

# THE FUGELMAN



## **THE NEWSLETTER OF THE SECOND WISCONSIN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY ASSOCIATION**

THE BLACK HAT BRIGADE---THE IRON BRIGADE

1861-1865

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**VOLUME XXVII      ISSUE 9      SEPTEMBER, 2017**

**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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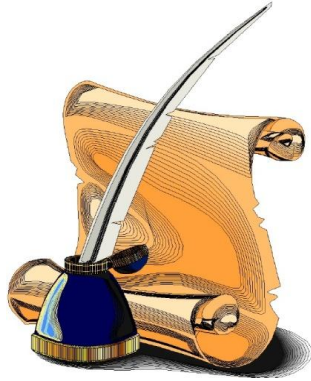
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## **PASS IN REVIEW**

*From the quill of Lt. Colonel Pete Seielstad*



**There is a lot happening in regards to monuments and memorials that connect our collective heritage concerning the American Civil War. Confederate monuments have met with great opposition and many are being taken down, covered or are to be removed. As you know, several have been vandalized, or toppled in front of a jeering crowd. These actions have given everyone a springboard to post their opinion on the subject of slavery, Jim Crow, Civil Rights, the confederate lost cause, and treason. The right wing, left wing even the White House West Wing has added to the tension.**

**Statues are silent monuments to the past and as opinions change, so does the meaning of these silent sentinels. Military sculptures that are in place at a cemetery embody the men buried there and have a distinctive message in contrast to one that is standing in a town square.**

**Your own stance on this subject is your opinion and the majority or the minority may share your opinion. I have long stood on the idea that had I lived in the 1850's I would have been an abolitionist. More so, after I read the book "CARRY ME BACK" *by Steven Deyle*. This belief was possibly developed from my Northern background and my Protestant upbringing. Remembering that I have 21<sup>st</sup> century hindsight that my 19<sup>th</sup> century predecessors did not; I am able look at things from a different vantage point and able to understand what took place through historical context and study.**

**It is important to realize that when we attend events or participate in an American Civil War presentation at a school, we may be asked disturbing questions about our beliefs as the soldier or the civilian who we portray. As**

**re-enactors, better yet as *historical interpreters*, we are now on the skirmish line and must meet this challenge with well-informed minds. As historical interpreters, this ought not be a new encounter with history.**

**Having to portray a confederate soldier, I have often been asked why am I fighting in this War of Secession. My answer, in 1863 first-person conversation, was never politically correct and would draw a gasp from some teachers. Therefore, our confederate counterparts may have a distinctive challenge because they will need to defend the position of State's Rights or a slave-based society as well as Alexander Stephens' Cornerstone speech.**

**Involve and engage the public into a dialog of who we were and who we are as Americans. Today we must do more than describe the uniforms and weapons of the American Civil War. We must understand 19<sup>th</sup> century people with the shared beliefs, values and practices of the antebellum South as well as the industrial and agricultural North and bring it into context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

**Until we meet on the field,**

**Your obedient servant,**

**Lt. Col. Pete Seielstad**

## **CAMPAIGN SCHEDULES OF THE COMPANIES AND ASSOCIATION**

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**SEPTEMBER**

1st-3rd	8th & 2nd WI (skirmish teams)	Rhineland, WI.
16th	Vintage Airplane & Military Living History (Co.E)	Oconto, WI.
16th & 17th	15th WI Skrimish (skrimish teams)	Bristol, WI.
22nd	Wade House School Day (Co.E, Co.K,6thWI LA)	Greenbush, WI.
23rd & 24th	Wade House Reenactment (Association Max effort event)	Greenbush, WI.

## **REGIMENTAL DISPATCHES**

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# **OLD WADE HOUSE CIVIL WAR WEEKEND**

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**SEPTEMBER 23<sup>RD</sup> AND 24<sup>TH</sup>, 2017**

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**It is hard to believe that we have arrived at the end of the reenacting season. The event at the Old Wade House and the Company B event at Norskedalen are essentially the end of our season. The Old Wade House event has always been a very good one, overall, and well attended by the members of the Second Wisconsin.**

**There is also a school day event tied to this particular weekend. Please consider stepping up and lending support to this event.**

**Below is posted the Rules & Regulations for the event, as well as, the guidelines for Old Wade House.**

**27TH ANNUAL CIVIL WAR WEEKEND  
SATURDAY & SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23 & 24, 2017  
THE ROAD TO FRANKLIN - 1864**

### **PARTICIPANT RULES & REGULATIONS**

#### **GENERAL GUIDELINES**

**1. All persons must be pre-registered by September 10, 2017. Please contact Jim Willaert at 920-526-3271 for late registration. No "Walk-ons" will be allowed.**

**2. All participants under the age of 18 must attend with a legal or appointed guardian and submit a signed parental waiver in order to participate. Children 12 years and under must be accompanied by an adult at all times during the event.**

**3. Registered participants must be in uniform or period appropriate civilian clothing in order to enter the event free of charge during public hours. Participants must also have already checked in at re-enactor registration. All nonparticipants will be required to purchase an admission ticket at the event entrance or Wade House Visitor Center.**

**4. All participants are expected to be courteous, respectful and professional. Wade House expects all participants to conduct themselves in a courteous and professional manner and exhibit respect for the site, the event, visitors and other participants.**

**5. No alcoholic beverages are permitted during the public hours of the event. No alcoholic beverages may be visible or consumed in the camps or battle areas between the hours of 8 am and 5 pm Friday, Saturday or Sunday. No participant who has consumed alcohol in the previous three hours or who appears to be intoxicated or under the influence of controlled substances shall be on the battlefield, in battle formation, handle a weapon, or ride a horse. Any intoxicated and/or disorderly person will be removed by the Sheboygan County Sheriff's Department.**

**6. Please inform Wade House staff if you have any safety concerns, including problem visitors.**

**7. Do not bring pets to the encampment. Pets and livestock are not allowed at the encampment. Re-enactors who bring pets or livestock will be asked to remove their animal(s).**

**8. Re-enactor and sutler vehicles are allowed on designated site roads for camp setup and take down only. No re-enactor vehicles are allowed in the camp areas once the event begins. Vehicles are not allowed in the camps on Friday (after Participant Rules & Regulations 27th Annual Civil War Weekend September 23 - 24, 2017 Wade House Page 2 of 5 setup) or Saturday night.**

**Re-enactors with mobility issues may have vehicles in camp, except between 9am and 5pm. Camp Setup : BEGINS AT 2 PM on Friday, September 22 Please remove your car by 8 AM on Saturday, September 23 Take Down: BEGINS AT 4 PM on Sunday, September 24 Vehicles will not be allowed into the camp areas until 4pm on Sunday Please be courteous to your fellow re-enactors - no headlights or vehicles in camp on Saturday evening, except for those with mobility issues and emergencies.**

**9. Exercise caution when driving. The speed limit is ten (10) miles per hour on site roads. Please remember there will be children, animals, and equipment on site, as well as many sharp turns. Please take extra caution when driving at night.**

**10.Re-enactors and sutlers must park their vehicles in specified re-enactor parking lots. Parking vehicles in a hidden area "behind the trees" or anywhere else on-site is not allowed. Parking at the far north end of the battlefield is NOT allowed! Do not leave your car parked on any gravel road!**

**11.Quiet time will be observed between 10:00 pm and dawn. Failure to adhere to this policy will result in dismissal from the event. No generators will be allowed in any camp during this period.**

**12.Re-enactors, other than approved vendors, may not sell or give food to the public. Food is NOT to be sold in the battlefield area except by approved vendors.**

**13. Anyone wishing to sell items to the public or re-enactors must be registered as a Sutler.**

**14.Campfires are allowed in designated camp areas only. No fires are allowed in the Sutler area (see map). Re-enactors are responsible for tending and keeping fires properly banked. Campfires must be drenched and sod replaced before leaving on Sunday. Please restack unused firewood in the location where you found it. Except to properly bank campfires, please do not dig holes anywhere on Wade House grounds.**

**15.Cutting of trees and saplings is prohibited.**

**16.Sutlers must break down any cardboard boxes before leaving the site.**

### **Military Safety and Conduct Guidelines**

**1. Do not bring bullets, live projectiles or live ammunition to the event. No loading blocks or musket balls. No ramrods are allowed to be pulled for loading during the battle scenarios.**

**2. All weapons must pass commanders' safety inspections both days before being taken onto the battlefield and fired. Firearms will be discharged only in designated areas. Participant Rules & Regulations 27th Annual Civil War Weekend September 23 - 24, 2017 Wade House Page 3 of 5**

**3. Artillery units must set up on the battlefield by 9 am each morning. Vehicles are prohibited from pulling cannons on or off the field during the hours the public is onsite. Artillery pieces may not be pulled back to camp with a modern vehicle until the camps have closed to the public.**

**4. Only full-sized artillery pieces are allowed. Carriages must have 57 inch wheels. No mortars or mountain howitzers are allowed.**

**5. Artillery pieces must participate in the battle both days to qualify for a bounty. Demonstration pieces do not qualify for bounties.**

**6. All scenarios must be approved by the U.S. and C.S. Commanders before the re-enactment. Unscripted hand-to-hand combat is prohibited. Do not point firearms at any person.**

**7. You must provide adequate supervision of powder stores. Powder, charges, cartridges, and primers must be stored in special containers at a safe distance from campfires.**

**8. Participants under age 14 may not carry or fire black powder weapons of any kind. Participants 14 and 15 years of age may carry black powder weapons with a parent or guardian. Children and civilian re-enactors are not permitted on the field during re-enactments, except for functional musicians (boys 14 or older who can actually play a drum, fife or bugle). Boys under 14 are not to serve as color bearers during battle re-enactments. Civilian re-enactors may request prior written approval from Wade House event coordinator, Jim Willaert, before the event to participate in battle re-enactments.**

**9. Mounted cavalry units must station at least one unit member near their unit's horses when public visitors are in camp. Horses will be inspected by cavalry commanders for health problems before being allowed**



**to participate. According to the Wisconsin Department of Health, horses are not allowed within 500 feet of food concession areas.**

**10. There will be no unscripted “tactical” combat of any type during the event. Firearms will not be discharged at any time after sundown. If you would like to plan a scenario that will not take place on the battlefield, please contact the event coordinator.**

**11. No modern weapons are allowed. Only black powder weapons, appropriate to the Civil War era may be brought onto the premises.**

### **AUTHENTICITY GUIDELINES**

**1. Military and civilian re-enactors should strive for as high a degree of authenticity as possible.**

**2. Camps will be classified as Military and Military Dependent/Civilian. Participant Rules & Regulations 27th Annual Civil War Weekend September 23 - 24, 2017 Wade House Page 4 of 5 Military Camps (Union and Confederate): Camping areas will be provided for traditional company/battalion streets. Campaign-style camping is also encouraged. Military Dependent/Civilian Camp: For military/civilian personnel who wish to camp authentically with friends and family. This camp will have Union and Confederate sections.**

**3. Chain of Command: Wade House Historic Site, through its Director, David Warner, and Curator of Interpretation and Collections, Jim Willaert, will ultimately be responsible for all aspects of the event. The Union military commander will be responsible for Union activities on the battlefield. The Confederate military commander will be responsible for Confederate activities on the battlefield. Names of these commanders will be released to pre-registered participants in advance of the event.**

**4. Period camping may be set up in designated areas only. Modern tents are not allowed on the grounds during the event with the exception of the Boy Scout camp. Camping in structures other than period-appropriate tents must be pre-approved by Wade House. This includes historic vehicles.**

**5. Camp furniture used during the event should be of period style and kept to a minimum. Blankets, quilts and other bedding used during the public hours of the event should be appropriate for the Civil War period, in general use by the common person in mid-war. Visible containers and utensils should be of the proper type common to general period usage.**

**Please restrict lighting devices to candles and period appropriate oil lamps. Smoking during public hours is limited to pipes, cigars and period cigarettes.**

**6. Please keep modern coolers and modern equipment hidden during the public hours of the event. Televisions, portable radios, boom boxes, music devices, and propane lanterns are prohibited. Cell phone use is restricted to emergencies only (or out of sight of the public). Modern cameras and video recorders may not be carried onto the battlefield or used during a battle re-enactment. Please use cameras discreetly in the camps during public hours.**

**7. Do not use obvious 21st century adornments in your personal impression, including sunglasses, wristwatches, or other modern jewelry. The Wade House Site Director and his designees reserve the right to correct these faults. Anyone who has such an obvious unauthentic presentation will be asked to correct this immediately. Failure to comply will mean dismissal from the event.**

**8. All military personnel and civilian participants should be attired in appropriate historic clothing during the event. All participants must maintain 1860s impressions from 9 am - 5 pm Saturday and 9 am - 4 pm on Sunday. Wade House will not exclude women from participating as soldiers during the event. However, all soldiers will have to pass inspection in order to participate in drills and battles. As was standard policy during the Civil War, any female soldier discovered during inspection may be sent out of the ranks. Participant Rules & Regulations 27th Annual Civil War Weekend September 23 - 24, 2017 Wade House Page 5 of 5 9. No impressions of Civil War generals, their staff officers or other noteworthy persons will be allowed without prior written consent from Wade House.**

**10. Wade House reserves the right to decline the registration and participation of any unit or individual for any reason.**

#### **RE-ENACTOR DANCE, MEMBER EVENT, AND BEER POLICY**

**• We invite all registered re-enactors to join us for the Re-enactor Dance from 7 pm to 9 pm on Saturday, September 23, at the Pavilion Building. Beer, root beer and snacks will be available. Sorry, the public is not invited to attend the reenactor's dance.**

• **The dance will end promptly at 9 pm in order to allow staff members to clean the building for Sunday activities.**

• **No one under age 21 may drink alcohol at the dance. We will dispense beer by the cup or mug. All re-enactors will have to show a wristband to be served. In order to get a wristband you must show proof of age to a Wade House staff member. All Wisconsin laws related to the serving and consumption of alcohol will be observed.**

**The following is the published schedule of events for the weekend. Please note that the scenarios for the battle and the weekend involve Western troops and the events leading to the Battle of Franklin, in Tennessee.**

### **SCHEDULE OF EVENTS\***

**THE ROAD TO FRANKLIN – 1864 PLEASE CHECK BACK FOR ADDITIONS TO THE SCHEDULE**

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23**

**9:00 Wade House site, Civil War camps, Winter Quarters, vendors and sutlers open**

**9:00 – 5:00 Tours of Wade House (First floor only)**

**9:00 – 5:00 Family Tent open**

**11:00 Skirmish – Battlefield (Cavalry, Infantry)**

**Noon – 1:00 Visitors may enter the battlefield for a first-hand look at the fieldworks**

**2:00 The Road to Franklin – 1864 – Battlefield**

**4:15 Parade of Federal Troops – Union Camp**

**5:00 Wade House Site closes to the public**

**\*Schedule is subject to change without notice**

### **SCHEDULE OF EVENTS\***

**THE ROAD TO FRANKLIN 1864 PLEASE CHECK BACK FOR ADDITIONS TO THE SCHEDULE**

## **SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24**

**9:00 Wade House site, Civil War camps, Winter Quarters, vendors and sutlers open**

**9:00 - 5:00 Tours of Wade House (First floor only)**

**9:00 - 5:00 Family Tent open 9:15 Inter-denominational Church Service - Activity Tent**

**11:00 Skirmish - Battlefield (Cavalry, Infantry)**

**11:45 - 1:00 Visitors may enter the battlefield for a first-hand look at the fieldworks**

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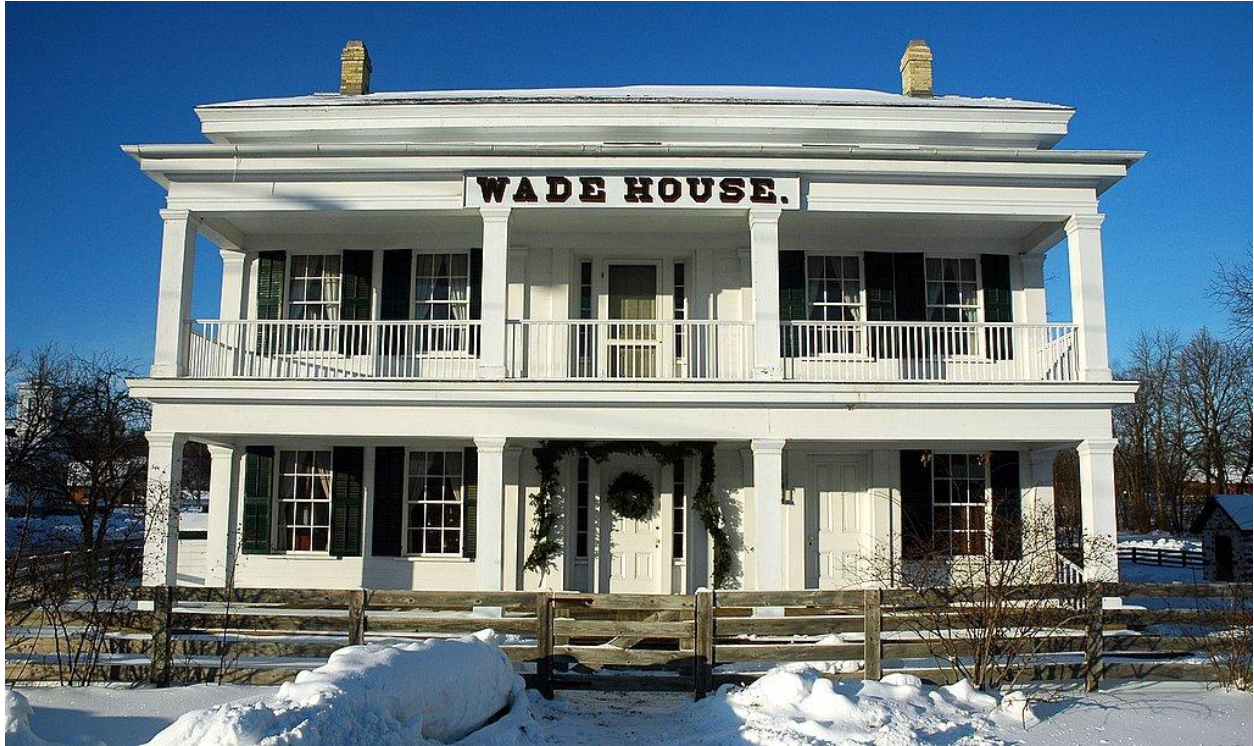
**2:00 The Road to Franklin - 1864 - Battlefield**

**3:30 Regimental Volunteer Band of Wisconsin Concert - Sutler Camp Area**

**4:00 Re-enactment Area, Earthworks and Winter Camp Close**

**5:00 Wade House Historic Site closes to the public**

**\*Schedule is subject to change without notice**



**Wade House, an 1850s stagecoach inn built to serve traffic along the plank road that connected Fond du Lac and Sheboygan, tells the story of frontier entrepreneur Sylvanus Wade and his family during the Civil War years. In addition to the inn, the historic site includes the recently reconstructed Herrling sawmill, one of the few working, water-powered sawmills of its kind in the nation. Wade House is also home to the Wesley Jung Carriage Museum, which houses the state's largest collection of antique carriages and working wagons.**

## **KENOSHA CIVIL WAR MUSEUM ANNUAL CIVIL WAR SYMPOSIUM**

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**SEPTEMBER 16<sup>TH</sup>, 2017**

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**On September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the Kenosha Civil War Museum will again host its annual symposium. This event has developed an excellent**

reputation over the years. This year's line-up seems to offer the same quality of topics and presenters.

***Turning the Tide: The Union Cavalry in the Tullahoma Campaign Presented by Mr. Greg Biggs.***

**Prior to the cavalry engagement fought literally within the town of Shelbyville, Tennessee, on June 27th, 1863, as part of Union Gen. William S. Rosecrans brilliant Tullahoma Campaign, Confederate cavalry in the West had been dominating their Union counterparts at most every turn. Dynamic and bold leaders like Nathan Bedford Forrest, Joe Wheeler and the "Kentucky Thunderbolt", John Hunt Morgan, coupled with officers like Thomas Woodward and Adam Rankin Johnson, led raids throughout the Tennessee and Kentucky theaters of war, beating Union cavalry at almost every turn. But all of that started to change just before and at Shelbyville, when Wheeler's vaunted troopers were routed out of town by an aggressive Union cavalry brigade under Col. Robert Minty. Indeed, the performance of the Union cavalry in the entire campaign outshone their Rebel counterparts and served as a wake-up call that the days of being dominated were over. From Shelbyville forward, Union cavalry in the West would start to dominate the Confederates for the rest of the war.**

***Longstreet in the West Presented by Mr. David Powell.***

**In September 1863, the Confederacy took the unprecedented step of sending an infantry corps from Virginia to reinforce Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee, hoping to stave off disaster in north Georgia. That corps was led by James Longstreet. Only five of Longstreet's brigades arrived in time to take part in the battle, and Longstreet himself did not reach the field until halfway through the contest. In later years, Longstreet's impact - both at Chickamauga and subsequently - became hotly debated topics, especially since Longstreet became deeply embroiled in the Confederate Army's demoralizing internal politics. This program explores the pros and cons of Longstreet's tenure in the Western Theater.**

***General William Passmore Carlin and the Chickamauga Campaign Presented by Mr. Robert Girardi.***

**Born in Carrollton, Illinois, in 1829, William Passmore Carlin graduated from the West Point Military Academy in 1850. He began a long military career on the frontier before returning to Illinois to take command of the 38th Illinois at the start of the Civil War. He rose to Brigadier General by November of 1862, and commanded the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of the XIV Corps in the engagements at Tullahoma, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga and the summer 1864 Atlanta Campaign. Mr. Girardi's program will study the Chickamauga Campaign through the eyes of one of the hardest fighting generals in the Army of the Cumberland, William Passmore Carlin.**

***Wounded Warriors Come Home: The Union Soldier In Peace* Presented by Dr. Stephen Goldman,**

**Adjunct Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences Fellow, Academy of Psychosomatic Medicine (FAPM), Distinguished Fellow, American Psychiatric Association (DFAPA).**

**Homecoming Northern veterans confronted issues as overwhelming as those entailed by military service. They were now battle-hardened, proud professionals who had slain their fellow countrymen in unprecedented numbers, witnessed sights and performed deeds they never could have imagined. While American veterans had returned from war before, their sheer numbers and high proportion with debilitating, permanent injuries were unprecedented, and there was widespread trepidation. As the soldiers and sailors of the Union rejoined a society undergoing revolutionary changes involving race, equality, and sectionalism, neither their families nor fellow citizens knew what to expect. Would these men show violent proclivities? Would they accept civilian authority? Would they have stable relationships? Would they be able to find work? What would the future hold for disabled Union veterans with no G.I. Bill of Rights or Department of Veterans Affairs, and only an embryonic pension system? Dr. Goldman will examine these critical (and timeless) questions surrounding returning veterans, and demonstrate the tremendous therapeutic impact of the warrior identity, then and now.**

**Below you will find the website to sign up for the civil war symposium:**

[https://museumstore.kenosha.org/qsot-event/the-great-lakes-civil-war-forum/09-16\\_2017-830am/](https://museumstore.kenosha.org/qsot-event/the-great-lakes-civil-war-forum/09-16_2017-830am/)

**A week after the Civil War Symposium there is also an interesting event that might interest some of our members. Given the scrutiny of late of the history surrounding the civil war this discussion is particularly relevant.**

**Friday, September 22, 2017; 1pm**

***Commemorate Constitution Week* by participating in a discussion of the United States Constitution and secession and how the Constitution was forever changed by the Civil War. This is a community discussion and attendees are invited to read the following short documents to prepare to participate in the conversation facilitated by Civil War Museum curator Doug Dammann.**

**[How the Founders Sowed the Seeds of Civil War](#)**

**[How the Civil War Changed the Constitution](#)**

**[The Constitution Caused the Civil War](#)**

## **ATTENTION TO ORDERS**

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**Lyle Laufenberg and Pete Seielstad sent the newsletter the following letter from the commander of the United States Volunteer organization. It is a point of view that in this editor's mind is common sense, although I disagree with the premise, if drawn to a logical conclusion, that suggests that we overlook the history of the rebellion at events to avoid political conflicts. I have never been one to ignore historical facts at events, as those who know me would attest. While we can seek to avoid contemporary use of the rebel battle flag, we should not overlook the actual meaning of that flag as it was used between 1861 and 1865. Ultimately that flag was the symbol of treason, rebellion, and the defense of slavery. We all know that, and each of us handle that fact in our own way at our events.**







**BRIGADIER GENERAL DARRELL MARKIJOHN,  
COMMANDING**

**August 23, 2017**

**To Our Friends of Civil War Reenacting**

**As the elected Brigade Commander of the United States Volunteers (USV), the largest Union Civil War Reenacting Organization in the Country, I am compelled to clear the air of some of today's toxic smoke, not from civil war muskets, but from the voices and pens of a modern populace struggling with their perceptions of the Civil War, its monuments, and yes, our hobby of reenacting.**

**This is not the first time that the hot political issue of the day has touched the Reenacting community. We have been wrestling with the Confederate Flag controversy from time to time during my entire 25 years in this hobby. We have learned from those experiences that it is best to stay out of them, and allow whatever has sparked the debate to settle. The Confederate Battle Flag - the square version of the stars and bars - is historically correct at a Civil War Reenactment. Its symbolism as a military marker for a fighting army in the field can never be questioned.**

**Today's controversy, spurred by a senseless criminal act in Charlottesville Virginia, however transcends the traditional flag argument. Public ire now turns to a statue and monument to General Robert E. Lee, and if you believe the Governor of North Carolina, the Civil War itself. In response to the bronze statue of a Confederate Soldier being torn down and desecrated by a group of vandals in Durham, Governor Roy Cooper declared "*We cannot continue to glorify a war against the United States of America fought in the defense of slavery... These monuments should come down.*"**

**This past weekend, the City of Manassas and the Manassas Museum canceled their annual Civil War Living History Event "due to an abundance of caution for the public's safety." On the same weekend, a Confederate reenactor was pepper sprayed at the 128<sup>th</sup> Annual Soldiers Reunion Parade in Newton, North Carolina. We learned today that the perpetrator was a former school principal. He was duly arrested, and found carrying a firearm.**

**On the issue of any ill will directed toward our family of Civil War Reenactors, I provide the following. Civil War Reenacting can trace its**

historical roots to the Civil War Veterans, Blue and Gray, that gathered at annual reunions after the war. In addition to reminiscing on the hardship, toils and glory of the battles, the veterans got off their camp stools, formed a line, and went out to the fields to “refight” them for family and friends. Reenacting the Civil War was thus born.

At the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary event held at Gettysburg Pennsylvania in 1913, over 58,000 thousand Civil War Veterans attended. Nearly 9,000 of the participants were Confederate Veterans. The event was marked by repeated acts of Union and Confederate camaraderie. There were no signs of unpleasant differences, such as we saw at Charlottesville this past weekend. According to one chronicler, at the Webb/Pickett Flag ceremony, two 1863 units advanced about 50 feet, Union from the North, Confederate from the South - to flags placed at the Stone Wall where they “clasped hands and buried their faces on each other’s shoulders.” On July 2, The Union Camp engaged in an impromptu “raid” on the Confederate side of the Great camp which “resulted in joint parades and camp fires following the charge.”



**President Woodrow Wilson’s Reunion Address** summarized the spirit of the event, stating” *We have found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our*

***battles long past, the quarrel forgotten-except that we shall not forget the splendid valor.”***

**This sense of brotherhood between the men that fought this war was repeated at the 75<sup>th</sup> Gettysburg Reunion. The much smaller group of veterans now in their nineties once again proudly donned their blue and gray uniforms. Veterans from both armies again met at the Stone wall and shook each other’s hands. I think we can all remember that iconic picture. President Franklin Roosevelt’s sunset address to the men focused on healing and a united country and kicked off the unveiling of the *Eternal Light Peace Memorial* that still burns today.**



**Meeting at the stone Wall at the 75<sup>th</sup> Gettysburg Reunion**

**The USV is not making any public statements on the current affairs. We have long since decided that our organization will refrain from engaging in any formal public debate. However, if any of you are confronted by criticism or political discourse that questions your motives for participating in this great hobby, enlighten them on our roots. Remind them of the brave soldiers on both sides that actually fought this war, for they knew better than anyone why they did. And most importantly, leave them with the sanguine challenge that if these noble veterans, some who lost limbs and all who lost friends and comrades, could reach across a wall and shake hands with their former enemies in a spirit of brotherhood and healing, certainly, we can do the same today.**

**Respectfully submitted**

**Brig. General Darrell Markijohn**

## **2017 THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCE NORSKEDALEN**

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**Our comrades from Company B will again host their civil war event at Norskedalen. This is a call for all Association members to join up and assist in making this a memorable event. The event's location is beautiful at this time of the year and just the drive to the event would be rewarding. Once on the grounds**

**The event, created by reenactors, is always fresh and combines interesting scenarios and wonderful visitors who make the event special. Anyone who has attended this event will tell you it is a great event. When one combines the location and activities during the event it is well worth the effort to be there and experience it for yourself.**

**Below you will find the details for the event provided by Lt. Col. Seielstad. Be sure to check them out!**

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**Company "B", 2nd Wisconsin Volunteers is again hosting the Norskedalen, Civil War Heritage Encampment, held this October 13th-15th in Coon Valley, Wisconsin. As you know this event is open by invitation only**

**to selected groups. We would like to extend an invitation to your unit to help present an insight to the American Civil War in 1863.**

**The 400-acre valley site, eleven period buildings, rail fences and a stream lends itself to a variety of living history and tactical scenarios. We will host a living history, school education day on Friday, October 13th. Last year 225 students participated in this event. If you are interested in helping out, please let us know that you will be available. As always, the Norskedalen staff feels that the re-enactors are their guests so there is no registration fee.**

**This will be an active campaign beginning Saturday morning and continue through Sunday and concluding following the battle and hospital scenario on Sunday. Scenario: Tennessee - October 1863 Taking place somewhere in Tennessee in October of 1863, Union troops will seek to establish a base of operations at the farm. During the day, patrols will be sent out in search of rebel forces. Confederates have formed a picket line to buffer themselves from any forward advance of the Union infantry.**

**Active Campaign Event Cook your rations and come prepared to take to the field.**

**Infantry will participate as pickets and patrol the area around the farm. The high tide of the day (1:00 p.m.) will be as the Confederate forces converge on the Yankee lines and test the resolve of the Union commander, after the engagement, the aftermath is left to the surgeon and the civilians are now helping with the wounded.**

**Uniform: Requirements Generic Western Theater -Impression: Battle worn appearance, frockcoats or sack coats. Union field commander will be Peter Seielstad. Confederate commander will be Terry Lemke. (PLEASE KEEP YOUR IMPRESSION TRUE TO THE TIME PERIOD)**

**A Few Simple Rules: There will be a morning inspection. The purpose is to eliminate any unwanted modern intrusions (i.e. eyewear, footwear, wristwatches, headwear and the like). Also we ask that no non- period tobacco be used while the public is present. The Norskedalen staff has also asked us to pass along a reminder that no dogs are allowed on the grounds. No one under the age of sixteen will be allowed to carry a firearm without proof of hunter safety certificate and parent or guardian present. Walk-ons will not be permitted. Your cooperation with these few rules will be greatly appreciated.**

**Civilians will be asked to eliminate unwanted intrusions and are subject to “search and seizure”.**

**Registration: Please take time and fill out the registration so that we may plan ahead. Simply state the number of soldiers who will attend and the number of civilians. If you would like to invite an affiliate of your group please list their names in the spaces provided. When they come to register they will be recognized as a member of your organization. Return completed registration to: Peter Seielstad 1745 S. Highland Dr. Sparta, WI 54656 or email to: [captlacey@hotmail.com](mailto:captlacey@hotmail.com) Registration Form**

NORSKEDALEN CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCE October 13TH – 15TH 2017 NAME OF UNIT \_\_\_\_\_ POINT OF CONTACT \_\_\_\_\_  
NAME: \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_  
(\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_ - \_\_\_\_\_ NUMBER OF SOLDIERS: \_\_\_\_\_ NUMBER OF  
CIVILIANS: \_\_\_\_\_ NUMBER OF GUESTS: \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL PARTICIPANTS FROM  
UNIT: \_\_\_\_\_ NAME OF GUESTS 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ 2.  
\_\_\_\_\_ 3.  
\_\_\_\_\_ 4.  
\_\_\_\_\_

USE BACK OF REGISTRATION FOR ADDITIONAL GUESTS RETURN REGISTRATION TO:  
[captlacey@hotmail.com](mailto:captlacey@hotmail.com) or Norskedalen Civil War Experience C/O PETER SEIELSTAD 1745 S. HIGHLAND  
DR. SPARTA, WI 54656 NORSKEDALEN CIVIL WAR HERITAGE WEEKEND OCT. 13-15, 2006 COON VALLEY,  
WISCONSIN

### **THURSDAY OCT. 12**

**Noon-8:00 - Registration and camp setup for school presentation**

### **FRIDAY OCT. 13 (SCHOOL EDUCATION DAY)**

**7:30-9:00 -Setup**

**9:00-11:00 -Living history stations (possible stations for education day)**

- 1. “Saw-Bones”- Civil War Surgeon**
- 2. “USCT” White officer in a black regiment**
- 3. “Jine the Army” – Life of a Federal Soldier**

**4. "Trading with the Enemy"- Pickets**

**5. "Back Home"- Bekkum Farmhouse**

**6. "Blockade Runner"**

**7. " US Navy"**

**8. (Additional stations to be selected)**

**11:00-11:45 -Lunch for re-enactors (POT LUCK- Provided by Norskedal)**

**Noon-2:00 -Living history stations continues**

**4:00-10:00 -Registration/ camp setup**

**SATURDAY OCT. 14**

**7:00 am -Reveille**

**8:00-8:45 -Officers meeting (Company commanders, NCOs)**

**9:00 -Post Colors (Camp opens to public)**

**9:15 - Company inspections**

**10:00-2:00 - Action at Poplar Creek Ford Stations: -Army Field Surgeon -  
Active Picket lines**

**1:00 - BATTLE RE-ENACTMENT - Skirmish at Bekkum farm Post Battle: -  
Army Field Surgeon -Battle Aftermath**

**4:30 - Camps close to the public 5:00 - Evening meal**

**8:00 -Company campfires (Entertainment provided by your own resources)**

**10:30 -Tattoo**

**11:00 -Lights out Continued next page**

**SUNDAY OCT. 15**

**7:00 -Reveille**

**8:00-8:30 -Officers meeting (Company commanders, NCOs)**

**9:00 -Camps open to Public**

**10: 00 - Religious Services (Pavilion)**

**11:30 - 1:00 - Action at Poplar Creek Ford Stations: -Army Field Surgeon - Active Picket Lines -Home life on the front**

**1:00 -BATTLE RE-ENACTMENT Skirmish at Bekkum Farm Post Battle: - Army Field Surgeon -Bekkum Farm Aftermath**

**4:00 -Camp closes to public**

**FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: Pete Seielstad (608) 343-8429 Or Norskedalen at (608) 452-3424 or visit their web-site [www.norskedalen.org](http://www.norskedalen.org)  
NORSKEDALEN IS LOCATED IN COON VALLEY, WISCONSIN**

**15 MILES SOUTHEAST OF LA CROSSE (Take county road P north from Hwy 14 in Coon Valley to county road PI three miles to the entrance.  
EMERGENCY PHONE # ONLY (608-452-3300)**

## **THE ENVELOPE, PLEASE...**

**SUBMITTED BY PETE SEIELSTAD**

**In last month's Pass in Review article**

**I mentioned that I've seen just about everything when it comes to our hobby. One was the use of a disc golf basket used as a support for a friend's shebang. Well it seems that there are other uses.**

**I submit to you another documented use of an offending object of period suitability. This basket appears to be the DGA approved Mach V Disc Pole Hole disc golf basket.**





**Albeit, not the fault of any individual but when the campsite was established the cook fly came too close to the disc-golf basket. Inventive as the soldiers of '61, our soldiers realized the benefit and quickly converted the offending object into a drying rack for tin pots and pans.**

**We'll never wholly return to mid-nineteenth century and we'll always have that little reminder that we're now living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Perhaps we should take it all in stride and have some fun with those awkward moments. Therefore, a challenge! Sort through all those photographs that support offending objects of period suitability (OOPS). We'll post them, judge them and have a laugh over them.**

**Now let's see, where is that photo of me striking a pose in front of a line of blue port-a-johns?**

## **TWO LETTER HOME TO OUR FAVORITE SISTER SALLY**

---

*Late June Ft Howard*

*Dear Sally,*

*I rit you hopin you and the family are well as I am tolerable. After my last letter early this month we had to once again leave the safe haven of Ft Howard to quell a band of rytous bushwackers threatn the fine folk of Heritage.*

*We were told the blaggards were in a woodlot near a small country road. Suspectn any approach along the road to be ambushd, the captn had us cross a fencelyn and advance upon the woods thru a field. Skirmishers were deployd into the woods and as we awaitd the report of musketry, there was but silence.*

*As our skirmishers emergd back from the woods a number of rebs suddenly appeared on the road and caut them unawares in the open. The company had bin reformd on the fencelyn as our skirmishers ran the gawnlet of fire to reach us, some to run ther last race.*

*Embolden by ther success the rebs then attackd our fencelyn. It was a rash and foolish move. Tho they attackd with a ferwor, we cut them down with a fury. The field was strewn with ther falln and they soon, with camptown race swiftness, sawt the refuge of distance far far away.*

*Follown the skirmish we returnd to the fort and witnessd yet another battle of a judicial manner, the court martial of private R..M. for his indiscreshun against Doc Maclaren. I've hurd said that time heals all wounds, well after watchn the proceedns of the U.S Army vs Private R. M., that may well be true. Cooler heads prevaild with testimonys temperd and benyn. Doc admittd he intended to provoke the private to reveal his malingerin and to prove his soldierly fit-ness. Unfortunately his advand years and slowd reflexes allowd R..M's blow to land. Doc summed it up well when he referd to R..M. as "a beast that should be chaind or encasd in glass with a sign readn; 'break only in the advent of war!'"*

*When the jury returnd from deliberashuns the verdict was read by a Colonel McHugh; "Private R..M. you are hereby sentenced to 4 weeks hard labor following which time you will be reassigned to another unit. Since you have been referred many a time by witnesses as a black-guard, I will recommend your reassignment be to a colored unit. This matter is concluded, court dismissed!"*

*Spakn with pa after the proceedns, he tawt commerce will again superceed the law in this matter. R..M. was a good payn customer to Doc's Laudanum Emporium and perhaps Doc will influence the eventual reassignment of R..M. back to us.*

*Your Brother  
Stephan*

*Old Falls July*

*Dear Sally,*

*May this letter find you well as I am the same. Our company left the friendly confines of Ft Howard for an extended foray south. After sendn the rebs reeln near here a few weeks past, the captn desired more trophies. We marchd south*

lookn for a fit yet prayn not! Reports had the rebs congregatn near the village of Old Falls. We knew the place well enuf for its copperhead sympathys.

Not fixn to stay long, we set up camp just outsyd the place. Our intent was neither to protect or defend but rather findn mischief which we found rit off. The place was even more law-less then I rememberd. Frontier justice was all the rage as the sheriff and his deputizd minions were qyt busy blazn ther six-shooters. Thankfully we missd any lynchns!

As the day got along the sound of artillery thunder rent the air. We were soon scurryn and reddyn for achsun. Captn darlin marchd us behind a grove of pines bordern a lovely glen. My platoon was sent forward as skirmishers where upon we discoverd the rebs sittn behind some barricades. We commencd tradn lead, but wispy meadow grass is no match to stout timbers in defensive matters. We were soon recalld back to the company behind the pines.

Insted of lettin the artillery make the proper adjustments to level that place, captn took matters into his own hands and had the company advance into that lovely glen. Now insted of tryn to hit our lads duckn an weevn in skirmish formashun, the rebs had but to point ther enfields in our general direcshun to hit a target. Before our front rank was too riddld, kind providence gracd us as our artillery lit up the left of the reb line. We had our breech and rushd into it with our battle ire up. The rebs skeedaddled as if strickn with the flux racn for the sinks. Others not so fleet afoot were dispatchd. A couple were foolish enuf to stand ther ground under which they now resyd!

Delytd with our resoundn victory the captn was celebratory and sent forth the company's two best foragers of spiritus I-rish-us, one Cpl Mount Vargus and Put A. Maclaren. The nearby public houses were most willing to offer up ther ale reserves in face of those two shoulder enfields with bayonets fixd! The nyt was a spree with mother nature providn the fireworks with a feerce tempest. The follown morn dawnd gray and with poor reb huntin chances we were marchd back to Ft Howard. I count me blessns again surviwn not only the shot and shell of the rebs or an errant bullet from Sheriff Fyfe, but another close encounter avoidn anal impalement from yet another camp chair mishap!

Your Brother,

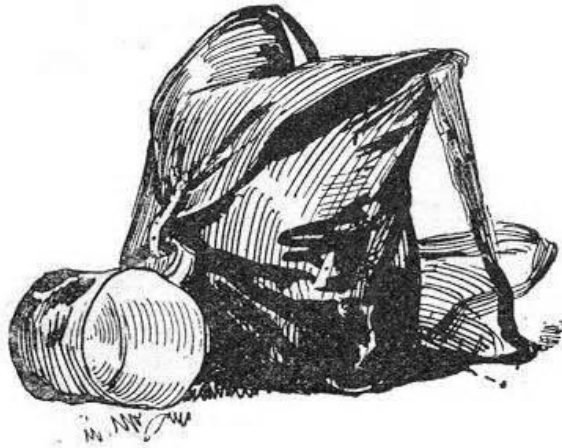
Stephan

**FROM THE CAMPS OF THE  
COMPANIES OF THE SECOND  
WISCONSIN**

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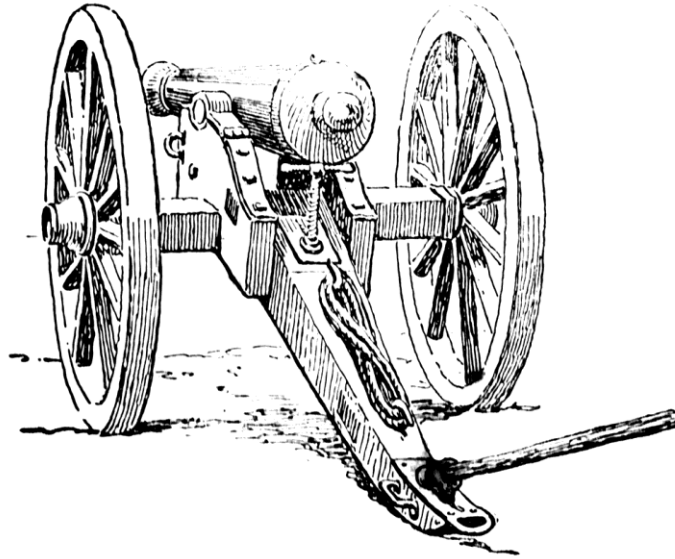
**INFANTRY**

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**ARTILLERY**

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## **SKIRMISHERS**



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# **RHINELANDER SKIRMISH ON SEPTEMBER 1<sup>ST</sup>-3<sup>RD</sup>, 2017**

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**The 2<sup>nd</sup> Wisconsin marksmen will be involved in a competition in Rhineland, Wisconsin, on September 1<sup>st</sup> through the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017. Below one will find a schedule of activities for the weekend and directions to the event.**

### **'FRANTASTIC SHOOT'**

**HOSTED BY THE 8TH AND 2ND WISCONSIN VOLUNTEERS  
SEPTEMBER 1-3, 2017 NEAR 3943 SHINGLE MILL ROAD, PELICAN LAKE, WI  
Skirmish Director: Richard Tessmann, 715-360-5440, [dickt@oneidatool.com](mailto:dickt@oneidatool.com) \*  
Lunch available on site \***

**Long Range Competition open to all black powder arms \***

**On site camping \***

**Shooting Fees: \$6 for individuals, \$6 per person for team competitions \***

**Two-handed pistol shooting allowed \***

**“Surprise” targets may be shot at 35 yards Schedule**  
**FRIDAY**

**1 – 4:30 pm Individuals & Long Range**  
**6 pm Fish Fry at Al Gen Supper Club Directions to Supper Club, 3428 Faust Lake Rd, Rhinelander**

**SATURDAY**

**8 – 11 am Individuals & Long Range**  
**10 Breechloader Team Competition**  
**11 Revolver Team Competition**  
**Noon Lunch**  
**12:45 pm Commanders Meeting 1 Carbine Team Competition**  
**2:30 Smoothbore Team Competition**  
**3:45 Smoothbore Pistol Team Competition Mortar Competition**  
**5:45 Pot Luck under the tent. Bring a dish to pass (chicken provided).**  
**Camp fire and entertainment later till 0-dark-thirty**

**SUNDAY**

**8:30 am Commanders Meeting**  
**9 Opening Ceremonies & Awards Musket Team Competition Clean-up Mini-cannon and Mini-mortar (golf) follow Awards and cleanup**  
**Targeting Breechloader - (3 person teams)**  
    **50 yd. Pigeon Board (12)**  
    **50 yd. Hanging Bottles (6)**  
    **100 yd. Jugs (5)**  
**Revolver - (3 person teams)**  
    **15 yd. Pigeon Board (9)**  
    **15 yd. Hanging Bottles (6)**  
    **25 yd. Jugs (5) Carbine - (4 person teams)**  
    **50 yd. Pigeon Board (16)**  
    **50 yd. Hanging Bottles (12) rolling thunder**  
    **50 yd. 4” Hanging Pigeons (8)**  
    **50 yd. Surprise 100 yd. Dry Wall Smoothbore - (3 person teams)**  
    **25 yd. Pigeon Board (9)**  
    **25 yd. Hanging Bottles (6) 50 yd. Jugs (5) Smoothbore Pistol- (2 person teams)**  
    **25 yd. Pigeon Board (6) 25 yd. Hanging Bottles (4)**  
    **50 yd. Jugs (3) Musket - (5 person teams)**  
    **50 yd. Pigeon Board (20) 50 yd. Hanging Bottles (15) rolling thunder**  
    **50 yd. 4” Hanging Pigeons (10) 50 yd. Surprise 100 yd. Dry Wall**

**DIRECTIONS**

**(for map see:**

**<http://aewsa.org/images/Maps/Rhineland%20Range%20Directions.pdf> )**

**Coming from the south on Hwy 39 Take exit 208 at Merrill Turn right on Hwy 64 "1/4" mile to Hwy 17 Turn left on Hwy 17 and go about 23 miles to Parrish and turn right on Hwy "Q" Follow Hwy "Q" 10.3 miles to Hwy "G", turn left Follow Hwy "G" 3.2 miles to Shingle Mill Rd., turn left 1.5 miles to range**

**Coming from the south on Hwy 45, go through Antigo Continue north to Elcho From Elcho continue 1.9 miles to Hwy "G", turn left Follow "G" 9.0 miles to Shingle Mill Road, turn left 1.5 miles to range**

**Coming from Rhineland and going south to the range From the Hwy 8 bypass take Hwy "G" 9.8 miles to Shingle Mill Road, turn right 1.5 miles to range**

### **LOCAL LODGING:**

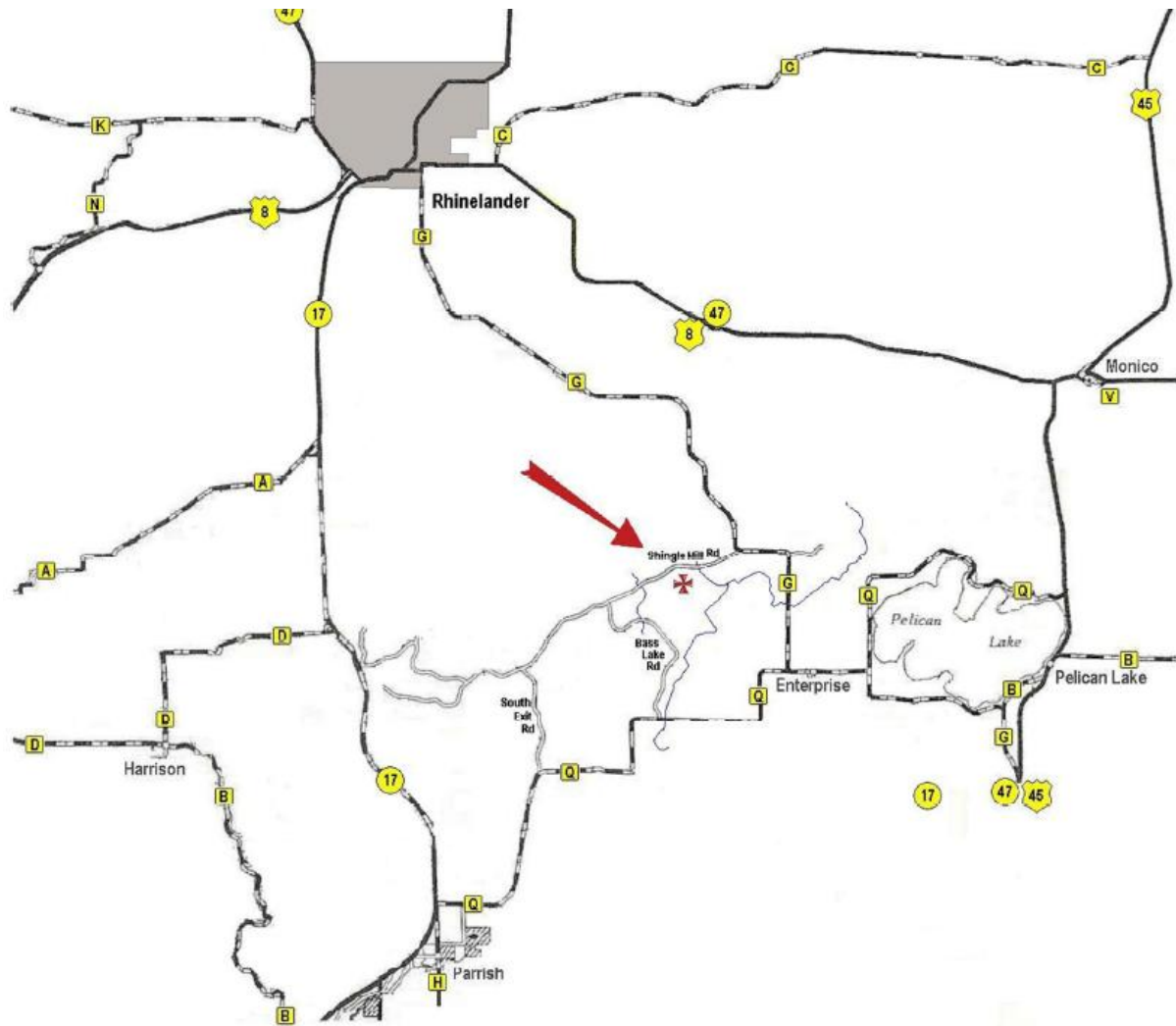
**AmericInn Phone: 715-369-9600 648 West Kemp St Rhineland, WI  
Quality Inn Phone: 715-369-3600 668 West Kemp St Rhineland.**

**WI**

**Comfort Inn Phone: 715/369-1100, 1490 Lincoln Street Fax:  
715/369-1123 Rhineland, WI 54501**

**Americas Best Value Inn Phone: 715/369-5880 667 W. Kemp Street  
Fax: 715/369-2312 Rhineland, WI 54501**

**Best Western Phone: 715/362-7100 70 N. Stevens Street Fax:  
715/362-3883 Rhineland, WI 54501**



### **Rhineland Range Directions**

**Near 3500 Shingle Mill Road, Pelican Lake, WI**

**Contact: Richard Tessmann, (715) 369-2018**

**Coming from the south on Hwy 39 take the Merrill exit 208**

**Turn right on Hwy 64 "1/4" mile to highway 17 Turn left on Hwy 17 and go about 23 miles to Parrish and turn right on Hwy "Q"**

**Follow Hwy "Q" 10.3 miles to Hwy "G", turn left**

**Follow Hwy "G" 3.2 miles to Shingle Mill Rd. , turn left**

**1.5 miles to field and range**

**Coming from the south on Hwy 45, go through Antigo**

**Continue north to Elcho**

**From Elcho continue 1.9 miles to Hwy "G", turn left**

**Follow "G" 9.0 miles to Shingle Mill Road, turn left**

**1.5 miles to field and range**



**Coming from Rhinelander and going south to the range  
From the Hwy 8 bypass take Hwy "G" 9.8 miles to Shingle Mill Road , turn  
right 1.5 miles to field and range**

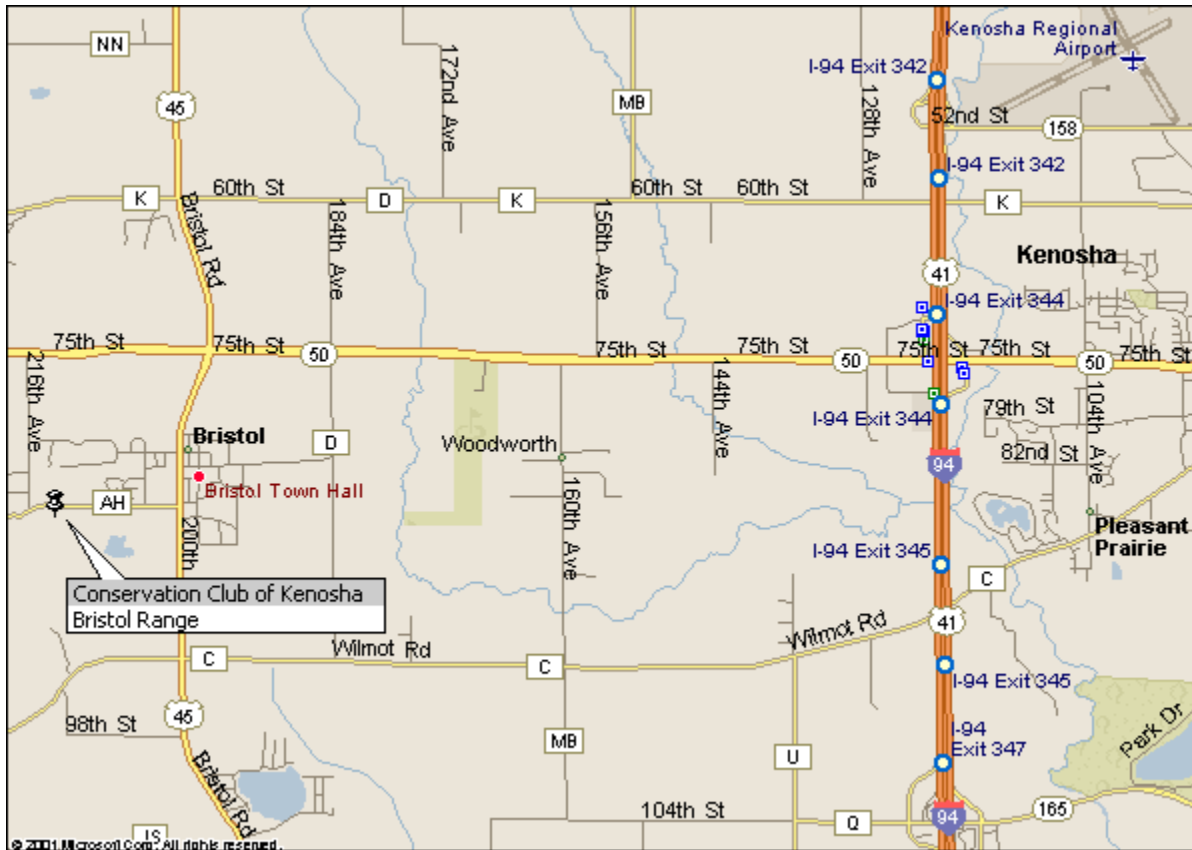
## **BRISTOL SKIRMISH SET FOR SEPTEMBER 16<sup>TH</sup> - 17<sup>TH</sup>, 2017**

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**The Second Wisconsin marksmanship team will be in action at  
Bristol, Wisconsin, the weekend of September 16<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017.  
*The Fugelman* does not have access to details or the schedule of activities  
for this event. Below are photos from the skirmish team webpage of the  
event in 2016.**





# **2<sup>nd</sup> WISCONSIN REGIMENTAL FIELD HOSPITAL**



## **CIVIL WAR MILESTONES**

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### **SEPTEMBER**

**Sept. 2, 1863**

**Knoxville, Tennessee falls to Union forces under the command of Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside**

**Sept. 2, 1864**

**Atlanta surrenders to Sherman's army**

**Sept. 3, 1861**

**General Polk seizes Columbus, Georgia and violates Kentucky's neutrality**

- Sept. 5, 1863**                      **Britain seizes Confederate ships and shipyard**
- Sept. 6, 1819**                      **Gen. William S. Rosencrans, USA, born**
- Sept. 6, 1861**                      **Gen. Grant moves into Paduca, Kentucky**
- Sept. 6, 1863**                      **General Braxton Bragg orders the evacuation of Chattanooga, Tennessee, by rebel forces**
- Sept. 8, 1828**                      **Gen. Joshua Chamberlain, USA, born**
- Sept. 10, 1836**                      **Gen. Joseph Wheeler, CSA, born**
- Sept. 11, 1861**                      **Union victory at Cheat Mountain**
- Sept. 14, 1862**                      **BATTLE AT SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND THE BLACK HATS GAIN A NEW NAME—THE IRON BRIGADE**
- Sept. 15, 1862**                      **Gen. “Stonewall” Jackson captures Harper’s Ferry**
- Sept. 15, 1863**                      **President Lincoln suspends the *writ of habeas corpus* throughout the United States**
- Sept. 17, 1862**                      **THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM—The Iron Brigade fights in the “Cornfield”. Veterans always demonstrated great admiration for those soldiers who fought at Antietam**

- Sept. 19-20, 1863                      The Battle of Chickamauga**
- Sept. 19, 1864                         The Battle at Winchester**
- Sept. 24, 1863                         Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman assumes command of the  
Army of the Tennessee**
- Sept. 24, 1864                         Sheridan lays waste to the Shenandoah Valley**

## **EDITORIAL: SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM**

**BY JAMES H. DUMKE**

**The passage of the latter half of 1862 was a time of hard service for the Black Hats. The brigade, under the command of Brigadier General John Gibbon, “saw the elephant” for the first time at a place called Brawner’s Farm. The brigade also participated in the two days of battle known as the Battle of Second Bull Run (or Second Manassas). The brigade had fought well during the campaign and earned the praise of the Army of Virginia commander, Major General John Pope. September would call forth further struggle and sacrifice by the men in the Black Hats and lead to a new name for the brigade, the Iron Brigade.**

**On September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1862, General Pope was relieved of command of the short-lived Army of Virginia and his troops were incorporated into the Army of the Potomac. The Black Hat brigade was assigned to the I Corps commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker—Fighting Joe Hooker—known for his aggressive, hard fighting style. Hooker’s command encompassed three divisions under the command of Generals Meade, Ricketts, and Hatch. General Hatch’s division had four brigades under the commanders Doubleday, Phelps, Patrick, and Gibbon. Altogether Hooker commanded three divisions composed of 10 brigades, 42 regiments, 10 batteries, and a battalion of cavalry. (Hill, p. 569)**

**On September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1862, Robert E. Lee began the process of moving his army across the Potomac River near Leesburg, Virginia, and commencing what would become known as the Maryland Campaign. It is appropriate to take a brief look at Lee's goals for this campaign. The best source are the actual words of Lee himself in determining the purpose of the invasion of Maryland.**

**The armies of General McClellan and Pope had now been brought back to the point from which they set out on the campaigns of the spring and summer. The objects of those campaigns had been frustrated, and the designs of the enemy on the coast of North Carolina and in Western Virginia thwarted by the withdrawal of the main body of his forces from those regions. Northeastern Virginia was freed from the presence of Federal soldiers up to the intrenchments of Washington, and soon after the arrival of the army at Leesburg information was received that the troops which had occupied Winchester had retired to Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg. The war was thus transferred from the interior to the frontier, and the supplies of rich and productive districts made accessible to our army. To prolong a state of affairs in every way desirable, and not to permit the season of active operations to pass without endeavoring to inflict further injury upon the enemy, the best course appeared to be the transfer of the army into Maryland. Although not properly equipped for invasion, lacking much of the material of war, and feeble in transportation, the troops poorly provided with clothing, and thousands of them destitute of shoes, it was yet believed to be strong enough to detain the enemy upon the northern frontier until the approach of winter should render his advance into Virginia difficult, if not impracticable. The condition of Maryland encouraged the belief that the presence of our army, however inferior to that of the enemy, would induce the Washington Government to retain all its available force to provide against contingencies which its course towards the people of that State gave it reason to apprehend. At the same time it was hoped that that military success might afford us an opportunity to aid the citizens of Maryland in any efforts they might be disposed to make to recover their liberties. The difficulties that surround them were fully appreciated, and we expected to derive more assistance in the attainment of our object from the just facts of the Washington Government, than from active demonstration on the part of the people, unless success should enable us to give them assurance of**

**continued protection. (Palfrey, p. 15)**

**Lee also hoped to draw in recruits from the Maryland population to help fill his depleted ranks. One additional purpose that Lee was not inclined to be specific about was the desire to draw the Army of the Potomac out to a final all encompassing battle that could decide the war. Lee believed the Federal army was demoralized and disorganized after the thumping they took at the Second Battle of Bull Run and that his troops were ready to destroy the Union army.**

**D. H. Hill led the crossing of the Potomac and the army moved to Frederick, Maryland. Lee also counted on the high morale of his army after the victory in the Battle of Second Bull Run to succor his men during a tough campaign.**

**Another thing Lee counted on was the commander of the forces opposing him. Palfrey describes this view in his work on Antietam as follows: "He had for his opponent McClellan, and experience had shown him that McClellan never attacked, and always let him choose his own time and place for fighting." (Palfrey, p. 17) McClellan during the early days of the campaign did move cautiously. To some degree this was the result of uncertainty as to the actual target of Lee's invasion. President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton had ordered McClellan to cover Washington City, Baltimore, and Philadelphia with his forces since any of these cities could be the ultimate target of the rebel army. Thus McClellan moved slowly keeping the Army of the Potomac in a semi-circle covering each of the cities he was ordered to protect, but also making sure his troops were in supporting distance of each other.**

**On September 13<sup>th</sup>, McClellan was handed a huge gift. As McClellan's troops moved into camp outside Frederick, two members of the 27<sup>th</sup> Indiana regiment found a copy of General Lee's Special Order 191 wrapped around three cigars. This document, which passed up the ranks into the hands of McClellan, set out the plans and movements of Lee's army. Lee had directed Jackson and A. P. Hill to move by various routes to surround and capture Harper's Ferry. Longstreet was directed to Boonsboro to guard the army's trains. It was clear that if McClellan could move quickly he could attack and defeat Lee's army in detail! Initially McClellan did move quickly, surprising General Lee. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of September McClellan was moving his Army of the Potomac to the base of South Mountain. Lee had**

**dispatched the division of D. H. Hill to the gaps in the mountain to slow the movement of McClellan's forces. The Battle of South Mountain was on! The Black Hats found themselves in the vanguard to attack rebel troops at Turner's Gap. Here the brigade would not only enhance their reputation as fierce warriors, but earn a new nickname for the brigade. At this point it seems appropriate to let Jeffry Wert describe the battle that included the Black Hats, since he does this in detail and in a dramatic fashion:**

**Gibbon aligned his four regiments on both sides of the old highway upon which countless numbers of Americans had traveled west. The Nineteenth Indiana deployed south of the road in a battle line, with the Seventh Wisconsin parallel to the Hoosiers north of the roadbed. In double columns the Second Wisconsin formed behind the Nineteenth and the Sixth Wisconsin behind the Seventh. Each of the latter units detached two companies to the front as skirmishers, while an Indiana company covered the attacker's left flank as skirmishers. Before the Westerners advanced, ten officers and forty-one enlisted men of the Second Wisconsin "were compelled" to fall out because of exhaustion and sickness. If other men in the remaining regiments did likewise, it went unreported.**

**The eastern face of South Mountain appeared dark green, even black, as the sun sank beneath the crest when the Westerners moved forward. Steadily, in ranks worthy of troops in a review, the roughly twelve hundred Federals pressed ahead through open fields. Behind them, Gibbon watched their progress with pride, writing later that "the occasion was one to exhibit admirably, the drill and efficiency acquired by the brigade whilst lying at Fredericksburg." To the demanding brigadier, they looked like Regulars.**

**On the mountain, Confederate artillery crews saw them coming and opened fire. One shell exploded in the Second Wisconsin, killing four and wounding three. Ahead of the Nineteenth Indiana, Rebel skirmishers fired from the windows of a farmhouse. Colonel Solomon Meredith requested artillery support, and a section—two guns—of Battery B, Fourth U. S. Artillery deployed in the road, sending a round into the upper story of the house. The Rebels scattered, Meredith reported, in a "general stampede." When the Hoosiers passed through the farmyard, they grabbed turkeys and chickens, according to the reminiscences of one of them. The owner protested**



**the thievery, but the soldiers rebutted that the fowl were “obstructing our forward movement.”**

**From among the trees, Confederate infantry triggered a volley into the Nineteenth. The southerners were Alabamians and Georgians under Brigadier General Alfred Colquitt. They had held the position across the road all day, spared from combat until now. They knew who the Federals were, calling them “damned black hats.” Most likely, they knew that it would be a fight.**

**“The fire became general on both sides,” Meredith stated. His Indianans unleashed a volley, cheered, advanced, and repeated the sequence. The colonel thought “it was a most magnificent sight” to witness his men moving forward with shouts. Colonel Lucius Fairchild brought up the Second Wisconsin, joining the Hoosiers in the combat. A member of the Second described the Confederate artillery and infantry fire as “murderous.” Shielded by trees and stone walls, Colquitt’s Rebels held their position.**

**North of the National Road, the Seventh Wisconsin crested a knoll and were blasted at a range of forty yards by the Twenty-third and Twenty-eighth Georgia. A Federal described it as “a most terrific fire,” adding that “it seemed no one could survive.” The Georgians enfiladed the Seventh on both flanks. The Yankees clung to the knoll, firing as rapidly as they could reload.**

**With the explosion of musketry in front of the Seventh, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Bragg rushed the Sixth Wisconsin forward at the double quick. The Sixth’s right wing came into line on the Seventh’s right flank, with the left wing stacked behind it. Bragg’s men relieved the pressure against the Seventh, engaging the Twenty-eighth Georgia. Before long, however, Gibbon ordered Bragg to turn the Confederate flank.**

**Bragg was, in the estimate of Major Rufus Dawes, an officer of “remarkable quick conception and instant action.” When he received Gibbon’s directive, Bragg went to Dawes, who commanded the right wing, and instructed the major to have his men fire a volley and then lie down. “I am going over you,” Bragg said, referring to the left wing. Dawes complied, and Bragg led the other half of the regiment up the slope, ordering his troops to fire a volley and fall to the ground. Dawes followed with his wing and repeated the tactic. The Sixth**

**ascended the mountain, with one wing leapfrogging the other. "In a long experience in musketry fighting," Dawes contended later, "this was the single instance I saw of other than a fire by file in battle."**

**The Sixth "poured volley after volley into the enemy." The gunfire on both sides was "incessant and forcible." Sergeant George Fairfield believed that "the artillery roared to beat anything I had yet heard." South of the worn roadway, the Second Wisconsin wheeled to the right, raking the flank of the Georgians across the road. It was so dark that neither opponent could see each other. The men aimed at the rifle flashes. The "sides of the mountain seemed in a blaze of flame," avowed a Federal.**

**The combat raged in the darkness until nine o'clock. The Second Wisconsin expended all its ammunition, and Colonel Meredith brought forward the Nineteenth Indiana to relieve the Second. In the Sixth and Seventh Wisconsin, the men searched the dead and wounded for cartridges. When Gibbon learned of the situation, he ordered a cease-fire, but admonished the officers to "hold the ground at the point of the bayonet." In a final spasm, the Georgians crept toward the Sixth and Seventh only to be lashed by a final volley. Bragg's men emitted three cheers, and as the lieutenant colonel said, "the enemy was no more seen." (Wert, pps. 168-172)**

**General Gibbon happened to be at headquarters late in the day of September 14<sup>th</sup> and overheard McClellan praising his brigade (or so the story goes) for their fight in the mountain gap on the old National Road. McClellan was supposed to have said that these men had stood like iron. From that point of, Gibbon began referring to his brigade as the Iron Brigade, and that name became synonymous with the men in his brigade.**

**General McClellan returned to his cautious approach after smashing through the gaps in South Mountain. On September 15<sup>th</sup>, McClellan arrived on the banks of Antietam Creek, where he concentrated his forces, but took no steps to cross the creek or attack Lee. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of September he did push Hooker across the creek and moved Sumner up to, but not over, Antietam Creek, in support for Hooker's I Corps. On September 16<sup>th</sup> McClellan did not attack. Little Mac, the Great American Tortoise, spent the day putting his troops into position. This gave Jackson the needed time to rejoin Lee from his efforts to capture Harper's Ferry and take his position on Longstreet's left. McClellan determined to launch his attack on Lee early**

**in the morning of September 17<sup>th</sup>. The Black Hats/Iron Brigade slept on their arms on the Poffenberger farm in a drizzle the night before the battle. The events of September 17<sup>th</sup> would test the nerve and mettle of these Westerners in Gibbon's brigade to the limits of human endurance. They were about to walk into a maelstrom of shot, shell and bullets that would forever mark them as a special brigade. Jeffry Wert will take over here and describe the fight that engulfed the Iron Brigade in what has been referred to ever after as simply the Cornfield!**



**Figure 1 Confederate dead at the fence on the Hagerstown Turnpike on the border of the Cornfield**

**Despite the concealing mists, Confederate artillerists were at their posts and began hurling shells towards the Poffenberger farm. The first round missed the Westerners, but a second one burst above the Sixth Wisconsin, severing the foot of Captain Davis Noyes and killing or wounding a dozen men. The unscathed soldiers left "the mangled bodies of their comrades on the ground," and continued forward. Once they passed through North Woods, the Sixth Wisconsin**

**in front deployed into line of battle, pushing two companies ahead as skirmishers. Southern gunners continued to fire upon the Federals while Rebel infantry pickets sniped at the oncoming brigade from the Miller outbuildings. When the Westerners neared the farmstead, the enemy fled south toward the stalks of standing corn.**

**When the Sixth reached Miller's, the right wing of the regiment swung wide of the farmhouse as the left wing clogged up at a board paling fence that surrounded the family garden. Unable to level the barrier, Major Rufus Dawes hurried the men through a gate. Bullets from enemy skirmishers pockmarked the boards. As each company cleared the garden, officers re-formed the men into line. Captain Edwin Brown lofted his sword and shouted for his Company E to file into ranks. Suddenly, Brown shrieked and collapsed to the ground, hit by either a bullet or a piece of shell. He lived only a short time. Brown had always been a reluctant soldier, concerned about his wife, Ruth, and their children in Fond du Lac. He "could scarcely walk" that morning, but duty kept him in the ranks. In his final letter, he assured Ruth that he would secure a furlough when the campaign ended. All he wanted was some rest, and now it would be a permanent one.**

**With ranks realigned, the Sixth advanced toward the Cornfield. The right wing overlapped the turnpike in the fields next to West Woods while the other wing plunged into the corn. Behind them, their comrades in the Second Wisconsin rushed ahead to come in on the Sixth's left. For the fourth time in less than a month, The Westerners faced combat's fearful truth. Why men went forward into battle "cannot be easily explained," admitted a captain in the Second. "All this is business like," he contended. "All understand the situation. The touch of elbows, the step, the alignment are more accurate, more perfect than usual, showing that every man is alive to the duty of the occasion. Right here description ends."**

**A rail fence rimmed the southern edge of the Cornfield, and behind it a brigade of Georgians, under Colonel Marcellus Douglass, waited. These Southerners had stood face-to-face with Gibbon's men at Brawner's Farm. When the Georgians saw their old foes in black hats close to within thirty yards of the fence, the Southerners rose and opened the doors of hell into the Yankees. The volley staggered the Wisconsinites, but they halted and fired. As if staked to the ground,**

**immovable, the opposing lines ravaged each other. “Men, I can not say fell,” wrote Major Dawes, “they were knocked out of the ranks by dozens.”**

**The noise was deafening; the killing and maiming, unending. Dawes believed that bullets seemed as “thick, almost, as hail.” One soldier in the Second Wisconsin was struck by five balls. Private Gustav Eltermann died instantly as a bullet splattered his brains and blood over the stalks. “He did not know what hit him,” wrote Corporal Horace Emerson of the German volunteer. But after three engagements, a soldier “becomes callous to those falling around you dead and wounded,” a Westerner informed his daughters in a letter after the battle. “Under the Excitement,” he claimed, men ignored “the shells bursting over your heads the solid balls tearing up the ground.”**

**Along Hagerstown Turnpike, meanwhile, the right wing of the Sixth Wisconsin was caught in “a murderous enfilade” from Confederate troops in West Woods. Like their comrades in the Cornfield, they had encountered familiar enemies from Brawner’s Farm. The Rebels belonged to Stonewall Jackson’s old division, including the Virginians of the Stonewall Brigade.**

**The Confederates had spent the previous night bivouacked in the fields near the Smoketown Road-Hagerstown Turnpike intersection. At day-light, staff officers moved among the men, ordering them to cap their rifles. Brigadier General John R. Jones, a former field officer in the Thirty-third Virginia who had lost his post on the April elections, commanded the division. He had missed the Second Manassas Campaign, suffering from typhoid fever, but had rejoined the command at Frederick, succeeding the wounded William Taliaferro. On this day, Jones reported that the division’s four brigades numbered barely sixteen hundred rank and file, with many men barefoot.**

**Jones advanced the division into West Woods soon after daylight. At the southwest corner of the Cornfield, West woods bent west. Between the treeline and the corn lay a clover field and farther north, opposite Miller’s field, a rock ledge jutted up, less than one hundred yards from the turnpike. Near this elbow of West Woods, Jones formed his former brigade and the Stonewall Brigade in the**

**front line and his other two brigades as support deeper in the woods. The entire division was sheltered and concealed among the trees.**

**As the fog dissipated, the Confederates saw Yankees coming. A valley man recalled the scene, "In apparent double battle lines, the Federals were moving toward us at charge bayonets, common time, and the sunbeams falling on their well polished guns and bayonets gave a glamor and show at once fearful and entrancing." When the enemy neared the southern border of the Cornfield, Jones's brigade and the Stonewall Brigade stood up and fired a volley into the Sixth Wisconsin. The Southerners emerged from the woods, sweeping into the clover field. The 250 members of the Stonewall Brigade, commanded by Colonel Andrew Grigsby, occupied the division's right front near the turnpike.**

**The blast of musketry lashed the front and flank of the Wisconsinites. The Sixth's commander, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Bragg, shouted to the two right companies to refuse the flank and sent an aide to Gibbon for help. While standing in the roadbed, Bragg took a bullet in the left arm, above the elbow, that damaged the ulnar nerve. He refused to relinquish command until the loss of blood so weakened him that he nearly fainted. He sent for Major Dawes to assume command and was then carried to the rear. In a letter to his wife, written four days after the battle, Bragg averred that the Rebels "fought like demons," adding that "officers and men, are all alike—in filth & rags."**

**John Gibbon and division commander Abner Doubleday reacted to Bragg's request by ordering forward reinforcements. Doubleday led the division because John Hatch had been wounded at South Mountain. To assist the Westerners, Doubleday selected Hatch's former brigade, now under Colonel Walter Phelps, Jr. The Second U.S. Sharpshooters arrived first, bolstering the right front of the Sixth Wisconsin. Behind them, Gibbon shifted the Seventh Wisconsin and Nineteenth Indiana into the fields west of the turnpike and ordered them to charge toward West Woods. The brigadier also brought forward a two-gun section of Battery B, Fourth U.S. Artillery to the knoll thirty yards from the turnpike, opposite the northwest corner of the Cornfield. The Union gunners unlimbered among straw stacks.**

**The combat grew as these Federals entered the action. The pair of Confederate brigades pushed further into the clover field into a wall of musketry and artillery fire. “The fighting was terrible,” stated a captain in the Thirty-third Virginia. Jones fell with a wound from an artillery shell and was succeeded by Brigadier General William Starke. In the turnpike, the Wisconsin men and Sharpshooters sheltered themselves behind the rail fence along the roadbed. Dawes grabbed six rifles, firing them in succession. Men on both sides fell in clusters. Starke added the division’s final two brigades to the fury, leading them toward the Cornfield and the pasture south of it. Within minutes, Starke was killed, hit by three balls, and Colonel Grigsby assumed command of the division.**

**The advance of the Confederates deeper into the clover field exposed their left flank, and toward it came the Seventh Wisconsin and Nineteenth Indiana. Over the Federals’ heads, their comrades in Battery B hurled canister into the Southern ranks. The Westerners closed to within thirty paces, raking the Rebel line. The Virginians reeled and then fled toward the woods. Lieutenant Henry Young of the Seventh Wisconsin described the action in a letter, bragging “Our brigade whipped Jackson’s famous Stonewall Brigade, at the battle of Antietam in a fair and square fight. It was them we met in the morning, they fought well, but we hurled them back, broken and in perfect confusion.” In West Woods, the “fearless” Grigsby rallied the “shattered columns.” The Confederate division appeared to be “no larger than a good regiment.”**

**Jackson’s entire line between the turnpike and Smoketown Road in the pasture began now to unravel. From the Cornfield the Federals clawed themselves over the fence only to be blasted back. “Every body tears cartridges, loads, passes guns, or shoots,” as Dawes described the fighting. “Men are falling in their places or running back into the corn. The soldier who is shooting is furious in his energy.” Union reserves, including the red-legged Chasseurs of the Fourteenth Brooklyn, bolstered the lines, and then with a surge, the Yankees, “crawling, climbing, and scrambling,” scaled the fence, cheering as they charged across the pasture. Ahead of them, they saw the whitewashed Dunker Church, the target of the morning’s assault.**

**The Sixth and Second Wisconsin, Second U.S. Sharpshooters, and the Fourteenth Brooklyn spearheaded the attack. The Yankees’**

**guns had become so fouled that they had to pound each new round down the barrel. Suddenly, through the smoke, in a field north of Smoketown Road a Confederate division appeared. The Rebels were Brigadier General John B. Hood's two brigades of Southerners from six states, and when Federals come into range, they screeched their yell and fired a volley. The musketry was, Dawes wrote, "like a scythe running through our line." The Yankees lurched to a halt and recoiled. "It is a race for life that each man runs for the corn-field," as the major recounted it.**

**One of the Federals killed by Hood's troops was Captain Werner Von Bachelle of Company K, Sixth Wisconsin. A former officer in the French army, Von Bachelle had emigrated to America, settling in Milwaukee. "He was a true soldier, a gallant officer, and a faithful man," in the words of Bragg. The captain had a pet Newfoundland that had been in the regiment since his master enlisted. The dog could salute and was never far away from Von Bachelle. When the officer fell, the Newfoundland sat beside his master, and there he was found dead two days later. The captain's men buried them together.**

**Hood's Confederates pursued the remnants of the Federal line, driving toward the Cornfield. On the division's left, the Texas Brigade, comprised of Texans, Georgians, and South Carolinians, followed the turnpike. From west of the roadbed, the Seventh Wisconsin and Nineteenth Indiana saw the enemy counterattack. Lieutenant Colonel Alois Bachman stepped to the front of the Hoosiers, drew his sword, and shouted, "Boys, the command is no longer forward, but now it is follow me." The two regiments of black-hatted men ascended a slope west of the pike. When the Southerners discovered them, three of the regiments wheeled toward the roadbed to confront them head-on.**

**The opponents exchanged gunfire at a murderous distance that one officer estimated at less than two hundred feet. Lieutenant Colonel Bachmann fell mortally wounded in the initial discharge. "We got into a hornet's nest," stated a Hoosier, and were "nearly cut to pieces." Three color bearers in the Nineteenth Indiana were slain, and only the bravery of Lieutenant D. S. Holloway saved the flag. Private Morris Gilmore died. At Brawner's Farm he had watched his twin brother, John, fall with a wound. Unable to endure more, the Westerners retreated to the protection of the rock ledge and fought.**



**Among the men in the Seventh Wisconsin was Private George Partridge, Jr. After the battle, his sisters wrote him, inquiring if he had fired at the Rebels. "I took aim at one several times," Partridge answered, "but they always fell before I could fire." Several times he drew a bead on Southern soldier only to have another come into view. "But to tell the truth," he admitted, "I could not tell whether I killed any or not as they fell so fast . . . but I know I tried as hard as I could to kill some of them." If he did not succeed, many of his comrades did.**

**The slaughter in the pasture, along the turnpike, and amid "those corn acres of hell," as a Southerner termed Miller's field, stunned the soldiers. "I thought I had seen men piled up and cut up in all kinds of shapes," asserted Corporal Horace Emerson of the Second Wisconsin, "but never anything in comparison to that field." Another corporal in the Sixth stated that, "the dead was piled in winrows on both sides." It was "dreadful" to see so many dismembered bodies. Adjutant Frank Haskell of Gibbon's staff argued that the command's three previous engagements "were but skirmishes in comparison to this at Sharpsburg." He compared the combat's sound to "a roaring hell of fire" and "a great tumbling together of all heaven and earth." A quarter of a century afterward, Dawes put it simply, "Whoever stood in front of the corn field at Antietam needs no praise."**

**The struggle rushed now toward a climax in the Cornfield and along Hagerstown Turnpike. The First Texas swept into the battered acreage, clearing the ground of the shattered ranks of the Sixth and Second Wisconsin and Phelps brigade. The Texans advanced to the northern edge of the field in a remarkable display of bravery. Federal reserves and some of the Wisconsinites waited beyond the rows and savaged the Lone Star troops. A cauldron of flame and thunder decimated the Texans. Their casualty rate exceeded eighty percent. No other regiment in Lee's army incurred a higher percentage of loss in a single battle during the war.**

**To the Texan's left, along the turnpike, the Eighteenth Georgia charged toward Battery B, Fourth U. S. Artillery. Earlier, Gibbon had ordered forward all of the unit's guns to the knoll, where one section had been posted. The six cannons were a prize, and the Georgians raked the gun crews from behind the post and rail fence that divided the road from the Cornfield. The Rebels killed or wounded dozens of**

**the gunners, including the battery commander, Captain Joseph Campbell. "It seems almost incredible that any man could have escaped," wrote a battery member. The surviving artillerymen blasted the enemy with canister, splintering the rails and leveling cornstalks.**

**Three times the Georgians charged toward the guns, and three times they were repulsed. Union infantry west of the battery ripped apart the attacker's flank, and the artillerymen unleashed more canister. Gibbon, the old gunner, directed the battery's fire, sighting a cannon and urging, "Give them hell, boys." Finally, the Georgians could withstand the punishment no longer, and as more Union infantry piled into the Cornfield, Hood's wrecked division retreated toward West Woods and Dunker Church. When asked later where his command was, Hood replied, "Dead on the field."**

**Like a dying beast, the combat had ceased in one final convulsion. It was 7:30 A. M., and in ninety minutes of almost unparalleled butchery, Jackson's and Hooker's men had decimated each other. Neither opponent had much left to give. Hooker's corps abandoned the bloody ground as additional units moved toward a renewal of the carnage. Fresh Confederate reserves replaced Jackson's troops and prepared for the approaching onslaught.**

**The savagery of the Cornfield proved to be only a harbinger as the two armies killed and maimed each other in numbers unprecedented in American history. Before the battle ended, in the West Woods, around Dunker Church, before Bloody Lane, and above Rohrbach or Burnside's Bridge, more than 23,000 Americans had fallen or were captured. When A. P. Hill's division, arriving from Harper's Ferry, repulsed the final Union assault, September 17, 1862, became—and remains—the bloodiest single day in the country's annals.**

**At nightfall, Lee's veterans clung to the scarred landscape around Sharpsburg. McClellan had withheld thousands of troops during the fighting, men that might have destroyed the Confederate army. Defiantly, Lee stayed on the field on September 18, but after darkness retreated across the Potomac into Virginia. A clash occurred on the 20<sup>th</sup> between Lee's rear guard and McClellan's pursuit force at Shepherdstown, adding more casualties to the lengthy bill. But two days later, Abraham Lincoln, seizing upon confederate**

**withdrawal from Maryland as a victory, redefined the conflict by issuing the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. A different trumpet sounded the advance of Union armies. (Wert, pps. 178-185)**

**Historians are pretty much in agreement that the Battle of Antietam was a tactical draw. Lee remained on the field during the 18<sup>th</sup>, and that night began a retreat across the Potomac River back into Virginia, ending the Maryland Campaign. It must be noted that during the battle McClellan had 20,000 troops held in reserve that never fired a shot during the fighting. Had McClellan committed those troops into the fight there is little doubt he could have crushed Lee's army! Whatever McClellan's original plan for the battle, he fed his troops in piecemeal, severely reducing his firepower and allowing Lee to move troops from one critical position to another on the battlefield. However, despite McClellan's failures in command, the North viewed the battle as a huge Union victory. Northern spirits, which had fallen since the defeat at Second Bull Run and the stalemate in the Western Theater, were suddenly restored. A sense of almost euphoria seized the North.**

**The bloodletting and sacrifice at Antietam, as Wert noted, was on an unimaginable scale. It is said that ever after in the Union camps when veterans of the fight at Antietam passed by there was an awe and admiration directed towards these men. The question becomes what did all the bloodshed and suffering ultimately mean for the Union war effort? Given the desperate nature of the struggle, what ultimately was accomplished?**

**James McPherson offers an assessment worthy of analysis. McPherson points to two specific outcomes that he claims forever changed the course of the Civil War.**

## **EUROPEAN INTERVENTION**

**The first circumstance was the impact of the battle on the issue of intervention or recognition of the Confederacy by European powers, particularly the French and English. Napoleon III was determined to intervene in the Americans' civil war on behalf of the Southern Confederacy. However, Napoleon was reluctant to act on his own and wanted the cooperation of the British government before he would proceed. On the British view, they were determined to intervene in the war and offer mediation, based on recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. The Brits also wanted to wait until it became clear the South had won the**

**right to assert their independence. The British did not want to take the side of the loser in the war.**

**Pressure had been building for intervention with a sudden change of fortunes for the South following early successes by Union troops in Western Virginia and in the Western Theater. When news of Lee's victory in the Battle of Second Bull Run reached England it seemed the time had come for intervention and recognition of the Confederacy. Lord Russell had sidetracked an effort at intervention shortly before that news reached England, but was rethinking his position. Prime Minister Palmerson was determined now to proceed in accomplishing this goal and Russell had agreed to revisit the issue in October, when he returned to England after traveling with Queen Victoria in Europe. News of the Union victory at Antietam, however, would again derail the effort t intervention and recognition. There was clear momentum for Southern recognition and mediation of the issues in the civil war and they were tantalizingly close to that desired goal at the end of August, 1862. After the defeat at Antietam the South would never come close to that hope again.**

## **EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION**

**The second circumstance that would result from the victory at Antietam was much more momentous and far reaching than the issue of intervention by European powers in the war. The issue of slavery had bedeviled Lincoln throughout the first year of the war. Congress had passed the Confiscation Act and the Second Confiscation Act which seriously affected the question of slaves used by the rebels in military functions. By July of 1862, Lincoln had determined to take on the issue of slavery by issuing an emancipation proclamation. Alone with his thoughts, Lincoln drafted a document to extend freedom to slaves in states and areas still in rebellion against the Federal government 90 days after the execution of the preliminary proclamation. In July Lincoln showed the proclamation to his cabinet telling them he was open to comment but that he was determined to issue the order.**

**Secretary of State William Seward argued at the cabinet meeting that the timing for issuing the proclamation was bad. To issue the proclamation given recent Union setbacks would appear to many an act of desperation, or as Seward phrased it the "last shriek on the retreat." This argument struck Lincoln as imminently appropriate. And so Lincoln shelved the proclamation until such time as he could issue it in conjunction with a**

**Union victory. The victory at Antietam was the moment Lincoln had waited for. It is ironic that a general who believed that slavery should remain untouched as a means of encouraging eventual Southern reunion should provide the necessary key to the issuance of a proclamation of freedom for the slaves. But on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1862, Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. McClellan was pressed by his Democratic supporters to remain silent on the document and do his duty, recognizing the separation of civil authority and military command. Thus, despite McClellan's objections to the Emancipation Proclamation, McClellan remained silent on his view of the proclamation, and encouraged his staff to follow his lead.**

**Although there were critical views expressed in the press and among political leadership, it was clear a majority of Northerners agreed with the need for the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure to punish the rebellion. Another impact of the proclamation occurred in Europe. Although British newspapers were initially very critical of the Emancipation Proclamation, the British public embraced the document. As a result, recognition of the Confederacy by the British government was no longer a possibility. The Rebels had come close to intervention and recognition in the months preceding the proclamation, but it became a forlorn hope after the document was published in America. Union armies would now march under the banner of freedom as well as Union! The Civil Wars changing into that "remorseless revolutionary struggle" that Lincoln had warned of in his 1861 message to Congress.**

### **1862 MID-TERM ELECTIONS**

**A final result of the Battle of Antietam is somewhat harder to gage. That is the impact of the victory on the 1862, mid-term elections. As discussed previously, morale among civilians in the North had fallen in the months preceding the fight at Antietam Creek. The Democratic Party across the North was divided into the Peace Democrats who wanted to see the war end and War Democrats who supported the war and the goal of reunifying the Union. As the Federal troops faced both defeat and stalemate, and morale fell among the civilian population, the Peace Democrats were increasingly influential. Republicans were very concerned going into the elections.**

**The Democrats did achieve substantial gains in the elections of 1862. However, it could have been a lot worse! Historically the party in power had**

**lost control of Congress in the subsequent mid-term elections. Some pointed, according to James McPherson, the election results as “a near disaster for the Republicans” and “a great triumph for the Democrats.” (McPherson, p. 153) But McPherson argues this was not really the case when he writes:**

**In reality they [the election results] were nothing of the sort. Republicans retained the governorships of all but two of the eighteen Northern states and the legislatures of all but three. They made an unprecedented gain of five sets in the Senate. And they kept a majority of twenty-five in the House after experiencing the smallest net loss of House seats in twenty years—indeed, the only time in those two decades that the party in power retained control of the House.**

**What might have happened without Antietam could well have been a different story. A shift of an average of 1 percent of the votes to Democrats in sixteen Republican-held congressional districts in nine states would have given Democrats a comfortable majority in the House. (McPherson, pps. 153-54)**

**Lincoln could breathe a sigh of relief following the tally of votes and election outcomes. Republicans kept control of the Congress and Lincoln’s administration could prosecute its war for Union and freedom. But the election also made it possible for Lincoln to finally remove McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac. For months Lincoln and McClellan had been at loggerheads over policy and the conduct of military operations. McClellan, his aspirations infected with political concerns, had become much more critical of Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton. McClellan even countenanced talk among his staff and officers about taking the army to Washington and overthrowing the government. When the dust of the elections settled Lincoln moved quickly to remove McClellan when he failed to take the aggressive against Lee’s army during the good weather during that fall. McClellan had always been over cautious in making command decisions and appeared reluctant to hurt the rebel army that opposed him. That problem was finally resolved.**

**The horrific struggle on the banks of Antietam Creek, on its own merit, make it worthy of remembrance and awe. The violence and slaughter was shocking in its unbridled conduct. The continued killing and maiming was on an unprecedented level. Hooker’s I Corps and Gibbon’s Iron Brigade carved their names in blood on the history of the war! Once more**

**the Westerners had been thrown into the maelstrom of battle and had conducted themselves with courage and determination in the face of an awful combat. For that reason alone, those who admire the men of the Second Wisconsin and the Iron Brigade should be satisfied. But the bloody nature of the fight begs for some results that justified the sacrifice of the soldiers on the terrible field of battle.**

**It would be folly to somehow overlook the impact of the battle on foreign intervention in the war or the election results in the fall of 1862. But by far the greatest result of the battle was the issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. It would change the goal of the war to one of providing freedom to the slaves. History has rightly been kind to Lincoln's decision to seek freedom as an appropriate outcome of the War of the Rebellion. It was the outcome of the Battle of Antietam that made that momentous decision possible. That alone justifies the loss and struggle on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1862.**



**A grim scene by a turnpike fence drew attention of journalists. Confederate dead along the fence of the Hagerstown Pike at Antietam. Photograph by Alexander Gardner/Library of Congress**

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## **CIVIL WAR ERA APPLE PIE RECIPIE**

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**Autumn is almost here and so are apples. Below is an apple pie recipe from the Civil War era to help you enjoy the season.**

### **Apple Pie**

#### **Ingredients:**

##### **Filling**



**8 medium-sized apples**  
**1 Tbsp butter**  
**1 cup white sugar**  
**1/2 cup culinary rose water**  
**A little grated nutmeg**

**Crust**

**1/2 cup butter**  
**2 cups flour**  
**Pinch of salt**  
**Cold water**  
**1 egg**

**Instructions:**

**Core the apples, chop coarsely and stew until softened — about 15 minutes. When done, add the butter, sugar, rose water, and nutmeg, and mix well.**

**Prior to making the apple filling, make the dough. Rub the butter into the flour, add the salt and mix in enough cold water (a few tablespoons at a time) to make a nice dough. Roll out enough dough to line a deep pie dish. Line the dish with the dough and fill with the apple mixture. Roll out the remaining dough and cover the dish. Glaze with beaten egg and bake for 30 minutes in a moderate oven (375° F).**

**Source: William C. Davis, *The Civil War Cookbook* (Philadelphia, CLB Publishing, 1993), p. 30.**

## **The Iron Brigade at Second Manassas**

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***Robert Thompson***

**In every conflict throughout history, there are military organizations that are anointed as being “legendary” for their fighting ability, their tenacity, and their toughness. From King Leonidas’ 300 Spartans to the 101st Airborne Division’s “Battered Bastards of Bastogne,” certain units stand out both in popular memory as well as within the community of military historians. And, to be certain, the American Civil War had its own share of**

such units. Ironically, one of these, a brigade of the Union Army, would initially achieve its status as a legend by standing toe-to-toe with another legendary unit, the Stonewall Brigade of General **Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson**’s famous “foot cavalry.” The fighting between these two groups would take place in the dim light of a sweltering August evening in 1862 at an obscure place known as Brawner’s Farm.



**The Brawner's Farmhouse on the Second Manassas Battlefield**

***Rob Shenk***

In the late summer of 1862, General **George McClellan**, who had managed to lose to inferior numbers repeatedly in the Seven Days' Battles near Richmond, sat with the Army of Potomac at Harrison's Landing on the James River, having been relieved from his position as General-in-Chief of the U.S. Army. While McClellan would remain in command of the Army of the Potomac, Lincoln replaced him as head of the army with General Henry Halleck. Halleck, in turn, decided to create a new Union army, the Army of

Virginia, under the command of General **John Pope**, who promised Lincoln great victories.

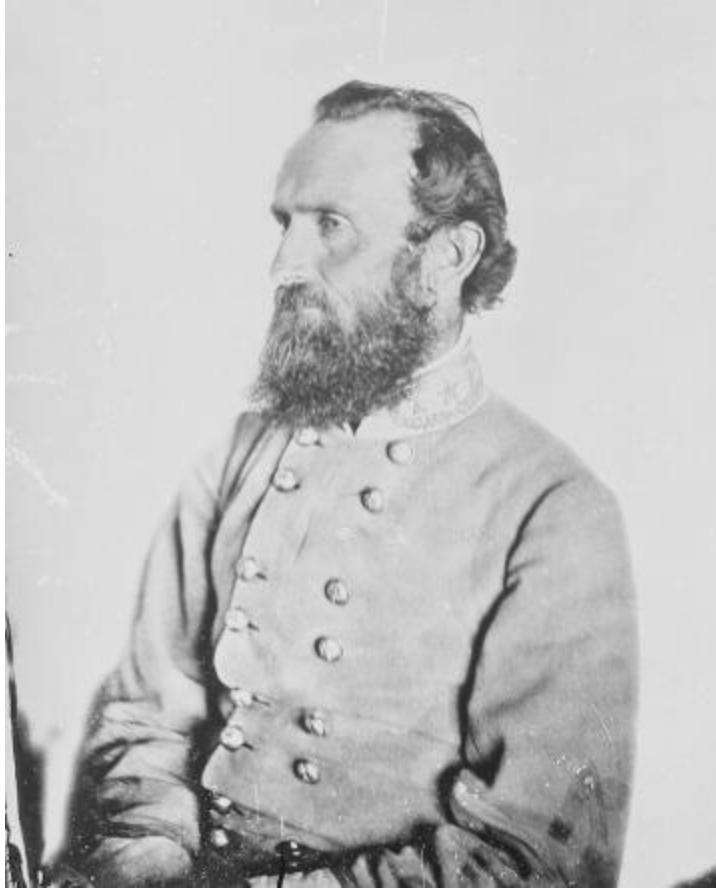
By late July 1862, Pope had placed his army on the north side of the Rappahannock River facing General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. With much bombast and bragging, Pope had moved out and engaged Jackson at **Cedar Mountain** on August 9. Pope lost the engagement decisively and, as a result, he now became timid and, in fact, seemed to become completely confused. Pope placed his army in defensive positions along the Rappahannock, hoping to draw Lee away from McClellan so that McClellan could extract his army from the James Peninsula and unite with Pope. But, McClellan was slow, as always and, frankly, was secretly hoping something would happen to embarrass Pope. General Lee obliged him.



**Maj. Gen. John Pope**

**Lee decided to strike north and move the war away from Richmond, possibly even into the northern states. So, he ordered Stonewall Jackson and General James Longstreet to march around Pope's right flank and then turn through Thoroughfare Gap to get between Pope's army and Washington. Jackson moved out first in the early morning darkness of August 25 and headed towards White Plains. By nightfall, his army was rapidly approaching their initial objective while General Longstreet prepared to move the next afternoon.**

**Pope received information that Jackson was on the move late on August 25, but seemed completely baffled about exactly what to do. He finally ordered his army to begin a search for Jackson and had his divisions marching up and down the northern Virginia countryside in a futile attempt to locate the wily Confederate general. Then, on the night of August 27, Jackson's forces struck the Union supply depot at Manassas Junction, destroying massive quantities of Federal supplies, including Pope's new dress uniforms. Pope now realized that Jackson was in his rear and, worse, was between his army and Washington. To his credit, however, he realized that since Longstreet was still moving towards Thoroughfare Gap and, thus, was separated from Jackson, an opportunity existed to destroy Jackson's corps before Longstreet arrived. He quickly ordered the army to concentrate east towards Manassas Junction. Unfortunately, Jackson was too quick for Pope. On August 28, Jackson proceeded to double back and place himself northeast of Manassas Junction, just north of the Warrenton Pike near the village of Groveton. Pope again lost all track of Jackson and ordered his still scattered forces to locate the Confederates. As he would soon find out, Jackson had placed his men in a strong hidden defensive position along an abandoned railroad cut amid heavy trees, anxious to have a go at John Pope.**



**Lieutenant General T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson**

***National Archives***

**All Jackson needed was an opening, a chance, designed to let Pope know where he was, bring his opponent to him on ground of his choosing, and, at the same time, issue a sudden, crushing blow to some unsuspecting piece of Pope's still scattered army. On the late afternoon of August 28, that opportunity seemed to present itself. From his hidden position, Jackson watched as several Union units marched past him, heading east on the Warrenton Pike toward Centerville. Finally, he observed a division of blue-clad infantry making its way along the road, its brigades somewhat separated from one another, leaving each one vulnerable. He could tell these men had been marching all day in the stifling, humid Virginia heat, their formations becoming a bit ragged as the tired soldiers plodded along the dusty road. He let the first brigade pass, and waited for the second, which followed by about a quarter-mile. Had he known that only one of the four regiments in this brigade had seen any fighting thus far, he would have been certain that this was the time and place to strike. Further, he could see that this brigade had about 2,000 men, while he had several thousand immediately available, and another 20,000 nearby. The situation was very**

nearly perfect. He turned to his staff and said, “Bring out your men, gentlemen.” However, Jackson would soon learn that he had picked the wrong Union brigade with which to trifle.

The Union brigade that marched up the Warrenton Pike that evening was, indeed, more than a little green. Its four regiments included the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Wisconsin Infantry Regiments, along with the 19th Indiana, but only the 2nd Wisconsin had seen any fighting thus far. They were one of the few brigades in the eastern Union armies from what was then called the West, and they were a group of tough, hardened men, lumberman and pioneer farmers, led by one the best officers in the Union Army, Brigadier General John Gibbon.



**John Gibbon**

*Library of Congress*

Gibbon was a professional soldier, a West Point graduate, and, oddly, a Philadelphia-born North Carolinian. His three brothers chose to fight for the Confederacy, but Gibbon found he could not turn his back on the oath he had taken at West Point. Gibbon was a ramrod-straight man, 35 years old,

and a former artillery officer who had fought in Mexico and against the Seminoles in Florida. His men, meanwhile, had spent most of the war thus far training in camps along the Potomac and guarding railroads. Gibbon became their brigade commander in June 1862, and by this point, he and his men had come to respect, but not love, each other. Gibbon demanded the same level of discipline and professionalism from these volunteer westerners as he demanded of his Regular artillerymen. One soldier would later remark, "Until we learned to know him, which we did not till he led us in battle, we seemed very far apart." Gibbon later explained how difficult it was to train men who not only had recently been civilians, but were independent frontier men, filled with a rambunctious, undisciplined spirit: "The habit of obedience and subjection to the will of another, so difficult to instill into the minds of free and independent men, became marked characteristics of the command. A great deal of the prejudice against me as a Regular officer was removed when the men came to compare their own soldierly appearance and way of doing duty with other commands..."

Gibbon's command had been placed in Pope's new army, as the 4th Brigade, 1st Division, of Major General **Irvin McDowell's** III Corps. They had also already achieved a nickname as the "Black Hat" Brigade because, rather than the standard Union kepi, they wore black Hardee hats, also known as the Model 1858 Dress Hat, which was the regulation dress hat for enlisted men in the Union Army. These tall, almost "top hats," were adorned with a plume, giving the brigade a very distinctive appearance.

As Jackson watched the Black Hats trudge down the pike, the clock was fast approaching 6:00 p.m. and the sun was already beginning to disappear behind the mountains to the west. He probably could see John Gibbon riding ahead of his men, reading a map and often gazing at the trees and hilly terrain to the north of the pike. Meanwhile, Gibbon's westerners were almost certainly thinking about reaching Centerville, where they would join the rest of the army and bed down after a long day of marching. Therefore, the carnage that was about to ensue was nowhere in their thoughts.

Suddenly, as Gibbon peered to the north, towards the dense forest around the old abandoned railroad grade, he noticed horsemen near the Brawner farmhouse and wondered if they might be enemy cavalry. He casually rode his horse off the pike in an attempt to gain a better view of the gray horsemen. Within seconds, he realized that these men were not cavalry, but were Confederate artillery, which were even now quickly unlimbering their guns for action. Before he could turn and warn his command, at least two Southern batteries opened fire on his brigade and those trailing behind it, all of which were still marching in column along the pike.

As shells screamed overhead and exploded around them, some of the Union column quickly scattered, as ambulances and wagons careened panic-stricken off the road into the fields and forests south of the pike. The New

**York regiments in General Patrick's brigade, which was about 1,000 yards behind Gibbon, immediately broke up and headed for the trees—they would never participate in the fight to come despite Gibbon's pleas for help and it would be hours before they would finally re-form.**

**Gibbon, meanwhile, kept his head like the professional that he was. He shouted for his old battery, Battery B of the 4th U.S. Artillery, to deploy on a small knoll east of the Brawner farmhouse. Soon, the ground trembled violently as Union and Confederate gunners exchanged fire. Within minutes, the Federal Regulars were getting the better of their Confederate counterparts and the Southerners elected to pull their guns back to safety. However, just as these guns fell back, Jackson sent in another battery, this time on Gibbon's left, and it was quickly blasting case and solid shot at the Union battery.**

**Gibbon quickly ordered the entire brigade off the road and north into the cover of the forest on the Brawner farm. At this moment, Gibbon could only assume that this was merely harassing fire from a few light horse batteries. He had no idea that Jackson's entire force of 24,000 men lie just beyond the trees within a mile of his position. So, he decided to deal with the artillery and ordered the 2nd Wisconsin into line of battle. The regiment marched off up the hill, throwing skirmishers out in front as they approached the Brawner farmhouse. But as they closed the distance between themselves and the offending battery, they soon saw the sight of an entire Confederate infantry brigade emerging from the woods, colors flying and full of fight.**



**Hardee Hat worn by a member of the 2nd Wisconsin**

***Wisconsin Veterans Museums***

**The brigade moving toward them was the already legendary Stonewall Brigade. Called Jackson's "foot cavalry" because of the incredible distances they could travel in only days, these were arguably the best soldiers in Lee's army. Veterans of every major battle fought in the East to date, the war had cut their numbers from 2,000 to only 800. But this 800 were tough,**



**seasoned, hard fighters and, with the 2nd Wisconsin only numbering 430 men, Jackson's men had them at almost a two to one advantage. Still, the sight of the Stonewall Brigade did not seem to deter the Wisconsin men, who continued to move up the hill towards them. As Charles King, who was a young lieutenant acting as an adjutant in Gibbon's brigade, later wrote more than a little romantically, "Straight for the guns drives the daring blue line, backed by eight solid companies, closed on the colors and marching abreast. Fancy the canary defying the cat! Fancy the terrier bearding the tiger! Fancy the lamb assailing the butcher, and you have the sensation that thrills the waiting divisions as a grizzled Georgia colonel slaps down his field-glass and turns to his men with delight in his eye and five words on his tongue: 'The Black Hats—by God!'"**

**As the two groups closed to rifle range, one young Union soldier noted that his comrades "held their pieces with a tighter grasp" and began to murmur quietly, expressing their impatience with prosaic but determined language such as "Come on, God damn you." At less than 100 yards, the 2nd Wisconsin unleashed what a Confederate officer remembered as "a most terrific and deadly fire." The Virginians staggered and came to a halt in the face of the Federal volley.**

**For the next 20 minutes, the two sides blasted away at one another, neither giving an inch, neither breaking for the rear. Soon, however, the Confederate numbers began to tell, as the Virginian's line stretched and now threatened to overlap the 2nd Wisconsin's left flank. Seeing this, Gibbon immediately ordered the 423 men of the 19th Indiana into position on the 2nd's left. No sooner had the inexperienced Hoosier's arrived than they were greeted by a thunderous volley issued from Jackson's men. But, these green troops quickly steadied themselves and began to fire back as rapidly as the more experienced Wisconsin men next to them.**



**Col. Solomon Meredith, commander of the 19th Indiana**

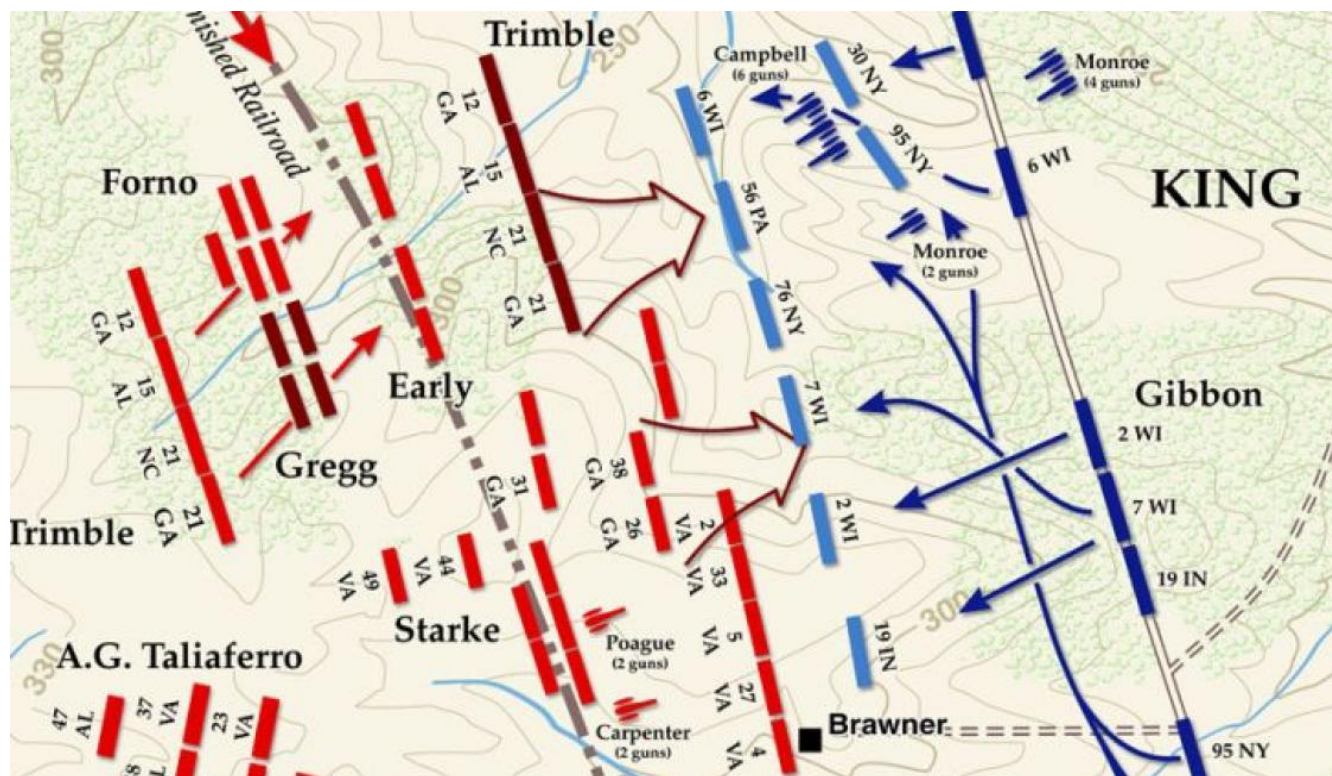
***Library of Congress***

**Things were not going according to Jackson's plan and, as the light was fading, he urgently looked for more men to join the fight and push the impudent Yankees off the hillside. He soon encountered four regiments of Georgians under Alexander Lawton, numbering between 800 and 1,000 men, and personally led them to the fighting. Lawton's regiments went into position on the Virginian's left and now began to overlap the 2nd Wisconsin's right flank. Gibbon responded by sending the 7th Wisconsin to in on the 2nd's right, but these 440 men still were not enough to match the growing Confederate advantage in numbers. As the two sides continued to blaze away at one another, Union wounded began to steadily stream down the hillside toward field hospitals south of the pike. As it became darker, the rifle fire merged into what Gibbon described as a "long and continuous roll." King wrote that, as the dim twilight deepened, "night and hell seem to come down together."**

**As the brutal fighting continued, Jackson became uncharacteristically more desperate. These Yankees were fighting with what he described later as “obstinate determination” and Jackson was not a man given to hyperbole. Therefore, he tried to get more men into the line and break the Federals once and for all. He dispatched Isaac Trimble’s 1,200-man brigade to form up on the Stonewall Brigade’s left, hoping to envelope Gibbon’s line and turn the Federal flank at last. However, as Trimble’s men approached their place in the line, they discovered that, once again, John Gibbon was ahead of Jackson. Gibbon had sent his last regiment, the 6th Wisconsin, forward into a dry streambed, lengthening his line to the right. At a range of only 75 yards, the 6th hammered Trimble with a volley that brought the Southern line to a complete and utterly stunned halt. One man from the 6th recalled, “Every gun cracked at once, and the line in front, which had faced us at the command ‘ready’ melted away, and instead of the heavy line of battle that was there before our volley, they presented the appearance of a skirmish line.”**

**As the bloody work continued, Gibbon realized there was a 250-yard gap between the 7th and 6th Wisconsin. He urgently requested help from both Hatch and Patrick’s brigades, but none came. Luckily, however, General Abner Doubleday decided on his own initiative to send the 76th New York and 56th Pennsylvania from his brigade to Gibbon’s assistance. These fresh troops moved quickly to close the gap between the 7th and 6th Wisconsin, reinforcing Gibbon’s steadily dwindling line. In addition, their arrival brought Federal strength to just over 2,700 men, almost matching the 3,000 Jackson had been able to bring forward. However, while Jackson had easily another 20,000 men nearby, for some reason, he was unable to leverage this force, despite repeated attempts to do so. Therefore, the battle had now become a classic “soldier’s fight,” one in which the actions of individual units and the average soldier are more important in determining the outcome than whatever the original plan might have been.**

**Jackson’s frustrations reached a peak around 7:00 p.m. and he decided to take the offensive, ordering all 3,000 men forward in an effort to crush all resistance. But, in an indication of the lack of command cohesion that seemed to plague all Jackson’s efforts at Brawner’s Farm, only a couple of Trimble’s regiments stepped forward to attack. They moved down the hillside at the double quick, with many men stumbling in chuckholes and falling over fence rails in the now increasing darkness. The two attacking regiments, the 21st Georgia and 21st North Carolina, received a devastating volley from the 56th Pennsylvania, while the 6th Wisconsin delivered an enfilading fire into the Confederate left flank. Within seconds, the attacking line seemed to melt into the ground, withered by the storm of lead loosed upon them. One 6th Wisconsin officer would remember that “human nature could not stand such a terrible wasting fire ... it literally mowed out great gaps in the line.”**



**Detailed map of the fighting at Brawner's Farm, August 28, 1862.**

*Map by Steve Stanley*

**What one historian aptly described as a “whirlpool of death” consumed the 21st North Carolina and Georgia. As one Georgian would write years later, “The blazes from their guns seemed to pass through our ranks.” The 21st Georgia would lose 184 of 242 men that evening, a staggering 76 percent casualty rate. In fact, one company of the regiment went into the attack with 45 men, but only five returned unscathed.**

**As Trimble’s assault ground to a complete halt, Jackson rode to General Lawton, whose brigade of Georgians were now near the center of the line, and ordered him forward. But, within minutes, Lawton’s men met a fate similar to Trimble’s, as the 7th Wisconsin and 76th New York wheeled from their positions to deliver a crushing volley into the Southern flank. One of Lawton’s regiments would sustain 74 percent casualties and the survivors from all the attacking regiments quickly fell back to their original positions.**

**It was now approaching 8:00 p.m. and darkness totally enveloped the fields around the Brawner farmhouse. Neither side pulled back and the firing continued, with some portions of the lines separated by less than 30 yards. No one on either side could see the other and all they could do was fire at the telltale muzzle flashes that indicated where an opponent might be crouched. Years later a Union veteran of Brawner's Farm recalled, "The two crowds, they could hardly be called lines, were within, it seemed to me, fifty yards of each other, and were pouring musketry into each other as rapidly as men could load and shoot." Still, neither side would yield the ground they had held so preciously over the course of the last two bloody hours. Soon, however, the rifle fire gradually slackened and faded, only to be replaced by the pathetic cries of the wounded. Each side now ventured forward with lamps held high, collecting the dead and wounded. The Battle of Brawner's Farm was over.**

**The losses on both sides were frightful. Gibbon's brigade lost almost 800 killed or wounded. The 2nd Wisconsin lost 276 men out of the 430 who went into the line and 21 of their wounded were hit at least twice. On the other side, in addition to Lawton and Trimble's horrific losses, the Stonewall brigade had lost 340 men out of 800, a 40 percent casualty rate. In fact, so fierce was the fighting in those two hours along the Warrenton Pike, that one in every three men engaged was hit at least once. As Gibbon surveyed the damage to his command, Colonel William Robinson, commander of the 7th Wisconsin rode up to him. Obviously feeling that Gibbon had been a harsh taskmaster in training the brigade and that the West Pointer had not previously come to respect his men, the fiery, dark-eyed Robinson looked Gibbon in the eye and said, "What do you think of the Seventh now?" As Gibbon reached out to him and before he could tell Robinson how well his men had fought, Robinson's eyes rolled back, and he fell from his horse. Gibbon called for a surgeon, dismounted, and knelt next to Robinson, only to find that he had been shot through both thighs, his boots filled with his own blood. Despite what must have agonizing pain and a severe loss of blood, Robinson had led his men throughout the battle and now was overcome only after he had reported to Gibbon and demanded his men's bravery and skill be acknowledged.**

**For John Gibbon, his men's bravery would be wasted, as John Pope's complete mismanagement led to a signal defeat at the hands of Robert E. Lee in the Battle of Second Manassas. Still, however, notice had been served upon Stonewall Jackson, the Army of Northern Virginia, and history itself that these men from Wisconsin and Indiana were the best brigade in the Union Army. The Black Hat Brigade's magnificent performance at Brawner's Farm would be repeated many times, earning them another name, one they will own for all time: The Iron Brigade.**

# **INSIDE WISCONSIN**

**TOM STILL: IN SOME PLACES, THE  
CIVIL WAR ISN'T OVER- OR EVEN  
CALLED THAT**

**TOM STILL | WISCONSIN TECHNOLOGY COUNCIL PRESIDENT**

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**COLUMBIA, S.C. – On the state capitol grounds in South Capitol stands a statue that should be far more offensive in the early 21st century than anything erected in honor of Confederate General Robert E. Lee.**

**It's a monument to Benjamin Tillman, a former governor and U.S. senator from South Carolina who was known as "Pitchfork Ben" due to his racist views, support for Jim Crow laws and wink-and-nod tolerance of lynch mobs.**

**Tillman was also a populist, was described as South Carolina's "first New Dealer" by his supporters and helped create Clemson University – which is no small reason why his statue still stands.**

**Down the road in Charleston, a monument in honor of John C. Calhoun towers over Marion Park. There was no greater defender of slavery in his time than Calhoun, who once described the immoral practice as a "positive good" for owners and slaves alike.**

**Because of his other legacies, however, Calhoun was historically significant. In fact, he was named in 1957 as one of the five greatest U.S. senators of all time by a Senate committee headed by future President John F. Kennedy.**

**History is complicated, as the nation is rediscovering in the wake of deadly events incited by white supremacists who descended on Charlottesville, Virginia, Aug. 12. People who by today's standards are racists or worse were heroes in their day, respected by contemporaries who often shared their misguided beliefs.**

**It's a pretty easy call to remove a Confederate memorial in Madison\*, where the only Southern soldiers were prisoners of war at Camp Randall, but quite another to remove monuments in parts of the country where history intersects with family and community memories. \*[If you haven't heard, Mayor Soglin had the memorial plaque in front of Confederate Rest pulled yesterday (it included 'valorous soldiers' & etc. wording), the larger stele with soldier's names will take longer]**

**Such is the case in South Carolina, where museums such as Charleston's Old Slave Mart stand in stark contrast to monuments that preserve the memory of what many Southerners still call the "War Between the States." It's a reminder that history is a story told from many angles, some accurate and others not.**

**During a visit to South Carolina in the days following the Charlottesville tragedy, I encountered two peaceful but nonetheless contrasting street events. In both cases, white supremacists had picked public places to advance their views and were met by those who wanted no part of the hatred.**

**The clash of history with present is not just an American phenomenon. In the United Kingdom, for example, statues to Cecil Rhodes and Edward Colston have come under fire for their ties to Britain's imperial and slave-trading past. One solution offered across the Atlantic is to keep such statues but to add plaques that give a fuller account of history.**

**It's anyone's guess how South Carolinians will resolve their conflicted history - after all, the state only recently removed a Confederate flag from its capitol - but the debate may prove more constructive than not.**

**If a state that led the secessionist charge in 1860 and repressed African-Americans for a century thereafter can change, so can others.**

**That change would best come about through a debate that doesn't fall into a trap extremists often set: Banning symbols the extremists hijack, driving those symbols underground and making them marble or cloth martyrs for a false cause.**

**History must be taught to successive generations; it is not genetically transmitted. Dispelling hatred among the few requires resolve and education by the many. In the absence of national leadership to the contrary, that responsibility falls, more than ever, to those who set examples that resonate close to home.**

# **CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD SURGERY**

**A DESCRIPTION OF CIVIL WAR FIELD SURGERY**



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**The following article was submitted by Stan Graiewski from out field hospital unit. Thank you Stan for your contribution to the newsletter.**

**The most common Civil War surgery was the amputation. A few words about why there were so many amputations may be appropriate here. Many people have construed the Civil War surgeon to be a heartless individual or someone who was somehow incompetent and that was the reason for the great number of amputations performed. This is false. The medical director of the Army of the Potomac, Dr. Jonathan Letterman, wrote in his report after the battle of Antietam:**

**The surgery of these battle-fields has been pronounced butchery. Gross misrepresentations of the conduct of medical officers have been made and scattered broadcast over the country, causing deep and heart-rending anxiety to those who had friends or relatives in the army, who might at any moment require the services of a surgeon. It is not to be supposed that there were no incompetent surgeons in the army. It is certainly true that there were; but these sweeping denunciations against a class of men who will favorably compare with the military surgeons of any country, because of the incompetency and short-comings of a few, are wrong, and do injustice to a body of men who have labored faithfully and well. It is easy to magnify an existing evil until it is beyond the bounds of truth. It is equally easy to pass by the good that has been done on the other side. Some medical officers lost their lives in their devotion to duty in the battle of Antietam, and others sickened from excessive labor which they conscientiously and skillfully performed. If any objection could be urged against the surgery of those fields, it would be the efforts on the part of surgeons to practice "conservative surgery" to too great an extent.**

**Still the Civil War surgeon suffers from being called a butcher or some other derisive term.**

**The slow-moving Minie bullet used during the American Civil War caused catastrophic injuries. The two minie bullets, for example, that struck John Bell Hood's leg at Chickamauga destroyed 5 inches of his upper thigh bone. This left surgeons no choice but to amputate shattered limbs. Hood's leg was removed only 4 and 1/2 inches away from his body. Hip amputations, like Hood's, had mortality rates of around 83%. The closer to the body the amputation was done, the more the increase in the wound being mortal. An upper arm amputation, as was done on Stonewall Jackson or General Oliver O. Howard (who lost his arm at Fair Oaks in 1862) had a mortality rate of about 24%.**

**Following is a description of a common battlefield amputation. Missing arms and legs were permanent, very visible reminders of the War. Amputees ranged from the highest ranking officers, like John B. Hood, Stonewall Jackson, and Oliver O. Howard, all the way down to the enlisted men, such as Corporal C.N. Lapham of the 1st Vermont Cavalry who lost both of his legs to a cannon ball. Hood, Jackson, Howard, and Lapham were certainly not alone in their loss, as 3 out of 4 wounds were to the extremities...in the Federal Army this led to 30,000 amputations.**

**The wait for treatment could be a day, maybe two and that was not out of the ordinary. When treatment was finally done on the poor soldier, it was not done antiseptically. It would only be in 1865 that Joseph Lister embarked upon the era of antiseptic surgery. Surgeons did not even perform careful handwashing before operating. The doctors wore blood splattered clothes. When something was dropped, it was simply rinsed in cool, often bloody water. They used sponges that had been used in previous cases and simply dipped in cold water before using them again on the next person.**

**A surgeon recalled: "We operated in old blood-stained and often pus-stained coats, we used undisinfected instruments from undisinfected plush lined cases. If a sponge (if they had sponges) or instrument fell on the floor it was washed and squeezed in a basin of water and used as if it was clean"**

**The injuries to be dealt with were dreadful and the fault of the soft lead Minie Ball. With the capability to kill at over 1,000 yards, this soft lead bullet caused large, gaping holes, splintered bones, and destroyed muscles, arteries and tissues beyond any possible repair. Those shot with them through the body, or the head, would not be expected to live. Almost all wounds were caused by the bullet, with canister, cannonballs, shells, and edged weapons next on the list.**



**Confederate soldiers killed near the Wheatfield at Gettysburg  
(Library of Congress)**

**The weapons (particularly the rifle) of the 1860s were far ahead of the tactics; i.e. the generals still thought to take a position you needed to go at it with the bayonet. The cylindrical lead bullet, the Minie ball, was rather large and heavy (.58 caliber usually). When it hit bone, it tended to expand. When it hit "guts" (i.e. the intestines) it tended to tear them in ways the old smoothbore musket ball did not. Since they crushed and smashed bone so badly, the doctors did not have much choice but to amputate a limb. Wounds to the stomach were almost always a death sentence.**

**Civil War doctors were woefully ill-prepared; of 11,000 Northern physicians, 500 had performed surgery. In the Confederacy, of 3,000, only 27. Many doctors got their first introduction to surgery on the battlefield. Doctors usually did not specialize. Medical school, for many, was just 2 years (some less, few more). Surgeons reacted by adapting. They learned surgery on the job. And people died, of course, until they learned and became better... Many doctors were political appointments; there were no licensing boards in the 1860s... Army exam boards often even let in quacks.**



**This barn at Sharpsburg served as a hospital for the wounded. Barns were often taken over by surgeons for use.  
(Library of Congress)**

**Of the wounds recorded in the Civil War, 70%+ were to the extremities. And so, the amputation was the common operation of the Civil War surgeon. The field hospital was hell on earth. The surgeon would stand over the operating table for hours without a let up. Men screamed in delirium, calling for loved ones, while others laid pale and quiet with the effect of shock. Only the division's best surgeons did the operating and they were called "operators". Already, they were performing a crude system of triage. The ones wounded through the head, belly, or chest were left to one side because they would most likely die. This may sound somewhat cruel or heartless, but it allowed the doctors to save precious time and to operate on those that *could* be saved with prompt attention.**

**The surgeon would wash out the wound with a cloth (in the Southern Army sponges were long exhausted) and probe the wound with his finger or a probe, looking for bits of cloth, bone, or the bullet. If the bone was broken or a major blood vessel torn, he would often decide on amputation. Later in the War, surgeons would sometimes experiment with resection, but amputation was far more common.**

**Deciding upon an amputation, the surgeon would administer chloroform to the patient. Hollywood's portrayal of battlefield surgery is dramatized and largely false; anesthesia was in common and widespread use during the war.... it would make more complicated and longer operations possible as the era of antiseptic surgery began in 1865 (too late for the poor Civil War soldier). With the patient insensible, the surgeon would take his scalpel and make an incision through the muscle and skin down to the bone. He would make incisions both above and below, leaving a flap of skin on one side.**



**Taking his bonesaw (hence Civil War slang for a doctor is a "Sawbones") he would saw through the bone until it was severed. He would then toss it into the growing pile of limbs. The operator would then tie off the arteries with either horsehair, silk, or cotton threads. The surgeon would scrape the end and edges of the bone smooth, so that they would not work back through the skin. The flap of skin left by the surgeon would be pulled across and sewed close, leaving a drainage hole. The stump would be covered perhaps with isinglass plaster, and bandaged, and the soldier set aside where he would wake up thirsty and in pain, the "Sawbones" already well onto his next case.**

**15 years after the War, surgeon George Otis cited the five principal advances of Civil War surgery: the surgeons had learned "something" about head injuries, how to deal with awful "ghastly wounds" without dismay, they had learned how to ligate arteries, information on injuries to spine and vertebrae had been "augmented," and "theory and practice" in chest wounds had been forwarded. A good surgeon could amputate a limb in under 10 minutes. If the soldier was lucky, he would recover without one of the horrible so-called "Surgical Fevers", i.e. deadly pyemia or gangrene.**

**A little about the "Surgical Fevers". These were infections arising from the septic state of Civil War surgery. As you should have been able to see, the Civil War surgeon was interested not so much in cleanliness, but speed. As such, and not knowing anything about antiseptic surgery, fevers arose. Of these, the most deadly was probably pyemia. Pyemia means, literally, pus in the blood. It is a form of blood poisoning. Nothing seemed to halt pyemia, and it had a mortality rate of over 90%. Other surgical diseases included tetanus (with a mortality rate of 87%), erysipelas, which struck John B. Gordon's arm after he was wounded at Antietam, and osteomyelitis which is an inflammation of the bone. Also, there was something called "Hospital Gangrene". A black spot, about the size of a dime or so, would appear on the wound. Before long, it would spread through, leaving the wound an evil smelling awful mess. The Hospital Gangrene of the Civil War is an extinct disease now.**

**Primary amputation mortality rate: 28%  
Secondary amputation mortality rate: 52%**

<https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/cwsurgeon/cwsurgeon/amputations>

## LINCOLN'S FORGOTTEN MIDDLE YEARS

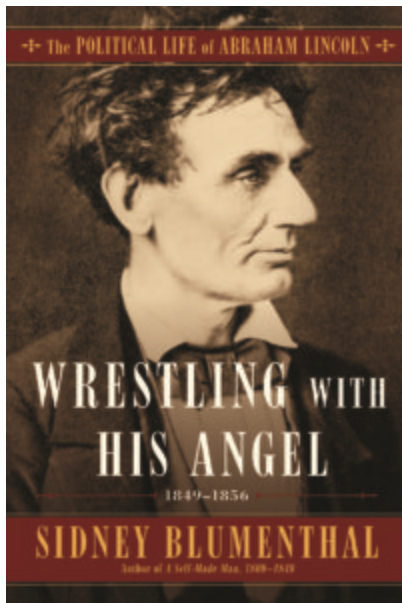
AS THE NATION WAS MOVING APART, HE WAS COMING TOGETHER.

BY ALLEN C. GUELZO

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**It would be difficult to find two books on Abraham Lincoln published in the same year and yet more unlike in their conclusions than Sidney Blumenthal's *Wrestling with His Angel* (the second installment in his multi-volume survey of Lincoln's "political life") and Elizabeth Brown Pryor's *Six Encounters with Lincoln*. Blumenthal's narrative of Lincoln's "wilderness years," from 1849 to 1856, begins with Lincoln at the lowest pitch of his professional life, returning to Illinois from his solitary term in Congress, an embarrassment to his fellow Whigs, only to rise, phoenix-like, from the firestorm of the controversy over slavery in "Bleeding Kansas." Pryor's Lincoln, on the other hand, makes his debut a week after his**

**inauguration as president, in what should have been his greatest moment of political triumph, only to be exposed as a bumbling, awkward poseur incompetently stumbling from pillar to post. Blumenthal is urgent, unflagging, so full of a sense of an impending doom for the republic that, by the end of the book, it almost seems beyond belief that any one person could rise equal to the task of saving it. Pryor is prickly, condescending, and schoolmarmish, contemptuous not only of Lincoln but of everyone who sees him as more than an oafish political hack. One sees in Lincoln the political sorcerer; the other sees nothing but the sorcerer's apprentice. Here is biographical schizophrenia in spades.**



***Wrestling with His Angel:  
The Political Life of  
Abraham Lincoln, 1849-1856  
by Sidney Blumenthal  
Simon & Schuster, 608 pp.***

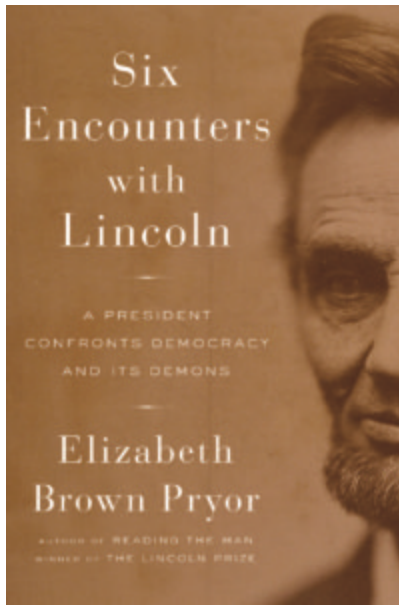
***Wrestling with His Angel* is really two narratives, one about Lincoln's retreat into political oblivion in 1849, and the other about the nation's plunge toward civil war. Blumenthal's most extraordinary accomplishment**

**lies in how he prevents these two narratives from drifting away from each other.**

**Blumenthal opens his first chapter in Kentucky, where the 1850s begin with an ominous foreshadowing of where the nation is heading. For the first half century of the life of the republic, virtually every serious American thinker was convinced that the country's economic reliance on slave labor was an anachronism that the principles of the revolution and the inefficiencies of slavery would gradually wipe out. There were elaborate plans for emancipations through state legislatures and the courts, and equally elaborate but less dignified plans for disposing of the freed slaves to the West African settlement of Liberia. And there should have been no better showcase for these plans than Kentucky, which in 1833 adopted a nonimportation law that turned off the spigot supplying slaves to Kentucky buyers.**

**The bill's authors regarded it as the first step on the path to statewide emancipation. But by 1833, cotton had emerged as the single most prized commodity in the transatlantic economy, accounting for more than half of all American exports, and slave labor was the most profitable way of satisfying the world's demand for it. Virginia had been rocked two years before by a slave rebellion, led by Nat Turner, which struck out murderously against all whites, slave owners or not. Slavery became an us-or-them scenario, and in 1849, the nonimportation act was repealed after a bitter and exhausting battle between Kentucky's pro-slavery paladin, Robert Wickliffe, and the state's most famous politician, Henry Clay, and his merchant-prince ally, Robert S. Todd.**





***Six Encounters with Lincoln: A President Confronts Democracy and Its Demons***

***by Elizabeth Brown Pryor***

***Viking, 496 pp.***

**Todd was Abraham Lincoln's father-in-law and also a casualty of Kentucky's political warfare over slavery. He died of cholera at the height of the campaign to save the nonimportation law and became something of a martyr to the opponents of slavery in Kentucky.**

**Lincoln became embroiled still further in this contest when he arrived in Kentucky after Todd's death to disentangle a lawsuit Todd had filed against Wickliffe. In 1826, Wickliffe married a Todd relative, Mary Owen Todd, who died in 1844. Wickliffe immediately claimed ownership of her property, since her only child from a previous marriage had died in 1822 without marrying. But in fact, Mary Owen Todd Wickliffe had a *grandson*, Alfred Francis Russell—the illicit offspring of her son and a mulatto slave. Mary Owen Todd had freed Russell and his mother, but Wickliffe refused to**

**acknowledge their existence, and it became Robert Todd's burden to ride to the rescue of her estate (and her mixed-race grandson's title to it).**

**When Todd died, management of the suit fell to his son-in-law, Lincoln. Hence, on the doorstep of the tumultuous 1850s, Abraham Lincoln found his own antislavery instincts fused with family interests. As Blumenthal writes, Lincoln "witnessed firsthand the unbridled arrogance and grasping of the pro-slavery forces as they re-wrote the state constitution to fling open the gates to the slave trade and not coincidentally step over the grave of Lincoln's father-in-law, who had opposed them."**

**The case of *Todd Heirs v. Wickliffe* is just the first example of Blumenthal's skill at dovetailing intensely specific details of Lincoln's life from 1849 to 1856 with the larger, more familiar story of the republic's self-immolation over slavery. This is no small achievement, since Lincoln's withdrawal from politics in those years was painful and substantial. For fifteen years, Lincoln had built a political career through the Illinois state legislature, through his marriage into the Todd clan, through his prominence in the Illinois Whig Party, and, finally, as a U.S. congressman, through his reckless opposition to the Mexican War. His reward for these labors was to find himself howled down at home for failing to support the troops, and ignored in Washington as politically expendable. Lincoln buried his disappointment, and his political future back in Springfield, by practicing "law more assiduously than ever before" and "losing interest in politics."**

**But Lincoln's ambitions did not stay buried. Instead, Blumenthal follows Michael Burlingame, the greatest Lincoln biographer of our time, in seeing maturation of Lincoln's personality beneath the embers of his public career. "When he went underground into a rather ordinary provincial existence,"**

**concludes Blumenthal, “withdrawing from public life not by choice but by rejection, he slowly began assimilating the lessons of Washington and Kentucky. He entered his wilderness years a man in pieces and emerged on the other end a coherent steady figure.”**

**The coherence that Lincoln gained as a person was matched by the dissolution of coherence across the nation on the slavery question. Blumenthal provides us with as enlightening a political narrative of the great Compromise of 1850 as we have had since the days of Allan Nevins and David Potter. The Compromise was supposed to stamp out all the threatening fuses lit by the national argument over slavery, but it lit fully as many new ones over the legalization of slavery in the western territories. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 was supposed, in turn, to settle *those* questions, but only ignited worse ones, paralyzing the Democratic Party, wrecking the Whig Party, and giving rise to a new antislavery party, the Republicans.**

**Pacing these collisions at every point is the figure of Lincoln, rising gradually to more and more prominence as the controversy “raised such an excitement . . . throughout the country as never before was heard of in this Union.” *Wrestling with His Angel* ends with the outbreak of violence in Kansas, the organization of the Illinois Republicans, and Lincoln’s failed bid to return to Congress in 1855—a failure, but narrow enough to induce him to abandon the ruins of the Whig Party and try again in 1858 as a Republican. Like wrestling Jacob, he had struggled through the night, and at last extorted the angel’s blessing to prosper.**

**Elizabeth Brown Pryor sprang to national attention in 2007 with her biography of Robert E. Lee, *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters*, based on previously unpublished Lee**

**documents to which Pryor had persuaded the Lee family to grant her access. She had worked for the National Park Service and the State Department in a career that took her to Vienna, South Africa, and Sarajevo, before reconfiguring herself as an independent historian. Until her death in 2015 at the hands of a lunatic motorist in Richmond, she had turned her attention to Lincoln, managing to complete enough of her manuscript to make it publishable this year.**

***Six Encounters* is, unquestionably, a book for the snobbish end of the anti-Lincoln sofa. There have always been Lincoln haters, starting in his own time and running through Edgar Lee Masters's *Lincoln the Man* (1931), Lerone Bennett's *Forced into Glory* (2000), and Thomas DiLorenzo's *The Real Lincoln* (2002), but they have generally had political axes to grind, and not very noble ones at that. Pryor had no noticeably political arguments with Lincoln; her antipathy toward him was purely a matter of taste. Pryor's previous books—a 1987 biography of Clara Barton and the Lee letters book—both adopted a similar querulous, fault-finding tone, but in neither of them is the pick-a-little approach so unrelenting.**

**The six “encounters” Pryor takes as her portal into Lincoln's presidency begin with a White House reception on March 12, 1861, for the senior officers of the U.S. Army then serving in the District of Columbia. From the moment Lincoln shuffles into the East Room, we are made to realize what a gawd-help-us Lincoln is: he has no understanding of etiquette, he has offended the professionals by installing Simon Cameron as secretary of war, he has allowed southern officers to resign and head south without interference, and in general he sows the seeds of chronic disobedience and erratic leadership. His handling of the Fort Sumter crisis was a particular “preview of Lincoln's shunning professional military expertise to rely on amateurs with whom he had personal ties.” This becomes a pattern for**

**Pryor's Lincoln, who "shrank from exercising crisp authority," and instead offered only "erratic leadership" that "often led directly to battlefield losses."**

**The ensuing five "encounters" only make Lincoln look worse. When a flag-raising ceremony in June 1861 goes awry because of tangled halyards, Lincoln's attempt to downplay it becomes a moment to deplore his "off-color jokes . . . lewd scenes and double entendres." There is no "beautiful prose and inspired conversation" in the sixteenth president; to the contrary, he is "an awkward conversationalist, with a poor grasp of grammar," not only "indecorous" but flippant, whose "papers are banal or workmanlike, unusually so for the nineteenth century."**

**The third vignette, focusing on the moment Lucien Waters of the Eleventh New York Cavalry draws an impromptu sketch of Lincoln sitting on the steps of the South Portico of the White House, is parlayed into an opportunity to rake Lincoln's tardy path to emancipation and his insensitive use of the n-word. The fourth vignette, featuring the Cherokee chief John Ross, offers more or less the same judgment about Lincoln's indifference to the fate of the Plains Indians in the Civil War. For all of Lincoln's rhetoric about self-determination and self-government, Pryor finds him guilty of an "ethnocentric vision of the Indians' future," full of "the standard platitudes and paternalistic tone of the day." The fifth vignette, which begins with Lincoln's interview with Harriet Beecher Stowe, reveals a Lincoln dismissive of "women with confident ideas or pointed demands." In the end, "Lincoln's long-term vision for Native Americans, freedmen, and women rarely extended further than the limited vision of the complacent masses."**

**Pryor's "encounters" are less a series of teachable moments and more a succession of sniffy opportunities to find Lincoln falling unforgivably short**

**of modern expectations. In that respect, they are reminiscent of the viewpoint of Lincoln’s own elite bureaucratic contemporaries—the acidulous Adam Gurowski, the unsatisfiable Wendell Phillips, the ambitious Salmon Chase—who could not imagine how someone as gauche and uncertified as Abraham Lincoln could possibly pilot the country through the shoals of chaos.**

**That Pryor’s dismissals are as ill-founded as her predecessors’ becomes evident, however, as soon as the numerous missteps in her own research become apparent: the Constitution’s opening phrase, “We the People,” was coined by Gouverneur Morris, not Light-Horse Harry Lee; there was no “3rd Infantry Division” in the U.S. Army in 1861 or at any point during the Civil War; the Washington *National Intelligencer* was a starchy old Whig newspaper that was hardly “administration-friendly”; Lincoln did not tell the *New-York Tribune* anything about his response to Horace Greeley in August 1862, simply because the response was sent to the *Intelligencer*, not the *Tribune*; the guard regiment at the White House was Company K, 150th Pennsylvania, not the “115th Pennsylvania”; the famous Confederate War Department diarist was Robert Garlick Hill Kean, not John Hill Garlick Kean.**

**These may seem like the sort of blunders that Pryor herself might have corrected had she lived to read the galleys. But there are holes even in her larger assertions. Take, for instance, her claim that “the record is clear” that the n-word was “part of Lincoln’s private as well as public vocabulary.” Certainly, the word was understood as a vulgarism even in the bleak racial climate of the 1860s. Stephen A. Douglas used it so viciously and so routinely that the *New York Times* complained that Douglas’s speeches in Congress had to be rewritten to expunge the offensive word before they could be printed in the *Congressional Record*.**

**But the term shows up in the eight volumes of Lincoln's *Collected Writings* only thirty times, and even then it's found in accounts of speeches as reported by others, rather than in Lincoln's own hand. In 1859, one anti-Lincoln newspaper actually complained that Lincoln's discussion of "the Nigger question" too circumspectly referred to the "eternal Negro" rather than using the profaner version the newspaper preferred. In fact, the n-word appears nowhere in any document written *by* Lincoln, except on three occasions in 1857 and 1858, where he is actually quoting *someone else's* use of the word.**

**Lincoln may not have been a racial saint, and certainly wasn't by today's standards. He used smoother, but no less condescending, terms, like "darky" and "aunty" (although when he used "aunty" in addressing Sojourner Truth, she bluntly objected, and Lincoln apologized). But Pryor was straining a point, and it was not the only camel she wanted to put through the needle's eye. In her sixth and last vignette, following Lincoln through the streets of defeated Richmond a week before his death, Pryor blamed Lincoln for having been too brittle and too uncompromising over slavery, and so, by implication, bearing responsibility for hellish destruction that surrounded him as he rode through the smoldering rebel capital. Lincoln thus falls short of "legitimate authority and respect," and Pryor speculates that "for all his aspiration," Lincoln could never have become "truly president of the entire United States."**

**Neither Pryor nor Blumenthal have claimed to be professional historians. Blumenthal is best known as the Clintons' most influential confidant, and Pryor only went as far as a master's degree in history at the University of Pennsylvania. But the depth of their research and the reach of their grasp certainly place them in the intellectual company of the academic**

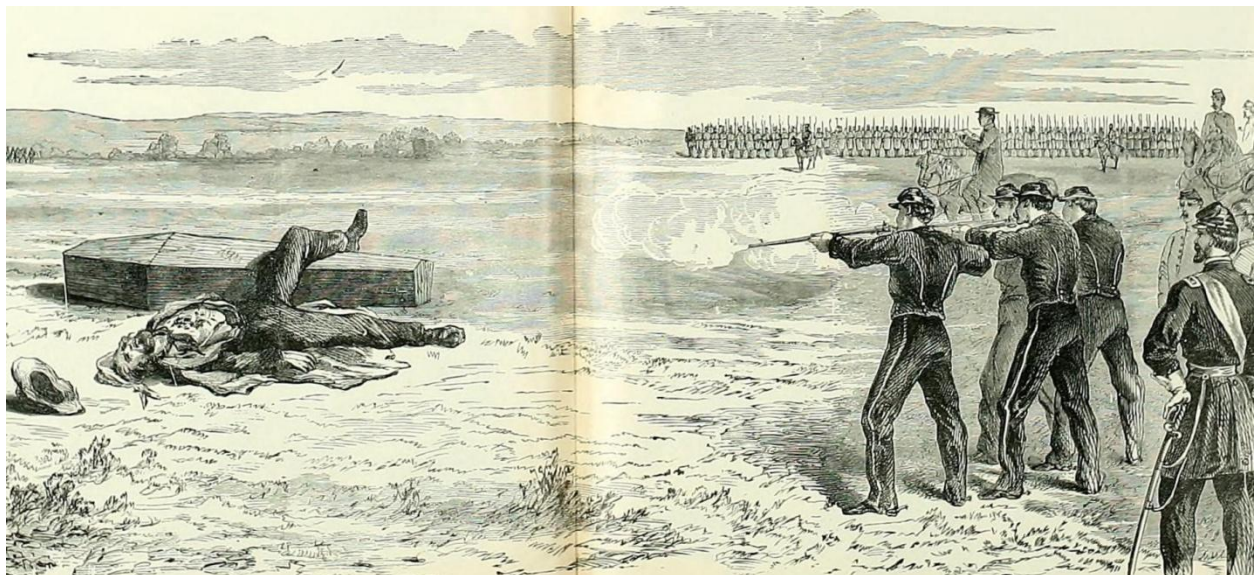
**professionals. The trouble, in Pryor's case, is that professional technique is not enough when put to the service of personal pique. Blumenthal has taken the wiser course, and given us, by far, the better Lincoln.**

**Allen C. Guelzo**

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**[http://washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/junejulyaugust-2017/lincoln-forgotten-middle-years/#.WT\\_wlmhR4zQ.facebook](http://washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/junejulyaugust-2017/lincoln-forgotten-middle-years/#.WT_wlmhR4zQ.facebook)**

## **DISCIPLINE IN CIVIL WAR ORGANIZATIONS COULD BE AWFUL!**



**"Military Execution of a Private of the Lincoln Cavalry For Desertion and Attempted Communication With the Enemy, December 13, 1861" Originally published in Frank Leslie's**



**Assembled in a field near the Fairfax Seminary just beyond Alexandria, Virginia, an entire division of 10,000 soldiers stood in a hollow square with one side missing. At the center stood twelve men, muskets at the ready. Ahead of them sat 23-year-old Private William H. Johnson atop a coffin with a white handkerchief tied over his eyes. The drums rolled and the order to fire was given. A volley of eight muskets landed home in Private Johnson's chest.**

**"He sat on the coffin about four seconds after they had fired," wrote Corporal Henry Keiser of the 96<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania, "and then fell backward over it." A reserve group of four stepped forward and put a final volley into the young deserter's body at close range, ensuring life had been extinguished. Captain Peter Filbert checked his watch; it was 3:41 in the afternoon, December 13, 1861.**



**"The Deserter Johnson" - William F. Johnson, First New York Cavalry**

**Moments earlier, Private Johnson had muttered his final words: "Boys,—I ask forgiveness from Almighty God and from my fellow-men for what I have done. I did not know what I was doing. May God forgive me, and may the Almighty keep all of you from all such sin!" Johnson had been found a few days earlier attempting to pass into Confederate lines.**

**Among the units collected for the purposes of witnessing this execution were the rowdy men and boys of the 96<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers. Assembled in the hard-scrabble coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania, the 96<sup>th</sup> had yet to see the realities of military service. The price Private Johnson paid was the cost of enforcing military discipline in the Army of the Potomac.**

**The reactions within the ranks of the 96<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania varied distinctly. "Last Friday I witnessed what I never did before and what I have no particular desire to see again: the Execution of a soldier belonging to our division," wrote Assistant Surgeon Washington Nugent in a letter to his**

wife. "I assure [you] it was a sad and solemn sight to see a poor mortal sent so hurriedly into Eternity."

**Private Clement Potts of Company A was similarly disturbed by the sight of this butchery. "It was the most horrible sight I ever seen [sic]. It was the first time that I ever seen a man shot and hope the last," Private Potts said. He and his comrades were to see this butchery repeated on a grand scale in a few months' time on the Virginia Peninsula.**

**Despite the obvious distaste in witnessing the death of a fellow man, officers could see the good in this sort of stark discipline. Dr. Nugent recorded, shortly after voicing his distaste for the whole affair, that "he richly deserved his fate and his Execution I have no doubt will have a salutary effect upon our soldiery."**

**The regiment's Adjutant M. Edgar Richards agree with that sentiment. "There was very little pity felt for him in this Division on account of the atrocious character of his crime," Richards wrote in a letter to his father at home in Pennsylvania. Yet Richards also felt lucky that his duties as regimental adjutant had kept him away from the regiment on December 13, and he missed the entire affair. "I was glad my duty in Washington prevented my being with my [regiment] at the execution."**



**"Troops Passing the Body"**

**The division was marched, regiment by regiment, passed the corpse of Private Johnson laying draped over his coffin. Corporal Keiser of Company G described the bloody scene. "I seen one hole in his forehead above the left**

eye, one in the mouth and four in his breast,” Keiser noted in his diary. The 96<sup>th</sup> filed past and then returned to their encampment.

For the medical officers of the regiment, their dealings with Private Johnson did not end there. Surgeon Nugent noted in the letter to his wife that he and the regimental surgeon, Dr. Daniel Webster Bland, received notice from their Brigade Surgeon that there was to be a post-mortem examination of the body.

Nugent and Bland walked from their encampment to the brigade hospital a mile and half away from their encampment at 9 o’clock that evening. “We met about thirty medical men and made some very pleasant acquaintances,” wrote Dr. Nugent. But their main reason for being in the hospital that evening was the autopsy of Private Johnson. At a moment early in the conflict when many medical personnel had yet to see the results of gunshot injuries, this was a teachable moment.

Dr. Nugent and the other surgeons in the room opened the examination by observing the path of each ball through the subject’s chest. “At the fire four balls entered the chest, two in front of the chest, one in the side, one at the upper end of the breast bone,” Nugent said. He also noted the destruction that the bullets did to the heart and other organs. Then, they examined the destructive head wounds caused by the second volley.

These moments in the wake of the execution gave novice Army surgeons a preview of the injuries they may experience once they headed onto the battlefield with the Army of the Potomac.

As for the regiment, this surely marked a low point in the unit’s early service. Rumors spread in the weeks after the Johnson execution that there were to be similar proceedings to come. The whole affair seemed to haunt the unit for days afterward. Private Potts mused over the events of December 13, 1861 in a letter to his brother.

“I would rather be shot myself than to shoot another man,” he wrote.

*Jake Wynn is a 2015 graduate of Hood College, and is currently the Program Coordinator at the National Museum of Civil War Medicine in Frederick, Maryland. He also writes independently at his own blog, [Wynning History](#).*



**Figure 2RUTLEDGE TAVERN AT NEW SALEM PARK IN ILLINOIS**