that he had supported the rebellion in a speech delivered at Carbondale in late September 1866. Logan’s sister Dorothy, who was also the wife of Dr. Israel Blanchard, shouted that Logan had aided her husband in supporting the Rebellion [Jones, James Pickett: ***Black Jack: John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era*** (1967), pp. 280-281].

The departure of men to join the Confederate Army on 25 May 1861 did not leave Williamson County void of southern sympathizers. Charles Goodall, a Mexican War veteran who served under Capt. Anderson Corder, flew the rebel flag at a barbeque that he held four miles east of Marion on 1 June [Erwin, p. 265]. Also in early June a false rumor led an event known as the Battle of Goodall Bridge about 1 ½ miles southeast of Marion [Erwin, pp. 270-274]. James D. Pulley and M.C. Campbell had gone to Paducah the day before the departure of men who would make up the Illinois Company. A rumor circulated that they were with soon-to-be Confederate soldiers. About a month later Pulley, on his way to serve on a grand jury, was arrested at Carbondale based on this rumor. Capt. A[nderson] P. Corder informed men in Marion, leading to another rumor: that troops were coming from the Big Muddy Bridge to arrest John A. Logan and W.J. “Josh” Allen. A crowd gathered and was well fortified with alcohol. Logan told the men to return at dark. G.W. Goddard was sent forward to warn of any approach of soldiers. John H. White was sent from Marion to Carbondale to seek a compromise. J.M. Campbell and J.M Prickett set out from Carbondale with the information that there was no threat. They were initially arrested by Goddard but he soon recognized them. R[obert] M. Allen saw the group approaching and thought the men were soldiers. Logan and Allen formed their men into two parallel lines of about 6 men each at Goodall Bridge, with Allen initially refusing to take Logan’s advice that the men would shoot one another in that formation. When no soldiers arrived the groups began to break up. R.J. Pulley was dispatched by Goddard to inform the men that the soldiers were not coming. [John M.] Clemison brought the last men home the next morning.

The union tide was rising. Williamson County sent its first soldiers into the Union army: fourteen men enlisted in Co. K, 18th Illinois Infantry. John A. Logan gave his famous speech supporting the Union on 4 July 1861. Mary Logan (1838-1923) related events of the day [***Reminiscences of a Soldier’s Wife*** (1913), pp. 97-99]. John A. Logan told his wife not to go into the street, fearing danger. She surreptitiously followed behind him, ready to scream if she saw an approach of one or two men who had threatened him should he support war or start to raise a regiment. He spoke for two hours from a wagon. In closing he said, “The time has come when a man must be for or against his country, not for or against his State,” and then:

I, for one, shall stand or fall for this Union, and shall this day enroll for the war. I want as many of you as will come with me. If you say “No,” and see your best interests and the welfare of your homes and your children in another direction, may God protect you [p. 98].

Luke R. Sanders, a veteran of the Mexican War who served with Logan in Co. H, 1st Illinois Regiment, and Gabriel Cox, a Mexican War veteran who served in the 2nd Regiment with Anderson P. Corder and Charles Goodall, marched around the square in Marion playing the fife and drum.[[20]](#footnote-20) Volunteers fell in behind him. This unit became the 31st Illinois Infantry. Logan’s previous pro-south statements posed problems raising companies that would become B and G of the 31st [Goodspeed, p. 167]. The numbers provide some perspective: 34 men marched south to join the Confederate army; 40,848 men from Southern Illinois would join the Union army.[[21]](#footnote-21)

Logan’s overt support of the war to preserve the Union brought him into conflict with friends and relatives. James Pickett Jones cites documents showing this [pp. 97-98, 101, 154].[[22]](#footnote-22) Mary Logan wrote that his mother upbraided him for abandoning pro-Southern principles and Israel Blanchard, his brother-in-law, attacked him for advocating war. Logan himself strongly disapproved of his family’s activities. This is reflected in a letter to his wife Mary, written on 25 July 1861 when he said of his plan to join the army, “The stain upon our family must be wiped out [Jones, p. 98].” With John Logan often away, Mary Logan bore the brunt of much of the disapproval. She wrote to her husband in September 1861,

Greater than all is the unnatural and piercing feelings our families feel about your being in the service. … They will never feel right the fact of your having to join with Republicans under Lincoln’s administration to fight the South. … They will ever keep alive the bitterness which they will not hide [Jones, p. 108].

The attacks continued two years later. She wrote to him in 1863, “Isolated from my kindred by this unfortunate trouble, …how can I say much with you on one side and a brother [Hibert Cunningham], whom I love dearly, on the other [Jones, p. 154].” John A. Logan was belittled by former supporters. ***The Jonesboro Gazette*** wrote on 14 March 1863, “He hasn’t fooled the Democrats for they never did think he amounted to much.” During this period of time that he told his troops that he had been educated to support slavery, but the war had made him realize that slavery must be destroyed [Jones, p. 155].

Support for the South remained strong in Williamson County. Brig. Gen. John McClernand, who assumed command of the Military District of Cairo on 14 October 1861, sent a dispatch to John M. Cunningham requesting assistance in raising a brigade of troops [Erwin, p. 274]. After conferring with friends, Cunningham decided not to assist. In the fall of 1861 Patrick H. Lange, the postmaster, moved the post office from Marion to Bainbridge because of threats made against him. The Knights of the Golden Circle, a Copperhead organization, flourished. The Rev. Wilson Frost VanCleave of neighboring Johnson County preached with an armed guard. Although his sermons have not survived, the only two of his sons old enough for military service volunteered and served in the Union army early in the war.[[23]](#footnote-23)

**Suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus and The Knights of the Golden Circle**

Abraham Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus on 27 April 1861 and opponents of Lincoln were seized throughout the North and the border states. Especially in the summer of 1862 this was abused in Southern Illinois. John A. Marshall tells the story of many of these men in ***American Bastile*** [sic.]***: A History of the Illegal Arrests and Imprisonment of American Citizens in the Late Civil War*** (1880), including six from Southern Illinois who were arrested in August 1862: Andrew Duncan Duff [pp. 293-302], Samuel H. Bundy [pp. 385-399], H.W. Newland [pp. 580-581], Walter S. Hawkes [pp. 538-539], Israel Blanchard [pp. 174-179], and James M. Williams [pp. 449-450]. The ostensive purpose of the arrests was to control secessionists. This was undoubtedly a motivating factor but politics was also a real issue.

Two detectives, Scott and Woodruff, arrived in Marion on 14 August 1862 to arrest Judge Andrew D. Duff, President of the 26th Judicial Circuit Court, Judge John H. Mulkey, Court of Common Pleas in Cairo and later Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, William J. “Josh” Allen, newly-elected to Congress succeeding John A. Logan, John A. Clemenson, States Attorney for the 26th Judicial Circuit, and several other men. The men were informed and at least some of them, knowing that checks on arrests had been suspended, informed Det. Scott that they would accompany him to Cairo the next day at noon. No writ or warrant for their arrest was ever produced. After arriving in Cairo they were taken before Maj. Joseph W. Merrill, of the 27th Illinois Infantry and the district Provost Mashal.[[24]](#footnote-24)

Andrew Duff was told that he was arrested on information from a letter from Frankfort where he had given a speech. He asked what part of the speech was considered disloyal and was told that he was charged with exposing frauds, which “tended to discourage enlistments.” Judge Duff responded that he would “…plead guilty of that, if that was the charge, as he regarded it as he proudest day of this life… [Marshall, p. 295].” The evidence, however, was not in Cairo and affidavits had to be secured from Frankfort and Benton. When produced, it was garbled and contained what was typical in Democratic speeches. Duff was then taken to Carbondale. George Meyers of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry stationed at the Big Muddy Bridge swore to an affidavit. He said that Judge Duff spoke to a meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle attended by 300 men, and that arms were expected from Missouri. Judge Duff denied the accusation and asked that Meyers be brought to Cairo so he could show that “…this falsifier could not tell a word about his antecedents, personal appearance, age, complexion, or height… [Marshall, p. 297].” This request was denied. Provost Marshal Merrill told Judge Duff that he would have discharged him, but Gov. Yates directed that he be held so more evidence could be produced. The additional evidence was another affidavit stating that Judge Duff attended a Secret Meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle on 10 August with 400 people present. The affidavit stated that in addition to Judge Duff, also giving speeches were Francis M. Youngblood, H.W. Newland, Joseph Crouch, and James S. Moore of Franklin County, David Neal, David Williams, Ezra Johnson, Dr. [Israel] Blanchard (a brother-in-law of John A. Logan), James Blenhois, Thomas Logan (a brother of John A. Logan), Benjamin Harris, Cartright Davis, and Philip Davis of Jackson County, George W. Wall, D.M. Hoge, E.B. Rushing, Thomas Rushing, S.A. Baird, S.M. Pyle, Dr. Rose, O.H. McCarver, Bedford Thurmon, W.A. Harris, Stephen Duncan, and others of Perry County. The affidavit included a very implausible claim:

A letter was produced and read to the meeting, directly[[25]](#footnote-25) from Jeff Davis and Beauregard, to Edell Jones, stating that if the K.G.C.’s of Illinois, could furnish two thousand men for the Confederate Army, the Confederate states would be fully able to succeed in their undertaking [Marshall, p. 299].

Thomas Logan was accused of stating, “as for himself, he was for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy [Marshall, p. 299].” The affidavit was published in the ***Chicago Tribune*** and became known to the accused men, but not the name of the attestor.[[26]](#footnote-26) The accused demanded the name of the accuser but were told that Gov. Yates directed that it be withheld. About 1 September the men were taken to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. The Judge Advocate in the District of Columbia also told Duff, “The Executive of the State of Illinois of the State of Illinois has requested the name to be withheld from the public [Marshall, p. 300].” Duff was imprisoned in Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. for over three months. B.G. Roots, a prominent Republican in Tamaroa, wrote to Duff’s fellow-prisoner William A. Harris, that the affidavit was full of lies and that he (Roots) was prepared to testify in support of Harris. Duff was finally released without a trial or told of a charge made against him beyond what was in the false affidavits.

Dr. Samuel H. Bundy was active in Democratic politics in Williamson County, but more restrained than many others. As noted above, he argued against use of force to burn the Illinois Central Bridge over the Big Muddy. Dr. Bundy was discharged from a jury on which he was serving by Judge Andrew Duff in August 1862 because three of his children were critically ill. Upon learning of the intention to arrest him, Dr. Bundy wrote a note to the provost marshal about the sickness in his family and that he would come of Cairo as soon as possible. Provost Marshal Merrill chastised his detectives and directed Scott to return and bring Bundy to Cairo. On 17 August Bundy was taken while returning from the cemetery where the family had buried one of the children. While waiting at Carbondale, he heard and saw through an open window that men were preparing evidence against him, including some men he did not know and other men who were his political enemies. Dr. George L. Owen, an abolitionist, and Dick Dudding were drawing up statements to suit their purposes, and statements were being signed without being read. Dr. Bundy asked to be admitted to the room so he could cross-examine his accusers. Attorney Jefferson J. Allen, brother of William J. Allen, was also being accused and made the same request. Both men were denied. Bundy, Allen, Duff, Mulkey, Youngblood, Clemenson, the Rev. Alexander C. Nelson, and others went before Provost Marshal Merrill the next morning and the accusations were read to them. Dr. Bundy informed Merrill that he had heard the accusations the previous night and how they had been drawn up. Merrill replied that he had no authority to hear rebutting testimony. Bundy was placed on parole in Cairo for two weeks, but not permitted to return to his home in nearby Williamson County to care for his family. The accused were informed that they would be tried in Springfield, but instead they were taken to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. Bundy was informed that he would have a trial before Judge Turner, even though witnesses were in Illinois. Turner told Bundy that the evidence against him was insufficient. Bundy was required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States to be released. The late Gayle Gwendolyne “Gwen” Burgess told me of an additional condition for his release: he was to enlist in the Union army.

H.W. Newland of Benton was a supporter of Stephen A. Douglas in the election of 1860. After the election he did not engage in politics until moved by the unfair treatment of political opponents of the administration. Newland was arrested on the night of 19 August 1862. He was not presented with a writ or warrant. His name was merely one on a list on a sheet of paper. He was taken to Springfield in irons and under guard. He was then taken to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. On 25 August he was released and told to stay out of politics. He was never told of the charges against him.

Walter S. Hawkes of Tamaroa in Perry County was a Democrat but had not been active in politics. On 23 August 1862 he was arrested at his home at 2:00 AM. At the train depot he met friends who had also been arrested: Dr. Ross, Dr. W.E. Smith, Bedford Lurman [sic., Turman], William Haynes, and the Rev. O.H. McCarver. From what Hawkes could determine, Zebedee P. Curlee, William Woods, and D.C. Barber of the Union League[[27]](#footnote-27) of Tamoroa hired a non-resident to swear a statement before a notary Henry Clay, also a member of the Union League. Hawkes never knew what was in the affidavit. He was imprisoned at Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. for about six weeks. He was then released with no charges brought against him and no trial.

Israel Blanchard of Carbondale was arrested at gunpoint in Aug 1862, apparently by soldiers of the 18th Illinois Infantry[[28]](#footnote-28), and placed on a train to be taken to Cairo. He asked to see the authority for his arrest, and a revolver was placed against his head. At Anna, where soldiers of the 18th were stationed, there was a shout by soldiers, “Take Blanchard out and hang him.” The conductor misled the soldiers about which car Blanchard was in. When they returned to the Blanchard’s car, those guarding Blanchard presented their bayonets, saving him from a lynching. After four days Col. Prentiss informed Blanchard that he was accused of speaking disrespectfully of Abraham Lincoln, discouraging enlistment, and attempting to raise a company to burn the Big Muddy Bridge. Blanchard acknowledged the first charge but denied the other two. He was then sent to the United States Marshal at Springfield, who would not see him and returned him to Cairo. Col. Prentiss then sent him home, where he resumed the practice of law.

Blanchard was arrested a second time in July 1863 by soldiers on the order of the U.S. Marshal. He was taken to Centralia where Capt. Howard turned him over to Major Board, Deputy United States Marshal. Blanchard was confined with others who were to be taken to Springfield. The men were then taken to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. After six weeks Blanchard and five other men went before the Judge Advocate. The judge asked Blanchard what the charges against him were. He did not know. He was asked if he was a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle and responded that he was not acquainted with the organization. [This was most unlikely, as the organization was well-known in Southern Illinois and had many members.] When asked about his memberships, he said he as an Odd Fellow, a member of the Temperance Society, and a Democrat. The Judge Advocate then inquired about any secret meetings or signs that the Democrats might have. There were none. When asked if he attended a meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle held at Pinckneyville in June, Blanchard said he did not. Blanchard asked to see the papers against him and was told it was a rule not to allow prisoners to see them. He was then released.

James M. Williams of Spring Garden in Jefferson County was arrested on 1 September 1862 by thirteen soldiers under Capt. Davis. Deputy Marshal Major Board ordered the arrest. They did not show Williams the orders, a warrant, or inform him of the charges. Williams told congregating friends not to disturb the peace. He was handcuffed for 48 hours and taken with other prisoners under guard of soldiers with fixed bayonets. He and fifteen other men were imprisoned in Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C. Two months later he was released after taking the oath of allegiance and posting bond. He was never told of charges or had no trial.

Many of those arrested were accused of membership in Knights of the Golden Circle. Milo Erwin said their membership reached 800 in 1862 and on the other side in 1864 the Union League numbered 1,200 [p. 66].

Affidavits published in the ***Chicago Tribune*** mentioned above provide information omitted by Marshall. Most of the affidavits were from residents of Williamson Co. Joseph T. William[[29]](#footnote-29) said that Dr. Bundy told him the objective of the Knights was to get all Democrats to join the North to the South and that Bundy said that members should arm themselves with whatever weapon they could and assist any rebellion against the government. He also said the Bundy and Jack W. Watson officiated that the meeting when he, Williams, was initiated. Williams also claimed that Bundy, George W. Akin, Ditmore and his two sons, John Grasty, John Akin, Joshua Tyner, Sr., K.J. Parsons, and Patterson Reeves were among those at a meeting between Eight Mile Prairie and the Big Muddy in October. William C. Stover said that he and Bundy had a long conversation. Bundy said that his sympathies were with the South and he would not fight the South, but that he would not commit treason. John W. Bandy of Williamson Co. said the Dr. Bundy spoke at a barbeque on 2 August 1862 and said the abolitionists had brought on the War and the South was justified in taking up arms. John Sorrell said that he heard much of John H. Mulkey’s speech at Williamson Co. meeting. Mulkey said he was anti-war and he believed the war would not end unless the North and South separated. Sorrel said that John Chapman and son, John Alexander, John Dougherty, William Hart, James T. Chenoweth, and possibly Dennis Crane were members. Ezra Burdick swore that in a speech Bundy had said he had no sympathy for Jeff. Davis, and less for Abraham Lincoln, who had violated the Constitution. When the Democratic Party regained power they would restore the Constitution as it was. Dr. Clemenson, he said also said the government was violating the Constitution and that Lincoln’s real objective was to free the slaves. Nathaniel Cox stated that Bundy said the administration’s actions were unconstitutional and the South had been forced into rebellion. Nelson, he said, spoke more harshly than Bundy. Going to war was not the way to bring about peace, but he sympathized with those who had gone to war to defeat the rebellion. Cox ended his affidavit with the statement, “In my opinion, these leaders, such as Dr. Bundy, Rev. Mr. [Alexander C.] Nelson, Judge [W. Josh.] Allen, Judge [Andrew] Duff and John H. Mulkey, if released would be dangerous to the community.” With the exception of Williams, those swearing affidavits were clear that Bundy viewed the Lincoln administration as violating the Constitution, but did not advocate illegal actions. William W. Russell that he knew about 40 men who were going to volunteer for the Union army, but after hearing W. Josh Allen speak all but four changed their minds. John W. Bandy, however, swore that he as at a speech by Allen on 11 August. Allen said that those who wanted to go to war should go and those who did not should stay home. He also said the administration started on the right track, but the goal of the War had become to free the slaves.

One anonymous affidavit stated that the Knights of the Golden Circle, or at least some leading men

* received communication indirectly from Jefferson Davis and Gen. Beauregard;
* committed to resisting the draft;
* committed to resisting the federal tax;’
* were organized in a military fashion, with G.W. Wall as a brigadier general, W.J[osh] Allen as a general, and S[amuel] S. Marshall, a former member of Congress [and lawyer in Hamilton Co.], as adjutant general.
* were drilling on use of arms and military tactics;
* received 500 stand of arms from the South for the Jefferson Co. lodge; and,
* favored secession [apparently for Southern Illinois];
* supported Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy.

The ***Daily Illinois State Journal*** in Springfield on 9 October 1862 reprinted an article from the Carbondale ***Times*** commenting the affidavits, including a further affidavit sworn by a person who was not identified.

This affidavit, if true, reveals *treason in its most hideous form in our midst* and it certainly the most astounding development that has occurred since the establishment of this government. If it is not true, it is the most diabolical imposition ever practiced upon a people. It sets forth as enemies to their Government quite a number of leading men of this section of the county—men who have occupied prominent positions in our government. These men deny the allegations contained in said deposition, and demand the name of the deponent, so they may defend themselves from the charges there set forth. We understand that some have called for the name and failed to get it [p. 2].

Although men were arrested, no record has been found of a conviction, calling to question the strength and credibility of this and the other affidavits.

The anonymous affidavit names a number of men who were alleged to have been members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Even if a man named was not a member, the affidavit shows that he certainly was a target for arrest. These men were:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Members of Knights of the Golden Circle Named in an Anonymous Affidavit | | |
| **Franklin Co.** | **Perry Co.** (cont.) | **Co. Not Identified** |
| James Crouch | D.M. Hoge | Jonas Eaton |
| A[ndrew] D. Duff | Ezra Jackson | Wesley Eaton |
| James Moore | Edell Jones | F.B. Garner |
| Wm. Newland | Pendleton Jones | Thomas Garner |
| Francis M. Youngblood | Solomon King | Wm. L. Garner |
| **Jackson Co.** | Joshua League | Hugh George |
| Israel Blanchard | Peter Lee | Jesse N. George |
| [A.] Cartwright Davis | O[liver] H. McCarver | Thomas Hester |
| Philip Davis | Isaac Patrick | John Jones |
| Benjamin Harris | Sam M. Pyle | Jasper King |
| Thomas Logan | James Reed | Richard Lisenby |
| **Jefferson Co.** | Dr. Ross | Jeptha Martin |
| William Griffin | E.B. Rushing | John Martin |
| **Perry Co.** | Thomas Rushing | John Quilman |
| Walter S. Banks | William E. Smith | Thomas A.J. Simons |
| Samuel A. Beard | Bedford Turman | Wm. Simons |
| Lewis Britton | James Turman | W.E. Smith |
| Bennett Browning | G.W. Wall | A.C. Stewart |
| Stephen Duncan | **Washington Co.** | Thomas Turman |
| Jonas Eaton | James Benois | James Terry |
| Jet Eubanks | Ezra Johnson | Eli Vickers |
| James Farrell | Dr. David Neal | B. Wilburn |
| James H. George | David Wilkerson | John Wilkerson |
| Wm. A. Haines |  |  |

Information about actual activities rather than talk of some of the Knights in Southern Illinois is sketchy, but Mary Logan some details in ***Reminiscences***. When John A. Logan returned to Southern Illinois on medical leave after the fall of Vicksburg in 1863, the soldiers were told of the “…reign of terror which the Knights of the Golden Circle had exercised over non-combatants who had been left at home [M. Logan, pp. 141-142].” The soldiers guarded Logan against assassination. She was specific about an incident when her husband was away [M. Logan, pp. 147-152]. Mary and her friend Mary E. Tuthill hired Albert, a former slave, to work for them. They found him sitting in a part of the county where “…our ‘copperhead’ rulers had forbidden negroes to stop….” She learned from a member of the Knights, James Durham, who was loyal to his friends, that they would demand that she send the man away. If she tried to protect him, “…they would thrash her too.” She learned the name of another member of the Knights who was involved and confronted him. She said that she would hold him responsible if Albert were harmed and would make sure he was arrested. All she had to do was ask the governor for protection and the provost marshal would arrest him. The man reported back to the Knights that Mrs. Logan knew of the plot and their names were in the hands of officers. Albert was not molested. He learned to read and write, saved his money, and after the war returned to the South to find his family. Mary Logan heard that he was doing well in the South.

John A. Logan dismissed concerns about the illegal arrests in a very simplistic way when he was on medical leave in 1863. He said in the speech he made at Du Quoin, Illinois on 31 July 1863,

Whenever you hear a man get up and make a speech, and tell the crowd he is afraid he will be arrested by some Lincoln soldiers, you may be sure there is something wrong with him. If he is a good Union man, and talks Union talk, there is no danger of his being arrested. …. He is either a Union man or a traitor….[pp. 22-23].

There is little doubt that some members of Knights of the Golden Circle resorted to threats and intimidation. It is also the case that opponents of the war went beyond threats and intimidation. The Evansville [Indiana] Daily Journal reported on 11 August 1863, p. 2:

The Carbondale (Ill.) *Times* says that on Tuesday night last, John P. Law, in company with Augustus Lamer and Charles Fiss, approached a house about six miles west of Cobden, in Union county, to arrest some deserters, Law being in advance of his companions, was ordered to halt, when almost simultaneous with this comes, several rifles were fired, and Law soon fell from his horse. Lamer and Fills tried to rescue his body, but receiving heavy fire from the house, were obliged to retreat. Twenty or thirty shots were first. This makes the fifth Union man murdered in that section of Illinois in eight months, and little or no effort has been made to arrest the perpetrators.

The Illinois State Journal [Springfield] on10 February 1864 [p. 2] named other Union murdered or wounded in Southern Illinois without saying when the events took place. In addition to John P. Law, Isaac Spence and William Jackson were murdered in Union County carrying out their duties; James Emmerson and James Baker were murdered in Williamson County while aiding officers enrolling men for the draft, and James Stelley and George W. Cox were wounded for aiding Union soldiers endeavoring to arrest deserters. Pvt. Reuben Stocks was murdered in his bed in Jackson County by rebel sympathizers. Willis Black was murdered in Marion County because in accompanied an officer to arrest a deserter. In Duquoin (Perry County) a man named Thompson killed a Michigan soldier on his way home on furlough. There is also little doubt that the arrests were made to intimidate those who opposed the War, Gov. Yates, and President Lincoln.

Before these murders took place, however, some members of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Southern Illinois decided to dispel questions of their loyalty by forming a Union regiment.

**The 128th Illinois Infantry[[30]](#footnote-30)**

Some if not most members of the Knights of the Golden Circle regarded themselves as loyal citizens of the United States. They were deeply disturbed by suspicions about their loyalty and numerous arrests, especially in the absence of the inability to defend themselves. A group of men who had been pro-South leaders sought to dispel questions of their loyalty by forming a Union regiment. Milo Erwin wrote,

At this time [August 1862] [The Knights of] the Golden Circle was in its most flourishing Condition. The design was formed in this Order of raising a regiment for the Union Army, for the purpose of repelling the imputation of disloyalty laid on some of its members [Erwin, Milo: ***History of Williamson County*** (1876), p. 277].

This led to the establishment of the 128th Illinois Infantry in September of 1862. Most of the men were from Williamson, Franklin, and Saline Counties [***The Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*** Vol. 6 (hereafter AdjGen followed by the volume number), pp. 516-532]. A few men in the 128th were from other counties, especially Johnson but also Hamilton, and several Northern Illinois counties. Companies were not enrolled strictly along county lines. Companies A and C were largely from Franklin and Williamson County; Companies B, D, E, F, G, and H from Williamson County; Company I from Williamson and several counties outside Southern Illinois; and Company K from Saline County.[[31]](#footnote-31)

The field officers were to be Robert M. Hundley as colonel, James Pulley as lieutenant colonel, and James D. McCown as major. Hundley and Pulley along with Jefferson J. Allen, who would become Captain of Co. C of the 128th, had been named as participating in a meeting in Carbondale where secession of Illinois counties south of the Ohio and Mississippi was advocated [Brush, Daniel H.: ***Growing Up in Southern Illinois, 1820-1861***, pp. 248-249]. Allen’s brother Robert M. Allen, who was at the Goodall Bridge fiasco, would become a captain of Co. F [Erwin, p. 272]. I.M. Lewis[[32]](#footnote-32), G.L. Owen (a Republican), and Archibald T. Benson went to Springfield to see if the regiment would be accepted into service [Erwin, p. 277]. On the way they encountered Dr. Burgess, who told Benson that the proposed officers should be hung and that he, Benson, should be imprisoned. The men met with Gov. Richard Yates and Yates agreed to the formation of the regiment.

Most of the men enlisted on 25 September 1862 and mustered in on 4 November 1862 [AdjGen6, pp. 516-532]. Smith Hale Dorris of Co. C said when applying for a pension said the regiment stayed in Marion, Williamson Co. for about two weeks and then went to Camp Butler on the outskirts of Springfield. Shortly before Christmas the regiment went to Cairo and then about 7 or 8 miles up the Ohio River to Mound City, Pulaski County.

One company did not have known prior connections with the field officers and the pro-south men of Williamson, Franklin, and Jackson Counties. Co. K of Saline County, commanded by Capt. Joshua Pemberton, was originally recruited for a regiment that never came into existence, the 132nd.[[33]](#footnote-33) The Adjutant General’s report says of the 120th Illinois Infantry,

Permission had been given Colonel John G. Hardy and Colonel George W. McKenig each to raise a regiment. The first was assigned the number One Hundred Twentieth and the other One Hundred and Thirty-second [p. 367].

Both regiments were short of companies. The two regiments were combined into the 120th, except for two companies. W[illiam] S. Blackman, a soldier in the 120th, wrote in his memoir, ***The Boy of Battle Forge*** (1906), “Pemberton’s company left ours and went to the 128th [p. 60].”[[34]](#footnote-34) Most men in Co. K were from Galatia and enlisted on 9 September; most of the other men in the 128th, enlisted on 26 September.

Some men enlisting in the 128th did not support the pro-south extreme. Archibald Benson, who voted against the resolutions supporting the South and delivered a copy of the repeal of those resolutions by another group to Col. Prentiss, would become chaplain.[[35]](#footnote-35) Company B included two Dorris brothers. Lt. Josiah M. Dorris was evidently a Constitutional Unionist. He named one of his sons John Bell Dorris after the man who the 1860 presidential candidate for that party. Bell was an opponent of secession and finished third in electoral votes behind Lincoln and Stephen Douglas. Cpl. Smith H. Dorris, a brother of Josiah Dorris, first voted for John Bell [The Goodspeed ***History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin, and Williamson Counties, Illinois*** (hereafter Goodpseed) (1887) p. 778]. Co. C included two men who supported the Union early. Lt. John A. Ensminger (Co. C) had been a Democrat but changed his politics when the Confederates fired on Ft. Sumter [Wilcox, J.F.: ***Historical Souvenir of Williamson County*** (1905), p. 134].[[36]](#footnote-36) Luke Sanders also enlisted in Co. C. He was the Mexican War veteran who led the march around the square in Marion recruiting volunteers for John A. Logan’s 31st Illinois Infantry, supported by drummer Gabriel Cox. Dr. Samuel H. Bundy, who argued against trying to burn the railroad bridge over the Big Muddy, enlisted as a private in Co. D and served as an acting assistant surgeon. There were undoubtedly many more.

The physical examinations were casual. William Wesley Dorris of Co. B said that the examiners just walked along looking at men with their arms spread out. Dorris identified only one man who failed to pass: Albert Rogers.[[37]](#footnote-37) John W. Dorris of Co. B passed despite weak or sore eyes.[[38]](#footnote-38) Charles Goodall of Co. E passed despite a musket ball lodged in his leg from his service in the Mexican War. Abraham Kelly of Co. B passed despite a bad ankle. The discharge of Isaac W. Gill states he was hurt in 1852 and entered service with medical problems.

Although Governor Yates permitted the 128th to be formed, the men were not properly equipped and were ill-clothed with winter setting in. Dr. Samuel H. Bundy, a private in Co. B who acted as an Assistant Surgeon for the regiment, testified in support of the pension application of John W. Dorris, “…as nearly as I can recall the whole Reg. had taken Cold, from exposure in an open camp in the snow, before moving into shelter (about a week outside), and Coughing and Pneumonia prevailed generally….” After mustering in at Camp Butler, the 128th was ordered of Cairo and then to Mound City. Mound City is only about 40 miles from Vienna, 50 miles from Marion, and 70 miles from Benton, the county seats of Williamson and Franklin, and about 75 miles from Galatia in Saline where most of men in Co. K resided. According to pension testimony some of the Saline County men who served in Co. K were stationed at Shawneetown, only about 25 miles from Galatia where many of them lived.

Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863, as he said he would on 22 September 1862 when he issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. This freed slaves in states or areas still in rebellion. The Proclamation triggered desertions in Southern Illinois regiments. Sgt. William S. Blackman of the 120th wrote, “A great many soldiers deserted on account of misunderstanding the intent of the president [Blackman, p. 62].” He continued,

Three others [soldiers of Co. F] came to me one day and told me they decided to leave that night if I would go with them, as they were not willing to fight to free the slaves. I told them that our great men were doing all they could to save the Union and that the proclamation was a necessary war measure only. That the South had been given four months to accept the terms, and had not only refused but had declared nothing that would bring peace but their success [p. 62]

Blackman’s explanation convinced the men that they would be fighting for the Union, not to free slaves. The soldiers decided to stay. No record has been found of the reaction of soldiers of the 128th. No doubt some disapproved of the Emancipation Proclamation, but the 128th was facing more serious problems that resulted in a high desertion rate.

The Regimental Records of the 128th Illinois Infantry at the National Archives are a very important source of information about the unit. The only morning reports extant are from January 1863. They show that on 3 January 1862 317 men were present for duty, 193 were sick, and 90 men were absent without leave. On 15 January only 113 were present for duty, 324 were sick, and 211 were absent without leave. Some 200 men were unaccounted for. Records list men with no date of discharge who were in fact discharged. Widows’ Pension Applications show that men died from measles, diarrhea, typhoid, pneumonia, and even cases of smallpox:[[39]](#footnote-39)

**Soldier Unit Rank Death Date Death Place Cause of Death**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Alexander, John B. | Co F | | Pvt | | 8 Nov 1862 | | Camp Butler | Pneumonia | |
| Allen, Jefferson J. | Co C | | Capt | | 17 Dec 1864 | | Williamson Co | Chronic diarrhea after catarrh | |
| Atteberry, Benjamin | Co D | | Pvt | | 19 Jan 1863[[40]](#footnote-40) | |  |  | |
| Boles, Joseph F. | Co E | | Pvt | | 16 Feb 1863 | | Mound City | Smallpox | |
| Boren, James L | Co A | | Pvt Transferred to Co. G, 31st Illinois Infantry. | | | | | |
| Boswell, Bailie P. | Co G | | Pvt | | 13 Nov 1862 | | |  |
| Bowen, John L. | Co G | | Pvt | | 25 Jan 1863 | | Cairo | Measles | |
| Butt, Thomas | Co C | | Pvt | | 8 Feb 1863 | | |  |
| Butt, William G. | Co C | | Cpl | | 7 Mar 1863 | | |  |
| Carpenter, Henry H | Co A | | Pvt | | 12 Jan 1863 | | Cairo | Measles | |
| Carmical, John T. | | Co F | | Pvt | | 26 Feb 1863 | Williamson Co | Pneumonia | |
| Discharged 9 Feb. 1863 for pneumonia. | | | | | | | |  | |
| Cavin, William G | | Co A | | Pvt Transferred to Co. H, 31st Illinois Infantry. | | | | | |
| Coleman, Absalom D | | Co C | | Pvt | | 2 Feb 1863 | Mound City | Typhoid, measles | |
| Connell, John A. | | Co F | | Pvt | |  |  |  | |
| Coon, Henry L. | | Co I | | Pvt | | 11 Apr 1863 | Williamson Co | Smallpox, diarrhea | |
| Copeland, Cornelius | | Co A | | Pvt | | 9 Nov 1862 | |  | |
| Corder, John W. | | Co B | | Pvt | | 19 Aug 1863 | Island # 10 | Typhoid, Acute diarrhea | |
| Dougherty, Jordan | | Co A | | Pvt | | 13 Jun 1862 | Camp Butler | Typhoid pneumonia | |
| Fambrough, Median | | Co A | | Pvt | | 26 Jan 1863 | Mound City | Typhoid pneumonia, measles | |
| Finney, John B. | | Co C | | Pvt | | 12 Apr 1863 | Cairo | Pleuritis | |
| Fortner, Eldbridge | | Co C | | 1st Lt | | 12 Jan 1863 | Mound City | Pneumonia and measles | |
| Fuller, William M. | | Co H | | Sgt | | 29 Jan 1863 | Enroute home | Measles, diarrhea | |
| On sick furlough at time of death | | | | | | | |  | |
| Henry, Enoch J. | | Co F | | Pvt | | 16 Jan 1863 | Cairo | Measles | |
| Henry, William H. | | Co F | | Pvt | | 6 Feb 1863 | Williamson Co | Diarrhea | |
| On furlough to take brother Enoch Henry’s body home. Sick before furlough. | | | | | | | | | |
| Gill, Isaac W. | | Co. H | | Pvt | | 11 Apr 1863 | Williamson Co | Measles, diarrhea, smallpox | |
| Discharged 31 Jan 1863 paralysis left side of body and chronic rheumatism; fellow soldiers said he | | | | | | | | | |
| was “very low” at time of discharge but sound when he entered service. One discharge document | | | | | | | | | |
| states he was hurt in 1852 and was had medical problems before enlistment. | | | | | | | | | |
| Johnson, William W | | Co C | | Pvt | | 15 Jan 1863 | |  | |
| Koonce, James C. | | Co F | | Pvt | | 14 Jan 1863 | Cairo | Measles | |
| McBride, Jesse | | Co F | | Pvt | | 13 Jan 1863 | Mound City | Measles, pneumonia | |
| McCown, James D | | Field | | Maj | | 9 Mar 1863 | Mound City | Typhoid pneumonia | |
| McIntosh, Hiram | | Co G | | Sgt | | 15 Feb 1863 | Mound City | Pneumonia | |
| Moyers, Jacob F. | | Co A | | Pvt | | 6 Dec 1862 | Camp Butler | Typhoid pneumonia | |
| Mulkey, Simeon T. | | Co A | | Pvt | | 15 Jun 1863 | Mound City | Measles, typhoid, pneumonia | |
| Ray, George | | Co G | | Pvt | | 7 Feb 1863 | Williamson Co | Measles | |
| Contracted measles 1 Jan 1863, sent home 8 Jan 1863. | | | | | | | | | |
| Roach, Joseph H. | | Co G | | Pvt | | 19 Jan 1863 | Cairo | Measles, pneumonia, typhoid | |
| Rogers, William | | Co C | | Pvt | | 20 Jan 1863 | Mound City | Measles | |
| Royall, Alexander | | Co A | | 1st Lt | | 16 Feb 1863 | Franklin Co | Cholera | |
| Rumsey, John | | Co K | | Pvt | | 25 Feb 1863 | Cairo | Measles | |
| No widow, children, or father living; mother Matilda Rumsey was the pensioner | | | | | | | | | |
| Smith, John | | Co G | | Pvt | | 6 May 1863 | |  | |
| Diarrhea at Christmas 1862, hospitalized 4 Jan 1863, discharged for disability (diarrhea) 2 May 1863. | | | | | | | | | |
| Upchurch, John D. | | Co K | | Pvt | | 9 June 1863 | Cairo | Typhoid | |
| Wiley, Thomas | | Co K | | Pvt | | 9 Feb 1863 | | Measles, bronchitis, smallpox | |
| Pension of mother Mary Ware, widow of Elias Wiley and widow of John Ware. | | | | | | | | | |

Beth Gatlin posted that Davidson Binkley (Co. G) died of measles at Cairo on 9 January 1863.[[41]](#footnote-41) Dr. Samuel Bundy, who acted as an assistant surgeon in the 128th, testified that John W. Dorris was sick at Camp Butler with what he recalled as a severe cough. He was again sick at Cairo in January 1863 with diarrhea and walking with a stick [cane], apparently suffering from rheumatism. Later at Mound City he was stooped, creeping around, and his eyes were inflamed. He could only get around with a stick. After the war he was nearly blind with sore eyes. Dorris was discharged in March 1863 for disability due to diarrhea. Smith Hale Dorris testified that that he came down with mumps when returning from an eight-day furlough and that others had mumps when he arrived back at camp. He also had diarrhea which afflicted him after his discharge. At the time of Capt. Jefferson J. Allen’s discharge as a commissioned officer in an ineffective unit, he had chronic dysentery. He had suffered from a severe attack of catarrh and then dysentery at Camp Butler, leaving him disabled from duty most of the winter. He was clearly unfit for duty for much of his service. Dr. Samuel H. Bundy testified on behalf of the Lt. John A. Ensminger, also of Co. C. Ensminger was discharged for disability on 5 April 1863 for diarrhea and rheumatism [Wilcox, p. 134].[[42]](#footnote-42) This was a day after he was discharged for being a commissioned officer in an ineffective unit. The rampant sickness was by no means unique to the 128th. At one point when the 31st was stationed at Cairo about half the men were infected with measles [Jones, James Pickett: ***John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era*** (1967), p. 108]. Mary Logan said that 500 were sick from measles at one time [Logan, Mary: ***Reminiscences of a Soldier’s Wife*** (1913), p. 109].

The high desertion rate in the 128th was certainly a sign of poor discipline, but it is also a sign of the poor equipage, rampant sickness[[43]](#footnote-43), the proximity of the men to their homes, and the fact that the men were neighbors and in some cases relatives of their officers. The desertion rate, however, must have increased the suspicions of the authorities about the regiment.

Comparing ***The Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*** with the widows’ pensions reveals that the records of the regiment were not well kept. Many men died in service and others were discharged shortly before they died yet there is no indication of that in the Report. The Adjutant General’s Office reported on 15 June 1863 concerning the pension application of Catherine, widow of Median F. Fambough, “There are no muster rolls of Co ‘A’ on file subsequent to muster in. No further evidence of death, discharge or transfer on file in the Office.” Poor record-keeping was not unusual for regiments early in the War. Clem Bundy, who was listed as a deserter, testified that he was discharged for disability in September 1862. No record of his discharge has been found and he was recorded as mustering in on 8 December 1862 in the Adjutant General’s Report.

Problems went beyond health and equipment. George W. Akin, one of two quartermasters of the 128th, made two trips from Cairo into Missouri to meet with Confederates [Erwin, p. 279]. On one trip he was accompanied by another man who remains unidentified. Akin was to station hand-picked men on guard duty who would not fire when the Confederate troops of Brigadier General M. Jeff Thompson advanced. Cairo, of vital strategic importance for controlling the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, would be taken by the Confederates. Akin told Dr. J. Clemison of the scheme.[[44]](#footnote-44) Clemison reported it to Col. Hundley and the plot was quashed. No record of Akin being court martialed or even punished has been found, yet another sign of casual discipline.

The War Department on 1 April 1863 ordered the unit to be disbanded.

The One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers having, in its short period of service of less than five months, been reduced from an aggregate of eight hundred and sixty to one hundred and sixty-one—principally by desertions—and there having been an utter want of discipline in it, the following officers are hereby discharged from the service of the United States, to take effect the 4th inst., viz:

…

The few remaining men of this Regiment will be consolidated into a Detachment, under First Lieutenants W.A. Lemma, William Cooper, and Assistant Surgeon George W. French, for transfer to some other Illinois regiment, to be designated by Major General Grant, commanding the Department of the Tennessee.

Brigadier General A. Asboth, commanding District of Columbus, Kentucky, will order an officer of the regular army to this place, to critically inspect the Detachment, to muster out of the service such old men and others, who by reason of defects, should not have been mustered into the service.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L[orenzo]. Thomas, Adjutant General

[AdjGen6, p. 532]

The only commissioned officers not dismissed from service were those already deceased and the three staff officers: Lt. William A. Lemma, the regimental adjutant, Lt. William M. Cooper, a quartermaster, and Asst. Surgeon French. They were placed in command of a detachment of 105 men. Most of the men were transferred to the 9th Illinois Infantry [AdjGen6, pp. 516-532]. Non-commissioned officers, such as Sgt. John R. Woolard (Wollard) of Co. K, were demoted to rank of private.

General Alexander Asboth promptly issued instructions dated 3 April 1863 to inspect and discharge men who should not have been mustered into service. Capt. George W. Howland, 3rd U.S. Cavalry, reported twenty-seven men were mustered out of the detachment pursuant to those instructions.[[45]](#footnote-45)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Pvt Jeremiah Adams, Co K | Pvt James W. Fletcher, Co. K | Pvt John Riggs, Co, K |
| Pvt Thomas Cantral, Co K | Pvt Wm Fletcher, Co C | Pvt Thomas Robertson, Co H |
| Pvt Thomas H. Clarda, Co H | Pvt Joshua Furlow, Co A | Pvt Francis M. Simes, Co F |
| Pvt Richd Crain, Co D | Pvt Robert T. Hewett, Co G | Pvt Amos Smith, Co C |
| Pvt John Crouch, Co I | Pvt Wm T. Hurst, Co C | Pvt James Sperry, Co C |
| Pvt Jacob D. Cummings, Co H | Pvt Jesse Kimbal, Co I | Pvt Henry Stone, Co K |
| Pvt Bruce Dye, Co A | 1st Sgt James M. Lucky, Co F | Pvt Isaac N. Tippy, Co D |
| Pvt Charles M. Evans, Co B | Pvt James W. Pully, Co E | Pvt Robert Waters, Co C |
| Pvt John Finny, Co C | Pvt John Ramsey Co E | Cpl Joseph Winn, Co K |

This represents about one quarter of the detachment. It did not include men previously discharged or deserters. Capt. Howland stated in letter on 9 April 1863 that he could not prepare the discharges due to want of descriptive rolls, muster rolls, etc. The men could not be paid until properly discharged and he recommended that the men be discharged as of 4 April 1863. Asboth issued a similar order on 23 June 1863, directing that the senior surgeon of the 14th Iowa Volunteers present make the examination. Presumably more men had returned or were under arrest.

One man who was soon discharged as unfit was not among the 27 listed above because he had deserted: Charles Goodall, who had flown the rebel flag at a barbeque prior to enlisting. On 7 April 1863, less than a week after the discharge of almost all commissioned officers, the records of the 128th Illinois Infantry show that Goodall had John M. Cunningham write a letter for him to Gen. N.B. Buford requesting a discharge. The letter stated that Goodall had been disabled by a Mexican War wound and that his officers in the 128th assured him that he would not be held to service. He was physically unable to serve and was now accused of desertion. The only reason he enlisted was to encourage other men to do so. On 8 April “P.M” of Marion, Illinois wrote to Gen. Don Carlos Buell warning him that John Cunningham, a leading copperhead, was trying to secure the release of Charles Goodall from service so he could intimidate union men in Williamson County. “P.M.” was almost certainly the postmaster, Patrick H. Lang. “P.M.” was used as an abbreviation for “Postmaster” in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Lang was in a position to know that Cunningham had written a letter to the army. He had experienced difficulties with the pro-southern element in Williamson County severe enough to move the post office out of Marion for a period of time [Goodspeed, p. 493]. Charles Goodall was examined, found unfit for service, and discharged.[[46]](#footnote-46)

Goodall was not the only soldier in the 128th who felt that he had been deceived by officers. Daniel and James Hall, fathers of minors William and Joseph Hall of Pike County, claimed on 2 December 1863 that with their consent their sons volunteered to serve in the 99th Illinois Infantry but were “sold” to the 128th.

To assist Captain Isaac Phillips, Provost Marshal of the 13th District of Illinois, a company of the 35th Iowa Infantry was stationed in Williamson County followed by a detachment the 16th Illinois Cavalry under Major Charles Beers of Aurora [Erwin, p. 279]. They were to enroll the county for the draft, arrest deserters, and suppress sedition. On 24 July Phillips published in the ***Marion Record*** that Marion was under martial law. Men were required to sign loyalty oaths before leaving town. Many took this to be an insult. Regimental records show that a copy of the proclamation reached the desk of Lt. Col. (later Gen.) James Oakes, Assistant Provost Marshal of Illinois. In addition to the proclamation, by 19 August Oakes also received a report that soldiers had not allowed the Honorable Josh Allen, Member of Congress, to leave town and demanded that he take the oath of allegiance. Oakes was not pleased that the soldiers had interfered with a member of Congress and wrote Phillips a rather frosty letter that his report was unsatisfactory and instructed him to “…report further on this case, and state whether or not you required to oath of allegiance to be taken as a condition for receiving passes and especially if Mr. Allen, M.C. was held a prisoner in Marion, by you, for refusing to take the oath.” A further regulation was even more clearly an insult: civilians were prohibited from wearing brass buttons [Erwin, p. 282].[[47]](#footnote-47) The departure of troops from Marion was finally caused by an external factor: a draft board elsewhere in the state was in danger of mob violence.

Col. Edwin McCook, who commanded the 31st after John A. Logan was promoted to brigadier general and Lindorf Osborn resigned, was frustrated by the heavy-handed actions of agents of the Provost Marshal of the 13th District as well as forged discharges, regimental records show. McCook endeavored to persuade men who had deserted from the 128th to join the 31st. In letters written on 3 February 1864 to Capt. Phillips and Lt. Col. James Oakes, Provost Marshal of Illinois, McCook reported that a secret agent of Phillips named Walker had arrested five of the deserters, mortally wounding one. He said in the letter to Phillips,

I wish to have your men let these men alone--until I try to win them back. Walker said he had seen you but a day or two ago and you told him to arrest men of the 128th Ills—Now if you did (which I do not believe) you have broken the agreement between us—and if you continue to arrest these men it will be useless for me to try to get [illeg.] them.

He wrote again on 9 February that he had arranged a meeting with men of the 128th for that day, but Walker arrested another man last night and “…the whole county was in a scare and none of the men come to see me.” James Oakes on 18 February ordered the arrests suspended until at least 1 March. McCook did have some success. For example, Alonzo Tippy of Co. G and Andrew E. Phillips of Co. E of the 128th; they respectively served in Co. A and in Co. G of the 31st until 20 June and 19 July 1865.

Lack of good records led to the arrest of men who had been discharged. Lt. Wm. Lemma, who commanded a detachment of the 128th, requested a copy of muster rolls and books of one company of the 128th on 25 August 1863. He needed the information so he could properly prepare discharges for three men. He added that “…many of the men thus mustered out not having any papers to substantiate the fact have been arrested and thrust into the Guard houses etc.”

Forged furloughs and discharges became a major problem. Furloughs were for sale in Williamson County. Those purchasing discharges were not always doing so with criminal intent. A letter from Capt. Phillips to Col. Oakes dated 13 January 1864 establishes that some men believed they were paying for legal proceedings to be discharged and were receiving “passes” to prevent their arrests. This, he reported, was interfering with the efforts of Col. McCook to enlist deserters into the 31st. He also reported, “I also understand that one of the parties engaged in this fraud, is a man who was lately in my employ as a Special Agent and Recruiting Officer.”

This evidently triggered an investigation. Pvt. Edwin B. Roberts (Co. E) of Williamson County swore to an affidavit on 24 March 1864. He said he went to Camp Butler and was sick there. He never drew pay or clothing, went home, and believed that facts if presented to proper authorities would secure his exoneration or release from service. Daniel R. Pulley told Roberts that he could arrange for him to be released from service. Pulley would need $25 in advance and $175 when the discharge was accomplished. When Roberts learned the furlough was worthless, he demanded the return of his advance payment. Pulley responded that half the money was Evans’, and when the final payment was made that Isaac Phillips would receive $50. (Roberts was among the deserters who served in the 9th Illinois Infantry. He was discharged from the 9th (Consolidated) on 29 March 1865.) James A. Roberts (Co. E) of Williamson County attested he deserted about ten days after he went to Camp Butler. (He is erroneously listed as “Robertson” in AdjGen6, p. 523.) On 29 December 1863 he went to John W. Todd, in the Southern Pct. of Williamson County. Todd had agreed with four or five deserters to have them released from service for the sum of $200, $25 of which was to be paid in advance. Roberts made the same arrangement with Todd. Todd had about 12 blank furloughs signed by T.J. Evans and filled one in for Roberts after receiving an advance payment. About two months later it was publicly known that the furloughs were worthless and Todd refunded the deposit. Roberts was in fact arrested as a deserter despite the “furlough.”

John W. Todd himself attested on 25 March 1864 that in December 1863 three Williamson County men came to him and said they had been forced into the 128th against their wishes. They wanted to petition for their release. Todd told the men he would see Capt. T[homas] Evans, whom he believed to be a deputy provost marshal living near South Pass in Union County, or would see Provost Mashal Isaac Phillips, both of whom he knew. Evans, with Capt. Gibbs of the 16th Illinois Cavalry, had made his headquarters at Todd’s house in the summer of 1863. Todd met Thomas J. Evans at South Pass. Evans said the best way to proceed was to give the men furloughs so they would not be arrested while Evans investigated. Furloughs were issued to E[lijah] M. Ford of Co. H, to John W. Sullivan of Co. I, to Marcus Brady [Marquis Bradily] of Co. D, and to A[ndrew] J. Rader and J[asper] N. Conl[e]y of Co. E.[[48]](#footnote-48) Todd said he delivered affidavits of eight or ten men to Evans and paid Evans $100 for expenses which he, Todd, had collected from the men. Todd testified that he had no conversations with Provost Marshal Isaac Phillips.

There were southern sympathizers in the 128th. Charles Goodall’s activities both before enlisting and his efforts with John Cunningham after the 128th was disbanded supports the conclusion. The treachery of George Akin makes it absolutely clear. Capt. Hiram Idding, Provost Marshal of the 10th Indiana District, reported in a letter dated 19 April 1865 that Michael and David Stall of Co. F of the 128th of their desertion, “They found after then went to Camp that the Regiment was of strong copperhead proclivities, and that it was unsafe for a true loyal man to speak his sentiments.” For that reason they went home. The Stalls’ assertions are self-serving and must be taken with a grain of salt, but there is no doubt some truth in them. Idding’s letter includes statements that demonstrates the false rumors circulating about the 128th: “…most of them deserted and went over to the rebels, and the Colonel was cashiered for disloyalty.” There is no record of any man in the 128th joining the Confederate army and Col. Hundley was discharged based on the reduction in the regiment largely by desertions and the want of discipline.

Joshua G. Pemberton was the captain of Company K from Saline County, which was recruited for a different regiment and had no apparent connection to the pro-southern sympathizers connected with the formation of the 128th. He testified in support of the unsuccessful pension application of Clem Bundy,

…sd Affiant would State that a great many men belonging to the 128 Illinois was disloyal and deserted being encouraged by disloyal officers but aff[i]ant declares that said Bundy was always loyal and a true soldier during the time of his service and was simply refused muster on account of a severe and painful attack of inflammatory of Rheumatism and should not be [illeg] a deserter….[[49]](#footnote-49)

Pemberton was certainly in a position to assess the loyalty of men in the regiment and their officers, although like many strong pro-Union men he may have been biased against those who had expressed some support for the South or reservations about Lincoln’s course of action.

Many of the men in the 128th were loyal to the Union. The men transferred to the 9th and 31st were heavy action under Grant and later Sherman. The Adjutant General’s Report states in the history of the 9th Illinois Infantry,

On the 6th of August [1863], by reason of an order issued by Major General Hurlbut, commanding the Sixteenth Army Corps, a detachment of the One Hundred and Twenty-eight Infantry numbering 103 men was consolidated with the Ninth, adding to the efficient strength of the regiment. These men were assigned to different companies and proved themselves brave men and true, and in many warm conflicts showed themselves to be good soldiers [AdjGen1, p. 461].[[50]](#footnote-50)

As noted above, there is also evidence of the loyalty of apart from military records. Smith H. Dorris voted for John Bell, the Constitutional Union candidate for president and his brother, Josiah M. Dorris, named a son after Bell. Before enlisting Chaplain Archibald T. Benson cast the only dissenting vote when the public meeting passed pro-southern resolutions. As noted above, non-commissioned officers were broken to the ranks. The was without an assessment of their performance or loyalty. A number of these men were subsequently promoted back as non-commissioned officers in the 9th Illinois Infantry:

**Name Rank in 128th Later Rank**

Cover, Samuel Q.M. Sgt., F&S[[51]](#footnote-51) Q.M. Sgt., F& S, 9th Ill. Inf.

Dillard, William Cpl, Co. A Cpl., Co. E, 9th Ill. Inf.

Slater, William H. 1st Sgt., Co. B 1st Sgt., Co. B, 9th Ill. Inf.

Heflin, James Cpl., Co. B Cpl., Co. D & F, 9th Ill. Inf.

Odom, Archibald Cpl., Co. B Cpl., Co. D, 9th Ill. Inf.

Odom, Thomas Cpl., Co. B Cpl., Co. A, 9th Ill. Inf.

Smith, Isaac 1st Sgt., Co. C 2nd Lt., Co. I & D, 9th Ill. Inf.

Smith, James Cpl., Co. C Cpl., Co. D, 9th Ill. Inf.

Jordan, Bluford Cpl., Co. C Cpl., Co. H & C, 9th Ill. Inf.

Rumage, John H. Cpl., Co. E Sgt., Co. K & B, 9th Ill. Inf.

Grider, James V. Sgt., Co. F Sgt., Co. F, 31st Ill. Inf.

Felts, William H. Cpl., Co. F Sgt., Co. A, 9th Ill. Inf.

Abney, Francis Marion Cpl., Co. H Cpl., Co. E & F, 9th Ill. Inf.

Edmonson, Thomas A. Cpl., Co. I Sgt., Co. E & F, 9th Ill. Inf.

Woolard, John R. Sgt., Co. K Cpl., Co. E, 9th Ill. Inf.

Jones, James T. Sgt., Co. K Cpl,, Co. F, E, 9th Ill. Inf.

Burks, Alvis G. Cpl., Co. K Cpl., Co., F, 9th Ill. Inf.

Smith, Rolla/Rolley Cpl., Co. K Cpl., Co., B & D, 9th Ill. Inf.

Archibald T. Benson summed up that matter well. Milo Erwin quoted him as saying, “That there were men in this regiment who would have turned their guns against the government I have no doubt, but the majority of them would have made as good soldiers as lived, under favorable circumstances [Erwin, p. 279].”

**Aftermath**

Some of the men who played an active role in support for the South in the early 1860’s did not live long enough to have impact late in the War or after it ended. Lt. Col. John H. White was killed in action at Ft. Donelson. William S. Morris, Lorenzo D. Hartwell, and Joseph B. Kuykendall wrote in ***History: 31st Regiment Illinois Volunteers*** that when the Confederates attempted a breakout at Ft. Donelson the Union right started to give way. The 31st was taken under enfilade fire. Logan having been severely wounded, Lt. Col. John H. White directed a change in front and was and was killed in action [p. 37].[[52]](#footnote-52) Henry C. Hopper remained a Democrat. He died on 22 August 1866, aged 27 years, 5 months, and is buried Aikman cemetery, Marion, Williamson County, Illinois. He and his wife Nannie share a tombstone. She was aged 19 years, 8 months, and 9 days. According to a posting at ancestry.com, they died of cholera contracted at a Democratic convention held at Cairo. Lt. Col. James D. Pulley, listed by Daniel Brush as advocating that Southern Illinois join the Confederacy, continued to be active in Democratic politics after his discharge from the 128th [Erwin, p. 252-253]. His tombstone in the Rose Hill Cemetery in Marion gives his death as on 1 January 1866. He was 39.

Other men left Southern Illinois. Capt. Thorndike Brooks of the Illinois Company was promoted to Lt. Col. of the 15th Tennessee Infantry. He commanded the regiment while Col. Robert C. Tyler recovered from a serious wound received at Shiloh [Gleeson, pp. 87-90]. He returned to his native Maryland after the War. Lt. Hibert Cunningham was promoted to Capt. of the Illinois Company. He subsequently deserted and was with troops of the Union 15th Corps as a sutler. Gov. Yates commissioned him as a captain at the request of Gen. John A. Logan [Jones, pp. 201, 211]. He lived in Mississippi after the war. Sgt. Frank Metcalf was cited for distinguished service at Belmont, rallied men at Shiloh to prevent a successful counterattack by Sherman’s regiment, and was color bearer for the 15th Tennessee Regiment at Perryville. In this last battle he sustained four wounds from shrapnel. He was then assigned to the Invalid Corp. After the war he returned to Graves County, Kentucky, where he had been raised.

Most men remained in Southern Illinois or returned after the War. Milo Erwin provides a brief account of what became of many of the others who were active in the election of 1860 and subsequently supported or were accused of supporting the South through 1876 [pp. 251-254]. W. Josh Allen continued to be active in Democratic politics, moving to Cairo and then Carbondale [p. 251]. He remained a Peace Democrat, unlike his former law partner John A. Logan. Allen served as a District Court judge for the Southern District of Illinois from 1887 until his death on 26 January 1901. John M. Cunningham, one of the “twelve apostles,” was appointed Provost Marshall of Utah Territory and died there in 1874. Col. Robert M. Hundley became a Republican after the war. George W. Goddard, one of the “twelve apostles,” became a War Democrat and was captain of Co. C of the 31st Illinois Infantry under Logan. He was mayor of Marion after the war. The Rev. Alexander C. Nelson, one of those seized when habeas corpus was suspended, remained a Democrat and continued to preach the Gospel.

The Democratic leadership in Southern Illinois was controlled by peace Democrats in 1864, somewhat like the national Democratic leadership. The Democratic Party Platform included,

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view of an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

W.J. “Josh” Allen ran for re-election in 1864. His opponent was Andrew J. Kuykendall of Vienna, a War Democrat who served as the major of the 31st Illinois Infantry under Logan and had turned Republican. Republican Brig. Gen. Richard Oglesby resigned his commission to run for governor. Logan denied favoring either party but spoke strongly in support of the Union when home on medical leave after the fall of Vicksburg in 1863. He endorsed Kuykendall, Oglesby, and Lincoln. All three carried Southern Illinois, although George McClellan carried more Southern Illinois counties than Lincoln. The Peace Democrats in Southern Illinois, which included men who had previously taken pro-South positions, were losing touch with the many their constituents.

John A. Logan returned to civilian life and ran for the at-large seat in Congress in 1866. The Democrats to some extent adjusted their appeal. They nominated T. Lyle Dickey, who had raised and served as colonel of the 4th Illinois Cavalry. Logan took that radical Republican position that the Confederate leaders has committed treason, should be disenfranchised, and barred from holding office.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Logan went on to attack the Democratic Party:

The Copperheads, or, as they call themselves, the Democrats—and I am willing they should have that name if they prefer it, because I really can’t see the difference between the two names since this war began—are opposed to this provision in the Constitution [p. 11].

He even the quoted this plank of the 1864 Democratic Party Platform cited above on 28 September in a debate with Dickey at Carbondale [***Chicago Tribune***, 1 October 1866, p. 1]. The ***Chicago Tribune*** also branded Dickey a copperhead, not withstanding that he compiled a respectable service record in the Union cavalry as a colonel [for example, see 30 September 1866, p. 2; 12 October 1866, p. 2].

Logan himself was attacked by his former allies. Josh Allen went so far as to claim that Logan attempted to bring about the secession of Southern Illinois [Jones, p. 281]. The ***Cairo Democrat*** said that Logan “…wrote a letter introducing a friend of his, who desired to join the southern army, to a rebel general;…[and he joined the army because] democrats ought to get control of bayonets.”[[54]](#footnote-54) The ***Chester Picket Guard*** took aim on 12 September 1866 at “…that low, vulgar, dirty and hypocritical Logan. Maggots would sicken on him. [see Jones, p. 279].” This appeal to Democrats that Logan was a turncoat and to Republicans that Logan was unreliable had some success in the election of 1866. Logan carried Williamson Co., but lost Hamilton, Gallatin, Saline, and Franklin. He won the state by 56,000 votes out of over 350,000 cast. The election of 1866, however, underscored the depth of the bitterness that remained.

1. Southern Illinois as defined by the Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois. If one more row of counties to the north is included as being in Southern Illinois, Lincoln carried four of 34 counties. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Lincoln and Yates both carried Madison and Bond Counties in 1860, as well as St. Clair and Edwards Counties. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008604125 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Gleeson, Ed: ***Illinois Rebels*** (1996), p. 4. See Jones, James Pickett: ***Black Jack: John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era*** (1967), pp. 71-73 for an account of this speech and the reaction to it. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Gleeson states these were the only men present [Gleeson, p. 4]. John M. Cunningham was the father of Hibert Cunningham and father-in-law of John A. Logan. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <https://archive.org/details/confederateveter16conf/page/224/mode/1up> . Frank Metcalf (1836-1917) was a resident of Jackson County and himself a strong supporter of the South, as will be seen below. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. [www.google.com/books/edition/History\_of\_Williamson\_County\_Illinois/zSkzAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1](http://www.google.com/books/edition/History_of_Williamson_County_Illinois/zSkzAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1)

   Erwin (1847-1894) was too young to be actively involved the events. He wrote in the preface, “As I have not undertaken to invent facts, of course, I had to draw from many sources, especially our old men…. [p. viii]. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Prentiss commanded state troops that were taken into federal service as the 10th Illinois Infantry (3 months). Prentiss commission as the colonel commanding the 10th was effective 22 April 1861. He was later promoted to Brigadier General and Major General. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiuo.ark:/13960/t2v41x98x&view=1up&seq=11&skin=2021> Brush stated that he knew Abraham Lincoln personally and was confident that he would do right but supported John Bell. He felt that Bell would compromise to preserve the Union and allow the South to keep its slaves [pp. 241-242]. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The O&M Railroad ran through the counties that are in the northern-most tier of Southern Illinois, as defined by the Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois. It roughly followed the route of Route 50 and the CSX tracks today but did not turn south just before East St. Louis. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Daniel Harmon Brush Papers, 1813-1890, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, p. 197. I am indebted to Christopher A. Schnell, Ph.D., Manuscripts Curator at the Library, for information from the original memoirs. The spelling and abbreviations are preserved from the manuscript with given names completed in brackets. Brush identified W.J. Allen and Jeff Allen as brothers and J.M. and R.M. Morgan as brothers. “P. Master” does not seem to indicate that Tim Corder was a postmaster. In 1862 no Corder was a postmaster in the United States and no John Gillett were postmasters in the Illinois in 1862. P. Master is not found on the 1860 census in Southern Illinois. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The only Clarkson found in Jackson, Williamson, or an adjacent county on the 1860 census was John W. Clarkson of Jackson County, aged 30, and born in Delaware. Unlike other men whose given names are added in brackets, Clarkson has not been found participating in other pro-South activities [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. William M. Eubanks was Orderly Sergeant later lieutenant under Capt. John M. Cunningham in the Mexican War [The Goodspeed ***History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties, Illinois*** (hereafter ***Goodspeed***) (1887), p. 488]. Robert M. Hundley and Daniel B. Pulley were 2nd lieutenants in this company. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Logan’s statement is sometimes quoted without the qualification, “…unless it was to sustain the Government….” [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. <https://www.google.com/books/edition/American_Bastille/PTZEAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1> for 1876 edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Cunningham was a captain in the Mexican war and sometimes referred to as Capt. Cunningham. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. On 7 November they would see action at the Battle of Belmont. Co. G was one of about four companies of the 15th that did not flee in confusion. They attacked, striking the 31st Illinois Infantry under Col. John A. Logan. Lt. Hibert B. Cunningham, was a son of John M. Cunningham and brother-in-law of Col. John A. Logan. Gleeson states that both men of Co. G and of the 31st knew they were facing men from the same area [Gleeson, p. 37]. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The ***Cairo Democrat*** made these as well as less plausible accusations, saying that Logan “…wrote a letter introducing a friend of his, who desired to join the southern army, to a rebel general;…[and he joined the army because] democrats ought to get control of bayonets.” This was reported in ***The Rock Island Argus***, 10 August 1866, p. 2. It was common at the time for one paper to report and even quote what was in other newspapers. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Logan, John A.: “Speech of Major-General John A. Logan on Return to Illinois after the Capture of Vicksburg,” reported by “Mack” of the Cincinnati Commercial (1863), esp. p. 8. The remark about certain men grown too large for the boots stood out. ***Daily Missouri Democrat,*** 1 August 1863, reported this [copy of article reproduced in Cottingham, Carl D., Preston Michael Jones, & Gary W. Kent, General John A. Logan: His Life and Times (1989), p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Mary Logan, born in 1838, referred to Sanders (1824-1891) as the old fifer and said that Sanders from the same regiment as her husband in the Mexican War without providing his given name. She named the drummer as Gabriel Cox. Service records show the name of fifer as Luke R. Sanders and he was in the same company as Logan until transferred to John M. Cunningham’s Company in the same Regiment. Mary Logan said that her husband was not aware that Sanders would be present. When he saw Sanders, he broke down and wept. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The total is from number for each of the Southern Illinois counties in The Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois: ***Illinois Military Units in the Civil War*** (1962), pp. 5-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. These documents include letters between John Logan and his wife Mary in the Logan Manuscripts, Mary Logan, “Sketch of General John A. Logan,” manuscript in Library of Congress, and a letter from R.J. Wheatley to Gov. Yates, Yates Manuscripts. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Pvt. William Roswell VanCleve, serving in Co. F, 31st Illinois infantry from 31 August 1861 until his transfer to the Invalid Corps on 27 October 1863. Sgt. Volney N. VanCleave, serving in Co. H, 60th Illinois Infantry from 17 February 1862 until his death in service from disease on 22 March 1862. Wilson Frost VanCleave’s son-in-law, Pvt. Samuel Hines, husband of Malinda, served in Co. K, 120th Illinois Infantry. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Merrill was Joseph W. Merrill of Neponset, Bureau County, Illinois. He was an officer of the 27th Illinois infantry and resigned in 1863 with rank of captain. His unit, rank, and service as provost marshal are mentioned in a letter dated 1 April 1863 concerning his resignation and discharge (Special Collections and Archives, Southeast Missouri State University). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. The affidavit in the Chicago Tribune says “indirectly;” the reporter’s story said “directly” [26 August 1862, p. 2]. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. The affidavit was published on 26 August 1862 along with one other affidavit with the name of the affiant redacted [p. 2]. Affidavits by Joseph T. Williams, William W. Russell, William C. Stover, John W. Bandy (not Bundy), Ezra Burdick, and Nathaniel Cox of Williamson Co. as well as George Meyers were also published in the article. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Erwin said the Union League numbered over 1,200 members in 1864 [p. 66]. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. The 18th Illinois Infantry was a Southern Illinois unit (***AdjGen2***, pp. 64-97). It was established for the 9th Congressional District and rendezvoused at Anna on 16 May 1861. It mustered into state service for 30 days and on 28 May was mustered into federal service. Daniel H. Brush of Carbondale raised Co. K largely in Jackson County and was its first captain. Brush would rise to the rank of colonel commanding the regiment and was discharged with a rank of brevet brigadier general. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. In the article the name is initially given as “Williamson” but says it was signed “Williams,” The 1860 census shows that a Joseph Williams but not a Joseph Williamson resided in Williamson Co. [p. 923]. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. This section includes material from my ***Sinks Update: 1980***, an update to Sinks, John D. & Karen M. Cain: ***Sinks: A Family History*** (1979). Although no Sinks descendants were in the 128th, members of allied families were, These included Great-great grandfather Sgt. John R. Woolard (Co. K), and Great-great-great granduncle Pvt. Clem Bundy (Co. K), Great-great granduncles Pvt. William G. Anderson (Co. K), Lt. Josiah M., Sgt. John W., Cpl. Smith H. Dorris (Co. B), and Sgt. Wiley, Cpl. Archibald, and Cpl. Thomas Odom (Co. B), and Pvt. Charles and Pvt. Richard Goodall (Co. E), along with other relatives by blood or marriage were in the 128th. I have expanded this meterial significantly to address a wider audience than branches of the Sinks family. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Lt. George William Hill of the 13th Illinois Infantry and assigned to the Mustering and Disbursing Office wrote on 9 October 1862 that the 128th was still short of men and would need to recruit [Regimental Records of the 128th Illinois Infantry, National Archives]. This probably explains the presence of men from outside Southern Illinois, especially in Co. I. Nine men from Lawrence County were listed as recruits in Co. D. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Probably J.M. Lewis, aged 36 and a resident of the Marion School District in Williamson County on the 1860 census, p. 809. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The number 132nd was later used 1864 for a regiment of 100-day men. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Blackman says that Waters company was assigned to the 118th Illinois Regiment, but Waters did not become the captain. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Benson’s name is incorrectly listed as “Benker” in AdjGen6, p. 516. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiuo.ark:/13960/t38056d2t&view=1up&seq=9&skin=2021 [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Rogers was a first cousin of William Wesley Dorris of Co. B. Albert Rogers was the son of James and Elizabeth (Dorris) Rogers. William Wesley Dorris was the son of William Barker and Harriet Newell (Beasley) Dorris. Their common grandparents were John and Phebe (Culbertson) Dorris. William Epps Pickard of Co. B was married to Harriet Drucilla Dorris, a sister of William Wesley Dorris. William Wesley Dorris was also the first cousin of William R. Dorris of Co. B, son of Josiah J. and Elizabeth (Frey) Dorris and grandson of John and Phebe (Culbertson) Dorris. William Wesley Dorris was double first cousins with Lt. Josiah M. Dorris, Sgt. John W. Dorris, and Cpl. Smith H. Dorris of Co. B. They were sons of Simpson L. and Nancy (Beasley) Dorris. Nancy and Harriet Nuel Beasley were daughters of Emsley and Cynthia (Cain) Beasley. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. The pension examiner concluded that John W. Dorris had weak or sore eyes before entering service, which Dorris disputed. Testimony showed his eyes were red while sick in service and he had eye trouble after his discharge. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. <https://www.fold3.com/search?keywords=illinois;128th+illinois+infantry&place~=illinois:%22illinois%22&> military.conflict=US+Civil+War&general.title.id=24:Civil+War+%22Widows%27+Pensions%22&offset=50

    Deaths at Cairo and Mound City were at a General or Regimental Hospital. Where entries for a soldier are incomplete the widow’s file was consolidated with the file for dependent children. Those files are not on-line. Many soldiers died with more than one ailment. Sometimes an ailment contracted before the immediate cause of death is also listed. Different witnesses would sometimes differ on the cause and/or date of death. The list above includes initial ailments and ailments reported by different witnesses. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. From ***Roll of Honor, Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defense of the American Union***, Vol. 9 (1966), p. 74. The surname is spelled “Arterberry,” with the regiment as the 128th. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. https://www.mihp.org/2012/12/128th-illinois-infantry-regimental-history/#comment-2999 [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Ensmiger’s pension was approved despite the fact that he was ordered to be discharged with other officers, effective 3 April 1863. His application number is 516,332 and certificate number is 4590,755. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Sickness was a common problem in the Civil War and took more soldier’s lives than combat. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. J.M. Clemenson was living in Williamson County at the time of the 1860 census, had been involved in some pro-South activities, and had been arrested. He was aged 26 and born in the District of Columbia according to the census. His occupation was listed as an attorney, and he was the States Attorney for the 26th Judicial Circuit. The Illinois Civil War and Descriptive rolls (<https://apps.ilsos.gov/isaveterans/civilmustersrch.jsp>) do not show a Clemson, Clemison, Clemeson, Cleminson, Clemenson, Clemintson, or Clementson with a given name beginning with “J” in any Illinois regiment. (A limitation of this website is that one must spell names as recorded in the system. Many names were spelled different ways. Other examples are “Pulley” and “Pully,” “Woolard” and “Wollard,” and “Benson” and “Benker.”) Clemenson was at Goodall’s Bridge with Pulley and active in opposing the Lincoln administration. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Two men on this list are not found in the Adjutant General’s Report: James Sperry and John Riggs. The list does not include men deserters who were found unfit for duty, such as Charles Goodall. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Medical records in Charles Goodall’s pension file leave little doubt about the severity of the Mexican War wound. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. The late Gayle Gwendolyne “Gwen” Burgess told me that she had been given the brass buttons cut from the uniform of her great grandfather, Josiah M. Dorris. These heirlooms were sold when her father died. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. As noted in brackets, there were spelling and company difference between the affidavit and the ***Adj. Gen. Report***. All of the men were from Williamson County except Sullivan, who was from Vienna in Johnson County. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Clem Bundy testified that broke a rib when his horse fell and suffered from rheumatism from exposure about the same time. According to testimony, he was sent home by the regimental surgeon, Dr. Samuel A. Hamilton. (No record of Hamilton’s service or this order releasing Bundy from service have been found. Bundy was classified as a deserter and denied a pension. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Records of the men are found in the 9th Illinois Infantry (Consolidated), rather than in the 9th Illinois Infantry in the Adjutant General’s Report even though the consolidation occurred well after their transfer into the 9th. There is a discrepancy between 105 men ordered into the detachment and 103 men transferred into the 9th. The discharge of 27 men for medical reasons makes the discrepancy even larger. Perhaps 25 deserters were added to the detachment. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. F&S = Field and Staff. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. The authors note the assessment of Confederate Gen. Gideon J. Pillow of this action: “…he declared on that day that ‘had it not been for that regiment of regulars clothed in short blue jackets he would have made a Bull Run of it.’ Pillow was mistaken. We were not regulars, but did wear blue pea jackets and barred his passage to the Charlotte road [p. 41].” [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Logan, John A.: “The Great Speech of Hon. John A. Logan at Cairo, Ill., June 30, 1866” Chicago Tribune Campaign Document No. 1. <https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/sic_scrcper/id/20904> [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. This was reported in ***The Rock Island Argus***, 10 August 1866 [p. 2]. It was common at the time for one paper to report and even quote what was in other newspapers. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)