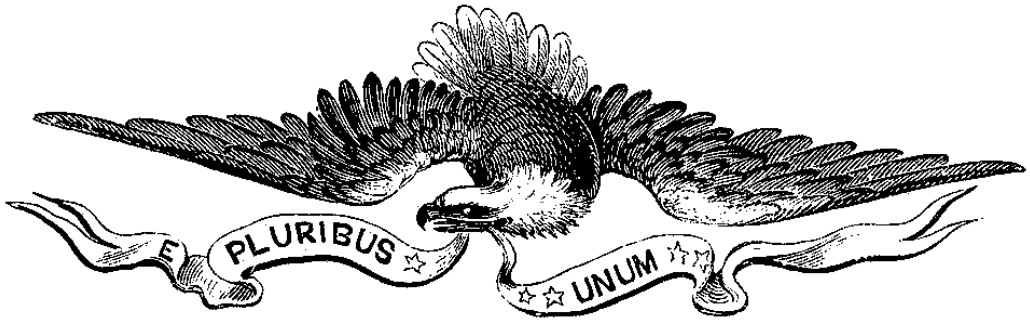

THE FUGELMAN

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE SECOND WISCONSIN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY ASSOCIATION

THE BLACK HAT BRIGADE---THE IRON BRIGADE

1861-1865

VOLUME XXVI ISSUE 7 JULY, 2016

FU-GEL-MAN: A well-drilled soldier placed in front of a military company as a model or guide for others.

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PASS IN REVIEW

From the quill of Lt. Colonel Pete Seielstad

Every now and then I open the handbook of the 2nd Wisconsin Association to review some item or to find out if I'm following our organization's protocol. Like a good compass, our handbook helps us as we travel in the right direction. Normally, I

quickly scan through in order to find something that I'm looking for. *(Note: To this date I have not found the article & section that I am to be king.)* But I did find an interesting clue to what makes the 2nd Wisconsin Association such a great organization in the handbook's introduction.

Starting in the middle of the third paragraph:

"The 2nd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Association has continued to expand and continues to do so because of two main reasons. First, are the people that make up the unit; we have built a reputation (among others) of being a truly warm and friendly group of people. Period. Our members will never claim expert knowledge, but will be the first to greet a new person with an aiding hand and a warm smile. To the disdain of some, we accept any sincere and dedicated person and every member has a voice.

Our pride in our people and their value is the backbone of our organization. Our members give of themselves and truly desire nothing in return other than to be amongst others who do the same. We are "good people". Secondly, through time the 2nd Wisconsin has developed a sense of teamwork that continues to attract more members in the belief that we as "common people with a common vision, have found the ability to work & struggle together to accomplish an uncommon goal." Despite our faults, awkwardness, and blunders, our members still remain dedicated to our task. Because of this continued effort we have begun to develop an indescribable pride that only our members understand.

In the end, this deep pride and attachment to the 2nd Wisconsin is not first found on the drill field or in our camp, it is found in the hearts and minds of our people."

And that about sums it up.

Well done, 2nd Wisconsin, well done.

Your obedient servant,

Lt. Col. Pete Seielstad

[Ed. So very true and all of our members should be honored by the opportunity and challenge set forth above!]

CAMPAIGN SCHEDULES OF THE COMPANIES AND ASSOCIATION

JULY

9th & 10th	**Lake Co. Forest Preserves CW Days (Co. K, Co.B)**	**Wauconda, IL.**
16th & 17th	**56th VA & 2nd WI (Skirmish team)**	**Bristol, WI**
16th & 17th	**Old Falls Village Reenactment (Co.E,Co.K, Co.B, 6WLA)**	**Menominee Falls,WI.**
30th & 31st	**Fort Wilkins Living History (Co.E)**	**Copper Harbor, MI.**
30th & 31st	**Grignon Mansion Living History (Co.E)**	**Kaukauna, WI.**

EDITORIAL

Independence Day! A day of meaning, or should be, for all Americans. July 4th marked the publication of a document drafted by Thomas Jefferson that declared that the American colonies were independent from Britain. [ED. Note: John Adams always said that the date of July 3rd would be the day of celebration as that was the day the Continental Congress voted to adopt the declaration.] The

Declaration of Independence would serve as the clarion call to the colonists to volunteer and fight for their freedom from Britain. It would rally the men and boost their morale during the long years of struggle that lay ahead.

The question surrounding the meaning of the Declaration for future generations remained a point of debate. The philosophical basis of the arguments by Jefferson was "natural law and the law of nature's God". Jefferson saw that there were certain rights all men were entitled to as human beings. These rights could be found to be universal and could be determined through reasoned debate and analysis. The source of these rights for Jefferson could be understood as deriving from a Creator. Jefferson would direct the readers of the declaration to this source in these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." (Transcript) For Abraham Lincoln these descriptive words formed the centerpiece to his political philosophy. Lincoln always perceived the Declaration of Independence as America's creed, the goal to be achieved by government. The Constitution was the roadmap by which America would reach its goal of equality in Lincoln's view. In Lincoln's Gettysburg Address he would state this view in an unequivocal fashion.

Both Jefferson and Lincoln accepted the "natural law" platform for their views on the rights of men. For both Lincoln and Jefferson the means of determining these rights was through the process of reason. Analysis of history and the natural condition of mankind would make clear those rights to which all men were entitled. Jefferson did this in the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln said it in his Gettysburg Address. Jefferson wrote this in the Declaration: "When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, *the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them*, [Emphasis added] a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Lincoln would echo the claim by Jefferson that all men were created equal when he said at Gettysburg: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." (Gettysburg Address) This assertion by Jefferson was the bedrock of the American experiment in representative government in Lincoln's view. Governments were created to protect the rights of both the majority and the minority members of society. Jefferson also concerned himself with this issue of the rights of citizens who composed the majority over those who were in a minority position. Lincoln would argue consistently throughout his 1858 debates with Stephen Douglas that the language of the Declaration of Independence applied to blacks, a minority, as well as whites. Lincoln would repeatedly assert that reason taught us that blacks were human beings and as such were entitled to these basic rights set out in the Declaration.

Thus for Lincoln this became a moral argument. Douglas would claim indifference to the issue of slavery while Lincoln would castigate Douglas claiming that the issue of slavery was a moral one that no man could simply ignore.

John C. Calhoun would take up his cudgel and take on the claim that natural law and natural rights granted blacks certain basic human rights. The argument of Calhoun can be seen in the following quotation:

> **Slavery, he was accustomed to say, existed in some form or another, in all civilized countries; and he was disposed to doubt the correctness of the sentiment contained in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal. Natural rights, indeed, in every state, in every country, and under every form of government, have been, and are, regulated and controlled by political institutions. (Calhoun)**

Calhoun, an intellectual giant in his day, essentially denied the basis of natural law, Jefferson's source of those claims, and argued for a more modern philosophical foundation, positive law. Political institutions could adopt legislation for the common good as they saw it without regard to a claim of a natural right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. And slavery was a positive good, Calhoun would argue. Blacks as slaves had been elevated by exposure to Christian ideas and education in limited ways. Their needs were addressed by slaveholders. Slaves were better off than their African relatives. For two decades Southern orators denounced and decried the Declaration. They would argue that "all men" as Jefferson wrote the document actually meant all white men. Jefferson Davis would claim that the equality as Thomas Jefferson used the term, meant "political communities" and not individuals. These political communities were local governmental organizations who established local laws and positions on an equal basis with the Federal government. Other pro-slavery advocates argued that the entire argument about natural rights was false and a pact with the devil. Thus their position was to reject the language and meaning of the Declaration of Independence. Calhoun, the Moses of the doctrines of nullification and secession, in 1848 used the following language to address the Declaration of Independence and its call for the natural rights of liberty and equality that included all human beings:

> **We now begin to experience the danger of admitting so great an error to have a place in our declaration of independence. For a long time it lay dormant; but in the process of time it began to germinate, and produce its poisonous fruits. It had strong hold on the mind of Mr. Jefferson, the author of that document, which caused him to take an utterly false view of the subordinate relation of the black to the white race in the South; and to hold, in consequence, that the former, though utterly unqualified to possess liberty, were as fully entitled to both liberty and equality as the latter; and that to deprive them of it was both unjust and immoral. (Jaffa, p. 212)**

This approach led to the argument that blacks were subhuman and thus not entitled to the rights enumerated in the Declaration. Jefferson Davis, a disciple of Calhoun would mimic the arguments of Calhoun as the secession crisis brewed in the United States in 1860.

Abraham Lincoln made the Declaration of Independence the cornerstone of his philosophical approach to the issue of slavery. Lincoln had read Jefferson's works and they held a similar view. Slavery was bad policy for both whites and blacks. For Lincoln the African slaves were human beings endowed by the Creator with the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness just as white folks were. Jefferson felt that slavery undermined white character and left open the constant threat of a slave insurrection or rebellion. Throughout Lincoln's debates with Douglas in the Illinois Senate race in 1858, Lincoln would argue that the Declaration of Independence provided for freedom and equality (of a social nature) of blacks. An argument could be made that Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was a corollary or amendment to the Declaration with its call for a new birth of freedom in this country.

This editor's father was not an educated man. When his mother died of tuberculosis he left school to care for his two younger brothers. However, he always admired the Founding Fathers and thought of them as demigods whose efforts created a nation and a government that was indeed miraculous. My father assured that his eldest son had the same respect and admiration for those men who adopted the Declaration of Independence and later created the U.S. Constitution. Lincoln had that same sense of awe and wonder for the Founders. In Lincoln's Lyceum speech in 1838 stated that all the glory and honor there was had settled on these men who founded this nation. Anyone who followed these men was a simple officeholder. Lincoln also warned against those who would seek greatness at the expense of the Founders' principles of free government and natural rights:

> **. . . . This field of glory is harvested, and the crop is already appropriated. But new reapers will arise, and *they*, too, will seek a field. It is to deny, what the history of the world tells us is true, to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us. And, when they do, they will as naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passion, as others have so done before them. The question then, is, can that gratification be found in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others? Most certainly it cannot. Many great and good men sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found, whose ambition would inspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial or a presidential chair; *but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle.* What! think you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon?--Never! Towering genius distains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored.--It sees *no distinction* in adding story to story, upon the monuments of fame, erected to the memory of others. It *denies* that it is glory**

enough to serve under any chief. It *scorns* to tread in the footsteps of *any* predecessor, however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves, or enslaving freemen. Is it unreasonable then to expect, that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time, spring up among us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs.

They *were* the pillars of the temple of liberty; and now, that they have crumbled away, that temple must fall, unless we, their descendants, supply their places with other pillars, hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason. Passion has helped us; but can do so no more. It will in future be our enemy. Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence.--Let those materials be moulded into *general intelligence, sound morality*, and in particular, *a reverence for the constitution and laws*: and, that we improved to the last; that we remained free to the last; that we revered his name to the last; that, during his long sleep, we permitted no hostile foot to pass over or desecrate his resting place; shall be that which to learn the last trump shall awaken our WASHINGTON.

Upon these let the proud fabric of freedom rest, as the rock of its basis; and as truly as has been said of the only greater institution, "*the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*."

The 19th century citizen was well aware of the language of the Declaration and many had relatives who had fought for independence two generations earlier. The Fourth of July remained a huge holiday in the United States, but one of meaning and importance, its ideals still resonating among Americans. Today sadly that isn't the case. Everyone knows that the Declaration was a clarion call for independence and provided "the cause" to motivate Americans to struggle on to attain that prize. Lincoln viewed the Declaration as the American creed. This was the goal that Americans needed to achieve over time. The Constitution in his mind was the road map to lead to reaching the goals set out in the Declaration. The Civil War was in part a "second American revolution" that gave meaning and substance to the natural rights of all men that had lost its significance in the debates in the years following the founding of the nation.

The Founders were deeply influenced by the rational humanistic views of the Enlightenment. Writers such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, John Locke, and Adam Smith had espoused ideas and principles of government including separation of powers, consent of the governed, protection for the rights of minorities, and the natural rights of human freedom. Allen Guelzo in his book *Fateful Lightning*

pointed to two important factors in creating an American national identity. The first was the rise of Protestant Evangelicalism and its concomitant sense of unity among the various churches. The second, and most crucial here, was the impact of Enlightenment political philosophy. Guelzo writes:

> **Just as powerful a common bond as evangelical Christianity was the political ideology that Americans embraced in the Revolution. However much the structure of American politics was compromised and frustrated by state demands and state loyalties, Americans in all the states agreed that the states and the federal government alike were to be a republic and follow a republican form of government. Republicanism on the eighteenth century was the political fruit of the Enlightenment, that sea-change intellectual movement whose principal mission was to overthrow authority's chokehold on European intellectual life and replace it with what was natural, as discovered by reason and experiment. The Enlightenment began in the 1600s when Newton and Galileo overturned the principles of physical science that had been based on Aristotle's writings and replaced them with a new mechanical physics based on observable patterns of motion. By the 1700s the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment had extended the reach of nature, reason, and experiment to the realms of politics and society, and proposed to overturn any form of political organization built on such nonrational factors as monarchy or aristocracy. Enlightenment thought was the principal impulse behind the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, and it had its gospel in the writings of Montesquieu, Cesare Beccaria, James Harrington, Algernon Sidney, and above all John Locke, as well as in the classical examples of ancient Greece and Rome. (Guelzo, pps. 10-11)**

Thus from the very outset on the United States there was a common philosophical foundation to the concepts of Republican government and national unity based on the common experiences under the new government that replaced the old Articles of Confederation. The Declaration of Independence created a unification of the colonies and folks simply got used to living under this system of government.

These views were an abandonment of the doctrine of the divine right of kings which had existed for millennias. The Declaration of Independence was a clear rejection of the existing model for governments in Europe and elsewhere. Lincoln would argue in his debates with Stephen Douglas, and beyond, that slavery was in essence the age old argument for the existence of the theory of the divine rights of kings. This put the nation in a war between the principles of the divine right of kings with the principles of human freedoms espoused in the Declaration of Independence. As Lincoln would articulate the issue it is the view that you struggle and suffer to make bread and I will eat it. Lincoln would argue that this was an authoritarian view inappropriate in a country that adopted principles of individual freedom. Lincoln's view of the issue of slavery as a moral concern established the basis for a struggle over human freedom that had to be addressed. Lincoln

embodied the central achievement of the Declaration of Independence, the call for human freedoms as the rights for all men.

The fight over slavery was a moral cause that asserted the necessity of resolving the issue. Lincoln had argued that it was necessary to prevent the expansion of slavery into the territories, but that he had no power under the Constitution to act directly on the institution in the states where it existed. The ultimate goal was the "ultimate extinction" of slavery in a nation dedicated to human freedom. Harry Jaffa articulated the dilemma that faced the opponents of slavery, including Lincoln, as the Civil War approached:

> **The very idea of human freedom, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, requires that we act according to the right, without being able to know that the right will triumph. The same idea requires that we act on the conviction that the noble failure is better than base success, so that, win or lose, we shall have taken the better part. (Jaffa, p. 100)**

As we celebrate the holiday the editor still calls Independence Day (the Fourth of July) remember that the Declaration was created to set out the reasons 13 colonies sought independence from Britain. That document embodied a new philosophical basis for government rejecting the principle of the divine rights of kings and instead based government on the principle of the consent of the governed as the philosophical basis for any government. And the only real basis for government was to assure the natural rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to all mankind. It was a remarkable document that challenged the old order and embraced the principles of the Enlightenment writers. A question remained as to how to define the words that all men were created equal. It was a question that a destructive civil war would ultimately settle. Lincoln glimpsed the future struggle when he spoke at Cooper Institute in February of 1860. The speech was a call to action. And Lincoln recognized that the position of Republicans on the rights of black people was the correct moral ground on which to stand. As he said at the conclusion of his Cooper Union speech "let right make might".

So as we celebrate this Independence Day let us remember the heritage that comes to us through that singular document drafted by Thomas Jefferson. The claim that all men are created equal and the challenge of basing government on the consent of the governed set this nation apart from any previous national experience anywhere. Lincoln believed that the United States was a beacon of freedom to the entire world and long may that be so!!

SOURCES

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Guelzo, Allen C. (2012) Fateful Lightning: A New History of the Civil War & Reconstruction. Oxford University Press. New York, New York.

Jaffa, Harry V. (2000) *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*. Rowman & Littlefield, New York, New York.

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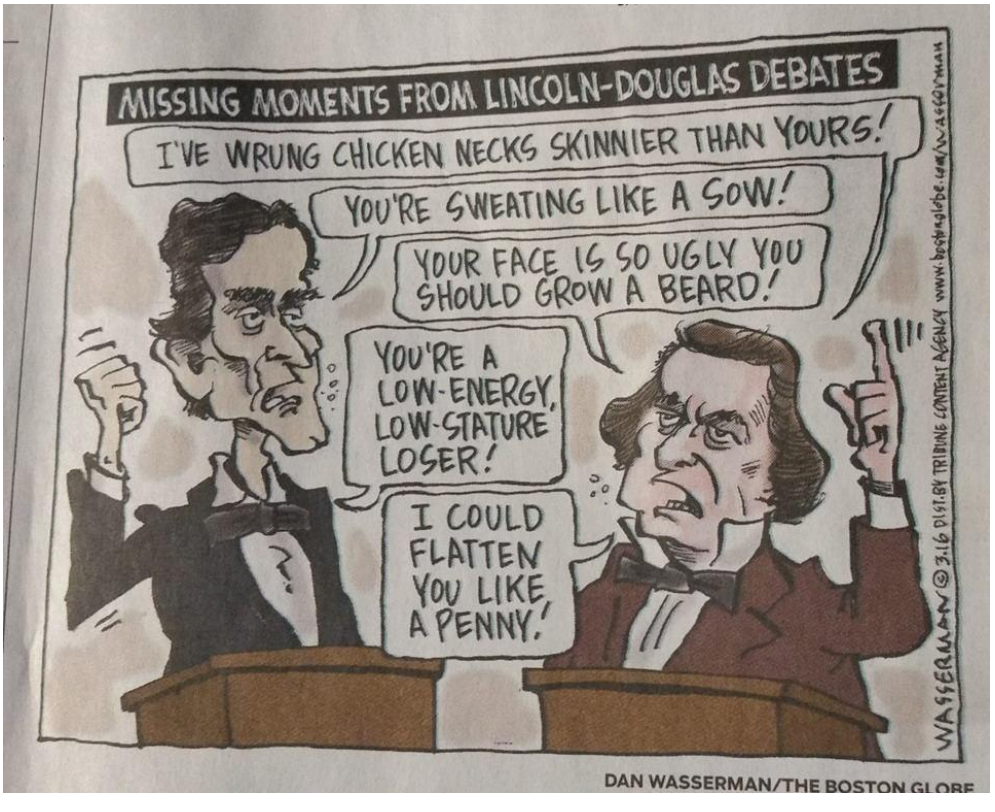
REGIMENTAL DISPATCHES



WAUCONDA REENACTMENT SET FOR JULY 9TH AND 10TH, 2016

A popular event on the calendars for Compnies B and K this year is the Wauconda event set for July 9th and 10th, 2016. Those who have attended this event in the past speak highly of the quality of the event. In the past numbers have not been good, but this is an event everyone should try to attend. The satisfaction of the experience of this event is of a high order!

Among the many ongoing activities scheduled for the event, there will be a number of competitions for reenacters. They are as follows:

- **A camp cooking competition. These will be judged on the basis of authenticity as well as the menu.**
- **Infantry loading and firing. Competitors will load and fire while standing, kneeling and in the prone position. Timing will begin with the command to load. Time penalties will be assessed for deviations from the drill manuals from the civil war time period. The competition is open to Federal and Confederate troops.**
- **A skillet toss event. This requires tossing a 12 inch skillet. The score will be based on distance and closeness to a target.**
- **Cavalry weapons and horsemanship challenge.**

There will be appearances during the weekend by Abraham Lincoln, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and General Grant. There will be battles on Saturday and Sunday, but the *Fugelman* was unable to determine what the scenarios would be for the fighting.

OLD FALLS VILLAGE EVENT

The 17th annual Old Falls Village Civil War weekend will take place in Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin, on July 16th and 17th, 2016. This event is on the schedules of Companies B, E, and K, as well as the 6th Wisconsin Light Artillery unit. It is also reported that there is an ice cream social associated with this event, and who doesn't like ice cream?

The amenities for the weekend include water, ice, firewood and a Saturday evening meal for the troops. The organizers have been completing work on the Steichen House, which will be open for the Civil War weekend.

Below you will find the schedule of events for the weekend. There is also a map of the site for the event for your review. You will note there have been some minor changes to the eastern side of the grounds for this year's event. There will be a battle on Saturday and Sunday at 2:00 p.m. The newsletter does not have a

scenario for either day's fight, but the organizers do hope to formulate one for the event.

Figure 1 PHOTO FROM PREVIOUS EVENT

Old Falls Village

17th Annual

Civil War Encampment

Ice Cream Social

Established in 2000 **JULY 16-17, 2016** Old Falls Village

Saturday July 16 (10 AM-5 PM)

8:00 Officers Call
9:30 Opening of Gates andFlag Raising
10:00 Union Drill/Artillery
10:30 Speaker: Keinerts "A Time to Mourn" (Public House Deck)
11:00 Confederates Drill/Artillery
11:30 Speaker: Fire Zourves "Not Always Blue & Gray" (Public House Deck)
12:30 Train Depot Robbery
1:00 Fashion Show Historical Timekeepers (Gazebo)
2:00 Battle/Field Hospital Demonstrations
3:00 Jessica Michna as Laura Ingalls Wilder, "Road to the Little House"
4:00 Bootleggers (lower level barn) (Gazebo)

Sunday July 17 (10 AM-4 PM)

8:00 Officers Call
8:30 Flag Raising
9:00 Church Service (Gazebo)
10.00 Opening of Gates
10:30 Singing by Gary Alexander "Songs of the Civil War"
10:00 Union Drill/Artillery (Gazebo)
11:00 Confederates Drill/Artillery
11:00 Regimental Volunteer Band of Wisconsin (Gazebo)
11:30 General Grant "Grant in his Words" (Public House Deck)
12:00 Capturing Grant (Woods behind the School House)
12:30 Jessica Michna as "Mary Lincoln, Intimate Conspiracy" (Gazebo)
1:00 Silent Auction Ends (Inside Public House)
2:00 Battle/Field Hospital Demonstrations
3:15 Spies Hideout (in the Woods behind the School House)

EXPERIENCE HISTORY

(Schedule subject to change)

Upcoming Events at Old Falls Village:
Artist Ride September 16-18
Halloween Family Fun Night October 21-22
Silver Tea December 4

2016 Anniversaries at Old Falls Village:
Historical Charter 50 years
Miller-Davidson House 50 years
School House 40 years
Gazebo 35 years

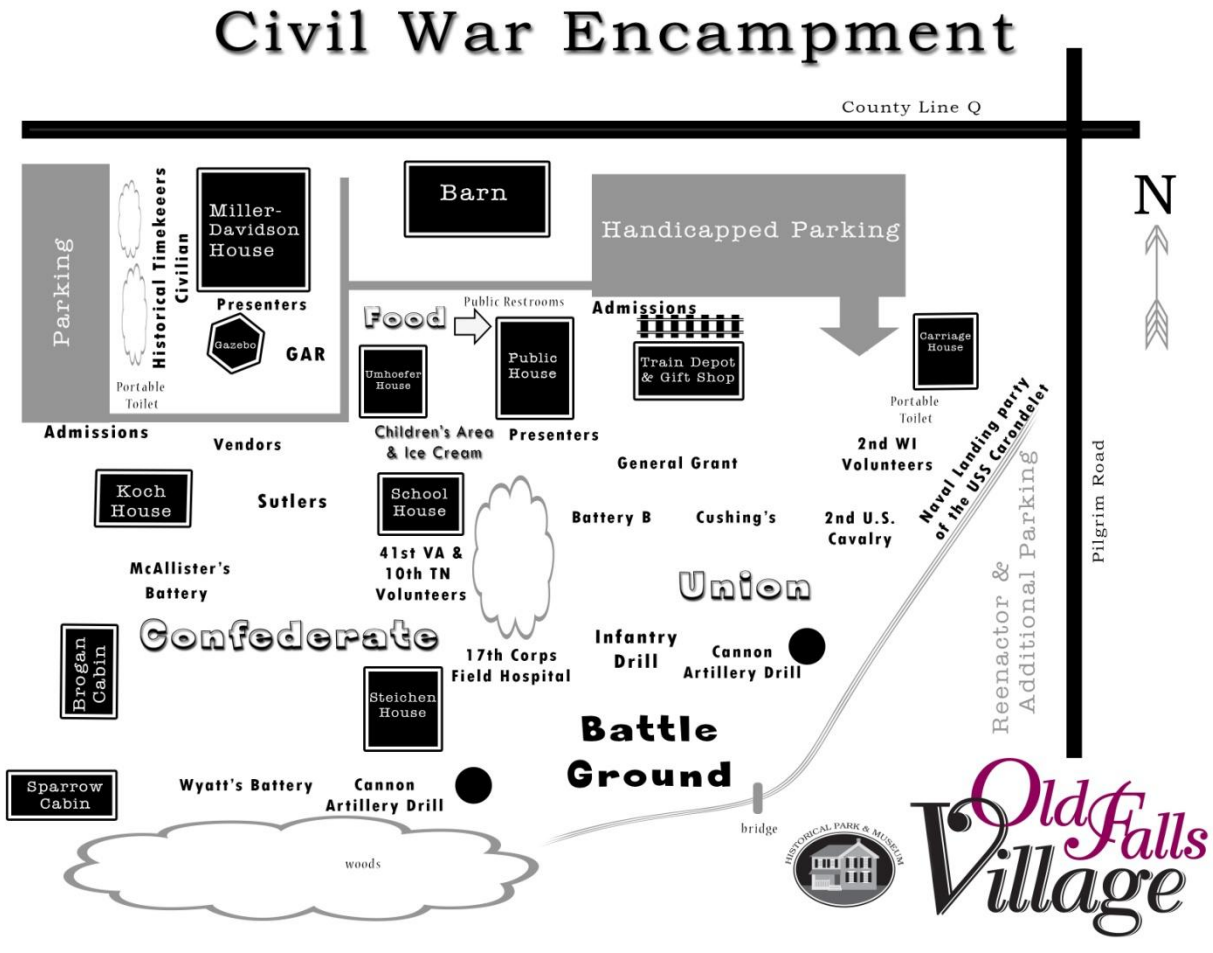
Events throughout the Days:

Childrens Scavenger Hunt and Games
Surgeons Field Hospital demonstrations NEW
Regimental Volunteer Band of Wisconsin (Sunday)
Historic Buildings open all day
Visit Union and Confederate Camps
Silent Auction, Bake Sale, Art Show, and Sutlers
Food, Kettle Corn, Memorabilia booths
FREE scoop of Ice Cream (1 per paid admission while supplies last)

Schoep's Ice Cream Wisconsin's Finest Since 1928

Become a member today!

Admission: Adults $6.00 Children 12 and under $2.00 Under 5 FREE
***Veterans FREE** Admission both days with Military ID from 10-Noon*
Old Falls Village Museum -- Pilgrim Road & Hwy. Q in Menomonee Falls
Call (262) 250-3901 www.OldFallsVillage.com



FORT WILKINS LIVING HISTORY EVENT

Battery D, 1st Michigan Light Artillery is conducting a living history event at Fort Wilkins. Fort Wilkins is located in Copper Harbor, Michigan. The event is scheduled for July 29th through the 31st, 2016. This is a Company E event. It is reliably reported that the location of the event is spectacular!

The event is a living history event scheduled from 8:00 a.m. until 8:00 p.m. The event will take place within the confines of the fort.

GRIGNON MANSION CIVIL WAR EVENT

On July 30th and 31st Company E will conduct a living history event at the Grignon Mansion (pictured above). The event will take place on the grounds around the mansion. The mansion was built in 1837 and was known to travellers of the time as the "Mansion in the woods". The house is located at 1313 Augustine Street, in Kaukauna, Wisconsin. This event should be a liesurely effort by the men who will be interacting with visitors and possibly conducting some light drill.

ATTENTION TO ORDERS

The Association secretary, Dave Sielski, has announced the winner of the 2016 Second Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Association Scholarship. This year's recipient is Emily Sonntag. Emily is the daughter of Scott Sonntag of Company A. Emily Sonntag will be studying journalism at the University of Wisconsin—Oshkosh in the fall. Congratulations to Emily and much success to you in your future studies.

The Association and Dave Sielski extend their gratitude to Robert Schwandt, John Dudkiewicz, and John Thielmann for their work on the scholarship committee this year.

FROM THE CAMPS OF THE COMPANIES OF THE SECOND WISCONSIN

INFANTRY

COMPANY B

THE HUNT FOR ONE WILLIAM MILLER

At the Reedsburg event the weekend of June 5th, inst., members of Company B located a gravestone for a man named William N. Miller. The stone indicated that Miller was a member of the 13th Wisconsin regimental band. It also appears that Mr. Miller was a resident of Evansville, Wisconsin when he enlisted. John Dudkiewicz (who submitted this article) did some research and found a William M. Miller who did serve in both the 13th Wisconsin band as well as the Iron Brigade

band. Notice the headstone indicates the name William N. Miller while the official records report the name as William M. Miller. Such mistakes, unfortunately, are common in civil war records

William Miller enlisted on September 26th, 1861. On November 2nd, 1861, Mr. Miller transferred to the regimental band. In August of 1862, William Miller apparently joined the Iron Brigade band. Below you will find the information gleaned from the *Wisconsin Roster of Civil War Veterans* by John.

> **Company D, 13th Regiment: Steven J. Baker, Edgar W. Blake (Captain), William Burk, John C. Cook, Lucien Craig, David Everest, William A. Gould, Charles Ivans, Daniel B. Lovejoy, Daniel Phillips, Charles M. Rowley, Edwin B. Starr, Nathaniel D. Walters (2nd Lieutenant), Joseph H. West, John Williams, James Williamson.**
>
> **Same, died of disease: John Vandenburg, Stephen West, John H. Williams.**
>
> **Same, discharged with disability: William Everest, John L. Glading, John H. Livingston, Thomas O'Riley, George P. Thompson, George W. Tomkins, Samuel S. Wallihan (Hospital Steward).**
>
> **Same, transferred to Regimental Band: Aaron T. Baker, Alva T. Bridgeman (later enlisted in Iron Brigade Band), Daniel M. Gillett, William Miller (later enlisted in Iron Brigade Band), Joseph H. Sale (later enlisted in Iron Brigade Band).**
>
> **Company C, 13th Regiment, discharged with disability: Benjamin Francisco.**

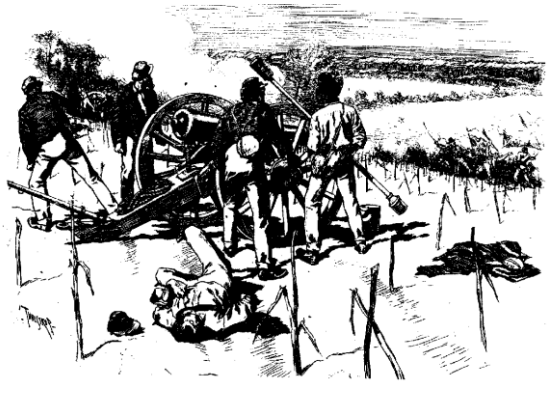
(http://www.grovesociety.org/civil-war-enlistments.html)

There is a mystery here, however. It appears we have a headstone, but no grave beneath the headstone!

Figure 2 COMPANY B AT MEMORIAL DAY PARADE--THE NATIONAL, STATE AND LACROSSE LIGHT GUARD FLAGS

Figure 3 POOR BOYS MESS AT REEDSBURG EVENT

ARTILLERY



LIVING HISTORY FAIR

A new event has been added to the calendar of the 6th Wisconsin Light Artillery. The Western division of the artillery unit will attend the Olmstead

County Historical Society in Rochester, Minnesota. Below is a poster from the Society promoting the event:

"TO HONOR AND TO TEACH OUR PAST"

TO BE HELD AT THE . . .

HISTORY CENTER OF OLMSTED COUNTY

SAT. JULY 16TH: 9:00 AM — 6:00 PM
SUN. JULY 17TH: 9:00 AM— 3:00 PM
A Weekend of 1800s Interactive Events

- ☐ **Civil War Battles and Encampments**
- ☐ **Civil War Military Demonstrations**
- ☐ **Sports Exhibit & Other New Exhibits in the Museum**
- ☐ **1860's era School Activities**
- ☐ **Log Cabin living Demonstrations**
- ☐ **Garden Party**
- ☐ **Vintage Base Ball Matches**
- ☐ **Fiber Arts and Crafts Demonstrations**

& Many More Interactive Events & Activities, Food Vendors On Site

HISTORY CENTER OF OLMSTED COUNTY
ADMISSION $8.00
AGES 6 THRU 12—$5.00
AGES 5 AND UNDER FREE

PHONE: 282-9447

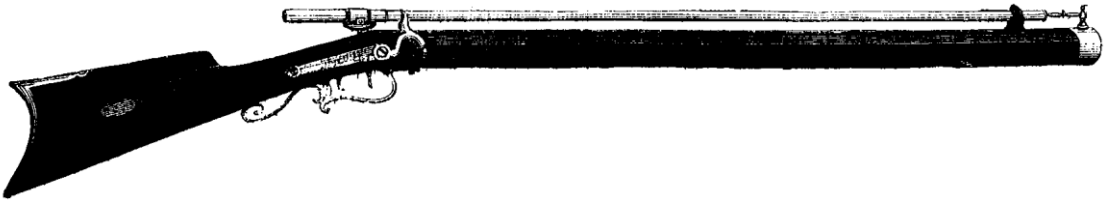
Bring the whole family and
Join Us for an Exciting and
Educational Weekend

PHOTO ESSAY FROM THE LONE ROCK EVENT

The following photographic essay was passed along to the newsletter by Lyle Laufenberg. The event was one held at Lone Rock, Wisconsin, the original home of the 6th Wisconsin Light Artillery. Thank you Lyle for sharing the event with us through your photos!

Soldiers pass the time playing checkers

SKIRMISHERS



The Skirmish Teams have a competitive shooting match scheduled for July 16th and 17th, inst., and you can find some of the details below.

Saturday 16 July

56th Virginia, Company E

& 29th Wisconsin

Present an ACWSA/ N-SSA Shoot|

SATURDAY & SUNDAY JULY 16-17, 2016 CONSERVATION CLUB OF KENOSHA COUNTY BRISTOL, WISCONSIN

Schedule of Events:

0900 Range open for Individual Competition (Range closes at Noon)

1230 Team Commanders ' Meeting (Team fees payable at this time)

1300 Team Smoothbore Competition (3 man team)

1400 Team Carbine Competition (5 man team)

Note: Concealed carry is not permitted on CCKC property.

SUNDAY 17 JULY

0830 Team Commanders ' Meeting (Musket teams only, Team fees payable at this time)

0845 Opening Ceremony and Awards presentations

0900 Team Musket Competition (5 man team)

	50 yd. - 6 MoSkeets*
Team Carbine (5 min. events) 50 yd. - 20	**Team Musket (5 min. events) 50 yd. - 20**
	Pigeon board
Pigeon board	**50 yd. - 10 hanging 4"**
50 yd.-10 hanging 4"	**tiles**
tiles	**50 yd. - 10 hanging**
50 yd. - 10 hanging	**clays**
clays	**50 yd. - 10 hanging**
50 yd. - 10 hanging	**bottles**
bottles	**50 yd. - 6 MoSkeets***

Team Smoothbore (3 min. events) 25 yd. - 9 Pigeon board
25 yd. - 6 hanging 4"tiles
50 yd. - 5 Gallon Jugs
*** Simulated 100 yd. event**
Individual Awards
1sr, 2nd and 3rd in Class I Musket, Carbine, Smoothbore, Breach Loader and Revolver. 50 yd. and 100 yd. (Reduced Target) and aggregate. No Grand Aggregate is being awarded.

Smoothbore, Breach Loader and Revolver are Class I only 1st and 2nd in Class II Musket and Carbine.

50 yd., 100 yd. (Reduced Target).

Team Awards

First through Third for each team match, First place only for "B" teams, if applicable. (The "B" team is defined as that team having the highest score immediately at or below 50% of all competing teams e.g. if 9 teams compete, fifth place will be "B" first place.)

Fees and Notes:

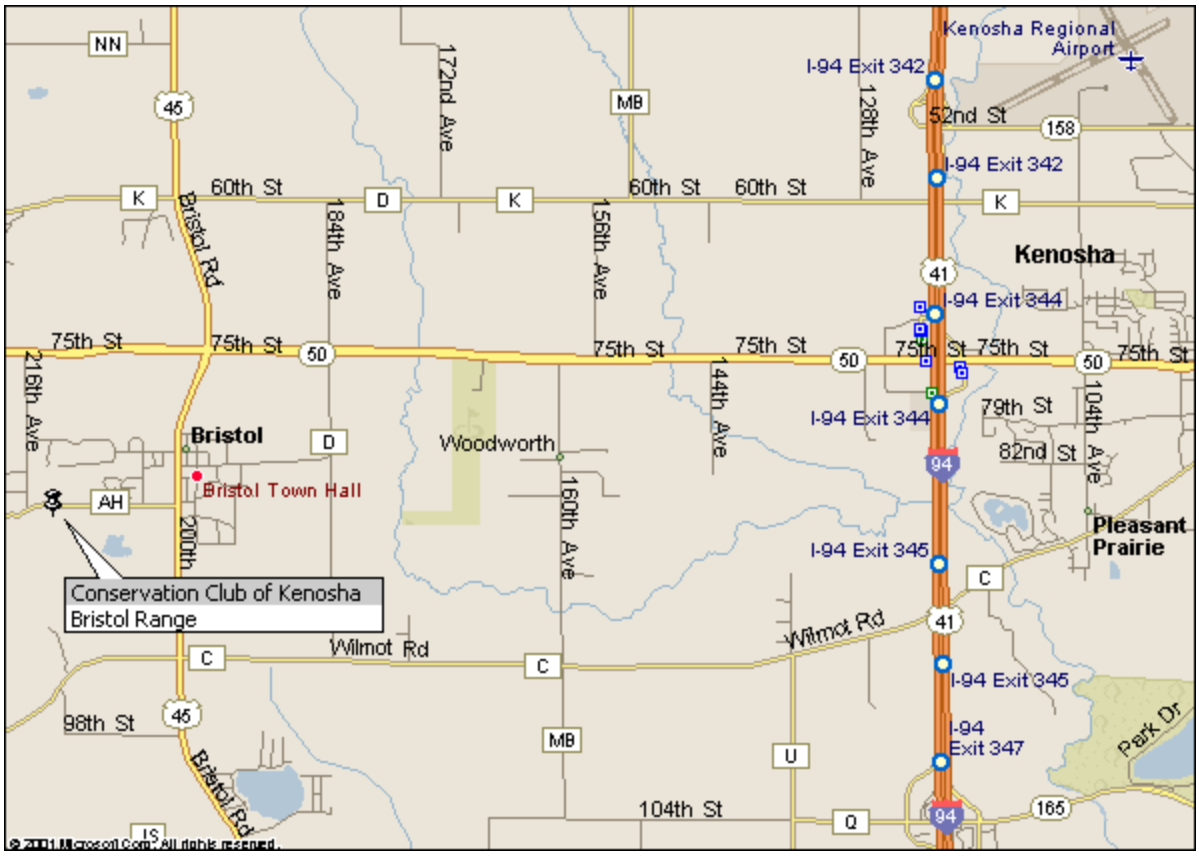
Individual Targets: $1.00 per target; re-entry $1.00 each. Teams: $6 per man per event.

All ACWSA and N-SSA rules apply, as applicable. Uniforms must be worn for all team shooting events.

All N-SSA shooters must display a current Membership Card (in their name).
Directions:
See "bristolranges.com" for directions to the range.
For More Information contact:
Bob Bucher, 847 540-1244 rbucher27@sbcglobal.net

JOHN MARK, 920 295-4790 JMARK48@HOTMAIL.COM

Below is a map to the location of the skirmish:



CIVIL WAR MILESTONES

JULY

July 1, 1863

A. P. Hills troops encounter John Buford's cavalry along the Chambersburg Pike and the Battle of Gettysburg commences. Late in the afternoon and long into the night reinforcements under General Hancock's and General Meade's direction arrive on the battlefield.

July 2, 1863

Late in the afternoon the rebels under General James Longstreet attack Meade's left wing. After a desperate struggle the attack is blunted and the Union troops hold their positions on Cemetery Ridge. Troops under General Ewell's command attack the right wing on Culp's Hill but to no avail as the Union forces hold.

July 3, 1863	**The battle at Gettysburg comes to a conclusion when the Pickett-Trimble-Pettigrew attack on the Union center fails with the rebels suffering great losses in the attempt. The attack was preceded by a huge artillery contest for over an hour.**
July 4, 1863	**Grant compels the surrender of Vicksburg after a siege of over a month on the fortified city.**
July 5, 1801	**Admiral David G. Farragut, U.S.A., born.**
July 7, 1863	**Union Conscription Act becomes effective, creating discontent, especially in New York.**
July 9, 1863	**Port Hudson surrenders.**
July 13, 1821	**Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, C.S.A., born.**
July 13, 1861	**Union forces secure West Virginia.**
July 13, 1863	**A mob in New York City storms a draft office beginning 4 days of riots in which hundreds were killed or injured and caused 1.5 million dollars in damages to the City.**
July 18, 1863	**The famed black regiment, the 54th Massachusetts leads an unsuccessful attack on Battery Wagner, suffering heavy losses including its colonel, Robert Gould Shaw.**
July 21, 1861	**THE FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN—this is the 150th anniversary of the battle.**

July 29, 1862 **The CS Alabama sails out of England.**

July 30, 1864 **The Battle of the Crater.**

SOCIETAL CHANGES CAUSED BY THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

BY STAN GRAIEWSKI

The following summary of the impact of the War of the Rebellion provides an insight to the "remorseless revolutionary struggle" Lincoln had hoped to avoid early in the war. It should also be noted that in the North the economy was booming. Jobs were plentiful, wages increased, production expanded at an unreal rate. And Lincoln's government did not just focus on war issues. Land grant colleges, a homestead act, building railroads were also created during this period.

The American Civil War created severe difficulties and challenges for civilians and military. Since most battles were fought in the South, we can assume they suffered more than the North.

Let's explore how the Civil War unraveled the fiber of society.

The First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) July 21, 1861 drastically changed perceptions of war.

Civilians, congressmen, businessmen and socialites with picnic baskets traveled to the battlefield via buggies and carriages to watch the battle. An enjoyable day of entertainment was envisioned. Within hours they joined McDowell's hasty retreat to Washington DC. The realities of war meant no summer amusement: no fun and frolic. Civilians no longer found sport in watching battles. Children sometimes snuck out to watch battles. The Civil War became an inescapable, uninvited presence in society.

Prior to the Civil War, except for post offices, the federal government was practically invisible. As war progressed the federal government became more visible and demanding and public support waned.

Conscription laws were enacted by both North and South. Opposition occurred everywhere

The South enacted the first Draft legislation on April 16, 1862 requiring white men between 18 and 35 (later extended to 45) to serve. This law exempted individuals owning or supervising 20 or more slaves. Privately owned businesses, industries and mills were also exempted. Toward war's end the South recruited slaves for military service. However, the war ended before they could fight. Military school cadets fought in several battles.

The North followed in March 1863 requiring all men between 20-35 to serve in the military. Objectors could pay the government $300 to be excused from military service. Objectors could also pay someone to replace them.

The 1863 Union blockade cut off necessary supplies, forcing the South to create substitutes for coffee, tea and other foods. The South's major supplier was England. While Northerners often lacked sugar, sugarcane rotted in canebrakes in the South. Sufficient help was not available for picking crops. The Northern embargo on salt meant the South had to produce its own salt. Even though salt mines existed in the South, mining and transportation were difficult and often impossible.

The lack of food and salt in the South was felt for years after the war. Illness and disease caused by malnutrition and insufficient amounts of key vitamins resulted in painful and unnecessary deaths. The harm caused by malnutrition did not disappear at war's end. Privation of food was a most insulting and widespread suffering inflicted upon civilians.

Battleground States suffered from looting of food and livestock. Civilians were left hungry and unable to produce food on their lands. With no livestock, no seed and little or no help for planting and harvesting, civilians struggled. The hardest hit were women, children and the elderly. Homes, businesses, industries, mills and barns were often burned by occupying troops. Battles were as close as the nearest pasture. Looting was everywhere. The terrors of living were visceral. Living without food, shelter and livestock was an unforgiving hardship.

Clothing and brogans (shoes) became scarce as money to buy materials for making them disappeared. When fibers were available, civilians began spinning and weaving their own cloth. Soles for brogans were made from tree bark. Paper and candles became luxury items.

Uncontrolled inflation ran rampant in the South. A pound of butter, for example, cost $12 per pound in Richmond. Cotton crops were replaced with grain and livestock. Poor families, those on fixed incomes, and women subsisting on a soldier's wages were not able to find or pay for food on a private's monthly pay of $11 when a barrel of flour cost $100 in the South. In April 1863 several hundred women in Richmond marched on the governor's mansion shouting "Bread! Bread! Our children are starving while the rich roll in wealth!" Prior to the Civil War, Southern ladies wore clothing made with silk and lace. During the war, they wore cloth and gingham.

State governments stretched constitutional authority by instituting welfare programs with direct relief to civilians. They intended to alleviate deprivation of soldiers' families. Said payments backfired by failing to stop deteriorating economic circumstances and morale. Gloomy letters from wives and mothers destroyed morale and motivation which prompted extensive desertions as the war progressed. Morale fluctuated with success or failure of armies. Ethics of patriotism in 1861 combined with ideals of sacrifice that had inflamed Southern women shriveled, and by 1865 rampant desertion was normal.

Women and children worked part time in factories and mills. Much like World War II, women accepted work normally performed by men. An excellent example is nursing. Depending upon availability, women offered their homes as makeshift hospitals. Both sides confiscated public and private buildings for use as field hospitals and command headquarters. The most daring women traveled to front lines to serve as nurses.

Prior to the war, municipalities had either a marshal or sheriff. Retired officers became police officers after the war.

Perhaps the greatest transformation occurred among women. Women found themselves doing agricultural work previously done by men and in the South by slaves who left farms and plantations. With almost half the work force gone, women picked cotton, suckered tobacco and harvested wheat. Northern women were transformed as they exchanged domesticticity for voluntarism. The United States Sanitary Commission and United States

Christian Commission encouraged ladies to sew and fill baskets with food and books, made possible from sales of homemade food, clothes and battlefield relics at sanitary fairs.

Children continued to attend school. Schools became propaganda machines. Prior to the war, most textbooks were printed in the North. The South now had to print textbooks promoting their brand of patriotism. Some Southern families sent children for safety reasons to Northern academies and boarding schools. It is estimated 40,000 Northern students became drummers for the Union Army. 20,000 joined Southern armies as drummers, buglers and for menial duties such as gathering wood, water and caring for horses.

Schools and churches organized patriotic activities such as fund raising, sewing, knitting socks and mittens and food drives. Northern school children raised $16,000 by selling pictures of Lincoln.

Fairs, sponsored by the US Sanitary Commission in 1861, provided food and supplies for military hospitals. Monetary donations came from sales of pies, jams, embroidered towels and handmade goods. $4.3 million was raised for food and medical supplies.

The South conducted fairs and concerts where sales of handmade mittens and socks, embroidery, cakes and jellies purchased medical supplies and flags. Scraped linen was used for linen for bandages.

As war escalated, the traditional separation of civilian and military disappeared. Civilians hid in cellars when communities became battlegrounds. Southern women and children fled, creating a large refugee problem. Refugee camps held thousands of homeless citizens living desperate disease ravaged lives. Civilian casualties were also a factor as the war raged on. The elderly, such as John Burns of Gettysburg, grabbed shotguns and joined the fracas. Jennie Wade, also of Gettysburg, is an excellent example for civilian casualties.

The noise of battle caused initial terror. Damaged ambulance wagons and carts with wounded and dying were left behind. Sights and smells of dead bodies and animal carcasses were horrendous. After discovering carnage in her yard, Sue Chancellor of Chancellorsville, saw her beautiful piano being used as an operating table.

Carefully tended farms were trampled: fences destroyed; animals confiscated, roads and bridges destroyed. Wounded were not able to be transported quickly to field hospitals. Wounded were kept in ambulances for hours, days and nights until bridges and roads were repaired. Private homes became command headquarters. Wilmer McClean's house near Bull Run became a Confederate headquarters. After a Union shell crashed into the structure, a frustrated McClean swore to avoid further conflict by relocating to a remote village in southern Virginia near Appomattox. By 1865, the war's inescapable presence caught up with him when General Robert E Lee surrendered to General Grant in McLean's parlor.

General Sherman destroyed everything in his March to the Sea. General Sherman's objective was to crush the South by punishing civilians for supporting the Southern cause. His troops ravaged the South burning everything of perceived value while confiscating valuables and supplies. Sherman's troops lived off a frightened populace.

Civilians wrestled with complex anxieties relative to welfare of relatives and friends. Civilians rushed to newspaper and telegraph offices, post offices and churches for latest casualty lists. Widely shared illustrated magazines and photographs brought horrors of war closer to home.

Approximately 620,000 individuals did not return from the war. Northern and Southern coffin makers had booming businesses. Injured veterans limped home, permanently damaged with amputated limbs representing differences between life and death. Nursing care was required for the remainder of their lives.

Civilians in border States immediately felt wartime restrictions to civil liberties. Union authorities ordered approximately 20,000 Southern sympathizers in Missouri to leave their homes within two weeks. The order was rescinded. However, Missouri was placed under martial law. During the Spring of 1861 in Maryland, John Merryman, a Baltimore County farmer and Southern sympathizer, attempted to impede advancement of Union troops by blowing up bridges. He was briefly arrested, denied writ of habeas corpus, jailed and released without bail. In 1863 Clement Vallandigham of Ohio was convicted by an Army court martial for opposing the war, and exiled to the Confederacy. He ran for governor of Ohio in 1863 from exile in Canada, but was defeated.

Members of secret societies (Knights of Golden Circle and Order of American Knights) were arrested for draft opposition and disloyal literature

distribution. The US Congress attempted to solve this problem by passing legislation defining treason. Lincoln issued a proclamation extending martial law to those opposing conscription. Several thousand arrests were made. Common criminals were included in the arrests.

Peace societies were formed in the South to oppose suspension of habeas corpus and military arrests. The secret Order of the Heroes of America pleaded with North Carolina to arrange a separate peace treaty with the United States.

Civilians felt governmental pressures with constantly changing economic policies. Both North and South struggled with wartime expenditures.

During August 1861, the North instituted a 3% income tax on incomes over $800 which increased to 10% on incomes over $10,000 by 1865. The US Treasury administered excise taxes, printed large amounts of paper money (greenbacks) and created a national banking system.

The South was not as successful. President Jefferson Davis' Administration thought taxes strained loyalty. The Editor of the Wilmington, North Carolina Journal acknowledged that taxation should bear lightly on citizens since they paid dearly for defense in blood, wounds and death. In 1863 a desperate Congress passed excise taxes on many products except slaves and land. All farmers and planters, after reserving an amount of food for personal use, were required to pay one tenth of their crops to the government. The South printed paper money tripling amounts printed by the North. Inflation skyrocketed to 10% per month.

Real wages for workers increased. Cost of living increases made survival precarious. Northern workers included more children in a labor short economy. Workers went on strike. A group of women sewers in Cincinnati protested to Lincoln in 1865 that it was impossible to live on their wages. The North was more successful helping the needy. Voluntary giving to charities was more successful than governmental intervention.

Southern prisoners of war were given a choice to swear allegiance to the United States in lieu of being sent to prisoner of war camps. Those who made this choice became galvanized Yankees and were sent to Western frontiers to protect trade routes. These brave men contributed significantly to Westward expansion and Statehood for territories, particularly Montana

Like soldiers who marched off to war, those left behind were tired of fighting, starving, sacrificing and living in fear. The war came to an end but not without leaving indelible impressions on society.

Content for this article was derived from the following sources:

https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=249
http://twinkle.bangtech.com/american/civilian_life_during_civil_war.htm
http://www.thecivilwaromnibus.com/articles/62/hard-times-civilian-life-during-the-civil-war/

"REMEMBERING PERRYVILLE: HISTORY AND MEMORY AT A CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD"

KENNETH W. NOE, DEPT. OF HISTORY, AUBURN UNIVERSITY, AUBURN AL 36830

POPULAR CULTURE ASSOCIATION AND AMERICAN CULTURE ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE, APR. 14, 2001

While members of the general public regularly travel to Civil War battlefield parks in large numbers, they usually do not give much thought to the history of those pastoral facilities. With the notable exception of Gettysburg, the same can be said of most scholars. Yet the slow evolution of battlefields as state-owned parks can tell us much about the nation's post-Civil War history and search for meaning. Battlefields became the focus of new battles over how the Civil War was to be remembered, who was to be included or excluded in establishing an orthodox memory, and who was to profit from their establishment. In the process, those who saw the land as something other than a historical tableau struggled to establish a different identity. That process continues today.

The battlefield at Perryville, Kentucky, offers a lesser known example of the process. On October 8, 1862, Union and Confederate forces clashed just west of Perryville, a small market town located southwest of Lexington in the commonwealth's central bluegrass. The climax of a hard, sixweek

campaign that shifted the focus of the western war from northern Mississippi hundreds of miles toward the Ohio River, the battle ended inconclusively. Although a tactical Confederate victory, Gen. Braxton Bragg abandoned the hard-won field overnight to his numerically stronger foe and commenced a retreat that eventually led back to Middle Tennessee's Stones River at the end of the year. Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell's Union Army of the Ohio soon followed. Although the widespread Confederate dream of adding Kentucky to the Confederacy did not die at Perryville, the last realistic hopes of 2 accomplishing it faded like the autumn leaves that fell on Bragg's army during its sullen retreat.1

The armies left Perryville's homes and farms in gory shambles. Every resident within range of the guns suffered losses during the battle. The post-battle Federal garrison particularly targeted Confederates sympathizers, however, once the shooting stopped. As the most prominent secessionist living on the field , the prosperous farmer and magistrate "Squire" Henry P. Bottom felt the heaviest blow. Squire Bottom's farm already resembled bedlam by nightfall on October 8. Hungry and angry Federals then exacted more tribute over the next several weeks. Years later Bottom complained that after the battle the Federals deprived him of nearly $5,000 worth of property, notably over 8,000 pounds of pork, almost 5,000 pounds of bacon, well over 3,000 bushels of corn, fourteen tons of hay, and 300 cords of wood. For the first time in his life, he had to purchase food to feed his family. Economically and emotionally, the battle broke Henry Bottom forever.2

Bottom and his neighbors faced another immediate problem, the hundreds of dead men and horses still scattered across their land. By the time Buell pulled out, most of the Federal dead lay in long, neat, trench-like graves, largely buried by their comrades but sometimes by impressed local slaves. Some regiments chose pastoral spots, shaded by cedars or oaks and marked with wooden headstones that denoted units and in some cases expressed hope in Christian resurrection.3 In contrast, most Confederate casualties remained on the field unburied for a week after the fight. Angry at the Rebels for robbing their dead the night of the battle, Perryville's garrison summarily refused to bury them. If the enemy wanted their dead buried, one man asserted, they should have interred them themselves instead of pillaging fallen Federals. Feral hogs that usually occupied the woods swarmed the field, devouring putrid body parts with aplomb until they too sickened and began to die from their gory repast. Bottom 3 attempted to drive the hogs off his scarred land, but the absence of fences

and the refusal of neighbors to associate with him while elements of the Federal army remained allowed the hogs to return repeatedly.

Finally, with both the sight and smell of decomposing men growing "loathsome" to those Federals still in the area, Col. William P. Reid of the 121st Ohio impressed Bottom, his slaves, and other local Secessionists to assist 100 soldiers in accomplishing the grim task. Working with too few picks and shovels, burial parties also faced a difficult task breaking hard and rocky soil baked by the summer's drought. Eventually, they gave up and carved out only shallow trenches, temporarily covering the dead with a thin blanket of earth in vain hope of deterring the hogs. Only two months later, after the 121st Ohio marched away, would Squire Bottom, other Perryville residents, and a group of students from Danville's Kentucky School for the Deaf exhume those Confederates and bury 347 of them in a compact mass grave located on Bottom's land. Using personal effects, he managed to identify a few, notably some Mississippians, but the identity of most remained, and remains, unknown.4

Perryville could not forget the battle that left it scarred, however much its residents tried to rebuild their shattered community and get on with life. Boyle County's war cruelly did not end with Bragg's retreat. Confederate raiders and partisans periodically operated in the area until the end of the war. Worried about such partisans as well as suspicious of Kentucky's loyalties, Federal authorities maintained a heavy hand on the community and the commonwealth throughout the remainder of the conflict. The result was a crucial shift among whites from their pre-war Whiggery toward the postwar Democratic party, a redirection largely occasioned by Lincoln appointees' treatment of Kentucky as an almost-conquered province coupled with an unrealistic hope to hang onto their slave property. The 4 sight of Black men in blue uniforms, some local residents, particularly galled local whites and stimulated a violent reaction. In the bitter years immediately following the war, county "Regulators" lynched three Blacks. Some wags eventually opined that Kentucky had finally joined the Confederacy, only four years too late.5

In the face of such violence, Perryville's African Americans struggled to build a viable and selfsustaining community in the aftermath of emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1865, a group of three extended families led by Preston Sleet, a former Boyle County slave who took up arms during the battle and left with the Federal army, occupied about 150 acres of battlefield land. For several years, the male residents of

Sleettown as it came to be called toiled as sharecroppers. They apparently worked hard and lived frugally, for in 1880 Preston and Henry Sleet purchased the property from the financially strapped Henry Bottom and a neighbor. During the years that followed, they added additional, smaller tracts purchased from the Bottoms. Sleettown survived as a different monument to the Civil War's legacy well into a new century, its restaurant, general store, and taxi service providing a brief prosperity, while its church and one-room school otherwise enriched the lives of the hamlet's populace.

While Sleettown experienced its genesis, Federal soldiers returned to other parts of the field to supervise the reburial of their hastily buried dead in a national cemetery. Burial parties in 1865 exhumed 969 bodies and moved the remains to a two acre square, hilltop compound. A handsome stone fence, five feet high, enclosed the cemetery, with two gates providing admittance to mourners. "In the center of the grounds," a local doctor wrote, "is a vacant space fifty-two feet square, on which it is intended to erect a suitable monument." Eight carriage roads, each ten feet wide, radiated from the monument site 5 to a walkway bordering the stone wall, dividing the graveyard into eight distinct sections.6

As it turned out, the monument would never be erected, nor the grand design completed. In 1867 the government, unable to obtain legal title to the property due to the stipulations of a will, closed the new cemetery and transferred all the Federal dead buried at Perryville to a larger, central facility at Camp Nelson, in Jessamine County. Aside from a few lost souls whose lonely graves remained unmarked and largely unknown, no Federal dead remained on the field after the summer of 1868. One cemetery still existed, however, that built by Squire Bottom for Confederates. In the years following the war, Bottom attempted to erect a stone wall around the plot, similar in design to that described by Polk around the Federal cemetery.7

If Bottom seemed placid in the 1880s, others connected with the battle did not. Perryville receded quickly from the American popular mind during the two decades following Appomattox. Many Americans were in the mood to forget the war entirely, and even those who still wanted to fight it out non-violently increasingly focused on the Virginia campaigns. By 1884, Perryville veteran Marshall Thatcher could complain in his memoirs that no one remembered Perryville at all except as an unimportant skirmish.8 Just at that moment, however, the Battles and Leaders series reopened old wounds and brought new discord. Buell's long narrative of the campaign and defense of his actions created the greatest stir. A flurry of memoirs and

articles followed, nearly all of which attacked Buell's poor generalship. Former Confederates would write scathingly of Bragg as well, but his refusal to respond as well as his earlier demise at least provided less ammunition than Buell gave his critics.9

Although the war of words brought Perryville back to mind, it nonetheless failed to change the growing popular perception of the battle as an affair of relatively minor importance, an interlude between 6 Shiloh and Stones River. That annoyed Kentuckians. The birth of a new century, however, coupled with approaching fortieth anniversary of the battle, did spur new interest in the battle. Aging veterans of a few units began holding their annual regimental reunions on October 8, their most significant day.10 More importantly, the impending anniversary set off a growing movement intent upon memorializing the battlefield. By the 1890s, battlefields had come to loom in the American mind both as sites made sacred by the blood of soldiers, and outdoor classrooms superbly able to provide a tangible link to a more glorious past. To some, they promised to play a role in sectional reconciliation as veterans of both armies returned for annual reunions. Others placed them within a revival of proclaiming the glories of the south. At the same time a tug-of-war began nationally between battle survivors, who claimed dominion over the once bloody fields, and a growing host of artists, bureaucrats, and boosters who advocated giving control of battlefields to artists, landscape architects, government officials, and other Progressive Era 'experts.'

In regard to Perryville, Kentuckians and especially local citizens took the lead in working to establish such a park there. Their task was by no means an easy one, for Perryville lagged behind other sites. Monuments already littered battlefields like Gettysburg, increasingly regarded as the nation's most important scene of combat as well as a tourist mecca. In contrast, by 1900 there was little left to suggest that a major battle once took place at Perryville. Only Squire Bottom's Confederate cemetery marked the spot, and it now stood in disrepair, its grounds and the still incomplete wall now overgrown with briars and weeds.

A stillborn attempt by Kentucky Congressmen to have the area purchased for a National Military Park along the lines of the new facilities at Chickamauga and Gettysburg, opened in 1895, 7 nonetheless served to refocus a least Kentucky's attention to Perryville. With much of the 1862 battlefield still in use by the Bottom heirs as a working farm, however, most of that interest automatically devolved on the Confederate cemetery and its

immediate environs. The Kentucky Division of the Daughters of the Confederacy spearheaded a drive to raise both public and private funds to erect an appropriate monument in the cemetery. The first decade of the twentieth century had witnessed the peak of Civil War monument erection. That women led such a project is not surprising, since in the years between 1865 and 1885, elite women's groups and especially the Daughters had spearheaded most monument efforts. As in Perryville, more often than not they had erected the completed monuments in cemeteries, since theoretically Federal authorities would object less to commemoration confined to the dead. Although more public town squares increasingly became home to monuments after 1885, Perryville's and Kentucky's peculiar situation empowered the earlier tradition, as did continuing southern poverty that usually precluded state aid.

On October 8, 1902, forty years to the day of battle, a crowd of at least 5,000 celebrants gathered for the monument's unveiling. Among them were two Union veterans of the 10th Ohio, both carrying regimental flags and embodying the turn of the century's growing spirit of reconciliation, as evinced by many of the war's veterans at 'Blue-Gray reunions' and monument dedications. While Union veterans generally refused to participate in events that seemed to honor the Confederate cause, men like the veteran Ohioans had grown perfectly willing to salute the bravery of individual Johnny Rebs at places like Perryville. After prayer and a speech, the crowd followed the path of the initial Confederate assault to the cemetery site. There, within the hastily completed stone wall, they found a granite shaft, twenty-eight feet high, and topped by the figure of an alert Confederate infantryman 8 prepared to begin the manual of arms. The rather typical soldier atop the monument, of the sort increasingly mass produced commercially for southern town squares, represented a new trend that had appeared after 1885. Earlier monuments tended to be simpler, funerary obelisks. Still, there was no mistaking the monument's essential purpose as headstone. Inscribed with lines from Theodore O'Hara's already standard "Bivouac of the Dead," the shaft also provided the names of the roughly thirty men Squire Bottom had been able to identify.11

Despite the very public and blatantly Confederate commemoration, no national acknowledgment of Perryville's first-rank importance followed, and the remainder of the field went back to the plow in the spring. Indeed, almost another thirty years would pass before Perryville's Federals received a similar honor. That is not surprising. Nationally, the 1930s marked another period of renewed interest in the Civil War, an upswing in interest

created by both the widening Great Depression, which had Americans searching for hope in a simpler and more noble past, and the increased passing of many of the war's now elderly combatants. Battle anniversaries figured prominently. Perryville, like many others towns, participated fully in the wider trend. On October 8, 1931, the Perryville Woman's Club and Perryville Battlefield Commission, the latter the latest incarnation of the town's booster spirit, unveiled a complementary Union monument near the cemetery. Symbolically smaller than the Confederate column, the Union obelisk drew its inspiration from the Washington Monument as well as the hundreds of memorial obelisks around the nation. Acknowledging the Federal dead's role in preserving the Union, the monument's creators also inscribed on it yet another verse from O'Hara. After the troubled unveiling--at first the shrouding veil refused to come off despite herculean efforts--a tremendous downpour ominously soaked the crowd and 9 shortened the festivities.12

The Battlefield Commission already had bigger plans than merely erecting an additional monument. Since the initial battlefield movement that three decades earlier culminated in completing the Confederate cemetery, Perryville's residents had continued hoping that they could persuade the federal government or the state to purchase the forty or fifty acres surrounding the site, essentially the locale of the battle's initial clashes, for a battlefield park. The new commission was no exception. The all-Black settlement of Sleettown, lay squarely in the middle of their proposed battlefield. Sleettown actually disappeared in these years of proposed park expansion, its residents abandoning the area for homes in town. The Depression usually is cited as the cause of Sleettown's demise, but a recently undertaken oral history project should provide more information on the town's demise. As David Blight has noted, reminders of slavery and Black freedom did not mesh with the national trend toward white reconciliation and memory of the war as a whites-only affair unconnected to slavery. One cannot help but wonder if Sleettown simply was in the way.13

Despite continued lobbying and anniversary celebrations, however, nothing could be done during the World War II years, a period when attendance at all national battlefield parks plummeted. Indeed, by the early 1940s the battlefield once again bore signs of ongoing neglect and disrepair, an isolated spot best suited for romantic assignations and other shadowy activities. A pond sprang up in the midst of the field. Weeds and briars wound their way from its banks up the hill toward the stone wall of the cemetery. Vandals repeatedly defaced the monuments. Anniversary activities

ceased during the war, and authorities finally hauled away the site's decorative cannons to melt down the metal for scrap.14 10

With the end of the world conflict came a new, prosperous, and often nostalgic postwar era provided by the sacrifice of soldiers of another conflict and coupled with the fears and continuing nationalism stimulated by the Cold War. After 1945, the relatively new concept of "heritage" became an increasing preoccupation with many Americans, some of whom nationally embraced it with missionary zeal. Not surprisingly, there emerged new hopes to memorialize World War II soldiers' Civil War progenitors. By 1952, however, the Perryville site's deterioration had grown so embarrassing to the community that the local Lions Club finally persuaded the State Conservation Commission to step in and create a state park, initially on eighteen acres surrounding the monuments. State workers rebuilt the stone wall around the cemetery, placed two cannon at its gate, sandblasted the older Confederate monument, erected a marker that described the battle, and instituted regular upkeep. Meanwhile, holding up their end of the bargain, the Lions raised funds to build a picnic pavilion with cooking amenities and rest rooms, and reshaped the pond. Later, a playground would be added, further cementing the park's role as a multi-use facility. Nearby farmers joined in, clearing the surroundings and in so doing again subtly reshaping the landscape of the battlefield as other landowners had been doing since 1862.

On the ninety-second anniversary of the battle, October 8, 1954, Vice President Alben W. Barkley officially opened the Perryville State Battlefield Site. The years that followed saw increased activity and continued small land acquisitions, the pace quickened by the impending centennial of the war. The crowning achievement came on the 100th anniversary, at the height of the Civil War Centennial, when the park curators opened a new museum and visitor's center near the cemetery. The new visitor center meshed nicely with the Commonwealth's myriad Centennial observances, which in 11 addition to essay contests and other educational activities emphasized developing the state's battle grounds as potential tourist sites.

By the mid-1970s, Perryville had grown over time to ninety-eight acres, including the now unmarked Sleettown site. Over 7,000 acres were recognized as a National Historic Landmark. At the park the pond disappeared. Under new park manager Kurt Holman, a subtle shift began that during the early 1990s transformed the site from a multi-use park to a battlefield memorial. The national response seemed to justify the shift, for

despite Perryville's distance from the new interstate highways, the field attracted increasing number of visitors including the new breed of Civil War reenactors, the latter manning an annual and still growing battle recreation every October. Some townspeople complained, however, that in emphasizing history over recreation, the town had lost a popular recreation facility. As a compromise, some of the picnic tables and playground equipment remain.

Perryville's increasing popularity to be sure was in part of a function of national trends. After a brief downturn in the 1970s, Americans interest in the Civil War again grew steadily through the next two decades, and attendance at parks like Perryville grew commensurately. It peaked in 1990 and 1991 after the initial broadcast of the blockbuster PBS series "The Civil War," produced by Ken and Ric Burns. By the late nineties, despite the waning of Burns-mania, the Perryville battlefield still averaged a respectable 100,000 visitors a year despite being closed during the winter months.15

More dramatic changes, however, were in the offing as the century drew to a close. The year 1990 saw not only the advent of Ken Burns, but also the creation of the Perryville Battlefield Protection Association (PBPA), a largely local group dedicated to preserving, enlarging and interpreting the park through a combination of public and private monies. Like their spiritual predecessors throughout the 12 century, PBPA members not only wanted to preserve and enlarge the field for its historical sake, but also hoped to increase local tourism and benefit the area economically. Working with the state government and private agencies, PBPA members drafted a battlefield management plan. In 1993, the same year that a Congressional committee identified Perryville as a top priority site for preservation, Kentucky provided an additional $2.5 million in federal funding and appointed a Perryville Battlefield Commission to oversee spending those and other public and private funds on implementing the finalized plan. Attorney and noted Civil War scholar Kent Masterson Brown, a native Kentuckian from nearby Danville, first president of PBPA, and former member of the Gettysburg battlefield advisory board, agreed to chair the commission and spearhead the raising of the 20 percent of matching funds made necessary by the state grant.

After appraising those privately-held lands earmarked for battlefield expansion, PBPA began purchasing property in the mid-nineties through the closely affiliated Perryville Enhancement Project (PEP). Among the most crucial PEP acquisitions were 149 acres of farmland from Melvin

Bottom, Henry's descendant. That property alone doubled the size of the existing park to 251 acres, and made possible for the first time a more or less complete tour of the entire battlefield. At the same time, other PBPA members purchased the Squire Bottom House, then in a sad state of disrepair, and commenced its restoration. Separately but in cooperation, PEP and private individuals acquired other historic sites in or near town. With assistance from preservation groups and corporate sponsors, property acquisitions continue today, toward the eventual goal of an 800 acre park. The size of the park at this writing is 370 acres, and PBPA has affected an additional 300 acres through protective easements. Plans call for the construction of representative cabins on appropriate sites after archaeological investigation, the 13 simultaneous deconstruction of modern structures, restoration of the landscape to approximate the scene in 1862, the creation of a three mile hiking trail to follow the Confederate march from town to field, creation of an audio driving tour, and the addition of non-obtrusive informational markers. A museum located in town in a period structure will replace the existing but increasingly cramped visitor center.16

As the park expanded during the 1990s, those supporters interested in it further refined their goals. Battlefields nationally at the end of the century once again became contested ground between those who wanted battlefields to teach important lessons, inculcate patriotism (American or Confederate), right old wrongs, or preserve green space from rapacious developers. While some defended battlefields as sacred spots made holy in martyrs' blood, others chastised the keepers of battlefield parks for both idealizing war on beautiful pastoral grounds that misrepresent the horrible totality of what occurred there, and for ignoring troubling political, social, and ideological questions that belie the lingering benign spirit of Blue-Gray reconciliation. Still others asked if the parks had not 'wasted' enough space as they opposed expansion plans in favor of commercial development at places such as Manassas. In 1999, Illinois Congressman Jesse Jackson, Jr., inaugurated a particularly lively debate when he called on the National Park Service to move beyond strict battlefield interpretation and broaden coverage of slavery and other issues that caused the war in the first place.17

At Perryville, however, Clarence Wyatt, a college professor and PBPA's second president, already had raised the issue two years earlier in PBPA's member newsletter. "How do we preserve the past?" Wyatt wrote. "Whose past is preserved? Who chooses? By what standards? Those of us who support the Perryville project have a responsibility to examine our own answers to these 14 questions." Admitting that many would focus solely on

the battle, he continued, "are we really telling the full story of Perryville? What about the townspeople....And can we speak of the residents as a monolithic group? What about women? African Americans, slave and free? And in the same way, what if we dismiss the military aspects of this story as old-fashioned or out of favor?"18

Wyatt received little initial response, and initial PBPA policies suggested a continuation of the policy of emphasizing the battle rather than the "full story." Its current Sleettown history project, however, seems to mark a new thrust. In the meantime, some townspeople have expressed second thoughts about the projected growth the battlefield might bring. At least a few quietly resent PBPA for the pressure brought to acquire property. In an ironic twist, a new water tower designed to accommodate future growth also has come in for criticism from Civil War enthusiasts, who note that the tower is in full view of the battlefield, marring the horizon. In regard to history, memory, and tourism, Perryville probably has not seen its last battle. 15

NOTES

1. The standard sources for the battle are Kenneth A. Hafendorfer, Perryville: Battle for Kentucky. 2nd ed. (Louisville: KH Press, 1991); and James Lee McDonough, War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994). A new if brief treatment is found within Earl J. Hess, Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). See also my initial Perryville foray, a paper given in 1997 and published three years later as "'Grand Havoc': The Climactic Battle of Perryville," in Kent Masterson Brown, ed., The Civil War in Kentucky: Battle for the Bluegrass State (Mason City, Iowa: Savas, 2000), 175-220. Several of my interpretations have evolved since then, as witnessed in a forthcoming monograph, "Perryville: 'This Grand Havoc of Battle,'" (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001). For the "Kentucky dream," see Thomas Connelly and Archer Jones, The Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973).

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9877 and 2514 consolidated, National Archives and Records Administration (cited hereafter as NARA). Bottom's war claim is summarized in Kurt Holman, "Henry P. 'Squire' Bottom's War Claim," unpublished paper, Perrryville Battlefield Historic Site, Perryville, 16 Ky. (Cited hereafter as PSHS).

3. James Stewart, Bowling Green, Ky., to My Dear Wife, Nov. 8, 1862, James Stewart Letter, Filson Club and Historical Library, Louisville, Ky. See also Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 12, 1862; Jefferson J. Polk, Autobiography of Dr. J.J. Polk: To Which is Added His Occasional Writings and Biographies of Worthy Men and Women of Boyle County, Ky., (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1867), 96-98.

4. Harry Lewis, Perryville, Ky., to Folks, Oct. 19, 1862, and Lewis, Lebanon, Ky., to Folks, Nov. 8, 1862, Lewis Family Letters, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio (hereafter cited as OHS); Bliss Morse, Danville, Ky., to Mother, Oct. 154, 1862, Bliss Morse Papers, OHS; Documents of the United States Sanitary Commission, v. 1, (New York: n.p., 1866), Document No. 55, 9; Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 12, 1862 (quotation); "Graves of Our Dead at Perryville," Confederate Veteran 3 (1895), 385; Thomas A. Head, Campaigns and Battles of the Sixteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers.... (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Press, 1885), 98-99; Polk, Autobiography of Dr. J.J. Polk, 96-98; Lyle Thoburn, ed., My Experiences During the Civil War (Cleveland: n.p., 1963), Oct. 13, 1862; Richard C. Brown, A History of Danville and Boyle County, Kentucky, 1774-1992 (Danville, Ky.: Bicentennial Books, 1992), 36-37; Geraldine Craig Harmon, Chaplin Hills: History of Perryville, Kentucky, Boyle County (Danville, Ky.: Bluegrass, 1971); Hambleton Tapp, "The Battle of Perryville, 1862," Filson Club History Quarterly 9 (1935): 180-81. 17

5. Polk, Autobiography of J.J. Polk, 46; Brown, History of Danville and Boyle County, 38-47.

6. Polk, Autobiography of J.J. Polk, 98-101; "Account of the Re-interment of Soldiers Buried on the Battlefield," Roll of Honor: Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defence of the American Union, Interred in the National and Public Cemeteries of Kentucky.... (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868). In terms of identifying the dead, things have not improved very much. Kurt Holman, who has spent over a decade attempting to identify every known grave of men killed or mortally wounded at Perryville, indicates that as of today, only 626 Perryville casualties lay

identified in marked graves, roughly a quarter of the battle's casualties. See Holman, Perryville, Ky., to Kenneth W. Noe, May 26, 2000, Author's Collection, PSHS.

7. Danville [Ky.] Kentucky Advocate, Apr. 2, 1900, clipping in William Woodward Collection, Perryville Enhancement Project, Perryville, Ky.; John E. Kleber, ed., The Kentucky Encyclopedia (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 158.

8. Marshall P. Thatcher, A Hundred Battles in the West.... (Detroit: The Author, 1884), 75. 18

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11. Danville [Ky.] Kentucky Advocate, Apr. 2, 1900, and Monongahela Republican, Oct. 1912, clippings in Woodward Collection, PEP; Harmon, Chaplin Hills, ch. 11; Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 257-62; Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 (new York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 40-42, 44, 129-30, 158, 167-68; Amy Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial: A Cultural Legacy," 203-22, in Gabor S. Borritt, ed., The Gettysburg Nobody Knows (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 205-22; Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 106-18; Stuart McConnell, Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 189-93; John S. Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground: Gettysburg as a Historic Site," in Warren Leon and Roy Rosenweig, eds., History Museums in the Unites States: A Critical Assessment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 128-40. 19

12. Harmon, Chaplin Hills, ch. 11; Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory, 456; Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial," 218-19.

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14. Harmon, Chaplin Hills, ch. 11; Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 142.

15. Harmon, Chaplin Hills, ch. 11; "Information Sheet," Perryville Enhancement Project, n.d, PEP: Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory, 533, 538-39, 572, 590-605; Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 142-43; Kurt Holman, Perryville, Ky., to Kenneth W. Noe, Mar. 3, 2000, Author's Collection, PSHS.

16. See especially the following issues of PBPA's newsletter, Action Front: v. 2 (July 1993): 1-3; v. 3 (Oct. 1994), 1-4; v. 4 (July 1995): 1-3; v. 5 (April 1996): 1-4; v. 5 (Aug. 1996): 2; v. 5 (Oct. 1996): 1-3; v. 6 (Jan. 1997):1; v. 6 (Apr. 1997): 1-3; v. 6 (July 1997): 1; v. 7 (Jan. 1998): 1; v. 7 (Apr. 1998): 1; v. 7 (Oct. 1998): 1, 4; v. 8 (July 1999): 1,2. Up-to-date information is provided on the 20 PBPA website, .

17. Edward Tabor Linenthal, Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 1-6, 89-118; Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial," 221-22; Kate Masur, "Changes in the Offing for Civil War Sites," Perspectives Online, March 2000 , paper copy in Author's Collection, PSHS. Jackson's call led to a long debate on H-CIVWAR, an electronic "list server" maintained by Michigan State University.

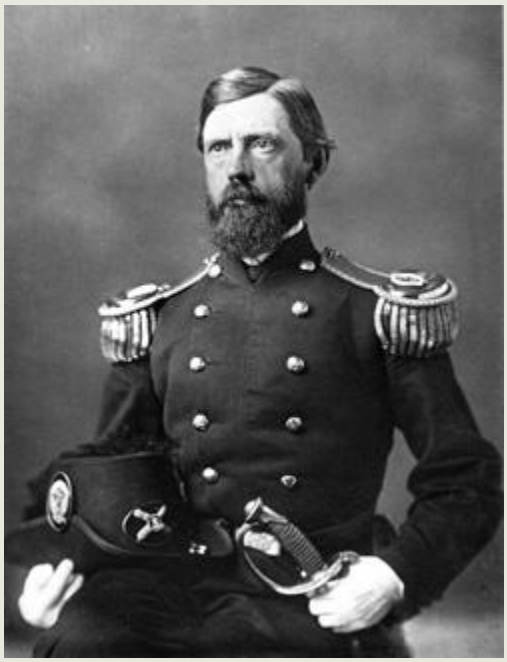
18. Action Front 6 (Oct. 1997): 1.

"NO MAN CAN TAKE THOSE COLORS AND LIVE"

THE EPIC BATTLE BETWEEN THE 24TH MICHIGAN AND 26TH NORTH CAROLINA AT GETTYSBURG

The Civil War Trust, in conjunction with the Conservation Fund, in 2011 saved the 95-acre Gettysburg "Country Club Tract." This section of the Gettysburg battlefield includes the location where the 24th Michigan ended their morning assault on July 1, 1863 and where the 26th North Carolina began their bloody attack upon the Iron Brigade.

"FORWARD MEN, FORWARD, FOR GOD'S SAKE, AND DRIVE THOSE FELLOWS OUT OF THOSE WOODS."



Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds (Library of Congress)

By 10:00 on the morning of July 1, 1863, the situation near McPherson's Ridge, outside the town of Gettysburg, was becoming increasingly desperate for the Army of the Potomac. Tennessee and Alabama soldiers from James Archer's Brigade had already crossed over the open field in front of Herr Ridge, splashed across the tangled stream bottom at Willoughby's Run, and were now pressing up through the Herbst (or McPherson's) Woods. The Union cavalry screen that had been gallantly holding the ground west of Gettysburg was simply no match for the huge Confederate force converging upon the strategic town.

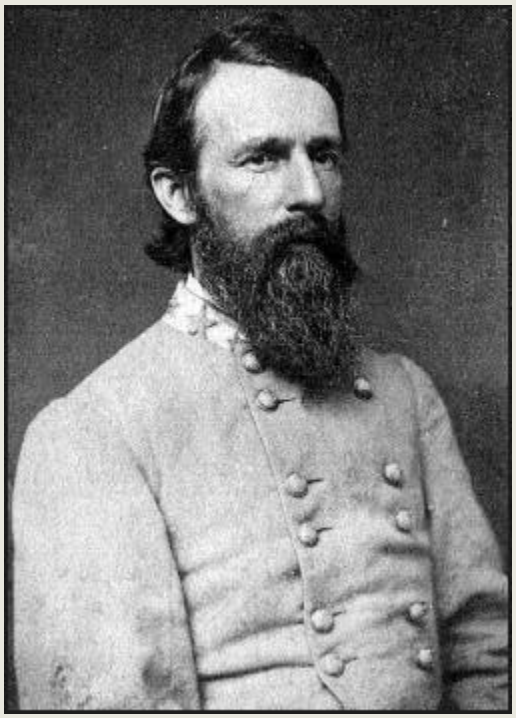
Fortunately for the Army of the Potomac, the veteran Iron Brigade, among the toughest units in the army, was just arriving on the western outskirts of the town of Gettysburg, near the prominent Lutheran Seminary. The first regiment to arrive, the 2nd Wisconsin, was hustled down to the edge of Herbst Woods by Left Wing commander Maj. General John Reynolds himself. Shortly after entering the woods, Reynolds, who was still conspicuously mounted on his horse, was struck by a bullet, reeled from his saddle, and fell to the ground, dead. The popular Reynolds was the highest ranking general killed at Gettysburg and his death had a profound impact upon the rapidly developing Union defenses on July 1st.

The 24th Michigan followed closely on the heels of the 2nd Wisconsin and advanced so fast that the men lacked time to load their rifles before entering

the smoke filled woods to the left of the 2nd Wisconsin. Joined by the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin, the Iron Brigade now had roughly 1,450 men positioned to take on the 1,200 soldiers in Archer's Brigade.

Reaching the southern edge of Herbst Woods, the Michigan men were quickly greeted by Confederate bullets. Color Sergeant Abel Peck of the 24th was killed straight off and the regiment's colors were quickly grabbed by Corporal Charles Bellore before it hit the ground. Despite the growing enemy fire, the 24th pressed forward.

"HE WHO FIGHTS AND RUNS AWAY MAY LIVE TO FIGHT ANOTHER DAY"

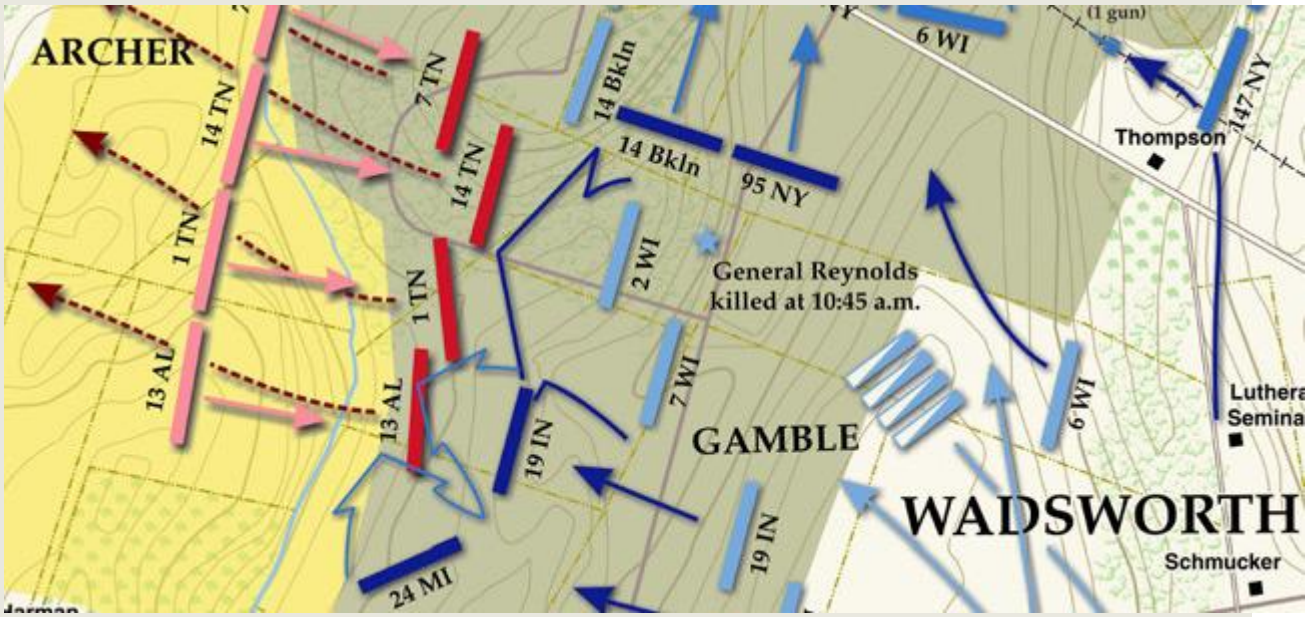


Brig. Gen. James Archer (Wikimedia)

Legend has it that the Confederate soldiers of Archer's Brigade, who thought at first that they were facing inexperienced local forces, saw the soft-brimmed Hardee hats worn by the Iron Brigade and exclaimed, "there are those damned black-hatted fellows again. 'Taint no militia. It's the Army of the Potomac." As more of the tough westerners from Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan filed into the woods, Archer's men began to slowly fall back towards Willoughby's Run. Little did they know, time was already rapidly running out for Archer's Brigade.

Pressing further into Archer's right flank, the 24th Michigan and the 19th Indiana struck and overlapped the 13th Alabama, forcing them to rapidly retire towards Herr's Ridge. Col. Henry Morrow of the 24th then directed the Michigan troops across Willoughby's Run and into the rear of the

Tennessee regiments who were busy holding off the rest of the Iron Brigade. Pressed in front, flank, and rear, many of Archer's men barely escaped the Union vise. Upwards of 200 Confederates who failed to run early, including General Archer himself, quickly surrendered to the Iron Brigade.



Note: The region colored in yellow is just a portion of the 95-acre "Country Club Tract" that the Conservation Fund and Civil War Trust worked to preserve in 2011.

Despite taking heavy casualties during the morning counterattack, the Iron Brigade had performed brilliantly once again. With Archer's Brigade now driven back or captured, the Union troops pressed forward across Willoughby's Run and into the open fields beyond. A quiet lull took hold around noon on the 1st.

HETH'S SECOND ASSAULT ON MCPHERSON RIDGE

Brig. Gen. Solomon Meredith - commanding officer of the Iron Brigade (Library of Congress)

Maj. Gen. Henry Heth knew that he had failed to do his best in deploying his division during the morning's fight. Feeding his regiments into the fight west of Gettysburg, he had expected that his veteran infantry would have little trouble driving off whatever mixture of cavalrymen and militia lay to his front. But with the arrival of strong Union infantry units, all of Heth's forces south of the Chambersburg Pike had been driven back. Looking over the land in front of him, Heth was determined that his afternoon attack would deliver the victory that he knew was expected of him.
Sensing that the day's fighting was far from over, Brig. Gen. Solomon Meredith, commander of the Iron Brigade, brought his forces back across Willoughby's Run and placed his regiments into a compact line inside Herbst Woods. The 24th Michigan was moved to the center of this line, with the 19th Indiana on its left and the 7th Michigan on its right. The 2nd Wisconsin, having suffered the heaviest casualties during the morning fight, was initially placed in a second line to the rear.

With the afternoon heat reaching its peak, the North Carolinians and Virginians of Pettigrew's and Brockenbrough's Brigades stepped off from their positions on Herr's Ridge to resume the attack upon the Union forces defending McPherson's Ridge, south of the Chambersburg Pike.

ENTER THE 26TH NORTH CAROLINA

Portrait of Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn of the 26th North Carolina (Wikimedia)

With 843 soldiers, the 26th North Carolina was the largest regiment not only in Pettigrew's brigade of roughly 2,500, but the largest in either army at Gettysburg. Commanded by the "boy general", 21-year old Colonel Henry King Burgwyn, the officers of the 26th were anxious to enter the fight before the day was done. Finally, at 2:30pm, the 26th and the rest of Pettigrew's Brigade was ordered forward.

With Col. Burgwyn taking his place at the center of the regiment, J.B. Mansfield, the regimental color bearer stepped out in front of the line with the regiment's square battle flag. Eight other members of the 26th's color guard joined Mansfield at the front. "Forward! March!" came the order.

The 26th North Carolina maintained perfectly dressed lines as they descended into the wheatfield in front of Willougby's Run. Fortunately for the Tarheels, the Yankees opposing them fired high. The 26th paused to return fire and then made a dash for the tangled banks of Willoughby's Run.

While most of the regiment made it safely to the banks of Willoughby's Run, the 26th's color guard, always a tempting target, suffered much heavier losses. Four members of the 26th's color guard were killed or wounded before they even reached the stream. Private John Stamper grabbed the regiment's colors as they entered into the brush near the stream but fell before he made it across. Private George Washington Kelly next took up the battle flag. Leaping across the water, Kelly fell to the ground, hit by shrapnel in the leg. Kelly's friend, L.A. Thomas, picked the flag up and began to move up the hillside. Thomas, like so many before him, was

hit shortly afterwards and handed the flag to John Vinson. Vinson, in turn, was promptly wounded and the flag was passed to John Marley who was quickly dispatched by a hissing bullet. A tenth, unnamed man, took his turn holding the colors. In just ten minutes the 26th North Carolina had used ten different color bearers.

The men of the 26th North Carolina soon "came on with rapid strides, yelling like demons." Up the steep bank they came. Waiting in the thick woods were the trained rifles of the 24th Michigan.

With Burgwyn's men crowding into the stream bottom, Col. Henry Morrow of the 24th ordered his men to hold their fire until the terrain allowed for a clear shot. The men of the 26th swarmed up the far bank and on towards the forested positions of the 24th Michigan. Now seeing the distinctive Hardee hats on the heads of the Michigan men, some of Burgwyn's men exclaimed, "here are those damned black hat fellows again." With barely 40 yards separating the two lines, the 24th Michigan unleashed a devastating volley upon the Tarheels.

The superior numbers of the North Carolinians, however, began to overwhelm the 24th Michigan. Quickly stepping back to their second prepared line, the 24th looked to stem the onslaught as best they could. Corporal Charles Bellore, who had carried the 24th's colors since Sergeant Peck's death during the morning assault, was killed near the second line.

"NO MAN CAN TAKE THOSE COLORS AND LIVE"

Battle Flag of the 26th North Carolina (The Museum of the Confederacy)

The battle between the 26th North Carolina and the 24th Michigan rapidly reached its climax. Standing toe to toe in the deep woods, the two proud regiments poured deadly fire into each other. Col. Burgwyn, yelling words of encouragement and praise, took up the 26th's colors and stepped forward. With the 26th's men reforming on their colonel and colors, Private Frank Honeycutt moved forward to take the flag from his colonel. As Burgwyn turned to hand the flag to Honeycutt the boy colonel was struck by a bullet to the chest. As Burgwyn fell to the forested floor he was momentarily held aloft within the folds of the battle flag that he so proudly held. Honeycutt would share his colonel's fate with a bullet to the head.

Lieutenant Colonel J.R. Lane, after checking on the mortally wounded Burgwyn, quickly assumed command of the regiment. "Close your men quickly to the left. I am going to give them the bayonet" he yelled. As the 26th North Carolina's men prepared for yet another charge, their flag lay on the ground in front. Lieutenant Blair of the 26th, seeing the prostrate flag and knowing its recent history, exclaimed, "no man can take those colors and live." Lane concurred, but picked up the flag nonetheless and yelled, "twenty-sixth, follow me."

The tenacity of the 26th's assault forced the 24th Michigan back to a third line in the woods. As the 24th took up station on their new line, Private August Earnest, holding the regiment's colors, was killed. Colonel Morrow himself took the colors from 1st Sergeant Everard Welton. The Michiganers continued to fall all around Morrow.

Colonel Henry A. Morrow of the 24th Michigan (Library of Congress)

Unbeknownst to Col. Morrow and the 24th, the 19th Indiana, the regiment on their left had begun to give way under the heavy assault. With their left flank now threatened, the 24th was forced to begin its retreat back towards the safety of Seminary Ridge.

Following quickly behind the retreating 24th was the remains of the 26th North Carolina. Lieutenant Colonel J.R. Lane, still carrying the regiment's flag, continued to urge his men forward. But like all the preceding color bearers from the 26th this day, Lane too would be struck down. Lane would suffer a terrible bullet wound to the back of the neck. For the fourteenth and final time on July 1st, the colors of the 26th went down.

Lane's counterpart, Colonel Henry A. Morrow of the 24th also become a casualty during the fight. Carrying his regiment's flag up the slopes of Seminary Ridge, Col. Morrow received a non-lethal wound to the head. The injured Morrow struggled back to the town of Gettysburg before being captured by Confederates who later occupied the town.

"RANKS WENT DOWN LIKE GRASS BEFORE THE SCYTHE"

The shattered remains of the Iron Brigade filed quickly behind a barricade of rails erected on Seminary Ridge and awaited the next assault from the Confederates. Captain Albert Edwards, now in command of the 24th Michigan, began to quickly look for the regiment's missing flag. After a few

desperate moments, Edwards would find the tattered flag held in the arms of a dying soldier lying inside the barricade.

The tattered remains of the 24th Michigan's National colors (Peter Glendinning, Photographer - Michigan Capitol Committee)

Despite suffering heavy losses of their own, the North Carolinians reformed and charged the Union positions on Seminary Ridge. As the Tarheels began their climb up the hill, the Federal soldiers and artillery held their fire. Waiting for the optimal chance to strike their enemy, the Union line unleashed a devastating fire that drove back the Confederate attackers. The hard-pressed Union soldiers would hold off one more attack, but it was becoming increasingly clear that this position too would need to be abandoned.

With both flanks heavily pressed, the survivors of the 24th Michigan would join the rest of their Iron Brigade brothers in a fighting retreat back

through town and onto the relative safety of Cemetery Hill.

The fight between the 24th Michigan and the 26th North Carolina proved to be the bloodiest regimental engagement of the bloodiest Civil War battle. The 24th Michigan and the 26th North Carolina each suffered the greatest number of regimental casualties in their respective armies at Gettysburg. The 26th North Carolina entered the battle with 843 soldiers and incurred 687 casualties, including its colonel and lieutenant colonel. The 24th Michigan would lose 363 of their 496 soldiers at Gettysburg - a staggering 73% casualty rate. These two units suffered more casualties than any other regiments in their respective armies

Despite suffering enormous casualties on July 1st, both the 24th Michigan and 26th North Carolina would see even more combat later in the three day battle. The 24th Michigan was moved to Culp's Hill - the Union's vulnerable right flank - to help shore up that critical position. The 26th North Carolina, as part of Pettigrew's Brigade, participated in the fateful Pickett-Pettigrew-Trimble charge against Cemetery Ridge on July 3, 1863.

SPECIAL THANKS

The Civil War Trust would like to thank the following institutions for their approval in allowing us to use images from their collections in this historical article.

- ***Don Troiani - Historical Art Prints***
- ***The Museum of the Confederacy***
- ***Michigan Capitol Committee - Rally Around the Flags***
- ***Library of Congress: Civil War Photographs***

FIFTEEN MONTHS IN DIXIE,

OR

MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

IN REBEL PRISONS.

BY W. W. DAY.

CHAPTER VI.

EN ROUTE TO ANDERSONVILLE.

"Tis a weary life this—
Vaults overhead and gates and bars around me,
And my sad hours spent with as sad companions,
Whose thoughts are brooding o'er their own mischances,
Far, far too deeply to take part in mine."

—Scott.

As the train pulled out of Danville that morning, our hopes began to rise in proportion to the distance we placed between ourselves and our late prison.

We had now been in the Confederate prisons seven months, and we had high hopes that our guards were telling us the truth, for once.

I am not prepared to say that the people of the South are not as

truthful as other people; but I will say, that truth was a commodity, which appeared to be very scarce with our guards.

When we left the Danville prison, we took with us, contrary to orders, a wooden bucket belonging to my mess.

The way we stole it out of prison was this. One of the men cut a number into each stave, then knocked off the hoops and took it down, dividing hoops, staves and bottom among us, these we rolled up in our blankets and keeping together we entered the same car. After the train had started we unrolled our blankets, took out the fragments of bucket, and set it up again. This was a very fortunate thing for us, as it furnished us a vessel in which to procure water on that long and dreary trip.

Nothing of note occurred until we reached Burkeville Junction, near the scene of the collapse of the Confederacy. Here we were switched off from the Richmond road on to the Petersburg road. Some of us who were least hopeful considered this a bad omen; others argued that it was all right, as we could take cars from Petersburg to City Point. Among the latter class were some men who had been prisoners before, and were supposed to know more than the rest of us about the modes of exchange. We therefore said no more and tried hard to believe that all would end well.

We arrived at Petersburg a little before midnight. We were immediately marched across the Appomattox River bridge into Petersburg. As we were marching along I noticed a large building, which I recognized as one I

had seen the previous November, while we were marching through this place on our way to Richmond. I told the boys we were going to the Weldon Depot, the right direction for the South. The hopeful ones still insisted that it was all right, but I could not see it that way. But the question was soon settled, for we arrived at the Weldon Depot in a short time. How our hearts sank within us as we came to the low sheds and buildings, which form the Station of the Petersburg and Weldon R. R. Heretofore during the day, "God's Country," and home had seemed very near to us, but now all these hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground, and dark despair, like a black pall, enshrouded us. I believe that most of us wished that dark, rainy night, that it had been our fate to have fallen upon the field of battle, and received a soldier's burial.

Those of us who had read Shakspere could have exclaimed with Hamlet.—

"To be, or not to be, that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And, by opposing end them—To die—to sleep,
No more; and by a sleep, to say we end
The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to,—'tis a consummation
Devoutedly to be wished. To die,—to sleep;—
To sleep! perchance to dream, aye there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,

When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,

Must give us pause, there's the respect,

That makes calamity of so long a life;

For who would bear the whips and scorn of time,

The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,

The pangs of misprized love, the law's delay,

The insolence of office, and the spurns

That patient merit of the unworthy takes,

When he himself might his quietus make

With a bare bodkin? Who would these fardels bear,

To grunt and sweat under a weary life:

But that the dread of something after death,

The undiscovered country, from whose bourn

No traveller returns, puzzled the will;

And makes us rather bear those ills we have,

Than fly to others that we know not of?

Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;"

The all-wise Being has placed within us all, an instinctive dread of death; had it not been so, I fear many poor, miserable, hopeless, prisoners would have gone out of their misery by the suicide's route.

Morning came and we were in North Carolina. We took the same route back as far as Augusta, Ga., that we had taken when on our way to Richmond, the autumn previous.

We suffered extremely on the way. We were not allowed to get off the cars for any purpose whatever, except to change cars. The guards brought us water in the bucket we had purloined from Danville. They were not particular where they procured it. They supplied us from the handiest place whether it was the water tank at a station, or from a stagnant pond or ditch by the side of the R. R. track.

The reader can imagine that such water was rank poison. The water in the ditches of the Carolina swamps was loaded with decayed vegetable matter; slimy snakes and filthy water reptiles crawled and swam in it, and taken all together it was not much better than the fetid waters of the Danville canal.

Our guards, after leaving Petersburg told us we were on our way to a new prison which had been made at Andersonville, Ga. They cheered us somewhat, by saying it was a large stockade, and that we would have plenty of room, wood and water, and more rations. Anything seemed better than Danville to us, and visions of a camp with tents for shelter, good water, more and better food, and opportunity to exercise, floated through our minds, and we thought that our situation would be more tolerable.

From Augusta we went to Macon, thence to Andersonville, where we arrived on the 22d of April 1864.

Andersonville is in Sumter county, Georgia, sixty-four miles southwest

of Macon, on the Macon & Albany Railroad. The country through all that region is a sandy barren, interspersed with swamps which were filled with rank growths of timber, vines and semi-tropical shrubbery.

They were the home of serpents, and reptiles of all kinds indigenous to that latitude, and of many kinds of wild animals. The land was rolling but could not be called hilly.

The timber was mostly southern, or pitch pine, with the different varieties of gum. In the swamps, cypress abounded, from the branches of which the grey, or Spanish moss hung like the beard of a Brobdignagian giant, through which the wind sighed and soughed most dismally.

My impression, received at the time I was in prison, was, that it was the most God-forsaken country I ever beheld, with the exception of the rice swamps of South Carolina. South Carolina however, had a history running back to Revolutionary times, while that portion of Georgia had no history, but has acquired one which will last as long as the history of the Spanish Inquisition. And yet at this time, Southern Georgia is redeemed somewhat, by being the location of Thomasville, the winter resort of some of our citizens.

The Prison Pen, or Stockade, was located about three-fourths of a mile east of the station, on the opposing face of two slight hills, with a sluggish swampy, stream running through it from west to east and dividing the prison into two unequal parts, the the northern, being the

larger part.

The Stockade was in the form of a parallelogram, being longest from north to south. I estimated that it was fifty rods east and west, by sixty rods north and south and that it contained eighteen acres, but from this must be subtracted the land lying between the Dead-line and Stockade, and the swamp land lying each side of the little stream, known to us as "Deadrun," leaving, according to my estimate, twelve acres available for the use of the prisoners.

The author of "Andersonville" gives the area of the prison as sixteen acres and the amount available for prisoners twelve acres.

Dr. Jones, in his report, gives the area as seventeen acres, but does not intimate that part of it was not available, so that his estimate of the number of square feet to each prisoner, is nearly one-third too high.

The Stockade was built of hewn timbers, twenty-four feet in length, set in the ground side by side, to a depth of six feet, leaving the walls of the Stockade eighteen feet high. The guards stood upon covered platforms or "pigeon roosts" outside of, and overlooking the Stockade.

Not far from the northwest, and southwest corners, on the west side, were the north and south gates. These were made double, by building a small stockade outside of each gate, which was entered by another gate,

so that when prisoners or wagons entered the stockade they were first admitted to small stockade, then the gate was closed, after which they were admitted to the main stockade.

These small stockades were anterooms to the main prison, and were for the purpose of preventing a rush by the prisoners.

Outside of the main stockade the rebels built another stockade, at a distance of about ten rods. This was for the double purpose of preventing a "break" of the prisoners and to prevent tunnelling.

This second stockade was built of round timbers set in the ground six feet and stood twelve feet above the ground.

Outside of this second stockade a third one was started, but was not completed when I left. This was for protection against "Uncle Billy Sherman's Bummers."

Commanding each corner of the stockade was a fort, built a sufficient distance to give the guns a good range. These four forts mounted all told eighteen guns of light artillery, as I was informed, and had a general rush been made, they would have slaughtered us as though we were a flock of pigeons.

The cook-house was built on low ground on the border of a small stream which ran through the stockade, and west from it.

The guards camp was west and southwest, from the southern portion of the stockade.

West from the south gate Gen. Winder had his head-quarters, also the guard house and Wirz' quarters.

About a quarter of a mile north of the stockade was the cemetery, then a sandy barren, with occasional jack pine growing.

I have now given the reader a general description of the Prison Pen, or Stockade, of Andersonville, as seen from the outside.

I will now attempt to give a view of the inside, as seen during five months confinement.

Upon our arrival at Andersonville on the 22d of April, we were halted at Gen. Winder's quarters and registered by name, rank, company, and regiment. I will give the reader the form as written, in the case of one of my tent mates who died at Charleston, S. C. the following October.

GEORGE W. ROUSE, Co. D. 10th Wisconsin Inf.—16-3.

Which meant that he was assigned to the 3d company and 16 detachment.

Wirz had originated a very clumsy and unmilitary organization of the

prisoners. He had organized them into companies of ninety men and assigned three companies to a detachment. At the head of these companies and detachments was a sergeant. For convenience in dividing rations, we subdivided these companies into squads, or messes, each mess electing their own sergeant. As at Richmond and Danville I was elected sergeant of my mess at Andersonville.

We were marched into the north gate and assigned grounds on the east side of the prison, next to the Dead-line, and near the swamp on the north side.

We were not subjected to the searching process at Winder's head-quarters, as most of the prisoners were. I suppose we were not a promising looking crowd. Had we been searched, the rebs would have found nothing but rags and graybacks.

Thus we were turned into the Prison Pen of Andersonville, like a herd of swine, with the chance to "root hog or die." No shelter was furnished us; no cooking utensils provided; no wood, nothing but a strip of barren yellow sand, under a hot sun.

The situation did not look inviting. Our dream was not realized. We had fresh air it is true, for the air had not become contaminated then. We had room for exercise, for 5,000 men do not look very much crowded on twelve acres, it takes 33,000 men to cover that amount of space in good shape according to the views of Winder and Wirz; but somehow it did not

seem homelike. There was a wonderful paucity of the conveniencies, the necessities, to say nothing of the luxuries of life.

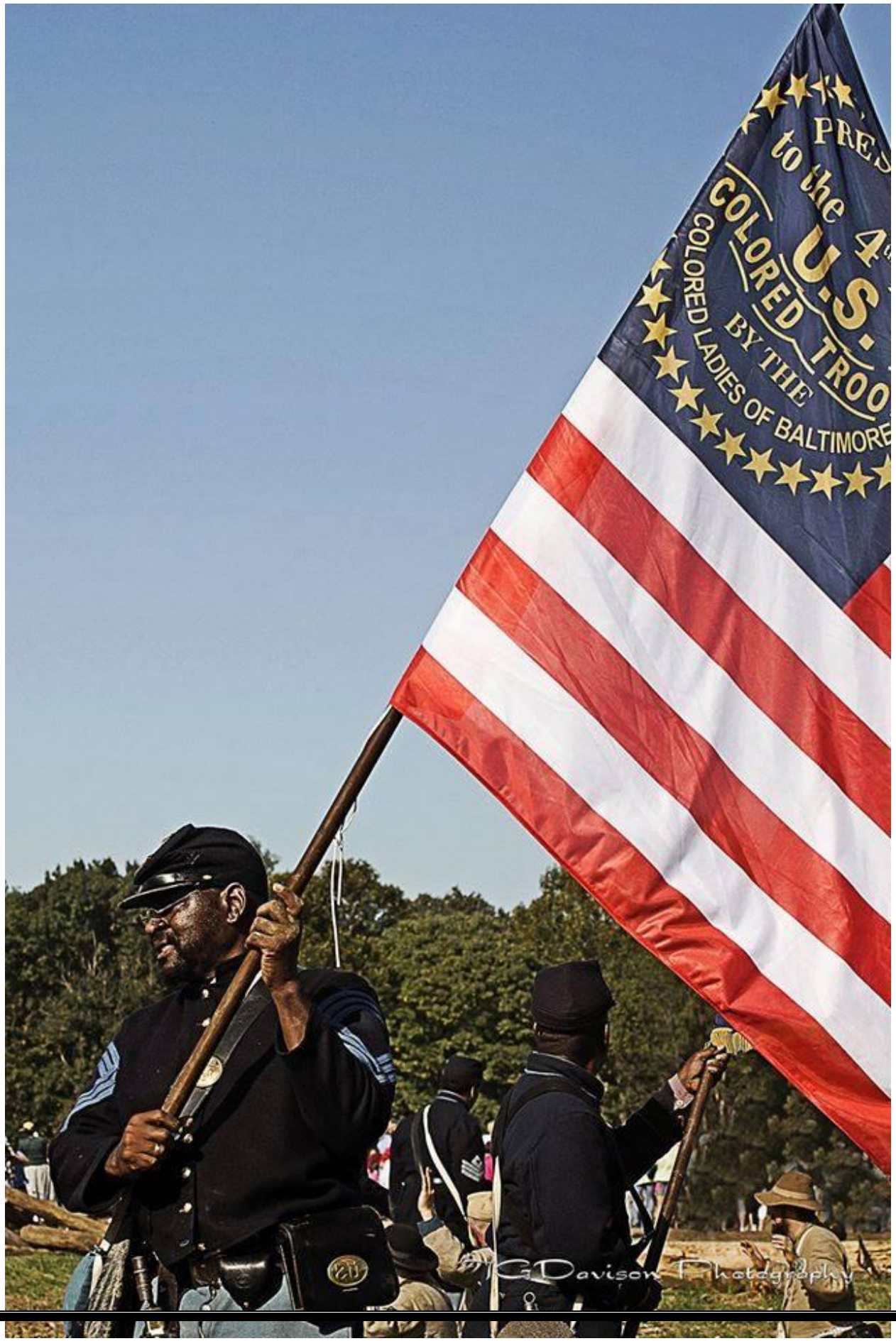
About 4,000 men had been sent here during the months of February and March, from Libby and Belle Isle, and 1,000 from Danville, about two weeks before us. First come, first served, was the rule here. The first settlers who "squatted" in Andersonville found plenty of wood and brush and with these had, with true Yankee ingenuity and industry, constructed very fair houses, or hovels rather. But they had used up all the building material, had not left a brush large enough for a riding whip, they had left us nothing but sand and a miserable poor article of that.

But the gods were propitious, and the next day we had the privilege of going out under guard, and picking up material for a house. Rouse and myself brought in material enough to fix us up in good shape. We secured a number of green poles about an inch thick, some of these we bent like the hoops of a wagon cover, sticking the ends in the ground. Then we fastened other poles transversely on them fastening them with strips of bark. We used a U. S. blanket for a roof or cover. The sides we thatched with branches of the long leaved pitch pine. In a few hours we had a very fair shelter.

I think the settlers in western Minnesota and Dakota must be indebted to Andersonville prisoners for the idea of "dugouts." When we arrived here, we found many of the unfortunate prisoners from Belle Isle who had no "pup tent" or blanket to spare, had provided themselves warm quarters by

burrowing into the ground. They had dug holes about the size of the head of a barrel at the surface of the ground and gradually enlarged as they dug down, until they were something the shape of the inside of a large bell. These dugouts were four or five feet deep and usually had two occupants. These gophers were hard looking specimens of humanity. They had built fires in their holes, out of pitch pine; over this they had done their cooking, and over this they had crooned during the cold storms of March; they had had some bacon, but no soap, and the mixture of lamp black from the pine, and grease from the bacon, had disfigured them beyond the recognition of their own mothers. Their hair was long and unkempt, and filled with lamp black until it was so stiff that it stuck out like "quills of the fretful porcupine." Their clothes were in rags, yes in tatters. They were shoeless, hatless, and usually coatless. They looked more like the terrible fancies of Gustave Dore than like human beings. And yet these poor boys were originally fair-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, loyal, brave sons of fathers and mothers who were in easy circumstances, and in many cases wealthy; who would have shed their hearts' last drop of blood, for that poor boy, if it would have been of any avail. Or they were husbands to fair women, and fathers to sweet blue-eyed children, who were waiting for husband and papa, to come home.

Alas! those fathers and mothers, those wives and children are waiting yet, yea and shall wait until the sea, and the graves at Andersonville, give up their dead.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