This is a paper written by a history graduate student. Their faculty mentor was Professor Michael Magliari. Though formatted slightly differently for this journal, the style guide used for this paper was Kate L. Turabian's Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, which is typical of papers in this discipline and utilizes footnotes.

"This Happened in a Matter of a Single Generation": New York to Chico, the Life of Civil War Veteran Charles H. Lindsley, 1841-1932

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Introduction

Although historians continuously dispute the boundaries of time periods and historical eras, most can agree that the turn of the twentieth century marked a stark departure from not only the previous hundred years of human history but all of human history. Eric Hobsbawm contends that the four decades between 1875 and 1914 were "the most revolutionary ever experienced by the human race."[1] In the United States, this observation can easily be extended to include the prosperous yet turbulent decades of the Jacksonian and Antebellum Eras (c. 1828-1850) where the contours of modern government, federal institutions, and electioneering campaigns began to form.[2] Furthermore, the questions posed during the secession crisis and the subsequent American Civil War and Reconstruction also proved revolutionary. As Stephanie McCurry and countless other Civil War historians have pointed out, the war against the seceding Southern states ushered in dramatic transformations in all aspects of American life including but not limited to gender roles, the rise of American nationalism, and the increasing power of the federal government.[3] To be sure, the entire world transformed during the nineteenth century. For the first time since the emergence of non-nomadic cultures, "the world population was ceasing to consist of people who lived by agriculture and livestock."[4] In the wake of this paradigm shift, countries of the world became urban, industrialized, and globally connected. More surprisingly still, "this happened in a matter of a single generation."[5]

Among the plethora of Americans who experienced such transformations within their lifetime stands Charles Hammond Lindsley who continuously found himself moving west from his birthplace in New York, chasing economic opportunities in agricultural production, and ultimately spending his final years in a burgeoning modern city in California. Along the way, he directly and indirectly engaged with the emerging modern society: he volunteered for service in the Union army, contributed to the economy as a producer of raw goods, purchased bonds, and established a family who benefitted from his willingness to ensure their success. Furthermore, Lindsley appears to have done well for himself throughout his life. He managed to acquire property everywhere he lived and eventual-

1 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, Reprint edition (New York: Vintage, 1989), 335.
2 Harry L. Watson makes this case throughout his seminal work *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*, 2nd edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), however the "big picture" is especially apparent in the "Introduction" and concluding chapter, "The Second American Party System."
3 Stephanie McCurry's *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, Reprint edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012); Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 2002); Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: Univ Press of Kansas, 2000); Susan Mary Grant and Peter J. Parish, eds., *Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the American Civil War*, First edition (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2003); Richard Beeman, *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*, ed. Edward C. Carter II and Stephen Botein (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 1987).
4 Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 335.
5 Ibid.

ly settled in Chico, California as a "retired capitalist."[6] Charles Lindsley was one of the millions in his generation who refused to sit idle while the world transitioned to modernity, opting instead to seize opportunities as they materialized in the hope of facilitating advancement and prosperity in the process.

William and Lydia Lindsley gave birth to their second son, Charles, in Madison County, New York in 1841. Although descriptions of the child do not exist, the recruiting officer who inspected twenty-three-year-old Charles after he volunteered for the army described him as having black hair, grey eyes, and a dark complexion.[7] Young Charles moved with his parents and two older siblings, Harriet and Lucien, to Wisconsin about three years after his birth.[8] In 1850, the Lindsley family resided in Brookfield where they maintained a farm. It was a good decade to live in the area; beginning in 1847, the Milwaukee and Waukesha Railroad Company (later renamed the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad in 1850) busied themselves with linking Milwaukee's railroad network south to Mississippi. In doing so, they ran railroad tracks through the town of Brookfield and built a depot at its junction. This allowed the region to prosper as farmers gained invaluable access to speedy transit which aided commerce and the expansion of the township.[9]

By 1860, the Lindsley family moved approximately forty-five miles northwest to the Beaver Dam township of Dodge County, Wisconsin. At nineteen years old, Charles undoubtedly helped his father and mother with household chores and maintaining the family farm.[10] While precise documentation for the work he performed is unavailable, the isolation of farms in rural Wisconsin necessitated self-sufficiency and required the productive capabilities of all family members.[11] In 1860, Dodge County boasted 235,642 acres of improved farmland. Farmers in the area produced 1,460,744 bushels of wheat, 856,221 pounds of butter, 49,391 pounds of cheese, and raised $1,069,933 worth of livestock. They also cultivated other staple crops such as barley, rye, Indian corn, and Irish potatoes.[12]

The Lindsley family appears to have enjoyed a decent standard of living. For example, whether planned or not, William and Lydia Lindsley managed to give birth to eight healthy children within the span of twenty-two years; only one child, Martha, did not live past fifteen.[13] Although William only reported $100 in the "value of personal estate" section of the 1860 census, he valued his property at $4,000. In comparison, of the five properties listed after William's farm,

6 *Oroville Daily Register*, July 2, 1913.
7 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1850, Census Place: Brookfield, Waukesha, Wisconsin, Roll: M432_1009; page: 433A; United States. Department of War. Enlistment Papers. Year 1865, Enlistment Place: Winnebago, Faribault, Minnesota, National Archives, provides a description of Charles at age 23.
8 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1850, Census Place: Brookfield, Waukesha, Wisconsin, Although the document does not include the date of arrival, we can reasonably conclude that the family moved to Brookfield about three years after 1841 because all of Charles' siblings were recorded as being born in New York except for Nancy Jane (age five), Mary (age three), and Lydia A (age 6/12) who were all born in Wisconsin.
9 "About Brookfield | Brookfield, WI - Official Website," accessed October 3, 2019, http://www.ci.brookfield.wi.us/59/About-Brookfield.
10 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1860, Census Place: Beaver Dam, Dodge, Wisconsin, Roll: M653_1405; Page: 46, Charles and his siblings have "Domestic" listed under the Occupation category.
11 Percy W. Bidwell, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1925), 249.
12 United States Department of the Interior, Census Bureau, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 166-68.
13 "Charles H Lindsley - Facts," accessed September 19, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/7790064/person/280106320307/facts, contains a list of important events in Charles' life, his sister Martha was born in 1855 and died in 1870.

the census enumerator jotted $1,600 for the value of two and $1000 for the other three. Moreover, despite the tremendous amount of work that the Lindsley children potentially contributed to their family's farm, they all, with the exception of the youngest girl, attended school within the year of the census count.[14] William was undoubtedly fortunate to have two adult sons living at home to help cultivate crops, raise livestock, and bring the product to market. In the 1860s, competition in commercial agriculture was already becoming fierce.[15] The Lindsleys, like other farming families in the region, had to participate in this emerging market economy as well.

The natural fertility of Wisconsin soils, dependable wheat prices, and increasing access to interstate markets, especially those on the East coast, "made men a bit crazy" for wheat.[16] The focus on wheat production caused some contemporaries to describe Wisconsin wheat farmers as "wheat miners" rather than responsible agriculturalists. Although profitable, wheat mining, or the intensive cultivation of wheat, robbed the soil of its fertility in a few short years.[17] The decline of fertile soil coupled with harsh winters and outbreaks of *Blissus leucopterus* (chinch bugs) proved detrimental to farmers in Wisconsin; the bugs and the cold destroyed wheat crops while the soil continued to decline in productivity.[18] A viable wheat market nevertheless allowed farmers and land speculators to flip farms for a quick profit which consequently drove up the price of land in the state.[19]

Luckily, Wisconsin families created other sources of income from which to make ends meet if and when wheat failed. As mentioned above, they grew a variety of staple crops and maintained a considerable amount of livestock. Moreover, as Paul Reckner demonstrates through archeological excavations in nearby Racine County, some families in Wisconsin earned cash or payment in goods by housing travelers and their team of oxen and by running informal taverns in their homes.[20] Furthermore, while some participated in land speculation and farm flipping, farmers with an ear to the changing trends of the region slowly transitioned to dairy farming, consequently creating "America's Dairyland" in the process.[21] Those that could not stay competitive, maintain well-fed dairy stock, or afford the high price of land opted to continue moving west to newly admitted states.[22]

Minnesota was one such state that drew emigrants from the east and immigrants from abroad. It became an organized territory in 1849 and gained statehood in 1858, thanks in large part to the growing number of Europeans that moved there.[23] Undeniably, the availability of land attracted many newcomers, much to the chagrin of the local Dakota people that only a few years prior called the region home.[24] Like many people before him,

14 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1860, Census Place: Beaver Dam, Dodge, Wisconsin, Charles, his older brother Lucien (21 years old), sisters Jane (14), Mary (12), Lydia (10), Adelaide (7), and Martha (5) attended school. Adella (1) probably did not go to school because she was too young.

15 Bidwell, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, 308.

16 Edward Janus, *Creating Dairyland: How Caring for Cows Saved Our Soil, Created Our Landscape, Brought Prosperity to Our State, and Still Shapes Our Way of Life in Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2011), 6.

17 Ibid.

18 Bidwell, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, 330-32.

19 Janus, *Creating Dairyland*, 7.

20 Paul E. Reckner, "Investigating Farmstead Life in Nineteenth-Century Racine County," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 93, no. 2 (Winter, 2009), 43-44.

21 Norman K. Risjord, "From the Plow to the Cow," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, (Spring 2005), 42.

22 Bidwell, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, 1620-1860, 448.

23 Rhoda R. Gilman, "The History and Peopling of Minnesota: Its Culture," *Daedalus* 129, no. 3 (2000), 4.

24 Annette Atkins, "Facing Minnesota," *Daedalus*,

Charles H. Lindsley moved to Minnesota and established a farm of his own. He appears in the Minnesota census schedules as early as 1870. The exact date on which he migrated west is unknown. However, his Union Army enlistment papers indicate that he was already living in the state in January 1865.[25] Census schedules for 1870 and 1890 reveal that he married Juliette Gove in 1864.[26] Since he was newly married, Charles probably wanted to acquire land and build a home for his fledgling family. He may have decided to migrate to Minnesota over someplace in Wisconsin because it was more pragmatic to do so; land in Wisconsin was more expensive than in Minnesota even though the soil could produce the same variety of crops and was just as fertile. Although a lack of evidence makes it impossible to know exactly when or why he moved, the documents that provide information on his whereabouts pose a significant question regarding the Civil War; why did Charles volunteer for service so late in the war?

One possible answer to this question is that he stayed home to continue contributing labor to his father's farm. After he married Juliette, the high cost of land in Wisconsin forced him to look outside the state for cheaper property on which to root his budding family. Alternatively, he could have migrated to Minnesota shortly before the war erupted, or even sometime during the conflict, married Juliette, and spent his time establishing his farm. The latter scenario is interesting considering Minnesota's role in the war. The American Civil War officially began on April 15, 1861 as President Lincoln called for "75,000 volunteer soldiers to serve in conjunction with 10,000 regulars. . . for three months 'unless sooner discharged.'"[27] Minnesota answered the call immediately; through the actions of its Governor, Alexander Ramsey, it became the first state to volunteer citizens for the Union Army. Minnesotans, "from every occupied portion of the state," responded enthusiastically to the call and enlisted in droves.[28] Even if Charles was not in Minnesota in 1861, enthusiasm to enlist and "put down the rebellion on glorious fields of battle" existed in Wisconsin and throughout the Northwest.[29] The "Spirit of '61" described the rapturous feeling of patriotism that volunteers exuded as they enlisted for the required ninety days.[30]

Despite the enthusiasm, Charles Lindsley did not volunteer for service until January 28, 1865, just four months before the last battle of the war was fought at Palmito Ranch near Brownsville, Texas, and only seventy-eight days before Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered after the Battle of Appomattox Court House.[31] Regardless of when he moved to Minnesota, his decision to enlist may have been motivated by a need for income. Lindsley's muster rolls and enlistment contract indicate that the state paid him

2000, 34-36.

25 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1870, Census Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, Roll: T132_1; Page: 680; United States. Department of War. Enlistment Papers. January 28, 1865, Enlistment Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, National Archives.

26 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1900, Census Place: Morris, Stevens, Minnesota, Page: 7; Enumeration District: 0265; FHL microfilm: 1240793, indicates that Charles and Juliette were married for 36 years; United States. Census Bureau. Year 1870, Census Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, Roll: T132_1; Page: 680, is the first time Juliette is listed alongside Charles; United States. Department of War. Enlistment Papers. Year 1865, Enlistment Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, National Archives, demonstrates that Charles was already living in Shelby as early as January 28, 1865.

27 R. I. Holcombe et al., *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry*, 1861-1864 (Stillwater, Minnesota: Easton & Masterman Printers, 1916), 1.

28 Ibid., 3-5.

29 John Zimm, "This Wicked Rebellion: Wisconsin Civil War Soldiers Write Home," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 96, no. 2 (2012), 25.

30 Bruce Catton, *The Civil War*, Reprint edition (Boston: Mariner Books, 2004), 25.

31 Ibid., 304.

a bounty of $33.33, with $66.67 due to him at a later date, for one year of service.[32] Since he lived in Shelby and declared himself a farmer at the time of enlisting, it is likely that he already established a farm or was in the process of making it operational. The bounty he collected upon volunteering could serve to pay for whatever expenses he and Juliette potentially had.

Moreover, his decision could have also been influenced by the fact that the end of the war appeared imminent at the end of 1864.[33]In Mankato, the county seat of Blue Earth, the local newspaper reported on several Union victories against Confederate forces in December 1864.[34] *The St. Paul Press* in nearby Ramsey County similarly noted that the Union army was "confident of final success" as Confederate troops sought "safety in flight."[35] By December 29, the daily supplier of news in St. Paul announced that Union "armies [were] pressing forward with ceaseless and remorseless activity" and that "everywhere victory crowns [their] arms."[36] It continued reporting good news for the Union throughout January. On the twentieth, a week before Charles enlisted, *The St. Paul Press* printed a synopsis of the battle for Fort Fisher where the Union scored a major victory after it established a blockade on the Cape Fear River and effectively blocked "the only channel the rebels had left for the importation of munitions of war."[37] On the same day, it reported that two peace envoys from Alabama were rumored to have visited President Lincoln and that he "was giving his mind to. . . bring about a [peace] settlement."[38]

Charles, understanding that the end of the war was nigh, may have decided to volunteer for service to receive the enlistment bounty. If so, this episode demonstrates that Charles was pragmatic and opportunistic, traits that he maintained throughout his life. This is also evident considering that although Civil War soldiers often left the burden of farm work to their wives, Juliette potentially had support during the months that Charles was away. The 1870 census schedules demonstrate that Lucien, Charles' older brother, lived on the property neighboring his land.[39] His family from Wisconsin had also moved nearby.[40] The proximity of Charles' family suggests that they helped each other much like they did in Wisconsin. At that distance, Lucien and his wife, Seraph, could help Juliette with the farm or potentially provide food and other necessities if needed. Again, this shows pragmatism and a willingness to seize opportunities as they became available, attributes that Charles unknowingly shared with Americans experiencing the effects of modernization.

To be sure, the contours of modern life were already beginning to manifest in the lives of people living in the 1860s. Indeed, more people throughout the world attended school regularly which facilitated the growth of science and innovation.[41] Individuals every-

32 United States, Department of War, Enlistment Papers, Year 1865, Enlistment Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, (National Archives), January 28, 1865; United States, Department of War, Company Muster and Descriptive Roll, 1st Minnesota Heavy Artillery Battery F (National Archives), February 11, 1865.
33 Catton, *The Civil War*, 244-45.
34 *The Mankato Union*, December 2, 1864; December 16, 1864; December 30, 1864.
35 *St. Paul Press*, December 23, 1864.
36 Ibid., December 29, 1864.
37 Ibid., January 20, 1865.
38 Ibid.
39 United States, Department of the Interior, Census Bureau, Year 1870, Census Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota, Roll: T132_1; Page: 680; "Fold3 Search 'Lucien Lindsley,'" Fold3, accessed October 10, 2019, https://www.fold3.com/search-results?keywords=Lucien+Lindsley, Lucien does not appear to have enlisted for service during the Civil War.
40 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1870, Census Place: Sterling, Blue Earth, Minnesota, Roll: T132_1; Page: 714, although the exact date is not available, William, Lydia, and Charles' younger siblings moved to the area by 1870.
41 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1860, Census Place: Beaver Dam, Dodge, Wisconsin, Roll: M653_1405; Page: 46. Information regarding Charles

where created technologies that served to bring the world physically and perceptually closer. The shape of U.S. territory also began to form as the United States gained a large part of northern Mexico in 1848, bought Alaska from Russia in 1867, and welcomed several new states into the Union from 1850 to 1861.[42]

However, the inclusion of new states also reignited the debate over the expansion of slavery which consequently gave way to secession and the Civil War.[43] By the time Charles Lindsley volunteered for service on January 28, 1865, the largest and most bloody battles of both the Eastern and Western theater had already been fought. Ironically, however, the American Civil War began with a bloodless battle over the control of Fort Sumter, a brick stronghold located on an island near the mouth of Charleston Harbor.[44] Notwithstanding the clean start, the war did not remain bloodless for long. The first major battle took place on July 21, 1861 at a "high banked little stream that few men in either army had ever heard of, known locally as Bull Run."[45] The First Battle of Bull Run shattered all hopes and illusions both sides maintained regarding a quick end to the war and set the stage for the rest of the conflict. It demonstrated "that battles of this war would be bigger, more destructive, and more deadly than anything Americans had ever experienced."[46] It also forced both sides of the conflict to hurriedly build war machines and transition their respective societies to sustain the war effort.[47] The death toll climbed steadily after the First Bull Run. During the Battle of Gettysburg, for example, over 50,000 Yankee and Rebel soldiers were wounded, missing, or killed; the highest casualty count from any individual battle of the war.[48] Moreover, although conservative estimates suggest that the war claimed 620,000 total causalities, J. David Hacker believes the total to be closer to 750,000.[49]

Taking the number of casualties into consideration, Charles' decision to enlist when he did seems more rational. In January 1865, he traveled less than fifteen miles to Winnebago from his home in Shelby to volunteer for the Union Army. In doing so, he agreed "to serve as a soldier in the Army of the United States of America" and swore to "obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over [him]."[50] From Winnebago, he reported to St. Paul, Minnesota for inspection. The examining surgeon declared him "free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity" and the recruiting officer accepted him "as duly qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier."[51] He was assigned to Battery F of the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery Regiment and mustered into service on February 11,

Lindsley's education is sparse. However, the 1860 census indicates that Charles was still attending school at nineteen years old.

42 Ibid., 136, the new states added include California (1850), Minnesota (1858), Oregon (1859), Nevada (1864), and Kansas (1861).

43 Catton, *The Civil War*, 10-18.

44 Ibid., 24.

45 L. Van L. Naisawald, "Bull Run: The Artillery and the Infantry," *Civil War History 3*, no. 2 (1957), 163-64.

46 "Historians' Forum: The First Battle of Bull Run," *Civil War History 57*, no. 2 (July 3, 2011), 113.

47 Ibid., 115.

48 "Civil War Casualties," American Battlefield Trust, November 16, 2012, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-casualties; Catton, *The Civil War*, 157.

49 J. David Hacker, Civil War Death Toll May Be Really Off, interview by Robert Siegel, Public Radio via NPR, May 29, 2012, https://www.npr.org/2012/05/29/153937334/professor-civil-war-death-toll-may-be-really-off; J. David Hacker, "Has the Demographic Impact of Civil War Deaths Been Exaggerated?," *Civil War History 60*, no. 4 (2014): 453–58; "Civil War Death Toll Rises Dramatically," *American History 47*, no. 3 (August 2012), 12.

50 United States, Department of War, Enlistment Papers, Year 1865, Enlistment Place: Winnebago, Faribault, Minnesota (National Archives).

51 Ibid.

1865.[52] On March 1, Major General George Henry Thomas dispatched Charles and the rest of Battery F to Chattanooga, Tennessee "for duty with the garrison thereof."[53] Before doing so however, Charles and the rest of the volunteers had to transform from civilians to soldiers. During the Civil War, training for recruits "started when companies formed into regiments."[54] A new soldier's day typically "began with early morning reveille and breakfast, followed by two to three hours of squad and company drill until noon," and resumed in the mid-afternoon "on a battalion level until around five."[55] Charles and Battery F spent just over three weeks training before traveling to Tennessee to fulfill their assignment.

At Chattanooga, Battery F joined the rest of the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery who were permanently stationed there since November 21, 1864.[56] The city's position on the Tennessee River just south of the Cumberland Mountains guaranteed its importance for the Confederacy and the Union. Even before the start of the Civil War, contemporaries described Chattanooga as the "Key to Tennessee" and the "Gateway to the Deep South."[57] Union occupation of Chattanooga began immediately after the Army of Tennessee abandoned the city on September 9, 1863.[58] Making use of the infrastructure the Confederacy established while it garrisoned the city from 1861 to 1863, Union troops retreated to Chattanooga after suffering a "bloody defeat at Chickamauga."[59] They held the city through a twenty-nine-day siege in October and then gained control of surrounding strongholds during the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge in November 1863. While besieged, the starving troops "razed houses and felled virtually all the trees of the town to create an unbroken line of fire."[60]

After the Battle of Chattanooga, Confederate sympathizers poured out of the city as Union forces prepared to camp for the winter. Conditions in the city became grim during the siege and although the U.S. military worked quickly to repair railroad lines and resupply the population, conditions did not improve until the following year.[61] One citizen complained that "there was no Sunday school. . . no stores open, no markets of any kind" and that "the town was white with tents; soldiers' tents, sutlers' [sic] tents" and "tents for. . . 'Freedmen.'"[62] Union soldiers built warehouses on the riverfront to store supplies and appropriated vacant lots to enclose livestock. Once supplies trickled in via the railroad or Tennessee's waterways, they established a national cemetery, helped renowned Unionist James R. Hood reestablish his newspaper, the *Chattanooga Gazette*, held formal dances,

52 United States, Department of War, Muster and Descriptive Roll, 1st Minnesota Heavy Artillery Battery F, February 11, 1865.
53 United States, Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I, vol. XLIX part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 806.
54 Mark A. Weitz, "Drill, Training, and the Combat Performance of the Civil War Soldier: Dispelling the Myth of the Poor Soldier, Great Fighter," *The Journal of Military History 62*, no. 2 (1998), 272.
55 Ibid., 273.
56 United States, Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion*, I, vol. LII Part II, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 662.
57 James R. Sullivan, *Chickamauga and Chattanooga Battlefields: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Georgia-Tennessee*, Historical Handbook Series (Washington, D.C: United States National Park Service 1956), 2.
58 Josh Smith, "The Chattanooga Campaign: Death of the Confederacy" (M.A., Minnesota State University, Mankato, 2013), 38-39; Sullivan, *Chickamauga and Chattanooga Battlefields*, 9; Smith, "Death of the Confederacy," 56.
59 Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, "Chattanooga Under Military Occupation, 1863-1865," *Journal of Southern History 17*, no. 1 (February 1951), 24.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., 26.
62 Ibid., 24-25.

and tried to maintain friendly relations with civilians.[63]

Although living conditions continued to improve through 1864, the city remained on high alert as rumors circled that the Confederacy planned a large-scale attack to recapture the city. Union forces had "reason for anxiety" as they anticipated Confederate General John Bell Hood's movement through Tennessee.[64] Civilians and the soldiers stationed at Chattanooga feared that Hood would attempt to take the city as he made his way to Nashville where his forces would link with General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia to delay the result of the war. The Confederate threat to the city thus warranted the creation and deployment of a heavy artillery unit.[65] By the time Charles Lindsley arrived in Chattanooga with the rest of Battery F however, Hood was no longer a threat. From October to December 1864, the Army of Tennessee maneuvered northwest of the city toward Decatur and then north to Nashville where it suffered a crushing loss to "the Rock of Chickamauga," General Henry Thomas.[66] Despite the lack of threat from the Confederate armies, garrison duty in Chattanooga was not necessarily a walk in the park. Of the 150 men serving in Battery F, five died while stationed at Chattanooga. Even though the body count here is low, it is nonetheless surprising because Charles and the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery Regiment never saw combat.[67]

Jerry S. Sartin argues that the Civil war was "the last great armed conflict in the world fought without knowledge of the germ theory of disease."[68] As a result, disease caused roughly two-thirds of all deaths during the Civil War. Alfred J. Bollet likewise suggests that the "Federal army recorded approximately 6.5 million diagnosed episodes of illness" throughout the conflict.[69] Soldiers could come face to face with the "Third Army" of disease through a variety of ailments; bronchitis, smallpox, influenza, pneumonia, and erysipelas spread from person to person in camps; mites, lice, and ticks transmitted typhus and malaria; wounds sustained in battle developed gangrene and other fatal bacteria.[70] As Sartin explains however, "of all the adversities that Union and Confederate soldiers confronted, none was more deadly or more prevalent than contaminated water."[71] Fecal transmission of diarrhea, cholera, and typhoid proceeded without restraint since "few physicians or commanders recognized the importance of placing latrines downstream from camp.[72] Ultimately, Union forces counted approximately 21,000 deaths out of the 360,000 episodes of diarrhea or dysentery they suffered.[73] Like many soldiers before him, Charles fell victim to the assault of the Third Army while performing his duties in Chattanooga.

About two months after his arrival in the city, Charles contracted something that caused him to suffer from chronic diarrhea; the culprit was probably one of the usual suspects, cholera or dysentery. On July 6, Assistant Surgeon Milo M. Mead careful-

63 Ibid., 27-29,34-35.
64 The Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Pioneer Press Company, 1891), 612-13.
65 Ibid.
66 Catton, *The Civil War*, 234-40.
67 The Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 625-27.
68 Jeffrey S. Sartin, "Infectious Diseases during the Civil War: The Triumph of the 'Third Army,'" *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 16, no. 4 (1993), 580.
69 Alfred Jay Bollet, "The Major Infectious Epidemic Diseases of Civil War Soldiers," *Infectious Disease Clinics of North America*, Historical Aspects of Infectious Diseases, Part II, 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2004), 293.
70 Sartin, "Infectious Diseases during the Civil War," 581.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.

ly examined Charles and declared him unfit for duty since he had already endured two months of the illness by the time Mead evaluated him. "To prevent permanent disability," Mead recommended that he take a thirty-day furlough to rest and certified "that a change of climate [was] necessary."[74] After receiving the Assistant Surgeon's recommendations, Senior First Lieutenant Alvin M. Collins submitted a formal request to obtain the recommended furlough for Charles on July 14. Exactly one week later, the Medical Director's Office approved the request.[75] Charles made it home to Shelby, Minnesota by August 2 where he penned a letter to Lieutenant Colonel William W. Averell respectfully requesting to be discharged.[76] In doing so, he once again demonstrated his aptitude for seizing opportunities.

While in Chattanooga, Charles witnessed at least five of his comrades in Battery F leave on furlough and then get discharged from service "when absent from company."[77] Although the records do not specify the reason for their absence or the reason for their discharge, one can surmise that they too fell victim to the Third Army since Union forces reported that "220,000 men were discharged for reasons of chronic disability."[78] In the letter, Charles explained that his furlough extended until the twenty-fifth of August because he had "been sick since the sixth of May" and was wondering if he should report back "at the expiration of that time" or be discharged since he had his "conscriptive [sic] list with [him]."[79] By alluding to his four months of unending suffering, Charles may have implicitly tried to garner some sympathy from his superiors. After all, as Dillon Carrol points out, "everyone got diarrhea during the Civil War."[80] Furthermore, perhaps he hoped that his commanding officers would agree to discharge him since he already had the necessary paperwork, the so-called "conscriptive list" or enlistment papers, in his possession.

To be sure, asking for a discharge at this time was a logical move; the last battle of the war was fought on May 13. Although reconstruction was officially underway, heavy artillery regiments could not realistically help keep the peace or diffuse tensions. Receiving a discharge while at home would save Charles the time and effort of traveling to the regional headquarters in Nashville, obtaining a discharge, and then turning around and making the trip back to Shelby. Unfortunately for him, that is exactly what he had to do. Adding insult to injury, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant ordered Major General Thomas to reduce his troops and dispense with the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery on August 23, two days before Charles was set to return.[81] Nevertheless, in Nashville, Charles received an honorable discharge and was mustered out of service alongside the remaining men of Battery F on September 27, 1865. He walked away with $14.95 and a bounty of $33.33, minus $3.80 for transportation costs, still due to him.[82]

74 United States, Department of War, Military Service Records: Charles H. Lindsley, (National Archives), Note from M. M. Mead, July 6, 1865.
75 Ibid.
76 United States, Military Service Records: Charles H. Lindsley, Letter from Charles H. Lindsley, August 2, 1865.
77 The Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, Refer to "Roster of Company F" section, 625-27.
78 Sartin, "Infectious Diseases during the Civil War," 580.
79 United States, Military Service Records, Letter from Charles H. Lindsley.
80 Dillon Carrol, discussion for HIST 630 seminar at Chico State, November 18, 2019.
81 United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, vol. XLIX Part II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 1105-06.
82 United States, Department of War, Company Muster-out Roll: 1st Minnesota Heavy Artillery, Battery F, Charles H. Lindsley, September 27, 1865.

Once back in Shelby, he got to work building his farm and establishing a family. Charles and Juliette's utilitarian tendencies are evident in the length of time it took them to actually create a family. Although they married in 1864, their first child was not born until four years after they tied the knot. This gap is partially explained by Charles' participation in the Civil War, however, his service to the Union only lasted eight months, including the 30-day furlough he received in late July. The newly married couple may have opted to postpone having children in order to focus on establishing a farm and a home. If this is true, Charles and Juliette Lindsley may have set up a viable farm by 1868. They gave birth to their first child, Carrie, that year and then the following year welcomed Lettie into the world. By the time of the 1870 census, Charles, his wife, and two daughters lived on a farm valued at $2,500. Moreover, if Charles volunteered for the Union Army to benefit from the bounty he collected, his effort in doing so may have paid off as early as 1870. Not only did he feel established enough to have two children, the value of his estate was nearly six times greater than that of Lucien, who did not volunteer for the war.[83]

To be sure, establishing oneself in Minnesota before or immediately after the Civil War would have been impossible without participating in a web of exchange that brought kinsmen and neighbors together.[84] Despite not having the exact date of their arrival, Charles' family lived fairly close to him; his brother Lucien resided on a farm that was practically next door to his and their parents lived in Sterling, a township located a little over ten miles east of Shelby. Like in Wisconsin, all family members contributed to the day-to-day workload in and around the farm. Having extended family nearby also meant having more laborers to help with the cultivation, harvest, and transport of produce. According to Andrea Foroughi, Levi N. Countryman, a recent arrival to Minnesota, "built a log cabin on his new claim which was adjacent to his brother and brother-in-law's land."[85] He specifically chose the plot because his extended family could provide much-needed farm and domestic labor. Moreover, since cash was not widely available until after the 1860s, Countryman and his family relied on an economy of debt and exchange where they traded with other settlers and often committed to repaying deficits in the future by reciprocating goods and services.[86] Charles and his extended family continued living in Minnesota through the end of the nineteenth century. Rhoda Gilman argues that Minnesota's produce became tied to world markets during the Civil War as high wheat prices facilitated the success of commercial agriculture in the region. As a result, subsistence farming never became important in the state.[87] In 1880, Blue Earth County boasted 2,745 individual farms with 200,512 acres worth of improved land valued at $6,495,200 in total.[88] By 1900, 70.3% of all available land in Minnesota was considered improved and the number of farms in Blue Earth increased to 3,186. [89]

Railroads undoubtedly contributed to this situation. In the 1870s, "railroads and settlements complemented each other"; railroads were built to serve farm populations while

83 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1870, Census Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota.
84 Andrea R. Foroughi, "To Secure a Home for My Family," *Minnesota History 58*, no. 3 (October 2002), 148.
85 Ibid., 148-49.
86 Ibid., 153-55.
87 Gilman, "The History and Peopling of Minnesota," 3.
88 United States, Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Productions of Agriculture as returned at the Tenth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 121-22
89 United States, Department of the Interior, Census Office, Census Reports vol. V, part I, *Agriculture: Farms, Livestock, and Animal Products* (Washington: United States Census Office, 1902), 94, 142.

farmers settled lands "in accordance with projected or anticipated railroad construction."[90] Despite the increasing availability of railroads in Minnesota, the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha Railway garnered praise from almost everyone it did business with. The Omaha worked harder than most railroads to facilitate economic development in its service territory. It sold thousands of acres of land it acquired from federal and state land grants at fair prices because it was convinced that the Minnesota communities on its line offered enormous economic opportunities to "go-getting entrepreneurs."[91] Furthermore, it invested heavily in the development of freight and passenger cars which reduced the potential of grain car shortages during harvest seasons.[92] The establishment of transcontinental railroad lines throughout the 1880s and 1890s further contributed to economic development in Minnesota. Gilman contends that "with luck, a new settler could pay for his acres in one or two seasons" thanks in large part to the railroads and Minnesota's booming wheat market.[93]

Meanwhile, Charles and Juliette's family continued to grow with the birth of their third child, Raymond, in 1880. By then, Carrie and Lettie, twelve and ten years old respectively, attended school regularly enough to warrant writing "at school" for their occupation on the 1880 census. Juliette continued "keeping house" while Charles stayed involved with commercial agriculture as a farmer. The value of their estate and personal property as well as the realization that the children attend school frequently coupled with the fact that Juliette did not suffer through any miscarriages suggests that the Lindsley family was (at the very least) healthy and doing well.[94] In 1900, they moved approximately 180 miles northwest to Morris, a railroad town in Stevens County. It is possible that Charles, a go-getting entrepreneur at heart, sold his piece of land in Shelby to chase more affordable options in the less developed sections of the state as those properties became available. A lack of evidence prevents us from forming a conclusive understanding of Charles' motivations, however the records indicate that he was still in Blue Earth in 1890 but relocated to Stevens County sometime thereafter.[95] In Morris, Charles, now 59 years old, once again busied himself with establishing a farm and a home for his family. The census enumerator for the twelfth United States Census indicated that the Lindsley house was located on a farm and that a member of the family operated it.[96] This is no surprise since Charles again declared himself a farmer. What is surprising is that he apparently owned his home and farm in Morris while he mortgaged another piece of property in the Darren township of Stevens County.[97]

90 Richard V. Francaviglia, "Some Comments on the Historic and Geographic Importance of Railroads in Minnesota," *Minnesota History 43*, no. 2 (1972), 58.
91 H. Roger Grant, "'Minnesota's Good Railroad': The Omaha Road," *Minnesota History 57*, no. 4 (2000), 198-202.
92 Ibid.
93 Gilman, "The History and Peopling of Minnesota," 3.

94 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1880, Census Place: Shelby, Blue Earth, Minnesota; Roll: 615, Page: 398A; United States, Census Bureau, Year 1900, Census Place: Morris, Stevens, Minnesota; Page 7, The record states that Juliette gave birth to three children and that all the children are still living.
95 United States, Department of War, *Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War*, Year 1890, Location: Mankato, Blue Earth, Minnesota; Series Number M123, Record Group Number 15, Mankato is the county seat of Blue Earth.
96 United States, Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Instructions to Enumerators* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 41; United States, Census Bureau, Year 1900, Census Place: Morris, Stevens, Minnesota; Page 7.
97 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1900, Census Place: Morris, Stevens, Minnesota; Page 7, Enumeration District: 0265, FHL microfilm: 1240793; United States, Census Bureau, Year 1900, Census Place: Darren, Stevens, Minnesota; Page: 2.

Carrie, Charles' oldest daughter, married John McNeil in 1894.[98] Charles may have sold his property in Shelby to help the newly-wed couple acquire land and also relocated his own family to continue providing necessary support. He appears twice in the 1900 census schedules; once as the head of his own household in Morris and then again as the father-in-law to John McNeil, the head of household in Darren. The census enumerator indicated that the McNeils rented their home and farm while also relaying that Charles owned a home and mortgaged a farm.[99] Since Charles' information does not match that of the census schedule for Morris and because he is placed within the McNeil household, we can deduce, albeit with uncertainty, that the property belonged to Charles. He rented or leased it to John and Carrie but still had a vested interest in the land and thus found himself in the vicinity when the census enumerator stopped by. This hypothesis is further supported if one considers his son; twenty years old and still single, Raymond could probably manage the farm in Morris while his father was away.[100] Nevertheless, this episode demonstrates Charles' shrewdness because it highlights his ability to adapt and underscores his propensity to see himself and his family succeed.

With his son married and gone in 1903, Charles again found himself relocating further west.[101] Once again, the lack of evidence prevents us from specifying his reason for moving or the exact date of his departure from Morris. Nevertheless, Charles, Juliette, and Lettie emigrated to Mandan, the county seat of Morton, by at least 1910. Unfortunately for them, Juliette passed away on January 22 of that year. Charles, now 69 years old and widowed, lived with his daughter in a house he mortgaged on First Street Northwest. Interestingly, Charles wrote "own farm" under the "Industry" section of the 1910 census which indicates that he might not have relinquished ownership of his properties in Minnesota.[102] His pragmatism is on display anew considering that Charles managed to secure a source of income to provide for himself and his daughter despite his age and lack of support in North Dakota. Charles' tenure in Mandan was ultimately short-lived; Lettie married Edward Furkey on June 11, 1910 and subsequently moved away.[103]

Soon thereafter, Charles opted to move west once more, this time all the way to Butte County, California. After mourning the loss of his father in 1891, his mother in March 1905, his sister in December of that year, his brother Lucien the following year, and his wife in 1910, nothing was tying him to the prairie lands of the Midwest. His age also probably played a factor since he would be a retiree regardless of where he moved; the best he could do was choose a location with an established family member that also offered agreeable weather. The modernizing aspects of California may have also appealed to Charles who had already experienced drastic change within his lifetime.

During the Civil War, for example, railroads offered increased mobility when transporting personnel and supplies which became fundamental to the tactics of modern warfare in the proceeding decades.[104] To be sure, railroads were "part of the most dramatic innovation

98 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1900, Census Place: Darren, Stevens, Minnesota.
99 Ibid.
100 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1900, Census Place: Morris, Stevens, Minnesota.
101 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1910, Census Place: Bellingham Ward 3, Whatcom, Washington; Roll: T624_1673, Page: 13B; United States, Census Bureau, Year 1910; Census Place: Mandan Ward 3, Morton, North Dakota, Roll: T624_1144; Page: 18A; Enumeration District: 0121; FHL microfilm: 1375157
102 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1910; Census Place: Mandan Ward 3, Morton, North Dakota.
103 United States, *North Dakota Marriage Records*, 1872-2017 (Bismarck, North Dakota: State Historical Society of North Dakota), Burleigh County, Series Number 41779.
104 Govan and Livingood, "Chattanooga Under Military Occupation," 26.

of the century"; they undeniably "constituted the most massive effort of public building as yet undertaken by man."[105] While stationed at Chattanooga, Charles also had a firsthand look at the early days of Reconstruction. Freed people, having just escaped from captivity, wandered into Union camps seeking refuge by the thousands.[106] Douglas Egerton points out that although it was ultimately unsuccessful, Reconstruction ushered in a dramatic transformation of U.S. society as African Americans gained the right to vote and were recognized as citizens for the first time in the history of the United States.[107] The late nineteenth century also witnessed a handful of smaller yet deeply significant developments that profoundly moved the world toward what we consider to be modern society. Eric Hobsbawm points out that "by the 1880s large-scale generation of electricity and the internal-combustion engine were both becoming practicable."[108] Furthermore, although "the moving photograph did not become technically feasible until about 1890," by 1910, "there were 26 million Americans who went to see motion pictures every week."[109] Indeed, the middle classes developed out of the prosperity of the second half of the nineteenth century when individuals began to "demarcate themselves as sharply as possible from the working classes" by adhering to "collective recognition signs" that stressed the importance of the education they received, the places they lived in, and the lifestyles they enjoyed.[110]

In Butte County, the turn of the century proved a momentous time for industrial development and capital investment. From 1900 to 1918, "Butte County leaped into prominence as one of the richest counties of the state" as "a great railroad system built its lines through the Feather River Canyon" and thus brought "to the rich valley lands of the county unexampled facilities for the transportation of their increasing products."[111] Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, "the people saw the county advance to a place of power, prestige, and commanding influence among the counties of the state."[112] In Chico, the period from 1900 to 1918 constituted one of the most transformative periods in the city's history. By the end of 1918, Chico evolved from a town of 2,640 to a city of 12,000 people.[113] During this time, the "Municipality began a program of large municipal improvements;" it allocated funds for street ameliorations as well as the construction of a city hall, a modern sewer system, and a fire department.[114] As part of its street improvement program, the city government erected sidewalks throughout "all portion of the city that were included in the incorporated limits." As a result of these enhancements, "modern business structures arose" complete with "a modern electrolier system for lighting the business section of the city."[115] Furthermore, this period also witnessed the establishment of Bidwell Park, "one of the most magnificent public parks in the state."[116]

Charles Lindsley ventured to Chico, California amid these transformations.[117] The change

105 Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 27.
106 Govan and Livingood, "Chattanooga Under Military Occupation," 36-37.
107 Douglas R. Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, Reprint edition (Bloomsbury Press, 2015).
108 Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 27.
109 Ibid., 238-39.
110 Ibid., 181.
111 George C. Mansfield, *History of Butte County, California: With Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men and Women of the County Who Have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present* (Los Angeles, California: Historic Record Company, 1918), 340.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid., 361.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid., 362.
116 Ibid., 363.
117 Butte County, Chico Cemetery; Interment Records, He arrived in the city sometime in 1912, the cemetery recorded June 6, 1923 for the day of his

of scenery appears to have prompted a parallel change of identity for our intrepid subject. In the 1920 census, he reported England as his father's place of birth although every other schedule he appears on beforehand lists New York as the birthplace.[118] Interestingly, of the fifty individuals listed alongside Charles, only nine had parents that were born in the United States. Perhaps Charles decided to alter his family history to better integrate himself into the community. Or perhaps the census enumerator simply made a mistake. Nevertheless, Charles began to describe himself as a "retired capitalist" or "retired merchant" after moving to Chico.[119] The self-proclaimed title is not especially noteworthy in itself; however, it begs the question: why not refer to himself as a retired farmer?

The ongoing modernization and urbanization of Chico and the United States may help provide some answers. In the context of the period, where increasing numbers of individuals were leaving farms to work and live in cities, Charles may simply be embracing the times. Alternatively, he managed to purchase several parcels of land while living in Chico. Thus, he may be referring to his new occupation if he rented out the land or used it for other commercial purposes. To be sure, Charles demonstrated pragmatic entrepreneurial tendencies throughout his career as a farmer, so calling himself a merchant or capitalist is not too far from reality. Furthermore, throughout his time in Chico, and maybe even before his arrival, Charles endorsed the Foster-Milburn Company product, Doan's Kidney Pills, in a series of reoccurring newspaper adverts. In the advertisements, C. H. Lindsley, a "highly respected resident" and "retired merchant," testifies that he has "been using Doan's Kidney Pills off and on . . . for the past twenty years." He claims that he takes the pills when he catches a cold because "it seems to settle in [his] kidneys and bring on attacks of lame back." The pills, which are manufactured in New York, always "quickly relieve and benefit [him] in every way."[120] Charles' new title is befitting of a man who likely gets paid to endorse products that originated in a distant land. Although Charles continuously demonstrated his shrewd ability to seize opportunities, his endorsement of a potentially ineffective medication juxtaposes sharply with his history of close family relations and endeavors in commercial agriculture.

Notwithstanding this sharp divergence of character, Charles moved to Chico to be near family who could help him establish a new home in the burgeoning city. His youngest sister, Idella, had been living in the city with her husband and four children since at least 1910.[121] She was in an opportune position to assist her older brother because her husband, Chauncey Bierce Johnson (commonly referred to as C.B. Johnson in most documents) worked as a contractor who specialized in building houses.[122] From 1919 to 1921, Charles purchased three parcels of land in Chico; one was located on the corner of Ninth Street and Salem, one was on the corner of Ninth Street and Cherry, and the third was located across the street from the second property where it fronted Ivy.[123] Charles contracted C.B. to build a one-story dwelling house on the latter property which

death and mentioned that he was in the city for eleven years total.

118 United States, Census Bureau, Year 1920: Census Place: Chico, Butte, California: Roll: T625_94; Page: 6A.

119 *The Morning Union* (Grass Valley), July 2, 1913; *Oroville Daily Register*, July 2, 1913; *Chico Record*, April 10, 1917.

120 *Chico Record*, October 20, 1916; Ibid., February 23, 1917; Ibid., April 10, 1917; Ibid., June 20, 1922.

121 United States. Census Bureau. Year 1910; Census Place: Chico, Butte, California; Roll: T624_73; Page 27B

122 Ibid.

123 Butte County, Clerk-Recorder, Deeds, 17: 260; Ibid., 166: 144; Ibid., 198: 253.

he completed on July 24, 1923.[124] According to Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the property on 9th and Salem had a dwelling situated on it at the time of purchase that dates back to 1886.[125] Charles likely lived in this house while he awaited the completion of the house he hired C.B. to construct. Unfortunately, Charles passed away forty-eight days before C.B. finished the construction of his house.

While accumulating property and endorsing Doan's pills, Charles was active in Chico society. As an honorably discharged veteran of the Civil War, he became a prominent member of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R) local Halleck Post, No. 19 which organized on April 2, 1881 with George S. Snook as commander.[126] Not only did the G.A.R. provide comradery and space for Civil War veterans to socialize, it promoted their political interests, provided relief for struggling members and their widows, created retirement homes, and helped pay for their funeral services.[127] As a member of the G.A.R., Charles was obligated to contribute support to his comrades. When a local veteran passed away, Charles was one of six pallbearers during the funeral service.[128] He also showed support to G.A.R. members by showing up to their celebrations, as was the case in March 1923 when he attended R.N. Norris' eighty-second birthday party.[129] On January 9, 1915, the local Halleck Post named Charles Lindsley the Junior Vice Commander.[130] In September 1916, he was part of a committee the G.A.R. and the Women's Relief Corps (G.A.R.'s auxiliary group for women) put together to organize a banquet for the Department Commander and Adjunct General.[131] By January 5, 1923, he was promoted to Quartermaster Sergeant.[132]

Charles met his second wife, Margaret Woolverton through his connections in the G.A.R. She was a local widow and a member of and color bearer for the Halleck Women's Relief Corps (W.R.C.). She and Charles married on July 2, 1913 at the Fourth Street Methodist Church. Members of the W.R.C. decorated the church "of a patriotic nature" for the occasion and subsequently celebrated the marriage with G.A.R. and W.R.C. members that night.[133] Newspapers in the surrounding cities reported on the Lindsley-Woolverton marriage throughout the week.[134] He was seventy-two and she was sixty-six at the time of their engagement. Nevertheless, Charles "appeared as happy and as nervous as a young bridegroom in his twenties."[135] Whether Charles and Margaret were in love is hard to say. For certain, the two were highly compatible because they had similar interests and probably kept a similar group of friends. Both were previously married, were members of Chico's First Methodist Church, and were heavily involved with G.A.R. and W.R.C. functions.[136] Charles certainly cared for Margaret's well-being because he made sure that his will included her among the beneficiaries of his estate. Specifically,

124 Butte County, Clerk-Recorder, Mechanics Liens, Additional Records, G1: 155.
125 *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Chico, Butte County, California.* (Sanborn Map Company, 1886), 11; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Chico, Butte County, California.* (Sanborn Map Company, 1921), 43.
126 Harry Laurenz Wells, *History of Butte County, California* (San Francisco: H.L. Wells, 1882), 232.
127 "Grand Army of the Republic History," *Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War* (blog), December 13, 2013, http://www.suvcw.org/?page_id=167.
128 *Chico Record*, April 19, 1913.
129 Ibid., March 6, 1923.
130 Ibid., January 9, 1915.
131 Ibid., September 23, 1916.
132 Ibid., January 5, 1923.
133 Ibid., July 2, 1913.
134 *The Oroville Mercury*, July 1, 1913; *The Morning Union* (Grass Valley), July 2, 1913; *Oroville Daily Register*, July 2, 1913; *Chico Record*, July 3, 1913; *The Sacramento Union*, July 4, 1913.
135 *The Oroville Mercury*, July 1, 1913.
136 Butte County, Chico Cemetery; Interment Records, the cemetery listed Charles and Margaret as members of the First Methodist Church.

Margaret was to inherit the income derived from the sale of his property "so that she may be well provided for."[137]

Despite his relationship with Margaret, Charles found time to contribute to his community in a variety of ways. Since he was a member of the congregation, he volunteered his time at the First Methodist Church. On one occasion in November 1914, Charles was busy repairing the front of the church when "a hobo passed by and took a watch and chain from the pocket of a vest" that Charles had laid aside when he started work.[138] Moreover, he also served on a jury that acquitted a man who was on trial for his connection to the deaths of two people during the Barber Hotel fire of June 19, 1913.[139] Charles also indirectly contributed to his community by donating to several causes. In 1917, he bought "liberty bonds" to help the United States sustain its war efforts during World War I.[140] That same year, he donated money to the Y.M.C.A. so that it could continue providing support for people "in the camps and at the battle fronts" of the war.[141] In 1918, he contributed $100 to the development of hydroelectric projects on the Feather River.[142]

Charles lived in Chico until June 8, 1923 when he died of duodenum cancer.[143] Before passing away, he appointed his brother-in-law, C.B. Johnson, as the executor of his last will. C.B. made sure that Charles' grandchildren received $100 each, that Margaret collected the income from the sale of his properties, and that his children inherited the remainder of his estate. Charles' will demonstrates his pragmatism because it makes sure that everyone in his family, including grandchildren whom he perhaps never met, benefitted from his lifetime of hard work. This is especially apparent considering that he spent the last two years of his life loaning money to his children. Unbeknownst to them, he stipulated that they would inherit his personal property on August 24, 1920. Upon his death, C.B. Johnson found $1857 worth of promissory notes in his personal property that his three children had given to him after he loaned them money.[144] His final act of pragmatism near the end of his life was to help his family by liberally giving them money and then ultimately forgiving their debt.

On June 8, 1923, his brothers and sisters from the G.A.R. and the W.R.C. joined Margaret to mourn the loss of their "beloved and honored comrade."[145] He was interred in the Chico Cemetery in the G.A.R. block next to other Civil War veterans who passed away in the city. Within a single lifetime, Charles experienced some of the most formative moments in U.S. history. One example of the dramatic transformations that took place during Charles' life is the fact that by 1880, each new generation of children grew taller than their parents.[146] Charles for one, was only five foot three inches tall when he reached adulthood and volunteered for the Civil War.[147] Notwithstanding his stature, he proved more than capable of navigating the waters of change as he moved west from his birthplace in New York to his final resting place in California. Along the way, he never failed to seize good opportunities as he pragmatically dealt with an ever-changing world.

137 Butte County, Clerk-Recorder, Record of Wills, F: 338.
138 *Chico Record*, November 13, 1914.
139 *The Oroville Mercury*, June 25, 1913; *Chico Record*, June 20, 1913.
140 *Chico Record*, June 9, 1917; Ibid., October 26, 1917.
141 Ibid., November 14, 1917.
142 Ibid., October 22, 1917.
143 Butte County, Chico Cemetery; Interment Records, Lindsley, Charles H.
144 Butte County, Clerk-Recorder, Record of Wills, F: 338.
145 *Chico Record*, June 9, 1923
146 Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 29.
147 United States, Department of War, Muster and Descriptive Roll, 1st Minnesota Heavy Artillery Battery F, February 11, 1865.