

Civil War Research Seminar, Keene State College, Spring 2020

The Book, Volume 3

Table of Contents

Part I. Death and Culture. . .and Art

- Chapter 1. Lydia Hurley, “The Reformation of American Children: How the American Civil War Left a Lasting Impact on the Lives of Children” [website](#)
- Chapter 2. Betsy Street, “Hard Tack, Ham Fat, and Death: Nelson’s Civil War” [website](#)
- Chapter 3. Graham Kaletsky, “Art and the Civil War” [website](#)

Part II. Medicine and Science

- Chapter 4. Laura Ruttle, “‘Removed’: American Midwives in the Nineteenth Century and Civil War” [website](#)
- Chapter 5. Timothy Hastings, “Quantifying Inferiority: Scientific Racism, Biological Determinism, and the American Civil War” [website](#)
- Chapter 6. Ryan Goff, “The Evolution of Medicine Due to the Civil War” [website](#)

Part III. Military and Soldiers

- Chapter 7. Kyle Gilmore, “Snipping the Sinews of War: How the Union Blockade Strangled the Confederate Economy” [website](#)
- Chapter 8. Cole Tollett, “The Texas Brigade” [website](#)
- Chapter 9. Zachary Grupp, “The Value of Southern Honor: How Confederate Irregulars Became American Outlaws” [website](#)
- Chapter 10. Michael Fremeau, “Pride in One’s Country or Hatred for the South? Why New England Soldiers Fought in the Civil War” [website](#)

Part IV. Politics and Abolitionism

- Chapter 11. Amber Hobbs, “Running the Underground Railroad” [website](#)
- Chapter 12. Lydia Mardin, “Political Slavery and Personal Freedom: Federal Legislation of the Underground Railroad” [website](#)
- Chapter 13. Molly Ryan, “The Battle of Abraham Lincoln’s Reelection” [website](#)

Part I. Death and Culture. . .and Art

Chapter 1

Lydia Hurley, “The Reformation of American Children: How the American Civil War Left a Lasting Impact on the Lives of Children”

It is August 3rd, 1864. Ten-year-old Carry Berrie writes in her diary, “This was my birthday. I was ten years old, but I did not have a cake times were too hard so I celebrated with ironing. I hope my next birthday we will have peace in our land so that I can have a nice dinner.”¹

Atlanta, Georgia had been under siege since May of that year, with the Union general William Tecumseh Sherman leading the campaign. For young Carry, life had turned from school and play and a few chores to fear and desperation, starvation and hardship, and all that she could hope for was a comfortable meal, and a home without the threat of war. Life for the children of the Confederacy went on, though it would continue to be upheaved both during and after the war. Many historians, such as James Marten and Ronald Butchart, believe that throughout the country, the Civil War would be a catalyst for educational reform and the slow development of a more modern notion of “childhood” as we know it today.

Children throughout the nation, North and South, soon found that the war would leave a lasting impact on their lives; their childhood, their education, and their futures. However, it

¹ American Civil War, “Civil War Diary of Carrie Berry.” American Civil War, https://americancivilwar.com/women/caNerrie_berry.html.

was particularly the children in the South that would see the most destruction, and in the end, the most change. Some change, like the drastic education reforms that kicked in during Reconstruction, would ultimately lead to a better future for many children.

It was not their education alone that would be affected by the war. While the education reforms that came out of the Civil War perhaps were the longest and most obvious echo for children, there were other aspects that also would change childhood in America as we think of it today. Boys as young as ten years old were marching with the armies as drummer boys and bugle blowers, witnessing the death and destruction that followed the path of the war. Young girls were helping their mothers to attend to the sick and wounded, coming face to face with the gory repercussions of battle. Homes were destroyed, schools were closed, brothers and fathers were lost, and the lives of these children would never again be the same.²

Today, it is not uncommon to see images of Civil War-era boys donning adorable uniforms, complete with a hat and a drum or bugle. These pictures are often deceiving in their innocence. The truth behind them is often darker; the truth of these photos was young boys, some as young as ten, waking at 5:30 am to rouse the soldiers, running into the thick of battle to spread the word of “retreat!” or “charge!” These children were often subject to scenes of horror and brutality, yet, according to Emmy Werner, a professor of child psychology and author of the book *Reluctant Witnesses*, there are very few documented instances of these boys abandoning their posts.³

² Emmy Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998).

³ *Ibid.*, 10.

Other boys decided to skip the bugle blowing and enlist directly into the military. Though the official age required for enlistment was eighteen, it was often very easy for younger boys to enlist and lie about their age, so long as no one spoke up otherwise. Up to twenty percent of new recruits enlisting in the military, both Union and Confederacy, were underage.⁴ Many of these boys, some as young as fifteen or sixteen, enlisted with great enthusiasm, only for the reality of war to settle in later.⁵

Overlooking the battle field in Shiloh, seventeen-year-olds Henry Stanley and Henry Parker observed the ensuing chaos. Henry Parker was not watching the battle though; he was looking at the violets that surrounded his feet; he recommended putting a few in their caps. “Perhaps the Yanks won’t shoot me if they see me wearing such flowers, for they are a sign of peace,” he told his friend.⁶ Even amongst their enemies, boys on both sides of the lines recognized the horror and loss that was ensuing; sixteen-year-old John Cockerill observed a “beautiful” boy with curly blond hair, dead on the battle field wearing enemy colors. The boy was close to Johns own age, and John later wrote in his journal that, “at the sight of the poor boys corpse, I burst into a regular boo-hoo and started on.”⁷

Meanwhile, younger children at home were beginning to find themselves without a school to attend. Prior to the war, schools in the South were often locally funded, and relied on local people, especially church workers, to serve as teachers. As the South was mainly an agricultural economy, and considering the average white family could not afford slaves, many

⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁵ Ibid., 24-25.

⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁷ Ibid., 25.

children helped working on the farm or in the field, especially boys, while many girls stayed to learn household chores and help take care of younger siblings. Many of the available schools were significantly underfunded. In Alabama, the \$500,000 that had been spent on public education in 1858 was slashed nearly in half by 1861, and by 1865 was at a low \$112,000.⁸ In today's money, that amounts to about \$1,895,974. When compared to what Alabama currently spends on their public education, about \$6,907,539⁹, it becomes clear that not nearly enough money was able to be diverted towards the education of their children.

Of course, wealthier families often could afford to send their children to larger boarding schools, many of which were in the North. Schools like John B. Cary's Hampton, Virginia Male and Female Academy was a place where only the wealthier class could afford to send their children. This Southern academy, along with many others like it, ran in an almost militaristic fashion, making many of its students well-prepared for life amongst the Confederate ranks. When war did arrive, however, the school was forced to shut down, as 20% of its faculty and 25% of its student population left to join the army.¹⁰

Before the Civil War, attendance in school was spotty at best, non-existent at worst, especially amongst the children of the lower and middle classes. The 1840 US census recorded that of the 3.68 million children between the ages of five and fifteen, only about 55% percent received a consistent education.¹¹ In the North, compulsory, tax-funded schools had

⁸Gordon Harvey, "Public Education During the Civil War and Reconstruction Era." Encyclopedia of Alabama, June 8, 2010, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2600>.

⁹"Education Spending Per Student By State." Governing, June, 2018, <https://www.governing.com/gov-data/education-data/state-education-spending-per-pupil-data.html>.

¹⁰Juanita Leisch, *An Introduction to Civil War Civilians*, (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1994).

¹¹ George Tucker, *Progress of the United States in Population & Wealth in Fifty Years*, (New York: Press of Hunts' Merchant's Magazine, 1843,) <http://archive.org/details/progressuniteds00tuckgoog>.

been open since about the mid 1800's, the first one being in Massachusetts. In 1885, only sixteen states had compulsory education laws, the vast majority of them being Northern states.¹²

Schools in the North, prior to the Civil War, were a bit more formal than schools in the South. While education in more rural areas of the North functioned similarly to the South, many schools in the more industrialized cities required mandatory attendance. Compulsory school had long been enforced in most towns, though typically only for boys, though the enforcement of this, especially in less populated areas, was often shaky at best. School and education were more desirable in the more industrialized parts of the North because it created a better work, more intelligent work force; children who learned marketable skills, and, perhaps more importantly, learned to follow orders and accept structure and schedule.¹³

The desire for compulsory education in the New England also likely links to the fact that the New England, in the 17th century, was largely a Puritan region, and being able to read scripture was key to this branch of Christianity.¹⁴ Outside of the New England region, tax-funded schools were less popular, in favor of schools taught by different groups such as the Quakers or Catholics.

By the time the Civil War came around, many more children in the North were receiving continuous and formal education, and unlike in the South, many children in the

¹²Michael S Katz, *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*, (Bloomington, Ind: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.), 11 – 13.

¹³ George Tucker, *Progress of the United States in Population & Wealth in Fifty Years*.

¹⁴Livia Gershon, "Where American Public Schools Came From," JSTOR Daily, Sep. 1, 2016 <https://daily.jstor.org/where-american-public-schools-came-from/>.

North were able to continue going to school. It was during the Civil War that, throughout the entire county, women began to dominate the education world.

While today we often think of teaching as being a female role in the 18th and 19th centuries, this is in fact only partially true. Before the war, men of the church, farmers, surveyors, and even innkeepers served as school masters, usually in their off season, if they had one. But when so many men left for the war, it was women who would rise to the occasion of educating the nations children. By this point, it was not unheard of for a woman to be in the classroom, but it was rarer than one might expect. However, it was often considered that teaching was perhaps the best way for women to contribute during the war. In 1849, the Littleton School Committee had already pointed out that women were “peculiarly suited” to work with children as it was essentially just an extension of their domestic duties.¹⁵ After the war, it remained that women were dominant in the education sphere.

For children in the Confederacy, the beginning of the Civil War meant those who had attended school before no longer could. Often, mothers and older sisters took over as best they could, but many children still missed the stability that had come from school. On his last day of school, fourteen-year-old Benjamin Fleet of Virginia lamented, “I have left maybe to never go to school again. I feel very disconsolowtory and meloncolly. Came home and brought all my books and slate.”¹⁶ Benjamin was not alone in this sentiment; school offered children a way to socialize, get out of the house, avoid doing household chores, and simply enjoy being a child. Without it, their lives were changed. Of course, not all were as broken up about it; some

¹⁵ “Only A Teacher: Teaching Timeline.” PBS Online, <https://www.pbs.org/onlyateacher/timeline.html>.

¹⁶ Emmy Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses*, p. 16.

young boys were quite pleased to be able to avoid their school work, and would spend days watching the army camps, getting as close as possible before being shooed away.¹⁷ However, being home more meant that most children had to step up and help not only with chores, but with income as well.

In the North, Sanitary Fairs offered children both an outlet for socialization and boredom as well as a chance to perhaps bring in a small income. Sanitary Fairs were popular events hosted by civilians to benefit the United States Sanitary Committee, and often featured local goods and crafts for sale.¹⁸ For children in the South, helping to harvest fruit crops, shucking peas, darning socks, and picking lint for bandages were all popular methods of helping to bring in some sort of income for their family.¹⁹ According to historian James Marten, it was common for children to contribute to the war effort on both sides to help raise money for hospitals or for the homes of soldiers, often times by selling patriotic flags.²⁰ Both governments encouraged children to help the war effort by doing chores, watching younger children, even picking up litter. Children were often eager to feel useful in the war effort, and their textbooks and magazines often encouraged small acts of “patriotism.” Sometimes, according to Marten, it would even be implied to children that their good behavior would help

¹⁷Madison Cline, “Childhood in the Civil War,” NCpedia, Oct. 2014, <https://www.ncpedia.org/childhood-civil-war>.

¹⁸ Kerry Bryan, “Civil War Sanitary Fairs,” The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, Rutgers University, 2012, <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/civil-war-sanitary-fairs/>.

¹⁹ Marcie Schwartz, “Children of the Civil War: On the Home Front,” American Battlefield Trust, April 5, 2017, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/children-civil-war-home-front>.

²⁰ James Marten, *The Children’s Civil War, kindle edition* (Chapel hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 178.

protect their loved ones on the battlefield. Of course, this occasionally, and inevitably, lead to some children suffering extreme guilt when their loved ones did not return home.²¹

Older, teenaged children in both the North and South were encouraged to help the war effort by working in government offices and even ammunition factories. In the South, younger children helped collect food and supplies for the military camps, while children in the North worked as volunteers or even performers to help raise money at the Sanitary Fairs.²²

As the war dragged on, children's schoolbooks became increasingly propagandistic. Prior to the war, much of the printing of children's books, magazines, and school books was done in the North. Due to the blockade, much of the literature children had previously been able to receive was restricted, and the amount of printing that the South could do was limited.²³ Southern printers focused on textbooks when it came to printing children's literature simply because it was the most important. As Marten points out, the printing of textbooks also came from the desire to keep their children away from more Northern ideas and values, as well as to help instill Southern patriotism, writing, "In fact, the need to instill southern nationalism in their children and pupils, to free the South from the grip of perverted northern textbooks, spawned the Confederacy's most important literary tradition: primers, spellers, and readers at least partly devoted to the political socialization of the Confederacy's children."²⁴

²¹ James Marten, "Children in the Civil War," Essential Civil War Curriculum, <https://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/children-in-the-civil-war.html>.

²² Ibid.

²³ James Marten, *The Children's Civil War*, 50.

²⁴ Ibid., 33.

The Southern *1863 Geographical Reader for Dixie Children* offered the southern perspective of the war to children, saying, “Thousands of lives have been lost, and the earth has been drenched with blood; but still Abraham is unable to conquer the “Rebels” as he calls the South. The South only asked to be let alone, and to divide the public property equally. It would have been wise of the North to have said to her Southern sisters, ‘If you are not content to dwell with us any longer, depart in peace.’”²⁵

During Reconstruction, anti-North themes continued to be held not just in children’s textbooks but in fictional pieces as well. Marten points out a tale called *The Princess of the Moon: A Confederate Fairy Story*, in which a returning Confederate soldier finds his family dead and his belongings gone; a magical flying horse takes him to the North, where he sees prosperous Union families gloating over the belongings they stole from Southern families.²⁶ Ideas such as this being offered to children clearly set the stage for a bitter and resent-filled future, and a permanently damaged relationship to the North. Simultaneously, these were also stories that were meant to help children understand the world they now lived in; despite the fact that *The Princess of the Moon* seems to have a clear political agenda, it also is speaking to a generation of children who had known little other than destruction and sorrow, as opposed to the North.

Of course, the South was not unique in impressing political ideals upon children, but because many textbooks in the South had to be re-printed during the Civil War due to the blockade, there seems to have been more instances of this sort of language than in the North,

²⁵ Marinda Branson Moore, *The Geographical Reader, for the Dixie Children.*, (Raleigh, NC: Biblical Recorder Print, 1863,) 14, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/impls/moore1/moore1.html>.

²⁶ James Marten, *Children’s Civil War*, 187 -188.

where it was not really necessary that new textbooks be printed for children. Popular children's newspapers and periodicals often included consistent messages and information regarding the war, and often times, these messages held "lessons" meant to teach the children to be good patriots, good children, and perhaps above all else, good and useful members of the Union. Some feared that seeing the rebellion of the South would undermine the values of the North; according to Marten, many children's newspapers and magazines at the time used their platform amongst children to spread important messages, including "assuring their readers that their country's course was correct, that the war could be won if northerners demonstrated the necessary piety, determination, and willingness to sacrifice, and that no contribution to the war effort was too small, authors during and immediately after the war politicized and inspired young Yankees to act on their loyalty."²⁷

In the February, 1861 edition of *Student and Schoolmate*, a children's magazine from Massachusetts, a short article outlining the early days of the war appeared, in which the authors hoped all children were "patriotic enough to work and pray for the Union, whether they live at the North or the South."²⁸ The article then continued on to discuss why South Carolina had decided to secede from the Union, citing slavery as the main issue, yet the article was also quick to make it a matter of religion. They claimed that the South viewed slavery as a "civilizing and Christian institution" while the North saw it as "inhumane and barbarous."²⁹ By bringing religion into it, articles like this one were teaching children that not only were the South in the wrong as far as the government goes, but they were in the wrong even with God.

²⁷ James Marten, *The Children's Civil War*, 50.

²⁸ Merrycoz.org, "The Union, Feb 1861," *Student and Schoolmate*, February, 1861, 75, <https://www.merrycoz.org/ssmate/EDIT6101.xhtml>.

²⁹ Ibid.

The article closed with a cry for victory: “May God speed the right!”³⁰ Language like this was perhaps not written intentionally as a way to manipulate the minds of children, but it was what happened anyways. Telling children that essentially, those in the South have turned against not only union and country but God himself, and that those in the “right” will win; obviously referring to themselves.³¹

After the Civil War, propaganda appeared regularly in textbooks; in the South, well in the 20th century, many textbooks for school-aged children worked to minimize the role that slavery played in the war and justify the Confederacy’s role in the war.³² Often referred to as “Lost Cause” education, it was often supported by the United Daughters of the Confederacy(UDC), who knew that the best way to convey these ideas to children year after year was through textbooks.³³ During Reconstruction, increasing numbers of Southern states were imposing compulsory education laws introduced by the Federal Government; each year, there were increasing numbers of children attending schools on a consistent bases. While much of the control the South had sought during the Civil War was being stripped away during Reconstruction, this was one way that they could at least control the thoughts and ideas of their children.

At the UDC’s 1909 convention, held in Wilmington, North Carolina, the Division President, Mrs. I.W. Faison, stated the following:

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Greg Huffman, “TWISTED SOURCES: How Confederate Propaganda Ended up in the South’s Schoolbooks,” Facing South, April 10, 2019, <https://www.facingsouth.org/2019/04/twisted-sources-how-confederate-propaganda-ended-souths-schoolbooks>.

³³ Ibid.

*"We must see that the correct history is taught our children and train them, not in hatred towards the North who differed from us, but in knowledge of true history of the South in the war between the States and the causes that led up to the war, so that they will be able to state facts and prove that they are right in the principles for which their fathers fought and died; and continue to preserve and defend their cause, until the whole civilized world will come to know that our cause was just and right. ... There is an expression often used by our people as the "Lost Cause." Let us forget such, for it is not the truth. ...No, our cause was not lost because it was not wrong."*³⁴

This is a complex statement; one can understand that the South would not want their children to feel alienated or villainized, or for those they lost in the war to be considered

somehow evil or otherwise mistaken. That is an understandable desire. The issue lies in the attempts at justifying slavery and racism to children. Teaching children that the South's cause for the war was "just and right" is problematic because for the most part, slavery was the cause, and there is no good way to justify that.

Of course, the North was not innocent of using textbooks and magazines to try and control the way that their youth's thought about

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TEACHER'S DESK.

who have led on our brave armies in their recent encounters.

Our young readers have an interest in this matter, and hence we claim to bring the subject to the Teacher's Desk. A knowledge of our country's history from its earliest days to the present time is of the greatest importance. Boys and girls of to-day are soon to control the destinies of this great nation. The legislation of to-day will, it is true, affect all future time. But, even if mistakes should be made, a knowledge of the principles on which our government is founded may enable those thus educated to overcome the evils that would otherwise ensue.

Let the youth of our land claim as a part of their education such information as will fit them either to be intelligent legislators themselves, or at least qualify them to make a judicious use of their privilege as voters by placing the most competent and trustworthy men in official positions.

Let the sad news which reaches us just as we are going to press, render the above more important in our eyes. Had the people of the South enjoyed the blessings of an education, such as we refer to, the rebellion would never have had existence. Had the principles of liberty inspired every heart, never would there have been those cowardly enough to strike a blow at the nation's heart in the murder of President Lincoln and the contemplated murder of his Secretary of State.

But the assassins were not alone—others must have aided and abetted, but more cowardly than they that struck those blows, they conceal themselves from the public eye. But the eye of a just God is upon them, and, while we bow to

YES, a brighter day has dawned; Richmond is ours. The confederate forces have not only been scattered, but their chief army has surrendered. The leaders in secession have sought safety in ignominious flight. Under this state of things, can the rebellion long exist! We think not.

The time is near at hand, when a reunited country will once more place this nation in a position vastly in advance of what it could have been, but for the severe ordeal through which it has been passing.

Slavery is no more! They who sought to perpetuate it have failed in their unholy work, and the game they played to win has been lost to them.

Yet our danger is not wholly passed, As Gov. Andrew has well said in a recent speech in New York, "There are questions to be agitated that now will shake society to its foundation. There will be more peril at the close of the war than before it. On the possibility of bad statesmanship more damage is to be apprehended than in the mishaps of the battle-field. The fault of the American people is to trust men whom they know are untrustworthy."

We have hope that these possibilities may vanish away, and that those who are now holding responsible positions in our National councils will prove as true, as loyal, as discreet and efficient as those

the Civil War. In the May, 1865 edition of *Student and Schoolmate*, an article discusses how Northern children will need to educate themselves on the rightness of the Union's Civil War so that as adults they can make informed decisions about how to run the country, and states that, "had the people of the South enjoyed the blessings of an education, such as we refer to, the rebellion would never have had existence."³⁵

Education, as it was, would become one of the most important aspects of Reconstruction over the next thirty years. Many states were quick to follow Massachusetts in 1852 and employ compulsory education laws, but many states in the South were a bit slower to join. States like Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina did not enforce compulsory education laws until the 1910's, and the last state to call for compulsory education was Mississippi in 1918, only to repeal that law in 1956, possibly as a response to the looming possibility of integration in their public school system, a possibility that would become a reality fourteen years later.³⁶

Following the war, education would become one of the greater goals during Reconstruction. The Department of Education was created in 1867 to help states establish effective school systems, though it would not be until almost 1900 that there were any effective enforcement laws for compulsory education.³⁷ ³⁸ It quickly became clear that many Southern cities and towns simply did not have the funds to re-build schools, pay teachers, and

³⁵ Oliver Optic, ed., "From the Teacher's Desk," *The Student and Schoolmate*, May, 1865, 156-58.

³⁶ Michael S. Katz, *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*, Fastback ; 75 (Bloomington, Ind: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976).

³⁷ Edmund Sass, "American Educational History Timeline," eds-Resources, last updated March 2020, <http://www.eds-resources.com/educationhistorytimeline.html>.

³⁸ Michael S. Katz, *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*, 18.

buy supplies. George Peabody, a multi-millionaire, saw this predicament and set up the Peabody Education Fund with \$3,500,000 to help build and supply specifically Southern schools.^{39 40} This did not solve every financial problem for education for the South, but it was a start. Sadly, the end of financial hardship for Southern schools was far off; after the Panic of 1873, economic hardship lead to decreased revenue for schools all over the country. The South seems to have fared worse than many others.⁴¹

Many children would become the first of their family to receive a compulsory and consistent education, which enforced more structure into their lives than they may have previously had. For others, the end of the Civil War meant less time spent playing with their friends and more time as active laborers, earning a wage to help contribute to their families. In 1900, 18% of the American workforce was made up of people below the age of eighteen.⁴² In the South, it was incredibly common to see children working in the cotton mills; up to 25% of the employees in these establishments could be made up of children below the age of eighteen.⁴³

The largest changes were not happening just for white children in the South, but also for African American children. With the end of slavery came a deluge of problems and fears for African Americans; obviously, for most freed slaves, freedom itself was worth any of the

³⁹ Edmund Sass, “American Educational History Timeline,”.

⁴⁰ Ed. Of Encyclopedia Britannica, “George Peabody | American Merchant, Financier, and Philanthropist,” Encyclopedia Britannica, last updated Feb. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Peabody>.

⁴¹ Edmund Sass, “American Educational History Timeline,”.

⁴² History.com Editors, “Child Labor,” History, Oct. 27, 2009, <https://www.history.com/topics/industrial-revolution/child-labor>.

⁴³ Ibid.

issues that came with emancipation, but none the less, problems such as housing, health care, and education were on the forefront of many people's minds.

For many, the idea of emancipation meant much more than simply no longer being considered property; it meant having access to health care and education as well. Without this, most felt that emancipation would never be complete.⁴⁴ Generally speaking, there were two schools of thought on whether or not African American's should receive an education. Some policy makers thought that the "bad traits" of African Americans, supposedly laziness and childishness, could be overcome with education. Others felt that education was a privilege that freed slaves did not deserve; it was a symbol of the elite status of whites.⁴⁵ Of course, there were many, many opinions on the matter, but as far as the opinions of white people in the United States, these two seem to crop up time and time again, often times with a somewhat regional divide.

Many Southern states were desperate to avoid having to educate the African American's in their midst; during Reconstruction, as education reforms began creeping down from the North, many Southern states flat out refused to comply. The Freedman's Bureau had done a tremendous amount to try and set up funding and systems for education, but it was sometimes not enough. For example, the school superintendent in Louisiana at the time of Reconstruction, Robert M. Lusher, was of the opinion that education was meant only for

⁴⁴ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, kindle edition* (New York: Harper Perennial Classics, 2002), Loc. 1566.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, loc. 1413 & loc. 4179.

whites, and went out of his way to dismantle every system put in place by the Freedman's bureau.⁴⁶

Despite the difficulties they faced in getting an education, many freed slaves and African American's were highly interested in getting an education. According to Frederick Douglas, "Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave."⁴⁷ For many reasons, setting up a new education system for African American's in the North went considerably smoother than it did in the South. One reason was the obvious issue of the South having little or no interest in education freed slaves; others included financial and systemic problems.⁴⁸ In the North, system for compulsory education were already set up, a large populations of children were going to school consistently. More white people were willing to help set up schools for freed slaves, and more white people were willing to teach African American's or slaves freed after emancipation, though few freed slaves traveled north.

Financially, the North was also better equipped to deal with education. According to historian Ronald Butchart, the North had grand plans for extending education for freed slaves into the South, what Butchart refers to as the "modernizer's faith," which, according to Butchart, was the belief "that if modern educational systems were put in place, the South was no more likely to reject them than an industry would neglect an advanced technology."⁴⁹ This faith and optimism was misguided; the South was still hurting emotionally, physically, and financially, and the wounds to their honor would not be soon to heal. It does not seem that it

⁴⁶ Ibid, loc. 4179.

⁴⁷ Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2006.), 108.

⁴⁸ Ronald Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010) ch. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 149.

was the idea of education itself that the South rejected, but rather the North's ideas of how to implement it, and their thoughts on education for African Americans.

In his book, *Schooling the Freed People*, Butchart addresses these issues, referring to the North's plans for education for all as a "promising dawn."⁵⁰ While the beginning of education reform seemed to indicate a bright future, it was not to last. Within a few years, much of what had been set up for education had been reduced to "skeletal remains," with teachers being fired or laid off, school years being cut in half, and schools themselves being forced to shut down.⁵¹ The Freedman's Bureau had done a great deal, both in the north and in the south, to try and set up not just education systems, but also healthcare and housing. According to historian Eric Foner in, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, "Education probably represented the agency's greatest success in the post war South."⁵² Still, it would not be enough to uphold the values of education that many were eager to instill not just in African Americans, but also in the poor white children of southern farmers.

African Americans, adults and children alike, were eager to receive an education, even if it just meant learning to read and write. It seems that there would be many clear reasons for this desire; it offers a certain degree of freedom, of independence, and more economic opportunity. Still, it was somewhat surprising to white people that freed slaves had such an interest in education. Some speculated that it was because they had a "childlike" desire to imitate white people, some thought it was because it had been forbidden for so long and that essentially they just wanted a bite of the so-called "forbidden fruit," and later on,

⁵⁰ Ibid., 153.

⁵¹ Ibid., 154.

⁵² Eric Foner, *Reconstruction*, loc. 3012.

others thought that freed slaves saw it as the “magic carpet” so social prestige and economic stability.⁵³ In the words of abolitionist Laura Towne, “Their steady eagerness to learn is just something amazing. To be deprived of a lesson is a severe punishment. “I got no reading to-day,” or no writing, or no sums, is cause for bitter tears. This race is going to rise. It is biding its time.”⁵⁴

Early on in the desire to educate freed slaves, many school’s relied on willing white teachers, most often from the North⁵⁵; later on, of course, this would change, but to start with there were very few freed slaves who had enough of an education to teach those around them. Many questioned the motives behind white people who were willing to teach freed slaves; were they willing to teach African American’s simply to be helpful? To help further the ideals of emancipation? Or, as was sometimes the case, were there other, more nefarious plans behind their willingness to teach the freed slaves; offering an education that spread the ideas of black subordination, of paternalism, or simply to reinforce the stereotypes of freed slaves that white people wanted them to believe? ⁵⁶According to Butchart, these were real and palpable fears, a problem that would extend beyond the Reconstruction era. As previously stated, there were many who felt that education was a privilege deserved only by the whites, and not a right that was simply a part of being free. It would be decades before a proper education system was open to African American’s throughout the entire country.

⁵³ Ronald Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*, 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 121 – 122.

The experience of children, both black and white, in America during and after the Civil War was a complex and harrowing event. Contradictory views on children meant that while children were increasingly being seen as innocent beings who needed to be protected from hardship for as long as possible, their numbers in the workforce were simultaneously growing. Still, by the 1900's, child labor laws and labor reform were playing a larger role on the government field; ideals of childhood and the experience of childhood were evolving.⁵⁷ The ideals of childhood, images of children running free amongst the country side and playing with their friends versus the experience of childhood, which was, for many, poverty and hard labor, do not mesh as smoothly as is popularly believed. While child labor reform did start to take place shortly after the end of the civil war, it would be decades before any real results would be seen. This is something that Marten does not discuss, though this is perhaps because it was simply outside of the scope of his efforts. Still, it would seem that the reality of the situation for children in the early years of the 20th century is a direct result of the destruction of the war and the overall failure of Reconstruction, particularly in the South, and would therefore be something that deserves a bit more attention.

Ultimately, despite all of the patriotism many children felt, the boys who were so eager to march off to war, the children who picked cotton and sold flags, despite all of the reform that came afterwards, the schools that were built, the labor laws that were eventually created, the children who came out of the Civil War would be a fundamentally changed generation. Many had seen death and destruction, many had even been involved in it. Most had lost an uncle, a brother, a father. I would not go so far as to say that the children of the

⁵⁷ History.com Editors, "Child Labor.".

Civil War were forgotten, but I do believe that the impacts of the war on an entire generation of our country's children were overlooked or underestimated. In her book *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters*, Grace King wrote, "Ah, the children who came through the war, and battles, and defeat! There are no monuments raised to them, no medals struck in their honor."⁵⁸ And yet, the legacy of these children of the war still survives in the impact they had in battle, and the reforms they inspired in peace.

⁵⁸ Grace King, *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters*, (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican, 1932,), 24.

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Chapter 2.

Betsy Street

“Hard Tack, Ham Fat, and Death: Nelson’s Civil War”

*I saw battle-corpses, myriads of them,
And the white skeletons of young men, I saw them,
I saw the debris and debris of all the slain soldiers of the war,
But I saw they were not as was thought,
They themselves were fully at rest, they suffer'd not,
The living remain'd and suffer'd, the mother suffer'd,
And the wife and the child and the musing comrade suffer'd,
And the armies that remain'd suffer'd.*

Walt Whitman, from verse 15, *When Lilacs Last in the
Dooryard Bloom'd*, 1865.

Edward Taft was blown in two by a cannon ball at the battle of Williamsburg in Virginia on May 5, 1862. He was 28 years old. Taft was one of 2,200 Union soldiers to die that day, and the first to fall in battle from Nelson, New Hampshire.⁵⁹ You can visit his grave in the Nelson cemetery, nestled on a mound near his parents, Nathan and Sarah. One grows numb reading about battle after battle with thousands of dead on both sides. What was it



Figure 2. Edward Taft headstone on the lower left, dates and inscription on the family obelisk. Nelson Cemetery.

⁵⁹ Nelson Picnic Association, *Names and Services 1861-1865* (New York: Nelson Picnic Association, 1915), 20; “Edward Nathan Taft (1833-1862) - Find A Grave...” Find a Grave, Accessed April 10, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/94476731/edward-nathan-taft>; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 427.

like to live through that much death?

In 2008, Drew Gilpin Faust published a cultural history of Civil War death, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* that had a dramatic impact on the field of Civil War history. She argued that the scale of death in the war was inconceivably greater than anyone thought possible and that death was the primary experience for those who lived through the war. As the years went on, the war was no longer about Union or slavery or state's rights; it was just death. Faust looked at the very personal price individuals, families, and communities paid to accomplish the military and political goals of the Civil War.⁶⁰ The small town of Nelson, New Hampshire lost 30 soldiers to death and disease. The experiences of these soldiers and their families around death align remarkably well with Faust's arguments.

Nelson, a Small Rural Town

⁶⁰Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), xi-xviii.

The town of Nelson, New Hampshire lies about ten

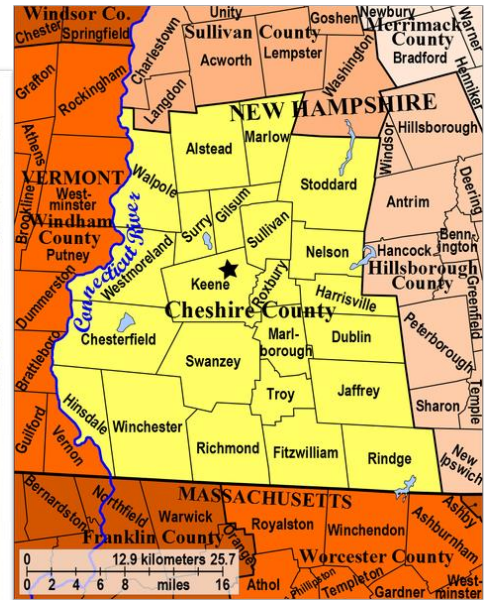


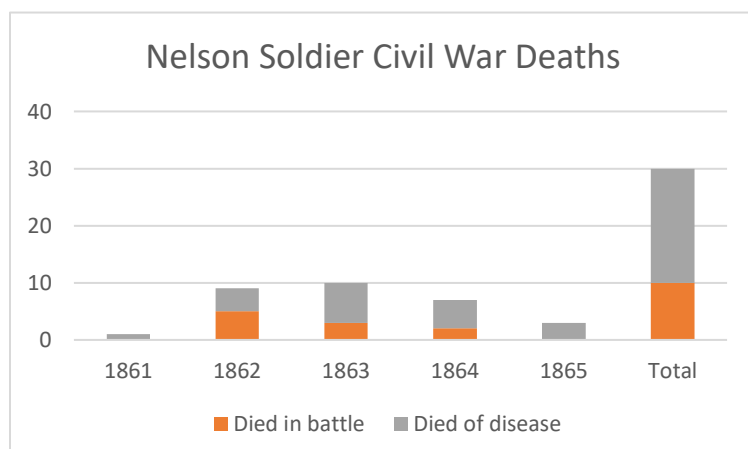
Figure 3. Nelson is in yellow, second town from the top on the right.

miles northeast of Keene in

Cheshire County. First settled in the 1770s, the town grew steadily to 1076 people by 1810. However, by 1860, the population had declined to just 699 people. Farmers headed the majority of the 153 families, but farming was in decline. Canal and railroad shipping from New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio had undercut the urban market for local farmers. Nelson was a hill town, and three generations of farming and overgrazing by sheep had depleted the soil. Men headed ninety-two percent of the households and ninety-six percent of the residents were US-born. The town was ninety-nine percent white. There was a wide range of occupations beyond farming for both men and women, though the vast majority of women were “house keepers.” The population supplied varied skilled labor and management for a chair factory and textile mills, plus ten dressmakers, two blacksmiths, three shoemakers, two

butchers, five common school teachers, five miners, a physician, a miller, a milliner, and more.⁶¹

In August 1915, fifty years after the Civil War ended, the people of Nelson dedicated a large plaque on the front of the Town Hall inscribed with the names of 124 volunteer Union



family by working at the chair factory; also on this map: Owen died of chronic diarrhea as a POW; George died of fever and diarrhea.

soldiers who had been born or “sometime resident” in Nelson.

Thirty had died during the war.

Eleven were killed in battle or died of wounds shortly

and afterwards, and nineteen died of disease. This aligns closely

with the accepted ratio that

twice as many men died of disease as died in battle in the Civil War. In addition, twenty-one men were wounded, recovered, and survived the war. The remaining seventy-four soldiers came through the war with no documented wounds. However, it is safe to assume that most of

⁶¹“Historical Census Data,” *Office of Strategic Initiatives*, State of New Hampshire, accessed April 9, 2020, <https://www.nh.gov/osi/data-center/historical-census.htm>; Alan F. Rumrill, “The Power of Water: Munsonville, New Hampshire, from 1850 to 1950,” *Exploring the Past in Nelson, New Hampshire*, Nelson History Roundtable, accessed April 10, 2020, <https://nelsonhistory.org/the-power-of-water-munsonville-new-hampshire-from-1850-to-1950/>; U.S. Census Bureau, “Schedule 1 Free Inhabitants in Nelson in the County of Cheshire in the State of NH,” *1860 United States Federal Census*; County map is from “File:NH Cheshire Co towns map,” *FamilySearch*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, based on original in Michael J. Leclerc, *Genealogist's Handbook for New England Research*, 5th ed. (Boston, Mass.: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2012), 244, accessed May 7, 2020, https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/File:NH_Cheshire_Co_towns_map.png; Munsonville map is from Roberta Wingerson, “The Cotton Factory in Munsonville,” *Exploring the Past in Nelson, New Hampshire* (blog), accessed April 28, 2020, <https://nelsonhistory.org/the-cotton-factory-in-munsonville/>.

them suffered from various camp diseases since disease was endemic across all regiments and armies.⁶²

The soldiers associated with Nelson enlisted in seventy different companies in forty-one regiments, mostly infantry.⁶³ This wide dispersion reflects both the length and casualty rate of the war (regiments were formed in succession one after the other) and how grown children moved around New England, and sometimes farther. A regimental company was the basic building block of army structure and it usually formed from a local recruiting effort. Young men who already knew each other joined up together, carrying existing family and friendship bonds into their army life. They also carried the responsibility of notifying family back home when one of their number perished. Most Nelson soldiers enlisted in seven New Hampshire regiments:

- Second NH Infantry Companies A and B
- Sixth NH Infantry Company E (Keene)
- Ninth NH Infantry Companies G and I
- Fourteenth NH Infantry Company G
- Sixteenth NH Infantry Company G
- Eighteenth NH Infantry

⁶² Nelson Picnic Association, *Names and Services 1861-1865* (New York: Nelson Picnic Association, 1915) 5-70; Faust, 4; David D. Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (December 2011): 330, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2011.0061>.

⁶³ I added one more soldier, Charles B. Hanaford, to the 124 in the Picnic Association booklet. I found his headstone in the Nelson Cemetery. I do not know why he was not counted as one of Nelson's in 1915. Perhaps he was neither born, nor ever lived in Nelson, but then, why is he buried there?

- First NH Cavalry

Other soldiers born or “sometimes resident” in Nelson joined eleven different Massachusetts regiments, three Vermont regiments, two New York regiments, as well as single regiments from Connecticut, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Ohio. Only eight of the thirty soldiers who died lived in Nelson in 1860, and fully seventeen of those in the 1915 Picnic Association booklet did not reside in Nelson until after the war.⁶⁴

Recent Historiography

Faust’s book came out in 2008. In 2011, J. David Hacker increased the Civil War death from the long accepted 620,000 deaths to at least 750,000, in what the editors of *Civil War History* considered to be “among the most consequential pieces ever to appear in this journal’s pages.” Using the power of massive data sets, Hacker analyzed newly available samples to compare male survival rates 1860-70 with male survival rates in other decades. Assuming the ratio should have stayed roughly constant, the drop between 1860 and 1870 indicated the excess number of men who died because of the war. Hacker’s figure included noncombatant deaths plus the thousands who died from war-related causes a few years after their discharges, expanding the definition of the war’s death toll. The higher death toll strengthened arguments about the “central roles occupied by loss and trauma in postbellum America.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Nelson Picnic Association, 60-66; Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shively Meier, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 4 (December 2014): 488–489, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2014.0070>; *1860 Census*. See Appendix A for details on the thirty who died.

⁶⁵ Hacker, “Census-Based,” 307, 309, 311, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2011.0061>.

However, Nicholas Marshall argued in opposition to Faust regarding the impact of all that death. While he did not dispute Hacker's new totals, he accused historians of interpreting both the old and the new death toll with today's values and norms. He built a case that nineteenth-century America before, during and after the war was a "death-embracing culture" and that death was "*the* major story" for the whole century, not just the war years.⁶⁶ People lived in a society "constantly coping with large-scale mortality." They died of disease and accidents all the time, and he argued that the percentage increase due to the war would not have been that noticeable. In addition, these deaths would have been softened by the widespread understanding that suffering had a divine purpose to instruct one in how to live and how to prepare to die. Since two-thirds of Civil War deaths were due to disease, Marshall then reduced the impactful deaths to just those in battle, one-third of the total, and proceeded to argue that the resulting percentage increase was minor. Marshall did not discount the grief and family devastation from all the deaths, just that such loss were already the norm for nineteenth-century America.⁶⁷

Hacker responded within months. While he agreed that the death toll could not be a measure of the "bloodiness" of the war due to the two-thirds death by disease figure, he argued with Marshall's assertion that the change in the scale of death was not dramatic. Hacker disputed Marshall's focus on relative versus absolute differences and his selective use

⁶⁶ Mark Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1, quoted in Nicholas Marshall, "The Great Exaggeration: Death and the Civil War," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 1 (March 2014): 10, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2014.0010>.

⁶⁷ Marshall, 4, 9, 13.

of numbers. He also pointed out that before the war, only one in ten deaths were men ages fifteen to forty-four, and during the war, that figure rose to one in three.⁶⁸

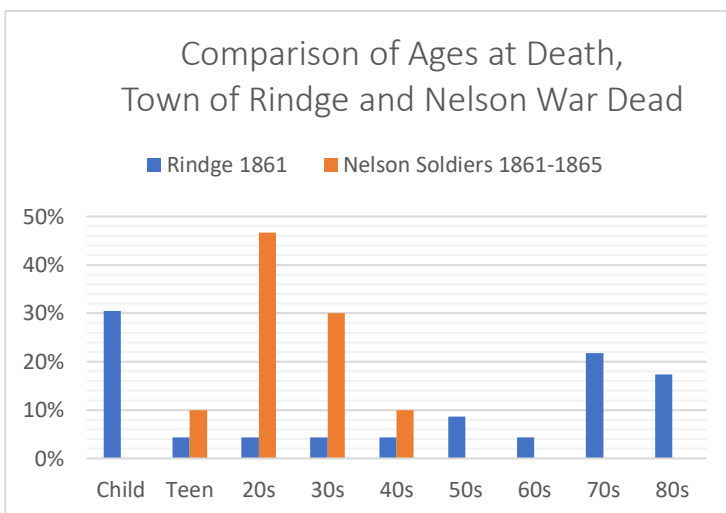
Another historian, Stephen Berry, criticized current historians for writing too much about noble sacrifice and encouraged investigations that might result in ambivalent feelings. He said we needed to hear more about “soldiers who looted bodies and joyfully blew things up; from men who guiltlessly made money making war; from madams who trafficked in the war’s wake; and from African American troops who decided desertion was the better part of valor.” He maintained the sheer mass of archival sources from the Civil War has led to too much familiarity and assumed understanding. It is important that the past retain a “measure of its original ‘foreignness.’”⁶⁹

In the debate about how hard Civil War deaths were for those who lived through the war, I agree with the historians who argue that people were far more accustomed to death in their communities than we are today, and that historians have gone too far in using today’s norms to analyze Civil War death. For nineteenth-century Americans, death was indeed integrated into the flow of life, as evidenced by customs like postmortem photography, sentimental jewelry that incorporated the hair of the deceased, and family preparation of loved ones’ bodies for home viewing. Infant mortality was high, and accidents and untreatable infections led to high rates of early death. What the Civil War did do was change the profile of death. As an example, compare the profile of the 23 deaths in Rindge, New Hampshire in

⁶⁸ David J. Hacker, “Has the Demographic Impact of Civil War Deaths Been Exaggerated?,” *Civil War History* 60, no. 4 (December 2014): 453–58, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2014.0071>.

⁶⁹ Stephen Berry, ed., *Weirding the War: Stories from the Civil War’s Ragged Edges* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 2-3, 5.

1861 (mostly prior to high war death tolls) to the profile of the Nelson Civil War deceased for whom ages at death could be determined. In Rindge, death took the very young and the very old. In the Civil War years, people who were not supposed to be dying, did – those in their



20s and 30s. Death was normal, but the wrong people died.⁷⁰

Good Deaths and Bad Ones

Nineteenth-century beliefs

about a Good Death infused

middle-class behavior and

expectation in mid eighteenth-

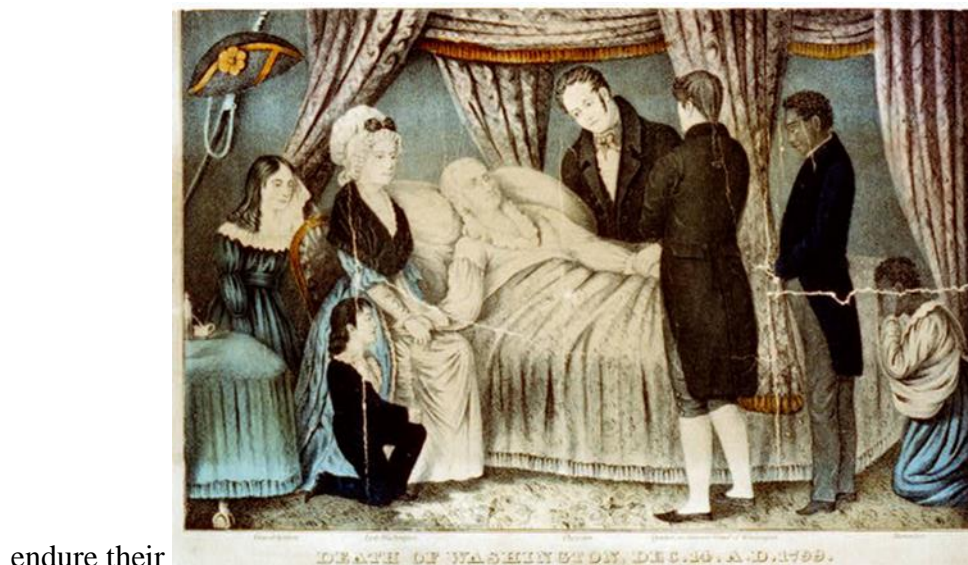
century America, connecting back to *Ars moriendi* (Art of Dying) texts from medieval times.

How you died mattered. Death should happen at home, and you should be surrounded by family who were there, not for your comfort, but to witness your passing in order to determine their chances of reunification with you in Heaven. Deathbed words were accepted as undeniable truth, even in a court of law. Your physical aspect at death was important, because the signs of “character with which you leave the world will be seen in you when you rise from the dead.” The mid-nineteenth century lithograph of George Washington’s death illustrates a Good Death, although the reality of Washington’s last day involved tortuous treatments by today’s standards.⁷¹

⁷⁰Melissa DeVelvis, “Death, Immortalized: Victorian Post-Mortem Photography,” Clara Barton Missing Soldiers Office Museum (blog), February 19, 2019, <http://www.clarabartonmuseum.org/post-mortem-photography/>; Jeffrey S. Sartin, “Infectious Diseases during the Civil War: The Triumph of the ‘Third Army,’” *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 16, no. 4 (April 1993): 581; *Keene Sentinel*, January 30, 1862.

⁷¹ Faust, 7-10; N. Currier, *Death of Washington, Dec. 14. A.D. 1799*, between 1835 and 1856, lithograph, hand-colored, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, <https://www.loc.gov/item/91794998/>. Find

Soldiers carried these beliefs into battle and attempted to recreate the elements of a Good Death on the battlefield and in hospitals. They had to consider how to approach and



endure their

Figure 5. "Death of Washington, Dec. 14. A.D. 1799," hand-colored lithograph

own last moments, and do the work of separating themselves emotionally from fallen comrades. They carried pictures of their families into battle so that loved ones would be with them should they fall. They felt a sacred duty to record last words of dying comrades, and wrote condolence letters to families of slain comrades with detailed descriptions of dying moments and last words. The *Keene Sentinel* printed the letter Silas Black's regimental chaplain sent to Black's widowed mother and sister. In it, he drew directly on Good Death themes, writing:

"One of his comrades has today been telling me of your son's affectionate words with regards to yourself and your daughter. His duties here his Captain has told me, have been done to the best of his ability. . . . It seems peculiarly severe to have the widowed mother left

details of Washington's last day at "Dec. 14, 1799: The Excruciating Final Hours of President George Washington," PBS NewsHour, December 14, 2014, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/dec-14-1799-excruciating-final-hours-president-george-washington>.

*without a son, and the fatherless daughter without a brother. . . . May you be comforted by the firm belief that your present affliction, though now not joyous but grievous, shall hereafter work out for you a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.”*⁷²

Edward Taft’s company captain wrote of Taft’s fine character in his letter to Taft’s father, “He was a noble man, a good soldier and fought bravely to the last.”⁷³

On the home front, bereaved families were desperate for evidence their loved one was “willing and ready to meet his savior.” They hoped to hear of a painless death, not for the comfort of their loved one, but to be reassured of his “calmness, resignation, and quick passage to Heaven.”⁷⁴ An excerpt from a poem by ‘Sanatosia’ in the weekly newspaper of the United States General Hospital at Alexandria, Virginia paints a picture of the hoped for peaceful passing, sad yet at peace:

*And, do I fear to die? No! Life is sweet;
But yet how glorious thus one’s life to yield.
Still, oh, how dreary, here alone, to meet
The grim death-angel on the battle-field.*

*Would you were with me, mother, sisters, now,
That I might see your dear, loved forms again.
That your soft hands might cool my fevered brow;
And your kind voices soothe away my pain.*

*I’m very weak! this pain o’ertasks my strength.
I’m fainting! -oh, we fought them long and well,
And victory shall be ours at length-at length
I’m going! -mother-comrades-all, farewell!*⁷⁵

⁷² Henry E. Parker to Silas Black’s mother, as printed in *Keene Sentinel*, January 23, 1862.

⁷³ Faust, 11, 15; Captain Tileston A. Barker to father of Edward Taft, quoted in Nelson Picnic, 50.

⁷⁴ Faust, 18, 22.

⁷⁵ Sanatosia, “Wounded,” *The Cripple*, November 19, 1864, U.S. National Library of Medicine, National Institutes of Health.

The *Keene Sentinel* described Silas Black's untroubled death, "His recovery was confidently expected until the moment of his decease. The death of young Black was announced to him, when turning over and uttering a groan he suddenly expired."⁷⁶

Faust described Bad Deaths too, for example, the execution of deserters. In a Bad Death, the best one could do was look for last minute contrition in the condemned, or voice a hope their deaths might serve as a lesson to others. No Nelson soldiers experienced bad deaths, but they would have witnessed them. Martin Haynes, regimental historian for the Second New Hampshire Infantry, expressed little emotion about the multiple executions he witnessed. In a letter to his future wife, he wrote how the two deserters arrived in wagons, sitting on their coffins. The coffins were placed before open graves and the deserters knelt to receive last rites from a priest. They removed their coats and vests, their eyes were bandaged and wrists tied with white handkerchiefs, and they sat down on their coffins, after which they were executed by a firing squad of twelve men about a dozen paces away. Haynes's one expression of feeling was, "What an awful moment it must have been for them when they heard the click of the gun-locks as the executioners cocked their pieces."⁷⁷

Killed in Battle, Died from Disease

Soldiers died in battle, and from infections resulting from battle wounds and their pre-antiseptic treatments. Five Nelson soldiers died of wounds they received, some within hours, others lingering for days. Families had the chance to travel to battlefields, but could not know

⁷⁶ *Keene Sentinel*, January 23, 1862.

⁷⁷Faust, 27; Martin A. Haynes, *A Minor War History Compiled from a Soldier Boy's Letters to "The Girl I Left Behind EM", 1861-1864*. (Lakeport, NH: Private print of Martin A. Haynes, 1916), 162-163, <http://archive.org/details/minorwarhistoryc00hayn>. Martin Haynes was part of the Second NH Infantry Company I and wrote the history of the regiment; his history was then a source for the Nelson Picnic Association booklet.

if they would be nursing a wounded man or arranging to bring a body home. George Buxton was wounded at the Battle of Cedar Mountain in August 1862 and died 22 days later. Sometimes a seemingly minor wound proved fatal. Harlan Knight wrote home after Fredericksburg, “If you see my name in the list of wounded don’t give yourself uneasiness on that account for it was nothing serious. I was near the brow of the hill and had just fired my rifle and dropped on my left elbow to load when a musket ball passed just under my head and struck me on the front of my shoulder and passed through my overcoat. . . . it only gave me a hard rap and broke the hide a little.” He was dead eleven days later, believed to be because of undetected internal injuries.⁷⁸

Soldiers commented in their letters and diaries how hard it was to witness the suffering of fallen comrades and enemies alike. Albert Taft, a Nelson soldier who survived the war, wrote of the wounded in hospitals, “Oh, ‘tis cruel to treat sick men so.” and “Passed by the hospital tents. Enough to sicken one of war.” John Burrill had to spend a night lying on the ground after a battle, “A fellow on one side of me was wounded and one behind me and my gun was hit. That was a horrible night. We laid on the battlefield till morning. We could hear the wounded groan and call for help.”⁷⁹

The Early Indicators of Later Work Levels, Disease, and Death project at the University of Chicago is a massive database of information from military service records,

⁷⁸ Faust, 8; Harlan P. Knight letter, December 15, 1862, as quoted in Richard Church, “The Civil War in Nelson” (Nelson Library Summer Forum, Nelson, NH, August 5, 2004).

⁷⁹ Albert Taft, *Diary of Albert H. Taft*, October 28, 1862 and December 23, 1862, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 48-49; John H. Burrill, *Civil War Letters of John H. Burrill, 1861-1865*, MG#185, box 1, folder 7, Historical Society of Cheshire County, Keene, NH. The collection is a typescript and the location of the original letters is unknown. John Henry Burrill was in most of the major battles of the war, and his five years of letters record one citizen-soldier’s lived experience from 1861 to 1864. Burrill was a Second New Hampshire, Company A volunteer from Fitzwilliam, a town about 20 miles south of Nelson. In the time of COVID-19, his letters are an adequate substitute for inaccessible Nelson archival sources.

medical records, and pension records of nearly 40,000 Union soldiers, linked to census data. In one study that used Early Indicator data, researchers discovered that soldiers from rural areas were twice as likely to succumb to infectious diseases as those from urban areas were. While rural soldiers had led healthier civilian lives, they were more susceptible to common diseases like measles or mumps, and were struck down when living in close proximity to others. Farmers died of disease at twice the rate of non-farmers. The Sixth New Hampshire Regiment, mustered from Keene, dealt with massive disease, at one point losing sixty men in sixty days to “malignant fever and measles.” Another time, fully 600 men were laid low by “black dysentery.” Gilman White, who lived in Nelson, fell very ill in March 1862 and obtained a furlough to come home from the hospital to Nelson “lest he should die in camp.” He got as far as Jersey City, New Jersey, where he was found in the street and taken to a hospital. He died a few hours later.⁸⁰

Nelson was rural and lost more soldiers to disease than battle each year of the war. Malnutrition, concurrent illness, “prolonged protein depletion,” scurvy, and a poor diet of salt pork, hard tack and coffee all combined to reduce a soldier’s ability to fight off infection. George Howard mustered in very late in the war, in March 1865, and joined his regiment in Georgia. Forced marches of 150 miles, camping near mosquito-laden marshes, and a bad diet caused widespread sickness. He wrote, “What do you suppose we are going to have for dinner, hard tack and ham fat; for supper, ham fat and hard tack; for breakfast, hard tack and coffee. How is that for vegetables this time of year?” Howard grew progressively weaker and

⁸⁰ Hess, Earl J., “The Early Indicators Project: Using Massive Data and Statistical Analysis to Understand the Life Cycle of Civil War Soldiers,” *Civil War History* 63, no. 4 (December 2017): 377–99, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2017.0052>; MacPherson, 301; Nelson Picnic, 46; *Peterborough Transcript*, March 22, 1862.

more ill, finally dying on the ship from Savannah bringing the regiment home. The twenty-one year old had been in the Army just four months.⁸¹

However, illness was not universal. John Osgood, born in Nelson, never missed a day of duty although he was in the war almost three years. He was part of Keene's Sixth Regiment, Company K, which reached Kentucky in late summer 1863 wracked by disease and exhaustion after weeks of battles and forced marches in Mississippi. One morning, Osgood and a friend were the only two from Company K fit for duty. Years later, the likely reason became clear. During the whole Mississippi campaign they "strained the swamp water through their bandana handkerchiefs, 'to take out the larger wrigglers', then boiled it, with a little coffee, in their tin cups, filled their canteens, and drank nothing else." They had been advised to do so by their regimental surgeon, pre-germ theory, and evidently, few in the regiment took the same advice.⁸²

In contrast, the Sixteenth New Hampshire paid a heavy toll in death from disease. Nine Nelson men enlisted in Company G in response to Lincoln's call for 300,000 men in September 1862. They were sent to Louisiana where they camped and campaigned in miserable conditions. Illness raged through the regiment. "Some became covered with burning and painful eruptions; some were yellow as saffron; some were shaking with ague, and others

562 HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH REGIMENT	
SUMMARY.	
Sixteenth New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry.	
Original Number of Officers.....	39
Enlisted Men.....	875
Total.....	914
Died of Disease.	
Officers.....	5
Enlisted Men.....	205
Drowned, Enlisted Men	3

Figure 6. Summary page from the regimental history. 3

⁸¹ Sartin, 581; Nelson Picnic, 23; Letter from George A. Howard, quoted in Nelson Picnic, 23.

⁸² Nelson Picnic, 31. It would be interesting to investigate what post-war role, if any, Sixth Regiment surgeon Dr. Sherman Cooper played in the development of germ theory.

bloated with dropsy. . . Furthermore, during most of this period, they had no surgeon or other professional medical attendant, and consequently were obliged to care for themselves as best they could.” Three of the nine soldiers from Nelson died. The death rate of the regiment, ninety-nine percent from disease, was almost ten times that of the Second New Hampshire, another regiment with many Nelson men. In their nine months of service, the Sixteenth Regiment lost 208 men to disease and three to drowning. In the same time period, not a single man was killed in battle.⁸³

Nelson lost two soldiers in prison camps, part of the nine percent of Civil War deaths that occurred in prison camps; Nelson’s two were seven percent of Nelson’s total deaths. Edward and Owen Wilson were brothers, both shoemakers who had lived in Nelson in 1860. They enlisted in a Massachusetts heavy artillery regiment and were captured in Plymouth, North Carolina in April 1864. Both died within six months.⁸⁴

To Kill Another

Dying in battle or from disease was the last part of what Faust described as the “work of death,” which was to fight, to kill, and to die. Soldiers wrote about fighting battles, and they wrote about dying and the aftermath of battle, but they rarely mentioned the actual killing. It was a strategy to help mitigate their individual responsibility for causing the death of others.⁸⁵

⁸³ Nelson Picnic, 50-53. Image is a portion of a page from Luther T. Townsend and Henry L. Johnson, *History of the Sixteenth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers* (Washington, DC: Morton T. Elliott, 1897), 562.

⁸⁴ Faust, 134. See Appendix A for details on the Wilson brothers.

⁸⁵ Faust, xiv, 5.

The act of killing itself could be sidestepped with language. The Ninth New Hampshire Company G, in their first fight at South Mountain, Maryland in August 1862, “covered themselves with glory, thanks partly to their remarkable bayonets.” They had “large sabre bayonets” which must have covered both attacker and defender with quantities of blood and gore, not just glory.⁸⁶ Similarly, the Sixteenth Regiment Vermont Infantry, to which a Nelson-born soldier belonged, took part in a charge, “The men had eyes only for what was before them. Soon they opened a savage fire. . . . into a mass of men on which every bullet took effect, and many doubtless found two or three victims. The effect upon the confederate mass was instantaneous. Its progress ceased.”⁸⁷ These vivid accounts attribute the act of killing to the bayonets and bullets, not their citizen-soldier operators.

American soldiers were mostly volunteers who knew the history of their own revolution and many knew stories of the ancient world, for example, the Spartans. Susan-Marie Grant wrote that 19th century Americans understood the codes of behavior for war and



Figure 7. Albert Taft, undated, sometime after the war.

peace, and that they “followed the scripts and took great pleasure in speaking the lines they already knew.” Albert Taft was twenty-four years old, prepping for Dartmouth College when his older brother Edward was killed. Albert, desperate to avenge his brother, immediately sent a letter to his brother’s captain. According to the *Peterborough Transcript*, “Dear Sir:

Today we received intelligence that my brother, Edward Taft, has been *murdered* by the rebels. I claim the privilege of occupying his place in your company.

⁸⁶ Nelson Picnic, 35.

⁸⁷ G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, 1886, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 11.

Will you not accept me? Captain, *I must go.*” His desperate plea to join in noble sacrifice was an embodiment of proper codes of behavior.⁸⁸

There was a problem with the classical citizen-soldier concept, however. Recruits might be steeped in history, but “being a civilian was, in fact, pretty poor preparation for becoming a soldier.”⁸⁹ Farm boys who experienced combat “crossed over the gulf of experience, leaving behind relatives and friends who could not know what had happened to them.”⁹⁰ To kill another person, they had to move past their religious training and ethical scruples. Faust wrote how soldiers were “required to numb basic human feeling at costs they may have paid for decades after the war ended.” John Burrill, from Fitzwilliam, wrote much later in life, “In a sense my four years of Army life has proved to me an injury. I learned there are some things that have been a hindrance all my life.”⁹¹

Soldiers were often unaware of the carnage during battle. The horror came later. Battle fury was real. William R. Robbins enlisted from Nelson and was in the Ninth New Hampshire, Company G for three years, taking part in many engagements. He only “saw” one

⁸⁸ Susan-Mary Grant, “The Lost Boys: Citizen-Soldiers, Disabled Veterans, and Confederate Nationalism in the Age of People’s War,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 2, no. 2 (June 2012): 237-238, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2012.0037>; Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: The Civil War in the Heart of America 1859-1863* (New York: Norton, 2004) 150-51, quoted in Grant, “Lost Boys,” 237; Albert Taft to Capt. Tileston A. Barker, May 9, 1862, as reported in the *Peterborough Transcript*, June 7, 1862; Image from “Dr Albert Hamilton Taft (1837-1906) - Find a Grave...,” accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124017384/albert-hamilton-taft>.

⁸⁹ Grant, “Lost Boys,” 242.

⁹⁰ Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997) 4, 20, quoted in Grant, “Lost Boys,” 240.

⁹¹ Faust, 60; Burrill to his parents, July 11, 1862, folder 4.

battle, being “too busy to take much notice of anything what was happening, except in his immediate vicinity.”⁹²

John Burrill fought in the Battle of White Oak Swamp, one of the Seven Days Battles that took place June 25 – July 1, 1862 at the end of McLellan’s Peninsula Campaign. On July 11, Burrill wrote his parents. “You wanted to know how we felt in the battle. I don’t know as I can tell you how I do feel. I have a dread of it at first when I know I have to go in, but when you see the wounded carried by you and hear the shouts of them that are at it, it isn’t long before you won’t think or care whether you are in it or not.” A year later his feelings were similar, “I had rather go into a fight than see the effect of it afterwards for a man in the heat of battle think nor cares for nothing but to make the enemy run.”⁹³

Battle descriptions could be terse, perhaps as a way to tamp down the horror. Albert Taft wrote of Fredericksburg, where afterwards 1,350 bodies lay in a two-acre field. He summed up the day in a few short phrases, “After breakfast . . . formed in line of battle in the field back of the city. Marched in under a dreadful fire. Fought till dark and returned to the city.” Just another day at war.⁹⁴

Soldiers found ways of dealing with their roles as killers. Right after Gettysburg in July 1863, Burrill wrote to Ell Forristall, his future wife, "It was awful. Language will not convey an ide [sic] of it." Yet, he appeared to be able to compartmentalize his battle experiences. By September, barely two months later, he wrote that "duties here are light and pleasant - more so than ever before. In addition, to myself I now have a horse to take care of."

⁹² Nelson Picnic, 40.

⁹³ Burrill to his parents, July 11, 1862, folder 4; Burrill to his parents, July 13, 1863; folder 5.

⁹⁴ Faust, 69; Taft, December 13, 1862, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 49.

And in October, speaking of re-enlisting, "I find nothing in the army that is disagreeable and repugnant to my feelings."⁹⁵

Soldiers demonstrated occasional respect for their Confederate enemies, as Burrill did when he wrote, "The Rebs have good pluck and stand fire first rate. They must have lost a good many men."⁹⁶ The terms "poor soldier" and "poor fellow" in letters home communicated a careful empathy with the plight of fallen enemies, "a public release of compassionate feelings, even toward the enemy, by emphasizing that both sides were beholden to invisible, impersonal, and uncontrollable forces."⁹⁷ Albert Taft uses the term "poor fellows" in reference to enemy graves he passes.⁹⁸

Rules of war, though abrogated in the heat of battle, held in quieter times. Lincoln's General Orders #100, commonly known as the Lieber Code, laid out the rules for the Civil War in May 1863, including how prisoners were to be treated. Manly R. Yardley was only 15 when he ran away from home in Nelson and enlisted in February 1864. Four months later, although the war was officially over, he narrowly missed being killed in Leesburg, Maryland. A guerrilla shot at him with a revolver at close range, hitting his horse, his hat, his collar and his saddle, but not his body. The guerrilla was captured quickly and the company captain offered Yardley the chance to shoot him in lieu of sending the guerrilla to Washington to be

⁹⁵ Burrill to Ell Forristall, July 6, 1863; Burrill to his parents September 13, 1863; Burrill to his parents, October 28, 1863. All in folder 5.

⁹⁶ Burrill to his parents, July 11, 1862, folder 4.

⁹⁷ Peter S. Carmichael, "Soldier-Speak," in *Weirding the War: Stories from the Civil War's Ragged Edges*, ed. Stephen Berry (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 276-77.

⁹⁸ Taft, September 20, 1862 and October 28, 1862, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 48-49.

executed. Yardley declined, saying it seemed too much like murder. There were rules about killing that he understood.⁹⁹

So Many Bodies to Bury

Killing generated bodies. Faust refers to the “pressing and grimly pragmatic problem” of what to do with all the bodies. Initially there were post-battle truces so the armies could gather their dead and wounded, but as time went on, truces were more often refused to retain a military advantage. When there was time, soldiers found and buried their fallen friends, trying their best to retain elements of a Good Death. However, rituals and care faded as deaths mounted. After Antietam on September 20, 1862, Albert Taft wrote, “Often we pass groups of mounds that mark the spot where the firing was sharpest and the brave were slain.” There simply was not enough time, people, tools, land, or coffins to conduct traditional burials.¹⁰⁰

Nelson soldiers experienced the full range of burials. Some were escorted home with honor. Silas Black, who died of disease in December 1861 on the lower Potomac, was sent home by boat to be buried in Sullivan, New Hampshire, accompanied to the boat by an honor guard of two companies of soldiers. This was early in the war when there was time and energy for such marks of respect. As the years went on, such customs fell by the wayside. In September 1864, Lucius Parker was killed at Third Winchester in Virginia, and buried in one mass grave with 33 officers and men. Minot R. Phillips was part of a burial detail after the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862. The detail dug trenches six feet wide and only three feet deep. In one, they buried 275 nameless Confederate men. There were cases where

⁹⁹ John Fabian Witt, “Civil War Historians and the Laws of War,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 2 (May 2, 2014): 159–71, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2014.0037>; Nelson Picnic, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Faust, 61, 66, 76-77; Taft, September 20, 1862, as quoted in Church, 7.

friends could not find the body of their fallen comrade. Charles H. Worth was killed during the Second New Hampshire Company B's retreat at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863. His body could not be identified and is "buried somewhere on the field." Nelson soldiers were also among those left wounded and alive on the battlefield, and never seen again. George Plummer was severely wounded at Campbell's Station in Tennessee in November 1863; his friends were unable to locate him when the battle ended. At Second Bull Run in August 1862, John Stevens was last seen mortally wounded, braced against a tree, loading his musket for one final shot. He "sleeps in an unknown grave."¹⁰¹

At the beginning of the Civil War, neither the government nor the military had any responsibility for notifying families of deaths, nor for retrieving or burying bodies. Records were kept, but solely to measure military strength. Reports were "riddled with errors and omissions" because of the overwhelming numbers to gather and report. The Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission took on the mission of family communication as the years went on, and the military paid more attention, spurred on by "the anguish of wives, parents, siblings, and children who found undocumented, unconfirmed and unrecognized loss intolerable"¹⁰²

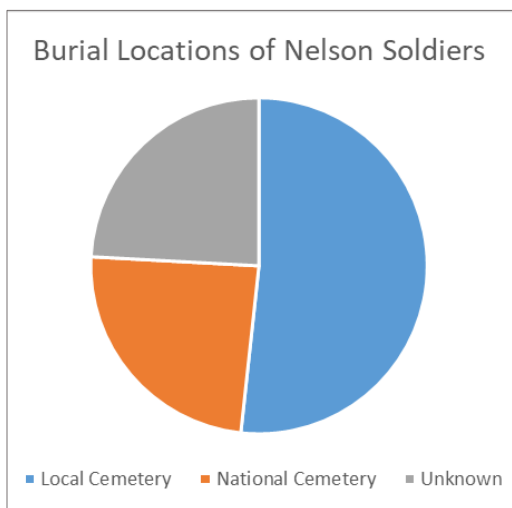
It seems most Nelson families learned the fate of their soldiers. News traveled home via letters, was shared with neighbors, and then went out again to other soldiers and friends, carrying news of friends in other regiments. George W. Osgood, in his diary on July 29, 1863, wrote of receiving a letter from Nelson with news of George G. Hardy's June 22 death of

¹⁰¹ Nelson Picnic, 19, 22, 32-34, 42, 57; "Lucius Parker (Unknown-1864) - Find a Grave..." Find a Grave. Accessed April 10, 2020. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/13771615/lucius-parker>.

¹⁰² Faust, 103, 107, 113, 135.

yellow fever in Louisiana. “He was a good citizen at home and his loss will be severely felt in our town.” Albert Taft included in his December 9, 1862 diary entry, “Read a letter from Hardy.”¹⁰³

In the early days of the war, when few casualties were expected, some Northern states covered the costs of bringing home the bodies of their fallen soldiers. At other times fellow



soldiers would pool their money to pay for the transportation. This fell by the wayside as casualties mounted. Families, however, continued to travel to battlefields to locate and arrange transport. For example, after Gettysburg, approximately fifteen hundred bodies were privately shipped to relatives.

Of the Nelson dead, over half were brought home and buried in cemeteries near family. Another quarter were buried in national cemeteries, and the last quarter lie in unknown graves.¹⁰⁴

The national cemetery system that exists today emerged during the Civil War, starting with the Soldier’s Home National Cemetery at Gettysburg, and formally established with the 1867 National Cemetery Act to establish and protect national cemeteries. After the war, there was a massive effort to locate, identify if possible, and properly inter as many Union soldiers as could be found. When the official reburial program ended in 1871, over 300,000 Union soldiers had been located and reburied. At least two Nelson soldiers were part of the reburial effort. George Hardy was first buried in the Marine Hospital in New Orleans, Louisiana, and

¹⁰³ George W. Osgood, July 29, 1863, *Diary of George W. Osgood*, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 27; Taft, December 9, 1862, as quoted in Church, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Faust, 87, 91.

then reburied in Chalmette National Cemetery in Louisiana. Owen Wilson died as a prisoner of war in October 1864 and was likely first buried behind the grandstand at the Washington Race Course and Jockey Club in Charleston, South Carolina, then reburied in the famous “Martyrs of the Race Course” cemetery built by formerly enslaved black workers. In 1880, he was reburied for the last time in his resting place in Beaufort National Cemetery, South Carolina.¹⁰⁵

Some Nelson families were hit very hard by war casualties. The Osborn family sent four brothers to war: Alphonso, Corties, Daniel and Henry. Henry was discharged for disability in less than a year. Fifteen months later, Alphonso was wounded at Deep Bottom, Virginia. A scant two months later, Corties died of disease in Hampton, Virginia. Only Daniel emerged from the war physically whole.¹⁰⁶

The Phillips family story is particularly wrenching and complicated. Reuben Phillips had six sons, five of whom went to war. When war broke out, he had been a widower for just three years. Four of his sons were well-established in Missouri, and of these, three signed for the Confederate side and the fourth, Joseph, fled to a Union regiment. The other two were still in Nelson. Reuben himself dropped dead at the Keene Post Office right after mailing a letter to his youngest son in Missouri. Three died during the war, two on the Union side and one on the Confederate side, plus a Union grandson. Of the Confederate sons, one organized a

¹⁰⁵ Faust, 100, 234, 236; David W. Blight, “Opinion | Forgetting Why We Remember,” *The New York Times*, May 29, 2011, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/30/opinion/30blight.html>; “George G Hardy (Unknown-1863) - Find A Grave...,” accessed April 26, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/132864885/george-g-hardy>; “George Granville Hardy (1816-1863) - Find A Grave...,” accessed April 26, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/96244888/george-granville-hardy>. Hardy has a cenotaph in Stoddard, NH indicating the hospital burial, and a headstone in Chalmette National Cemetery, LA.

¹⁰⁶ Nelson Picnic, 26

guerrilla company with another as his first sergeant. Two were Union POWs for a time and one was killed. In Nelson, Minot enlisted in August 1862. Five months later he died of typhoid fever after being part of a burial detail for “two days and one night” at Fredericksburg. He left behind a wife and three young children.¹⁰⁷

The Worth of Religion

Amidst all the carnage, some Nelson soldiers found comfort in religion. Albert Taft enjoyed morning and evening Sunday services, “For the evening we had a very interesting prayer meeting: six or eight rose or requested Christians to pray for them. . . . I never felt the worth of religion like I do now. What else can afford to soldier comfort and consolation.” He also drew comfort from his beliefs in reference to the fallen, “They have passed through their earthly campaign and have nothing more to fear. Death has freed them from the sad scenes which we now behold.”¹⁰⁸ George W. Osgood, another survivor, was “intensely religious and with patriotism part of his religion.” He was known for praying aloud every night, and “though some laughed at him they were careful not to do so in his presence.”¹⁰⁹

Death Created Kinship

¹⁰⁷ Nelson Picnic, 33; “Minot Reuben Phillips (1830-1863) - Find A Grave...” n.d. Find a Grave. Accessed April 10, 2020. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/102180991/minot-reuben-phillips>. Joseph S. Phillips was the brother in the Union Missouri regiment. See Appendix B for more on the Phillips brothers.

¹⁰⁸ Taft, September 21, 1862, as quoted in Church, 7. Taft, September 20, 1862, as quoted in Nelson Picnic, 48.

¹⁰⁹ Nelson Picnic, 28.

Over the years, the Civil War Dead became a “living reality,” powerful in their fearsome anonymity. They belonged to the country, not just their families, and the country needed to count them. People needed to define their shared loss, to give dimension to the sacrifice and cost of ending slavery and maintaining the Union, and to regain some measure of control after the long years of war. This need played out in little Nelson as well. The eight soldiers found on the *1860 US Census* became a kinship group of sixteen by the time the town erected a soldiers’ monument in 1876.

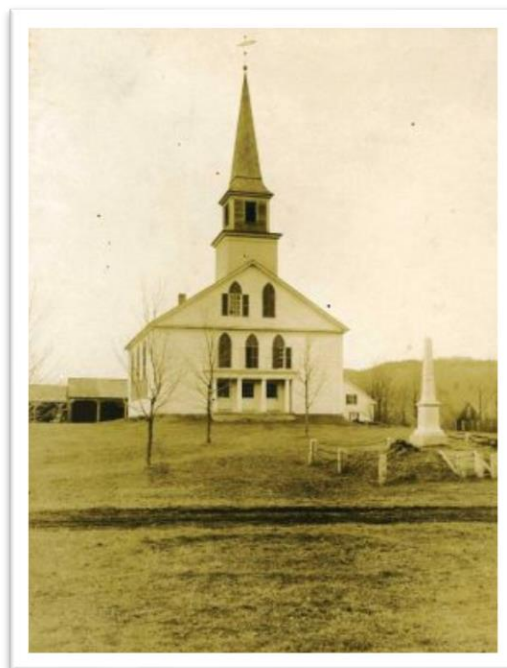


Figure 8. Nelson Church with soldier's monument in front on a mound, a pile of cannonballs to the left, and encircled with a granite post fence. Undated photo.

The monument was dedicated in a daylong ceremony in July 2, 1876, with speeches in the town common and church, including an oration by General Samuel S. Griffin, Nelson’s own Brigadier General; music; a parade to the cemetery; and dinner and more speeches in the Concert Hall. Each soldier was listed by name, regiment, “died” or “killed,” and his date of death. Heroic deaths in battle for a great cause were recognized as more purposeful than dying of disease, though both were worthy of great honor. The monument inscription:

*“Will cherish in perpetual
remembrance
The memory of her heroic Sons
who fell in the
War of the Great Rebellion
for the
Preservation of Liberty
and the
Unity of the Republic*

1861-1865”

includes what is possibly a reference to the liberty of freed slaves.¹¹⁰

By the 50th anniversary of the Civil War in 1915, the kinship group had grown to 124 soldiers, with an expanded definition to include those “born or sometime resident in Nelson.”¹¹¹ Such kinship groups grew in other towns also, reflecting how men had ties to multiple communities. George Hardy was included in a 2014 publication about soldiers of Stoddard, New Hampshire, an adjoining town.¹¹²



Figure 9. Dedication of the Civil War tablet, August 18, 1915 at the Nelson Picnic Association’s 37th annual gathering. The plaque is behind the American flag, waiting to be unveiled.

Those Left Behind

What was the “rest of the story” for the grieving families of our eight deceased soldiers who had lived in Nelson in 1860? Most had to adjust to life without a primary provider. The government provided pensions for widows, and for mothers or fathers of

¹¹⁰ *Peterborough Transcript*, July 6, 1876; Marshall, 11.

¹¹¹ Nelson Picnic, 5.

¹¹² Alan F. Rumrill, *Five Days in August: Stoddard, New Hampshire in the Civil War* (printed by the author, 2014).

unmarried sons who had been primary providers for their families. These helped. Listed in order of their bereavement:¹¹³

- Gilman White, 21, was unmarried. He had been a primary wage supporter for his family after his father died in a wagon accident in 1861. His mother filed for a mother's pension.
- John Stevens was only 19 when he was killed. He left behind a mother and three siblings.
- Caroline, widow of Minot Phillips, was left with five children under nine, the youngest less than a month old. Before Minot left for war, their 158-acre farm included seven cows and twenty-three sheep. The year he died, the farm was reduced to just two cows and no sheep. Although she received a pension, within another year, Caroline had sold much of the farm's acreage. The year after that, their youngest daughter died, only 2½ years old. Caroline remarried four years after Minot's death.
- George Hardy left behind a widow, Mary, and four minor children, plus a 330-acre farm with nine cows and eighty-three sheep. Her widow's pension was approved within seven months, but life without George was hard. A year after his death, like Caroline Minot, Mary had only two cows and the sheep were gone. Mary herself died in 1870, and guardianship of her minor children passed to a relative.

¹¹³ See Appendix A text and notes for details and sources of information on the surviving families. In addition to those sources, see *Town of Nelson Tax Records*, Nelson Archives, Nelson, NH, as quoted in Church, 18. I am sure there is more information to be unearthed in the Nelson Archives.

- Washington Bancroft was still living at home at age 29, working in a clothespin factory. He left behind his parents and four younger siblings.
- Delia, widow of Edward Wilson, had four children to care for, including a toddler. She died only four years after Edward, orphaning their children.
- Mary, widow of Owen Wilson, raised their two young children, never remarried, and lived another fifty years.
- George Howard's father had died just as war broke out and young George was a primary supporter for his mother and siblings. His mother received a widow's pension until her death in 1908.

Overall, an examination of Civil War death as experienced by Nelson soldiers and families shows close alignment with current historian views on the impact of death on the country. It is remarkable how much of the national scene played out in the microcosm of Nelson, population just 669. Nelson's experiences aligned with the Good Death beliefs, national ratios of death by battle to death from disease, the percent of deaths in prison camps, disposition of bodies, lost bodies, reburial of bodies in national cemeteries, families torn apart by conflicting Union and Confederate loyalties, and finally, the postwar difficulties for the survivors who lost husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers.

Appendix A

Soldiers, Claimed by Nelson, Who Died in the Civil War 1861-65¹¹⁴

Orange rows indicate soldiers living in Nelson at time of the *1860 U.S. Census*. Three additional soldiers: Harlan P. Knight (#10), Charles H. Worth (#16), and Lucius Parker (#24) also were living in Nelson by the time war broke out.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
1	Dec 20, 1861	Silas L. Black 2 nd NH Co A Sullivan, born in Nelson	22	Typhoid Fever, Budd's Ferry, MD ¹¹⁵	East Sullivan Cemetery, Sullivan, NH
2	Feb 3, 1862	Sylvester C. Abbott 6 th NH Co E Dublin, born in Nelson	27	Disease, Hatteras Inlet, NC	Stevens Cemetery, Stoddard, NH
3	Feb 20, 1862	Gilman E. White 2 nd NH Co A Nelson, born in Nelson Farm Laborer Lived at home, parents and four siblings, he was fourth of five children.	21	Disease, Jersey City, NJ	Nelson Cemetery, Nelson, NH Mother filed for pension ¹¹⁶ Listed on monument ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Nelson Picnic, 5-59; "Millions of Cemetery Records." n.d. Find a Grave. Accessed March/April 2020. <https://www.findagrave.com/>; *1860 United States Census*; Martin A. Haynes, *A History of the Second Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, in the War of the Rebellion* (Lakeport, N.H., 1896), Part II, Roster, in same book, 1-125; <http://archive.org/details/historyofsecondr00hayn>; Townsend and Johnson, *History of the Sixteenth Regiment*, 489, 496; <http://archive.org/details/historyofsixteen00town>; Augustus D. Ayling, *Revised Register of the Soldiers and Sailors of New Hampshire in the War of the Rebellion. 1861-1866* (Concord, NH: Ira C. Evans, 1895), regimental rosters. <https://archive.org/details/cu31924096263128/page/xiv/mode/2up>.

¹¹⁵ *Keene Sentinel*, January 23, 1862.

¹¹⁶ *Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900*. (Washington, DC: National Archives Records Administration, n.d.). White's mother, a farmer, filed for a pension June 23, 1869. The pension file itself is not yet available online.

¹¹⁷ Nelson erected a monument in 1876 to the "memory of her heroic Sons" who died in the war. It is inscribed with sixteen names.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
4	May 5, 1862	Edward Nathan Taft 2 nd NH Co A Keene, born in Nelson	28	Killed at Battle of Williamsburg, VA	Nelson Cemetery, Nelson, NH Listed on monument
5	Aug 31, 1862	George W. Buxton ¹¹⁸ 2 nd MA Co A Lowell, MA	28	Wounded at Battle of Cedar Mountain, VA, died 22 days later.	Graniteville Cemetery, Marlborough, NH
6	Aug 29, 1862	John Stevens 1 st NH Co G, then 6 th Co E Nelson, b. Townsend, MA Farm Laborer Lived at home with mother and three siblings. John was the third of four children.	19	Killed at 2 nd Bull Run, VA	Unknown – died on battlefield No pension application found Listed on monument
7	Sept 14 or 22, 1862	Virgil I. Wheeler ¹¹⁹ 11 th US Infantry Regular Army Co B Born in Nelson	Not found	Wounds received fording the Potomac near Shepardstown, WV. Died two days later.	Not found Listed on monument

¹¹⁸ Massachusetts. Adjutant General, ed., *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, vol. I (Norwood, MA: The Norwood Press, 1931), 74, <https://archive.org/details/massachusettsoll1931mass/page/74/mode/2up>. The Nelson Picnic Association booklet lists Buxton's wounded date as his death date.

¹¹⁹ *Organization Index to Pension Files*. Wheeler's mother filed for a pension in December 1862. The pension file itself is not yet available online. Date of death on the soldiers' monument is September 14, 1862. I have not been able to verify either one. Wheeler is not listed in the *Revised Register of the Soldiers and Sailors of New Hampshire in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866* nor in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*. He was in the regular army and I have not yet found him.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
8	Oct 10, 1862	Abner W. Osgood 3 rd NH Co E Milford, born in Nelson	18	Disease, Beaufort, SC	Beaufort National Cemetery, SC
9	Dec 25, 1862	Charles B. Hanaford ¹²⁰ 40 th MA Co B Concord, MA	34	Disease, at Miner's Hill, VA.	Nelson Cemetery, Nelson, NH
10	Dec 26, 1862	Harlan Paige Knight 6 th NH Co E Nelson, born in Hancock	25	Wounds after Battle of Fredericksburg, VA; died 13 days later in Falmouth, VA.	Pine Ridge Cemetery, Hancock, NH Listed on monument
11	Jan 2, 1863	George W. Warren 6th NH Co E Peterborough, born in same	19	Diphtheria, West Philadelphia Hospital (Satterlee), PA	Not found Father filed for pension ¹²¹ Listed on monument
12	Jan 30, 1863	Minot Reuben Phillips 9 th NH Co I Nelson, born in Roxbury (abuts Nelson) Farmer Wife and five children under age nine. Caroline	32	Typhoid fever. sick three weeks, died at Aquia Creek Hospital, VA	Hillside Cemetery, Roxbury, NH Widow's pension approved 10

¹²⁰ Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. IV, 106-7, 114.
<https://archive.org/details/massachusettsso41931mass/page/114/mode/2up>; "Battle Unit Details," *The Civil War*, National Park Service US Department of the Interior, accessed April 11, 2020,
<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=UMA0040RI>. Charles Hanaford was not included in the Nelson Picnic Association booklet, but is buried in the Nelson Cemetery.

¹²¹ Application by Nahum, father of George W Warren, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and Other Veterans of the Army and Navy Who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain, compiled 1861 – 1934*, WC120984 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration), Accessed at Fold3.com (membership required). Warren's date of death is incorrect in the Nelson Picnic Association booklet.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
		remarried four years later. Brother Joseph (#19) also on Town Hall plaque			month later ¹²² Listed on monument
13	May 3, 1863	Malcolm G. Kittredge ¹²³ 2 nd MA Co G Brookline, MA	30	Killed at Chancellorsville, VA	Rural Grove Cemetery, Dover- Foxcroft, ME
14	June 21, 1863	George G. Hardy 16 th NH Co G Nelson, born in Nelson Farmer and Farm Mechanic Wife and four children, Mary died in April 1870 Hardy's brother, Frank, also served from Nelson, and survived.	46	Jaundice or yellow fever. Got ill gradually in late May, sent to the Marine Hospital in New Orleans June 1, where he died 20 days later	Chalmette National Cemetery, LA (reburial) Widow's pension approved seven months later. ¹²⁴ Listed on monument
15	June 21, 1863 or May	Nathaniel Smith ¹²⁵	44	Chronic	Pleasant View

¹²² Applications by Caroline, widow of Minot R. Phillips, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications*, (WC8786). The pension file has seventy images, covering Caroline's applications for herself, her four children after she remarried, and for reinstatement of her pension after her second husband's death.

¹²³ Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. I, 117.

¹²⁴ Applications by Mary, widow of George G. Hardy and minor children, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications* (WC 28169, WC13652, WC147636). The pension file has thirty-nine images, covering Mary's applications for herself, and a guardian's applications for three minor children after she died. Hardy's company is listed incorrectly on the soldier's monument as Co D.

¹²⁵ Application by Lucy, widow of Nathaniel Smith, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications*, (WC15586). The pension file has thirteen images. Smith's death date in primary sources is June 21, 1863, but his headstone says May 13, 1863. I'm unsure which date is correct, but inclined to go with the pension file documents.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
	13, 1863	16 th NH Co C Mason, born in Nelson		diarrhea, New Orleans, LA	Cemetery, Mason, NH
16	July 2, 1863	Charles H. Worth 2 nd NH Co B Nelson, born in Waterville, ME	26	Killed at Gettysburg	Unknown, died on battlefield Listed on monument
17	Aug 9, 1863	G. Washington Bancroft 16 th NH Co G Nelson, born in Nelson Turning (making) clothespins Lived at home with parents and 4 siblings, he was the oldest.	29	Disease, near Vicksburg, MS	Island Cemetery, Harrisville, NH (still part of Nelson in 1863) No pension application found Listed on monument
18	Sept 3, 1863	Ara (Asa?) M. Wilson ¹²⁶ 2 nd NH Co A Credited to Nelson, born in Stoddard	35	Disease, Port Lookout, MD	Arlington National Cemetery, VA Listed on monument
19	Sept 17, 1863	Joseph S. Phillips 33 rd Missouri Co E Tuscomb, MO, born in Roxbury (abuts Nelson)	43	Typhoid pneumonia or bilious fever while home on	Gott Cemetery, Ulman, MO Widow got

¹²⁶ It is unclear if Wilson's first name is Ara or Asa. He is Ara in the Picnic Association booklet and on the soldiers' monument, He is Asa in the regimental history and Arlington Cemetery directory. There is nothing in the pension file index for Asa or Ara Wilson. The mystery remains.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
		Brother Minot (#12) also on the Nelson Town Hall plaque		furlough in Tuscombia, MO.	pension. ¹²⁷
20	Nov 16, 1863	George E. Plummer ¹²⁸ 36 th MA Co D Winchendon, MA	25	Wounded and died, Campbell's Station, TN	Riverside Cemetery, Winchendon, MA
21	Jan 23, 1864	Rufus Atwood 2 nd NH Co A Keene, born in Nelson	33	Consumption, Keene	Woodland Cemetery, Keene, NH
22	Apr 28, 1864	Sylvanus J. Kenerson ¹²⁹ 9 th NH Co I Credited to Nelson, born in Rochester	27	Pneumonia, Annapolis, MD	Not found Listed on monument as Kenniston
23	May 30, 1864	Elliott J. Blodgett 6 th NH Co E Hancock, b. Weston, VT	22	Wounded in the Wilderness, VA, died 23 days later in Washington, DC	Arlington National Cemetery, VA Listed on monument
24	Sept 19,	Lucius Parker	38	Killed in battle	Winchester

¹²⁷ Application by Deborah, widow of Joseph S. Phillips, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications* (WC146331). The pension file has seventy-one images, covering Deborah Wilson's long struggle to prove Joseph's death was caused by his army service. Phillips was wounded in the arm and back at the Battle of Helena, AR, July 4, 1863, and never recovered. Of interest is that the file also includes correspondence from 1915 with Henry Melville, author of the Picnic Association booklet, seeking information on Phillips. Phillips was a brother of Minot R. Phillips, who also killed in the war.

¹²⁸ Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. III, 729, <https://archive.org/details/massachusettsso31931mass/page/720/mode/2up>.

¹²⁹ Edward O. Lord, *History of the Ninth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, 1895), <http://archive.org/details/9thregnewhamp00lordrich>. Kenerson's name is incorrect (Kenniston) on the Nelson soldiers' monument and in the Picnic Association booklet. I found Sylvanus J. Kenerson in Fold3.com's listing of the widow's pension files for his company and regiment, and matched him based on enlistment information and date/cause of death. I verified the information in the regimental history.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
	1864	14 th NH Co G Nelson, born in Nelson		Opequan, VA	National Cemetery, VA, buried with 33 men in one grave Listed on monument
25	Sept 21, 1864	Edward E. Wilson ¹³⁰ 2 nd MA Heavy Art Co H Lynn, MA, Nelson in 1860 Shoemaker Wife and four children under 14, including one toddler. Delia died in 1868.	27 or 37	Disease, POW captured April 20, 1864 at Plymouth, NC	Unknown, died Andersonville, NC Widow's pension, application for three minor children by guardian after Delia died
26	Oct 6, 1864	Owen A. Wilson ¹³¹ 2 nd MA Heavy Art Co H Lynn, MA, Nelson in 1860	36	Chronic diarrhea, POW captured April 20, 1864 at	Beaufort National Cemetery, SC (reburial from

¹³⁰ “Wilson, Edward E., Prisoner Details - The Civil War (U.S. National Park Service),” accessed April 25, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-prisoners-andersonville-detail.htm?prisonerId=C9F20AA0-2019-4729-BFA2-78B306049BD6>; 1860 United States Census; Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. V, 736, <https://archive.org/details/massachusettsol51931mass/page/736/mode/2up>; Applications by Delia, widow of Edward E. Wilson and minor children, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications* (WC70726 and WC124983). According to the 1860 Census, Edward Wilson would have died at 27, but according to the Massachusetts roster, he would have been 37. Another mystery. The Nelson Picnic Association booklet's death date for Wilson is incorrect. The pension file has thirty-one images, covering Delia Wilson's applications for herself and three minor children, plus on behalf of her children after she died.

¹³¹ “Wilson, Owen A., Prisoner Details - The Civil War (U.S. National Park Service),” accessed April 25, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-prisoners-andersonville-detail.htm?prisonerId=B166490C-1413-4D37-A1B8-E57D5B7F3835>; Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. V, 736, <https://archive.org/details/massachusettsol51931mass/page/736/mode/2up>; Application by Mary, widow of Owen A. Wilson, *Case Files of Approved Pension Application*, (WC68422). The pension file has twenty-seven images, covering Mary Wilson's applications for herself and two minor children.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
		Shoemaker Wife and two children ages 6 and 10. Lived in Lynn, MA by that time. Mary never remarried and died in 1904.		Plymouth, NC	Charleston Race Course) Widow's pension, plus two minor children.
27	Oct 30, 1864	Corties S. Osborn 13 th NH Co G Peterborough, b. Nelson	20	Disease, in Hampton, VA	Hampton National Cemetery, VA.
28	Mar 12, 1865	George T. Whitney ¹³² 35 th MA Co F Danvers, MA Whitney's brother also served from Nelson, and survived.	27	Disease, in Annapolis, MD	Woodland Cemetery, Keene, NH
29	Jun 15, 1865	Milan Wright Atwood 18 th NH Co F Credited to Nelson, born in Nelson	33	Boil on his hip, erysipelas. Had been failing for several weeks. Tenellytown, MD or maybe Georgetown, DC	Nelson Cemetery, Nelson, NH, or Arlington National Cemetery, VA Widow's pension ¹³³

¹³² Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors*, vol. III, 682, <https://archive.org/details/massachusettsso31931mass/page/682/mode/2up>. Whitney was taken prisoner September 30, 1864 at Poplar Spring Church, VA. He may have been paroled to the general hospital in Annapolis.

¹³³ Application by Amanda, widow of Milan W Atwood, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications*, (WC81658). Atwood has a headstone in the Nelson Cemetery. The pension application gives exact grave location information for a grave in Arlington National Cemetery, yet he is not in the Arlington directory. I am not sure where he is actually buried.

No.	Died	Name Regiment Town(s) Occupation in 1860 Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
					Listed on monument
30	Jul 9, 1865	George A. Howard 14 th NH Co D Credited to Keene, born in Nelson Chair factory worker Lived at home with mother and 3 siblings, the 3 rd of 4 children. Father died in an accident in 1861. George had supported his family at approximately \$10/month.	20	Congestive fever, chronic diarrhea, onboard the Steamer Constitution, anchored off Hilton Head, SC, on his way home	Hilton Head, SC Mother's pension until her death in 1908. ¹³⁴ Listed on monument

¹³⁴ Application by Josephine, mother of George A. Howard, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications*, (WC98766). The pension file has thirty-six images, covering Josephine's applications for herself and two minor children.

Appendix B

Brother Against Brother: the Six Phillips Sons

Reuben and Rebecca had ten children, including six sons: Joseph, Rufus, Washington, Judson, Minot, and Simeon. They were all born in Roxbury, New Hampshire, which had been part of Nelson (then Packersfield) until the new town was chartered in 1812. Reuben was a deacon in the Nelson Church, a prominent position, from 1829 until his death in 1861. He dropped dead in the Keene Post Office after mailing an angry letter to Simeon, his youngest son in Missouri.¹³⁵

Joseph and Minot fought on the Union side. Washington stayed home. Rufus, Simeon and Judson fought on the Confederate side. This table holds information found in a blitz research effort to answer a reader's question about what happened to the Confederate brothers. There is more to learn of this story.

ID	Died	Name Regiment Pre-war Residence ----- Pre-war Occupation Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
U1	Sept 17, 1863	Joseph S. Phillips 33 rd Missouri Co E (Union) Tuscombia, MO, born in Roxbury On Nelson plaque	43	Typhoid pneumonia or bilious fever while home on furlough in Tuscombia, MO.	Gott Cemetery, Ulman, MO Widow got pension. ¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Nelson Picnic, 33; Parke Hardy Struthers, ed., *A History of Nelson New Hampshire 1767-1967* (Keene, NH: The Sentinel Printing Company, Inc, 1968), 244; "Roxbury Is Born," *Exploring the Past in Nelson, New Hampshire* (blog), accessed May 2, 2020, <https://nelsonhistory.org/roxbury-is-born/>. The footnotes for this Appendix repeat information in earlier footnotes to make it easier to read all the Phillips brothers' information on one place.

¹³⁶ Application by Deborah, widow of Joseph S. Phillips, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications* (WC146331). The pension file has seventy-one images, covering Deborah Wilson's long struggle to prove Joseph's death was caused by his army service. Phillips was wounded in the arm and back at the Battle of Helena, AR, July 4, 1863, and never recovered. The file also includes correspondence from 1915 with Henry Melville, author of the Picnic Association booklet, seeking information on Phillips.

ID	Died	Name Regiment Pre-war Residence ----- Pre-war Occupation Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
C1	1898	J. Rufus Phillips ¹³⁷ Captain of a Guerrilla Co 8 th Battalion, MO Infantry CO D, or Captain of MO State Guard Co F, or maybe both Falkners Hill, Laclede County, MO Teacher, farmer, surveyor, merchant, founder of Phillipsburg, MO	76	Wounded in Springfield, MO. POW in St. Louis, MO October 1861 through mid- 1863, returned to Confederate army until the end of the war.	Twilight Church Cemetery Conway, Laclede County, MO
n/a	Jul 9, 1902	Washington Phillips Stayed home Nelson Farmer	76	Marlborough, NH	Island Cemetery, Harrisville, NH
C2	Jan 8, 1872	Simeon W. Phillips ¹³⁸ 3 rd Battery, MO Light	41	Wounded severely,	Twilight Church Cemetery

¹³⁷ Nelson Picnic, 33; "Laclede County, Missouri Place Names, 1928-1945, The State Historical Society of Missouri," June 24, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160624071428/http://shsmo.org/manuscripts/ramsay/ramsay_laclede.html; "Rufus Phillips (1822-1898) - Find A Grave...", accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/38011576/rufus-phillips>; "Rufus Phillips, Laclede County Secessionist," *Missouri and Ozarks History* (blog), February 6, 2015, <http://ozarks-history.blogspot.com/2015/02/rufus-phillips-laclede-county.html>; Larry Wood, "Rufus Phillips: Laclede County Secessionist," *The Rolla Daily News*, December 3, 2016, <https://www.therolladailynews.com/news/20161203/missouri-and-ozarks-history-rufus-phillips-laclede-county-secessionist>; Goodspeed Publishing Co, Ed., *History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, Missouri: From the Earliest Time to the Present*, (Chicago: John Morris Company, 1889), 473. <https://books.google.com/books?id=B9IyAQAAMAAJ>. This was a late research quest that begs for more investigation.

¹³⁸"Simeon W Phillips (1830-1872) - Find a Grave...", accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/65328312/simeon-w-phillips>; "1st Division, Right Wing, Army of Mississippi," *Confederate States Army Casualties: Lists and Narrative Reports 1861-1865*, Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed at Fold3.com, <https://www.fold3.com/image/272175075> (membership required). There are more Simeon Phillips leads to chase down in the fold3.com collections.

ID	Died	Name Regiment Pre-war Residence ----- Pre-war Occupation Family	~Age at Death	Cause of Death and Place	Burial Location Pension Info
		Artillery, or 16 th TN Regiment, Confederate Army Captured and held at Fort Monroe for a time		Perryville, KY Oct 8, 1862. Survived the war and returned home	Conway, MO
U2	Jan 30, 1863	Minot Reuben Phillips 9 th NH Co I Nelson, born in Roxbury Farmer Wife and five children under age nine. Caroline remarried four years later.	32	Typhoid fever. sick three weeks, died at Aquia Creek Hospital, VA	Hillside Cemetery, Roxbury, NH Widow's pension approved 10 month later ¹³⁹ On Nelson monument and plaque
C3	Oct 15, 1861?	A. Judson Phillips ¹⁴⁰ Falkners Hill, Laclede Cty, MO Sergeant in his brother's guerrilla company	Not found	Shot through head by US Cavalryman at Linn Creek, MO	Not found

¹³⁹ Applications by Caroline, widow of Minot R. Phillips, *Case Files of Approved Pension Applications*, (Application WC8786). The pension file has seventy images, covering Caroline's applications for herself, her four children after she remarried, and for reinstatement of her pension after her second husband's death.

¹⁴⁰ Nelson Picnic, 33; Farmcountry, "Camden-Miller-Pulaski Missouri History: The Notorious Captain Roberts! - Roberts, Bayly/Bailey, Hall, Williams Families (Camden County)," *Camden-Miller-Pulaski Missouri History* (blog), March 15, 2015, <http://southcentralmolhistory.blogspot.com/2015/03/the-notorious-captain-roberts-roberts.html>; Farmcountry, "Camden-Miller-Pulaski Missouri History: The Battle of Henrytown or Monday's Hollow," *Camden-Miller-Pulaski Missouri History* (blog), March 9, 2015, <http://southcentralmolhistory.blogspot.com/2015/03/the-battle-of-henrytown-or-mondays.html>.

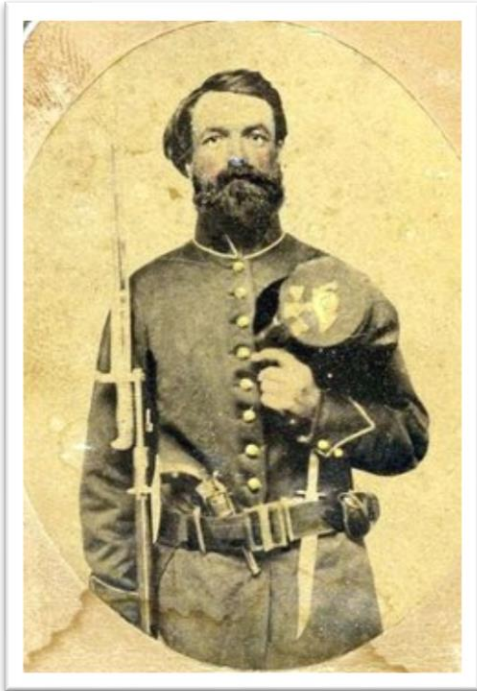


Figure 10. Minot R. Phillips in Union uniform with rifle, bayonet, pistol and knife

Appendix C

Reflections and Mysteries

What a labor of love this project became. The more I learned, the more questions I had. The more answers I found, the more fascinated I became with the process of finding the answers. COVID-19, while ejecting me from physical archives, pushed me to discover untold riches online; I am earning my stripes as a historian-detective. It was so richly satisfying to come upon a shred of information, grab hold of it, twist it and turn it through myriad Google searches, hit so many dead ends, turn around and try another permutation, all for the ultimate reward of another shred of information about a dead soldier.

Along the way, I developed a sincere appreciation for sites with well-designed search functions, the product of other labors of love by who knows how many people.

I was astounded to find so many conflicting facts, and delighted to work out who was right and who was wrong: death dates, names, graves, circumstances of deaths, etc. It was deeply satisfying to start the process of repairing the conflicts and gaps. On the ever-so-useful FindaGrave site, I connected a soldier, indexed only by last name and initials, to his parents and brothers. They are all long dead, but it still felt good. I have started reuniting the divided Phillips brothers, whether they want it or not.

I wonder where this could all lead. I never had much of a plan for the project. I had a question that interested me – how did they deal with so many bodies. In addition, I wanted the practice of working with archival materials and getting into actual archives. I ended up getting my virtual hands utterly caked in the virtual archival dust.

It has not been just the computer and me though. I recently shared the Nelson Town Archivist's delight in the impending acquisition of another Nelson soldier's Civil War diary. I

discovered another resident who has done a lot of work with locating graves. Whenever anyone asked what I was up to, I talked about my project. Several requested a chance to read drafts. It was one of my readers who set me on the trail of the Confederate Phillips brothers. Another had given a library talk on the Civil War years ago and offered me his notes, which glory be, had lots of excerpts from the diaries I could no longer access in the actual archives. His paper is now in my bibliography. I returned the favor by sending him a scanned copy of the Nelson Picnic Association booklet for his research, thanks to the Keene State Archivist. My Dad, a retired newspaper editor, sharpened his pencil and went to town on a couple of drafts – I credit him with pushing me to add subheadings. It has been a joy to share my work. My Mom and I watched the American Experience documentary based on Faust’s work; at age 85, she is still very interested in my schoolwork.

I am intrigued with how the eyes educate the brain. I was very confused by the widow’s pension files at first. However, after scanning through several sets, I began to see patterns, recognize types of documents, and know where the nuggets might be. I also knew what pieces of the story to look for and where I might find corroborating evidence.

I was surprised to find so many errors literally engraved in stone. There were errors on gravestones and even on the Nelson soldiers’ monument. I assumed they, of all objects, would be trustworthy. Then I thought about it; errors might just be too expensive to fix. Pre-telephone, pre-automobile and pre-email; it was not easy to send proofs back and forth.

It surprised me how much time citations take. I kept close track of my information and footnoted as I wrote. Nevertheless, the work to go from “pretty close” to correctly and consistently formatted was huge. Zotero was a valuable tool for gathering citation information as I roamed the Internet, especially with the Chrome add-on for automatic grabs.

Future quests

This could be the start of a franchise! I have many ideas.

The Phillips brothers could be another research project on their own. Rufus comes across in the Nelson Picnic Association booklet as a ruffian-outlaw-guerrilla. Two hours of online research the week before finishing this paper revealed a fine upstanding citizen, founder of a town named after him. It would be fascinating to dig out more. Is there anything in other New Hampshire archives on him and his brothers? How is it different from what I could find in Missouri archives? It would be interesting to analyze Northern and Southern perspectives.

I could focus on the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of the soldiers in this paper. They barely show up here, and when they do, I portray them as shattered, grieving and overwhelmed with responsibility. What was their actual story?

I could dig out the death details for the rest of the soldiers that perished from disease. The pension applications are a treasure trove of information.

I wonder what post-war role, if any, Sixth Regiment surgeon Dr. Sherman Cooper played in the development of germ theory.

This was an *1860 Census* discovery: Luke Richardson and his wife Lucy were 64 and 55 respectively at the time of the census. Two mulatto boys, John, age ten, and James, age eight, both born in Virginia, lived with them. I would like to know their story. Born free or enslaved? How did they get to Nelson?

Silas Hardy, born in Nelson, was a lawyer in Keene. His name appears in every pension file I reviewed. What a perspective on war and post-war life he must have had. It

would be interesting to investigate him.

I could investigate the postwar lives of the Nelson veterans. Is it possible to discern how they integrated back into community life? How did their experience compare with broad national patterns?

The Early Indicators Project has great possibilities for interesting research. We need to figure out how the access works. I might need to take a statistics course.

Little Mysteries

I was left with several small mysteries. Maybe someday someone will find the answers. Maybe these could be lab projects for an undergraduate class. I would start them off by giving them the Nelson Picnic Association booklet and my paper as background. Then I would send them questing: nps.gov to find regiment/company possibilities; FindaGrave.com to find gravesites; Fold3.com to see what pops up, especially pension files; google searches on the name/civil war/regiment/town to see what pops up; archive.org to find documents/books mentioned elsewhere, and so on.

Did Edward Taft's body actually come back to Nelson after he was blown in two?
How can you determine if you are looking at an actual grave or some other kind of memorial?

Did Virgil Wheeler die on September 14 or September 22, 1862?

Did Nathaniel Smith die on May 13 or June 21, 1863?

Was it Asa or Ara Wilson?

Was Edward Wilson 27 or 37 when he died?

Is there anything to learn about George Whitney as a POW?

Is Milan Atwood buried in the Nelson Cemetery or in Arlington National Cemetery?

And finally, Charles Hanaford is buried in the Nelson cemetery and there is no mention of him in any Nelson materials. What was his connection to Nelson?

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Archival Sources*

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Civil War Letters of John H. Burrill. Cheshire County Historical Society, Keene, NH.

Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900.

Washington, DC: National Archives Records Administration. Accessed at Civil War Pensions Index at Fold3.com, accessed March/April 2020, (Membership required).

*There are diaries and letters in the Nelson Archives from George G. Hardy, Harlan P. Knight, and Albert Taft, but the Archives were closed due to COVID-19.

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Chapter 3.

Graham Kaletsky

“Art and the Civil War”

The Civil War was a tumultuous time, changing both realities and perceptions of America. Society altering changes were made in the fields of Science and Medicine, the power dynamic between the state and federal governments was altered, great strides were taken towards equality, and the nation was more unified by legislation. Similarly, this era saw the dawn of recognizably American styles of art that shifted away from tradition and embraced those things that made America America. Throughout this Essay, I will be exploring the impact of the Civil War on American art styles, and the impact of that art on the American people during the Civil War. In order or to fully understand the transformation undergone by American art styles, one must first understand the American art scene prior to the war.

For roughly the first century of its existence, America had no styles of painting that were uniquely its own, discounting the style(s) signature of Native Americans. Art in America, before the 1850s looked a lot like art in Europe at the time, which was dominated by

the neoclassical style, as well as realism and romanticism.¹⁴¹ Neoclassicism is characterized primarily by its reliance on Greek and Roman styles of antiquity. It was a revival of classic art that emphasized realism and idealism. The combination of these two seemingly opposed ideas was accomplished by the use of anatomically correct figures, including proper muscle structure as well as appropriate lighting, often with great contrast between lit and darkened areas of the work, as well as implanting morals and ideas into the work that could improve the viewer for having seen it. One notable example of Neoclassicism is Jacques-Louis David's [*Leonidas at Thermopylae*](#) (1814).¹⁴²

Realism (or naturalism), as one may expect, put a great emphasis on creating images that were nearly identical to the real world. Realism had been prevalent in art since the classical period, however it was in the early to mid eighteenth hundreds when the Realist movement began. Realist art was built on the shoulders of classicism, and in fact many neoclassical paintings could be interpreted as works of realism. The primary difference between the two schools is subject matter, where Neoclassicism was typically depicting ancient events and figures, realism could encompass any facet of life. Gustav Courbet's [*The Stone Breakers*](#) (1849) is one notable example of a Realist painting.¹⁴³ Romanticism came about seemingly in response to Neoclassicism and Realism, favoring emotion and nature to realistic depictions of people and events. Romanticism's strong focus on big emotions like awe, terror, and anxiety was its defining feature and was what made it popular in an art scene

¹⁴¹ Frederick A. Sweet, "American Painting before The Civil War," *College Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1945): 190-194, <https://doi.org/10.2307/772340>.

¹⁴² Richard Lewis, Susan I. Lewis, "The Battle of the Isms," in *The Power of Art*, Boston, MA: Cengage, 2014), 345-350.

¹⁴³ Richard Lewis, Susan I. Lewis "The Battle of the Isms," 362-365.

dominated by more traditional forms of painting. One famous example of Romanticist painting is Caspar David Friedrich's [*Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*](#) (1818)¹⁴⁴

Popular art in America, predominantly, shared many of the features of neoclassical art. As Neoclassicism rose to prominence synchronous to the enlightenment, so too did America gain independence and an identity of its own in this time.¹⁴⁵ Early American art, such as John Smibert's [*Francis Brinley*](#) (1729) features the highlighted, almost illuminated figure of the subject, who is shown with exceptionally white skin, and is looking straight back at the viewer. The background is mostly close behind the subject, but also shows a view of the distance. All of these characteristics also apply to Gilbert Stuart's [*Lansdowne Portrait of George Washington*](#) (1796) with the only exception being that Washington, while also being shown in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, isn't looking back at the viewer. In Europe at this time, portraits in the neoclassical style like Jacques-Louis David's [*The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries*](#) (1812) and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres' [*Portrait of Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples*](#) (1814) were being created and gained great popularity.¹⁴⁶

John Trumble's [*The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775*](#) (1786) depicts a scene on a battlefield, soldiers form a kind of mass that makes them hard to separate at first glance. Figures are realistic looking, yet posed in dramatic ways. Light and darkness play a major role in the work, drawing the viewer's eyes away in certain directions, especially when paired with the lines that are the edges of the crowd. The primary

¹⁴⁴ Richard Lewis, Susan I. Lewis "The Battle of the Isms," 350-358.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Lewis, Susan I. Lewis "The Battle of the Isms," 361-362

¹⁴⁶ "Neoclassicism Movement Overview." The Art Story, <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/neoclassicism/>.

light source in the picture is coming from a break in the large billowy clouds. Similarly, Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851) features groups of men in small row boats, forming singular shapes onboard their vessels, the only figure truly standing out (as well as the only one clearly standing up) is Washington himself, who is, along with many of the other men on his vessel illuminated in the face, presumably by the light breaking through the clouds that distinguished the section with Washington's boat from the other boats that are bathed in shadow.

An example of a comparable European work of the time would be Jacques Louis David's *The Death of Socrates* (1787) which similarly sees sunlight bathe the primary player within the painting, being Socrates, but also the faces of nearly everyone else, despite the darkness that dominates the leftmost part of the painting. People are posed dramatically, musculature is emphasized, and a small portion of the painting shows off a slightly far-off background. At this point, the American and European art scenes are all but indistinguishable.¹⁴⁷

Neoclassicism, in the late eighteenth century, began to evolve into grand manner painting. Grand manner painting is very similar to Neoclassical painting, though it is differentiated by a few primary characteristics. Beyond the difference subject matter, Neoclassicism focusing on the past, and grand manner often (though not necessarily) focusing on the present, the most notable of these characteristics are metaphor and idealization.¹⁴⁸

Grand manner painting uses visual metaphor to draw comparison and shape the viewers

¹⁴⁷ Frederick A. Sweet, "American Painting before The Civil War," *College Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1945): 190-194, <https://doi.org/10.2307/772340>.

¹⁴⁸ "Neoclassicism Movement Overview." The Art Story, <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/neoclassicism/>.

opinion of the subject. Usually noble qualities were ascribed to these paintings' subjects. Idealization was also employed differently by artists in this style, as opposed to Neoclassicism, preferring to show the perfect version of something, or at least the most poignant, rather than attempting to copy directly from real life and instill morals through depictions of heroism and leadership. For example, classical architecture is often used in grand manner paintings to show sophistication and civility, even when none existed in the actual scene being painted.¹⁴⁹

Grand manner was initially a style used almost entirely for the genre of history painting, as it was at the top of the hierarchy of genres, determined in 16th century Italy. Eventually the grand manner style came to be used just as heavily in portraiture as well, often taking the shape of life-sized images of men and women accompanied by different devices to communicate nobility, whether they be animal pastures or gold and other wealth.¹⁵⁰ It was this grand manner of painting that was popular in America going into the civil war, and had been most successfully used to depict prior conflicts like the War of 1812 and the Mexican American War¹⁵¹

1859: John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. In just two more years The Civil War begins and changes America forever. In this time, before mass media as we know it now, art had a real place in the retelling and collective memory of events, even current ones. As such,

¹⁴⁹ Conn, Steven, and Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 60–103. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4102839>.

¹⁵⁰ Jochen Wierich, "War Spirit at Home: Lilly Martin Spencer, Domestic Painting, and Artistic Hierarchy." *Winterthur Portfolio* 37, no. 1 (2002): 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.1086/376341>.

¹⁵¹ Frederick A. Sweet, "American Painting before The Civil War," *College Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1945): 190-194, <https://doi.org/10.2307/772340>.

many painters tried to capture the Civil War for those back home not in the fight, as well as for posterity.¹⁵² Likewise, many art critics and enthusiasts were eager to see what depictions of the war would make their way back from the battlefields, many were waiting for the Civil War's version of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, in particular those in New York City, the artistic capital of the nation at the time.¹⁵³ What did make its way back, however, was often not received as well as the artists would have expected.

As Grand Manner painting was seen as the height of depicting great and important men and events, in particular those of historical note, it is the style used by many of the artists depicting the war, especially toward the start of the conflict. Both artists and critics expected to see these grand manner works; however, they weren't nearly as popular as had been in wars past.¹⁵⁴ This lack of interest in grand manner paintings is due to a number of factors. Photography was becoming more and more readily available, not only to use as a tool of recording visual experience, but also as a form of art to view in galleries alongside paintings.¹⁵⁵ The ability of the photograph to fully convey the details of a scene and show it as it had happened left the viewer without the need for portraits of generals, or scenes of battlefields. [James Hope's *The Army of the Potomac*](#) (1865), while being impressive in size

¹⁵² Steven Conn, Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 60–103, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4102839>.

¹⁵³ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 3-5.

¹⁵⁴ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 5-10.

¹⁵⁵ US History Scene. "Photography and History." <https://ushistoryscene.com/article/civil-war-photography/>.

and scope, displaying hundreds of tents across rolling hills, it just couldn't compare to actual photographic images of the same or similar scenes.¹⁵⁶

Another reason for the lack of interest in grand manner works is the nature of the conflict. It being a *civil* war, brother was pit against brother, American against American. Depictions of the slaughter of Americans, bodies and viscera laying in the grass, and landscapes rendered unrecognizable by war wasn't something that the American public wanted to see. Whether dressed in blue or gray, these were people who had so recently been the viewers countrymen, and seeing the devastation on canvas was an unnecessary reminder of the loss that so many were experiencing at the time.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps though, the public would have been more able to handle the sight of so much death if the artists were better positioned to give some greater meaning to their death through visual metaphor. The unclear nature of the war's purpose, however, left artists unable to make martyrs or even offer much solace to those who viewed the works.¹⁵⁸

The art failed at showing the viewer fallen heroes of a just war, but rather just showed bodies in uniforms. James Walker's [*Battle of Chickamauga*](#) (1863) the viewer must look closely to see dead soldiers, this partly because of the sheer number of soldiers on the canvas, and also because by 1863 artists had learned that in order to sell their paintings, they couldn't

¹⁵⁶ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 6-8.

¹⁵⁷ Steven Conn, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures so Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41, no. 4 (2002): 17-42.

¹⁵⁸ Eric Foner, "The Civil War and the Story of American Freedom." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 8-101. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4102836>.

display too much death.¹⁵⁹ Lastly, the painters were often just as uninformed as the public. News was slow, and important victories and losses were hard to pick out amongst all the battles fought, as were war heroes hard to determine. Without being informed painters were often left to make guesses and assumptions about who and what should be painted and would be of interest once it had been completed and displayed.¹⁶⁰

In 1851 Frederick Scott Archer invented the collodion process, allowing a photograph to be taken with just seconds of light exposure.¹⁶¹ This was revolutionary in not just the realm of art, but in many other arenas, most relevant to this paper being journalism. Such an advancement in technology and art gave rise to many theories and ideas about photography. Some people at the time believed that photography was such a clear step up from and successor to painting, that it would ultimately replace painting altogether. Some saw photography as objective truth, and therefore thought of painting as a lesser fictionalized version of events.¹⁶² These thoughts, paired with the failings of grand manner painting to capture the war in a way that was engaging and desirable to the viewer, created a space for photography to take the reins in being the people's choice of depiction of the war. The public would see images of war generals and see not an interpretation, not a larger than life representation, but the actual general. They would see images of the dead on the battlefield and not see nondescript nameless bodies, but actual people with lives and families. Viewers

¹⁵⁹ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 14-15.

¹⁶⁰ Steven Conn, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures so Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41, no. 4 (2002): 17-42.

¹⁶¹ US History Scene. "Photography and History." <https://ushistoryscene.com/article/civil-war-photography/>.

¹⁶² Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 73-74.

would lose themselves in these pictures, staring into the eyes of the dead, actual dead men who fell on the field of battle. People noted that they looked just like living, but empty or hollow, like there was nothing behind their cold white eyes.¹⁶³

While paintings of the dead were commercial failures, and usually critical ones as well, photographs could take the same image and make it captivating because people saw it as truth.¹⁶⁴ The success of photography in this regard was probably in large part due to the newness and therefore the novelty of photography. If photography had become easily available to view and create in a time of peace, it is unlikely that in the next war people would be as interested in seeing photographs of dead bodies. What is interesting about people's perceptions of photographs as true-to-life representations, was that they were displayed far more often in art galleries and exhibitions than they were in newspapers or other sources of news of the war.¹⁶⁵ The uncanny ability of photography to captivate the masses with images so similar to the paintings of the time, and to do it in galleries, in the domain of the artist, was the foundation for a strained relationship between the two styles. Photographers were seen by some artists as moving in on their turf, taking money from their coffers. Often these artists were more traditional and painted in the neoclassical style and/or grand manner and were

¹⁶³ "The Civil War and American Art." SAAM Podcasts - The Civil War and American Art, with Curator Eleanor Jones Harvey, n.d. https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL7gn_68Hr4h9KzVIeuI0MeMQwK47qKZFi.

¹⁶⁴ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 76-83.

¹⁶⁵ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 74.

actually seeing monetary fallout from the success of photography among art enthusiasts and fans.¹⁶⁶

Photographers of the time no doubt thought of themselves as working within a space in the field of art, though they didn't share the contentions of their painting counterparts, in fact, as artists themselves, many of them were fans of paintings and painters of the time.¹⁶⁷ One of the most notable photographers of the war, George N. Barnard, was inspired by art and was clearly influenced by contemporary art, and even deliberately would evoke paintings of the time. Barnard's photograph, [*Atlanta, Ga. Gen. William T. Sherman on horseback at Federal Fort No. 7*](#) (1864) is in the grand manner, like much of the war-time art in America and Europe before and at the start of the Civil War. Barnard's [*Chattanooga Valley from Lookout Mountain No. 2*](#) (1866) is specifically trying to evoke Thomas Cole's [*View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a thunderstorm \(or The Oxbow\)*](#). (1836)¹⁶⁸ Further evidence that many if not most photographers of the time considered themselves artists is that while the public thought of photographs as irrefutable record, photographs wouldn't refrain from positioning people and planting elements within the frame for the purposes of aesthetics. Barnard was known to position people in the backgrounds of his shots to maintain balance across the frame.¹⁶⁹ Barnard also, along with other photographers of the time, would compile their photos into albums to be sold, but what is

¹⁶⁶ Glenn McNatt, "Photography and Painting Influence Each Other." Baltimore Sun, 1998. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-1998-02-15-1998046086-story.html>.

¹⁶⁷ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 73-75.

¹⁶⁸ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 98-104.

¹⁶⁹ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 99-100.

interesting and telling about how photographers saw themselves, as well as how consumers saw them is that these albums were called photographic sketch books, clearly signaling that these photographs were grouping themselves in with their contemporary painters and illustrators.¹⁷⁰ Gardner was a fan, especially of the newly established Hudson River School style of art (which will be discussed in detail in shortly), and often evoked the style in his own work.¹⁷¹

Not only did photography borrow style and inspiration from traditional art, but painting also was influenced by photography, though not in the same way. While photographers were emulating their favorite artists and styles, some painters were making a conscious effort to paint in a style that was different from popular photography.¹⁷² As grand manner photographs came into style, they faded from painting, as gruesome battlefield photographs were gaining popularity, painters depicted them less and less. Winslow Homer, one of the most notable artists of the time, (who will be discussed later on) was moved by the harsh and brutal photographs of the war and the maimed bodies of the soldiers to create images that highlighted the humanity of the soldiers and evoke feelings of empathy in the viewer.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 92-97.

¹⁷¹ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 98-100.

¹⁷² Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 110.

¹⁷³ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 110.

Photography and paintings relationship, while having its ups and downs for painters, ultimately proved to be a mutually beneficial one. While art laid the foundation for photography as an art form, as well as the styles that photography borrowed from, the popularity of that photography enhanced the popularity of art of the same style. As Gardner took and displayed photographs in the Hudson River School style, Hudson River School artists saw their art growing more and more popular among art buyers and the general public.¹⁷⁴

As grand manner was falling out of style, in part due to the success of photography, other artists utilized their own styles to fill the void left by its failure. Winslow Homer is the most notable of these artists, and the most successful, both at the time and as an influence of the art to come.¹⁷⁵ Thomas Cole and the artists of the Hudson River school also championed a change in how war could be depicted and understood.¹⁷⁶ Frederic Edwin Church, Coles pupil, and a second generation of Hudson River school artists lead a charge of artists to the west, as well as laying a foundation for luminism.¹⁷⁷ All of these were important events in figures that directly affected American Art styles from this point on. I will outline them all and the effect they had in the following paragraphs.

Thomas Cole was a fledgling landscape painter from England in the early 19th century when he ventured up the Hudson River via steamship. He stopped at West Point, New York

¹⁷⁴ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 110.

¹⁷⁵ Harvard Gazette. "Winslow Homer's Civil War," April 9, 2012. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/winslow-homers-civil-war/>.

¹⁷⁶ Hermann W Williams, "Painting." *Archives of American Art Journal* 9, no. 3 (1971): 11–18.

¹⁷⁷ Richard Lewis, and Susan I. Lewis, "The Battle of the Isms: Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Realism." In *The Power of Art*, 3rd ed., 342–367. Boston, MA: Cengage, 2014.

before arriving at the Catskill Mountains and continuing his adventure, hiking through them. Inspired by the area's fall foliage, Cole painted the first landscapes of the area,¹⁷⁸ including [*View Near Catskill*](#) (1928-1929). Cole continued to paint this area, gaining renown, and even followers in the art community.¹⁷⁹ This was the birth of The Hudson River School, one of the first truly American styles of painting, despite being founded by a Brit.

The Hudson River School, deals primarily with depicting nature, and focuses on a few themes including discovery and exploration, the harmony of man and nature, and nature as a reflection of god (though this theme is depicted to different degrees depending on the artist).¹⁸⁰ Artists of this school also would depict nature as detailed and realistic, sometimes even heightening the realism to the point of idealism.¹⁸¹ Cole's [*A View of the Two Lakes and Mountain House, Catskill Mountains, Morning*](#) (1844) illustrates many of these points, like the harmony of man and nature and the heightening of the realism to the point of idealism. Cole's series, [*The Voyage of Life*](#) (1842), in particular the entries [*Childhood*](#) and [*Old Age*](#) depict beautiful natural scenes featuring a man journeying down a river (meant to symbolize the journey of life), led by an angel, showing nature's reflection of god. Besides Cole, the most influential and important artists of the Hudson River School were Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Edwin Church. Other prominent artists of the school included Julie Hart Beers, Asher Brown Durand, Thomas Hill, and Thomas Moran.

¹⁷⁸ Hamilton Auction Gallery. "THOMAS COLE." <http://hamiltonauctiongalleries.com/Cole.htm>.

¹⁷⁹ Hamilton Auction Gallery. "THOMAS COLE." <http://hamiltonauctiongalleries.com/Cole.htm>.

¹⁸⁰ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 17-71.

¹⁸¹ Richard Lewis, Susan I. Lewis, "The Battle of the Isms," in *The Power of Art*, Boston, MA: Cengage, 2014), 361-362.

After Cole's death in 1848, a second generation rose to prominence. This is when Bierstadt and Church rose to near celebrity even outside of the art community.¹⁸² The artists moved away from the Hudson River across America, depicting the untamed west, as well as areas of the south in addition to the north east.¹⁸³ These artists would often trek into the wilderness to find beauty and inspiration at its source, some even considered themselves scientific documentarians, depicting the wonders of the untamed wilderness for posterity. Examples of this include Frederic Edwin Church's [*Niagara Falls*](#) (1857), and [*Albert Bierstadt's Mount Saint Helens, Columbia River, Oregon*](#) (unkown, likely 1860s). Most of these works were painted "en plainne aire," or outside. These artists used the landscapes to show more than just the beauty of America.

Through the use of associationism, coded messages were woven into the scenes, and the people of America, generally (especially after the start of the Civil War), were able to decode and understand these messages.¹⁸⁴ Rough waters, storms, and even volcanoes were used to show unrest, tension, and a greater disquiet soon coming.¹⁸⁵ Albert Bierstadt's [*Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mount Rosalie*](#) (1866), provides a great example of associationism at work. The Storm is rolling in over a serene landscape, much as the war had just begun to roll in across the country, and the storm cloud blocks the sun, creating darkness in its wake, much as the war leaves man, family, and landscape in a much darker state. One

¹⁸² Kevin J. Avery, "Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900)." The Met's Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/chur/hd_chur.htm.

¹⁸³ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 17-62.

¹⁸⁴ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 17-19.

¹⁸⁵ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 19-23.

of the most notable aspects of the style was the incredible use of light by these artists. The stark differences between areas of paintings bathed in heavenly light, and those areas consumed by darkness clearly illustrated to viewers the light and dark of the day.¹⁸⁶ It was this particular use of light that led to the next movement in American art, being luminism.

Luminism, a style of landscape painting, is (obviously) primarily characterized by its use of light, though other signatures are the concealment of brush strokes, and a sense of calm.¹⁸⁷ These paintings often featured reflective water or hazy skies for the light to play with.¹⁸⁸ These paintings were also often quite large to allow the viewer to fully immerse themselves in the landscape before them.¹⁸⁹ Martin Johnson Heade's [*Thunder Storm on Narragansett Bay*](#) (1868) makes great use of light, getting darker and more hazy the further right and into the background the viewer looks, illustrating that the storm is coming and even what direction it is approaching from. It is also quite large, at 32 ½ inches by 54 ½ inches.¹⁹⁰ It is important to note that the term luminism wasn't coined until the mid 20th century, and the artists of this style, though distinct, didn't think of themselves as luminists, more-so they would have considered themselves followers of the Hudson River School.¹⁹¹ Other Luminists beyond Church and Bierstadt include Worthington Whittredge and Jasper Cropsey.

¹⁸⁶ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 27-29.

¹⁸⁷ *The Art Story*. "Luminism Movement Overview." <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/luminism/>.

¹⁸⁸ *The Art Story*. "Luminism Movement Overview." <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/luminism/>.

¹⁸⁹ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 17-71.

¹⁹⁰ J. Gray Sweeney, "A 'Very Peculiar' Picture: Martin J. Heade's Thunderstorm over Narragansett Bay," *Archives of American Art Journal* 28, no. 4 (January 1, 1988): 2-14. <https://doi.org/10.1086/aaa.28.4.1557614>.

¹⁹¹ *The Art Story*. "Luminism Movement Overview." <https://www.theartstory.org/movement/luminism/>.

Landscapes offered these artists and more a way to comment on the war in an abstract way, a way that allowed them to avoid death, highlighting specific events, and even politics, making these paintings accessible and enjoyable by those on both sides of the conflict.¹⁹² These works could even compete with photography, which while being a better carrier for information and depictions of faces, had nothing on these paintings' use of color, light, and idealized vistas.¹⁹³ It was commonly agreed, by the end of the war, that landscapes had picked up the slack and succeeded where the grand manner had failed.¹⁹⁴ These Hudson River school landscapes, the first truly American style of painting, was gaining such popularity in America, commenting on war and otherwise, that at the last large scale Sanitary fair (a fair to raise money for the sanitary commission) in Chicago after the end of the war, there were only three history paintings showcased, none of which depicted the Civil War. The genre of painting that was most abundant as well as most popular at this fair and others like it was that of landscape.¹⁹⁵

An artist who became an influencer outside of the Hudson River school, was Winslow Homer, who is remembered today as one of the most notable artists in America at the time of the Civil War.¹⁹⁶ Winslow Homer's art took on exceptional meaning and importance to many as it showed not just soldiers or battlefields, but a human element that was absent in prior war-

¹⁹² Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 17-71.

¹⁹³ McNatt, Glenn. "Photography and Painting Influence Each Other." *baltimoresun.com*. Accessed March 22, 2020. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-1998-02-15-1998046086-story.html>.

¹⁹⁴ "A New School of Art." *New York Times* (1870) <http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1870/12/12/83480872.html>.

¹⁹⁵ American Battlefield Trust. "The Civil War and American Art," April 12, 2013. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-and-american-art>.

¹⁹⁶ Harvard Gazette. "Winslow Homer's Civil War," April 9, 2012. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/winslow-homers-civil-war/>.

time art like classical and grand manner pieces. Homer worked as a sketch artist for Harper's Weekly when the war began. Not long into the war, Harper's sent him into the field to follow a regiment and sketch what he saw. From 1861 to 1865 he was placed in the 5th New York Infantry Regiment under the command of Abram Duryee¹⁹⁷ (also known as Duryee's Zouaves)¹⁹⁸, where he would make sketches on and off the battlefield of the events that he would see.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps his best known work from this period of his career is his [*The Army of the Potomac: a sharp-shooter on picket duty*](#) from Harper's Weekly, Nov. 15, 1862, p. 724. It is an interesting detail of his life, considering that his later independent work in depicting the Civil War was almost an evolution of the political cartoon (though with the tongue decidedly removed from the cheek.)

Homer, throughout the war, never painted a dead soldier, nor did he depict battles as heroic.²⁰⁰ Homer saw the war as grizzly, awful, and depressing, and dedicated his depictions of the war to showcasing the lives and out of combat activities of soldiers to create a sense of empathy, and even nostalgia for a time before the war had infected the lives of so many Americans.²⁰¹ This isn't to say that he shied away from the harsh realities of war, but rather took a more subtle and emotional approach to the subject matter. His style of presenting the civil war could best be summed up with two paintings of his; [*Pitching Quoits*](#) (1865) and [*The*](#)

¹⁹⁷ "Winslow Homer's Civil War Reporting for Harper's Weekly." <http://www.masshist.org/beehiveblog/2017/07/winslow-homers-civil-war-reporting-for-harpers-weekly/>.

¹⁹⁸ "Winslow Homer's Civil War Reporting for Harper's Weekly." <http://www.masshist.org/beehiveblog/2017/07/winslow-homers-civil-war-reporting-for-harpers-weekly/>.

¹⁹⁹ "Winslow Homer's Civil War Reporting for Harper's Weekly." <http://www.masshist.org/beehiveblog/2017/07/winslow-homers-civil-war-reporting-for-harpers-weekly/>.

²⁰⁰ Harvard Gazette. "Winslow Homer's Civil War," April 9, 2012. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/winslow-homers-civil-war/>.

²⁰¹ Harvard Gazette. "Winslow Homer's Civil War," April 9, 2012. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/winslow-homers-civil-war/>.

Brush Harrow (1865). Both of these paintings came out in the same year, but depict very different realities of the war. *Pitching Quoits* depicts Zouaves from the New York 5th enjoying a game of horseshoes in camp, however, what modern viewers may not realize is that most of these men were killed in Manassas in 1862, 3 years before the paintings exhibition.²⁰² The dichotomy of the pleasant sight of men enjoying themselves together, and the knowledge that these men died soon after in battle is intended to still emotion in the viewer and to evoke feelings about the loss of life in the Civil war and that all of these men dying were real people with lives off the battlefield.

The other painting, *The Brush Harrow* is much less direct, but no less poignant. It depicts two young boys working in the field with a “U.S.” branded horse drawing a harrow.²⁰³ At first glance this may not seem like a commentary on the civil war, but it very much is. The horses brand indicates that it has seen the war, and has since been discharged and now works fields for its owner. What is really striking though, is what is absent from this picture, being an adult. The boys here have apparently lost their father, and even without the horse there to direct the viewer to that fact, it would be a safe assumption given that it was 1865.²⁰⁴ Absence in general was a common theme in art, but also in life toward the end of the war and the years following.²⁰⁵ Even those who lived far from any battlefields, even those who didn’t serve, still felt the loss. Many men; fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers didn’t return home,

²⁰² Harvard Gazette. “Winslow Homer’s Civil War,” April 9, 2012. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/winslow-homers-civil-war/>.

²⁰³ Harvard. “Clarity on Homer’s Brush Harrow.” Harvard Art Museums. <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/article/clarity-on-homer-s-em-brush-harrow-em>.

²⁰⁴ Harvard. “Clarity on Homer’s Brush Harrow.” Harvard Art Museums. <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/article/clarity-on-homer-s-em-brush-harrow-em>.

²⁰⁵ Williams, Hermann W. “Painting.” *Archives of American Art Journal* 9, no. 3 (1971): 11–18.

and even after the shock, even after the grief, so many families were still wounded, forced to acknowledge their losses in their day-to-day life when they picked up the slack left by the loss.²⁰⁶ This is the sentiment Homer was imparting in *The Brush Harrow*.

The Civil War was not one that the American people wanted to celebrate, especially as it was being fought.²⁰⁷ As has already been explored, people rejected the traditional artistic styles used to depict wars and their major players, however, people still needed an outlet. As art tastes were shifting from European styles, and beginning to focus on the new American styles, a space was created, a void that would need filling in the popular culture of the time. An outlet was needed for the shared anxieties, anger, fear, and uncertainty of the American populace that didn't directly depict the deaths of American soldiers on either side, torn up and destroyed landscapes and cities, or the government officials.²⁰⁸ This space was taken advantage of by the landscape artists of the time who would incorporate oblique references to the emotions that pervaded the zeitgeist.

One of the most direct references to war anxieties in art was Frederic Edwin Church's [*Cotopaxi*](#) (1862). There are obvious connections between this painting and war-time despair, like the dark color pallet making heavy use of reds and oranges, or the dark cloud that covers most of the sky, but leaves just enough visible for the viewer to see a that when the smoke

²⁰⁶ Steven Conn, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures so Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41, no. 4 (2002): 17–42.

²⁰⁷ Steven Conn, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures so Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41, no. 4 (2002): 17–42.

²⁰⁸ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 1-15.

clears there will be a bright and beautiful day remaining.²⁰⁹ But the most direct connection, that many at the time would have recognized, is the volcano itself. A volcano is a miasma of potential destruction. It produces unpleasant heat, unpleasant aromas, and stands over everything it could destroy at any moment. These factors make it seem a very apt comparison to the civil war for numerous reasons, however, it wasn't Church's comparison. The painting is directly referencing an 1861 speech by Frederick Douglas titled "The American Apocalypse" in which Douglas said the following line; "Slavery is felt to be a moral volcano, a burning lake, a hell on earth, the smoke and stench of whose torments ascend upward forever."²¹⁰²¹¹ Paintings like *Cotopaxi* and others gave a voice to those whose worries were being illustrated.

While Speakers like Frederick Douglas and literature like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were changing people's perception of race, art was doing much the same thing, sometimes even directly referencing that literature. One Notable example is Robert S. [*Duncanson's Uncle Tom and Little Eva*](#) (1853). This piece was commissioned by a Reverend Francis Conover, who was an abolitionist. His goal in commissioning the art was not just to have an image displayed that would promote a non-racist sentiment, but also to support Duncanson himself, who was mixed race.²¹² Duncanson also recreated an image from a June 1848 issue of *Graham's Magazine* called *View of Cincinnati, Ohio*, naming his recreation [*View of Cincinnati*](#)

²⁰⁹ "Church's Painting 'Cotopaxi,' and the Civil War." *The Hudson River Valley Institute*, March 6, 2017. <https://hudsonrivervalley.wordpress.com/2017/03/06/churchs-painting-cotopaxi-and-the-civil-war/>.

²¹⁰ "Church's Painting 'Cotopaxi,' and the Civil War." *The Hudson River Valley Institute*, March 6, 2017. <https://hudsonrivervalley.wordpress.com/2017/03/06/churchs-painting-cotopaxi-and-the-civil-war/>.

²¹¹ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 43-45.

²¹² Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 178.

[*from Covington, KY*](#) (1851). In recreating the Image, Duncanson changed the group of people in the foreground from white to black changing the image from being a comment on the industrious nature of the whites, to a comment on slave labor. Ohio was a free state and this view which is, as Duncan specified, from Kentucky (a slave state) so there was also a feeling evoked of the hope that Ohio must have provided to those slaves near its borders.²¹³

Thomas Waterman Wood, an artist from Vermont, was in Tennessee when he painted [*Southern Cornfields*](#) (1861). This painting uses symbolism to convey a message about the underground railroad. The two leftmost men in the image are walking deeper into the cornfield, following a stream of water (rivers and streams were frequently used by the underground railroad to hide tracks), and one can assume they are fleeing the plantation under cover of the corn. The man to the furthest right is offering a gourd of water to drink from. The drinking gourd is the name slaves used for the constellation the big dipper, which was used to guide them north, so effectively the man is offering to guide them to freedom.²¹⁴

Eastman Johnson was raised in a northern democrat home in Maine, but when Uncle Tom's Cabin came out, Eastman found himself a firm supporter of abolitionism. After his mother died, he moved back in with his father and siblings in his family's new home in Washington DC. He lived there long enough to witness his father courting his future second wife, Mary Washington James, a descendant of George Washington and a holder of three slaves. Johnson, finding it difficult to come to terms with his father's acceptance of keeping slaves, painted George Washington's former home, Mount Vernon. While most paintings of

²¹³ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 181.

²¹⁴ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 182.

the estate were of the front of the house, Johnson's, [*The Old Mount Vernon*](#) (1857) was of the side and included the slave quarters. This angle forced the viewer to consider that the beauty and majesty of the main building would not be possible to maintain without the labor of these slaves. It was an indictment of George Washington's slave holding, his father's acceptance of slave holding, and slave holding in general.²¹⁵

Johnson's 1859 work, [*Negro Life at the South*](#) (1859), both established his career and put the issue of slavery at the forefront of the New York art scene. The deteriorating home was seen by many as a comment on the deteriorating of the institution of slavery. The dark skinned woman with the lighter skinned baby in the second floor window, as well as the light skinned woman below them (who we are meant to assume is of mixed race) both are meant to comment on miscegeny. The most interesting of the many small scenes depicted here, though, is the white woman on the right side of the painting. As she enters the yard of the slave quarters, nobody is reacting with surprise, in fact the only people reacting at all are the little girl near her, and the dog, both of whom are beckoning the woman to fully enter the scene. This implies that her visits are not uncommon. The woman, however, has her gaze fixed on the mixed race girl on the left. The reader is meant to understand that the white woman is also of mixed race and the product of miscegeny, but is fairer skinned and able to pass for white. Readers who were willing and able to interpret the piece had to face the reality that many slave holders would impregnate their slaves and then enslave their own offspring.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 183-186.

²¹⁶ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 186-192.

Thomas Moran's painting [*Slave Hunt, Dismal Swamp, Virginia*](#) (1862), depicts a slave family trying to outrun a slave hunter. The scene is of a slave man, woman, and child, being chased by two dogs, having just been forced to kill a third, while a slave hunter trails behind. The inclusion of the small child suggests that Moran intended the audience to take the side of the slaves, but this painting's message is more about the swamp. The Dismal Swamp, which was situated on the border of Virginia and North Carolina, was between many southern slaves and freedom. It was not an easy landscape to cross for the ill equipped slaves, and not much easier for slave hunters. It was an equalizer in their conflict, slowing slave movement, but also inhibiting the slave hunter.²¹⁷ "It was death to go forward and it was death to go back and it was death to stay there and freedom was before me; it could only be death to go forward if I was caught and freedom if I escaped." said Wallace Turnage (an escaped slave) of the Dismal Swamp.²¹⁸

As photography was taking up the duty of producing grand manner art and depictions of war and death, a new space was created for traditional art to fill. Artists like Cole, Church, Bierstadt, and Homer took advantage, whether consciously or not, of this new space. Through the embrace of the Beautiful and untamed American landscape Cole, Church, and the Hudson River School were able to captivate the American public and create a solid footing for themselves and their style in the American landscape of war-time art. Bierstadt, building on the Hudson River School, used lighting and emotion to build his niche, that of luminism and earn a spot in popular galleries to express feelings on the war in ways that were separated

²¹⁷ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 195-196.

²¹⁸ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 196.

enough from actual war images to be eagerly consumed by the public. Homer, the most successful artist of the time to actually depict war, still found a corner of this new space to call his own by going against the grain of typical depictions of soldiers by injecting humanity and evoking sympathy.

Through the works of these artists and those who were inspired by them, the American public was given an outlet for their anxieties, fears, grief, and loss that wasn't overtly depressing, brutal, or too close to home. Because of this coincidental lining up of events (The Civil War, the invention of photography, and the exploration of the undeveloped west) the American public came to reject traditional forms of art in depicting war that were still popular in Europe, photography took on the roll, by and large, of documenting the war, and American artists were making a move to painting the beauty of the American landscape, which spread west to the mountains and wilderness. These factors together created the perfect environment for American art to evolve on its own, separately from Europe, into the first wholly and inherently American styles of art, being The Hudson River School and Luminism.

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Part II. Medicine and Science

Chapter 4.

Laura Ruttle

In April of 1865, almost four years to the day after the Battle of Fort Sumter, the American Civil War finally came to an end. The narrative surrounding the years in between these dates are familiar to most as being defined by military victories and major political decisions which culminated in abolition. The history of the Civil War period was traditionally viewed as the history of the war itself, giving preference to traditional military history, but focusing very little on cultural history which was viewed as only being tangentially related to the war. Starting in the early 1990’s after Maris Vinovskis published his “call to arms” of sorts, social and cultural historians began looking to study the war years from new perspectives in an attempt to glean new information about “everyday life in the United

States.”²¹⁹ The story of the war has now been relayed many times over and has shed light on a plethora of facets of life in this period.

Although social and cultural historians have gained footing in providing insight into many aspects of daily life during the nineteenth century and, more specifically, the Civil War period, the topics of reproductive history and of childbirth practices during the war has widely been avoided.²²⁰ Generally the Civil War is used as a marker tracking “before” and “after” periods in the field of reproductive health, and most of the medical history written about the Civil War period has focused specifically on Civil War doctors, nurses, and wartime medicine. This leaves a gap that provides relatively little information on childbirth and almost no information about midwives. The narrative of reproductive history that spans the eighteenth into the nineteenth century focuses on the change from traditional midwifery practices which were centered around a female social sphere to the scientific medical study of women’s health dominated by male physicians.²²¹ This idea is even evident in book titles such as *From Midwives to Medicine* by Deborah Kuhn McGregor which implies a shift in which midwives were no longer relevant.

Perhaps because of texts like McGregor’s which focus on the accolades of male doctors like J. Marion Sims, midwives have been largely removed from the history of women’s health and childbirth practices after the early/mid-nineteenth century, giving the

²¹⁹ Maris A. Vinovskis, “Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations,” *The Journal of American History*, 76 (1989): 34.

²²⁰ Albeit a brief analysis of the topic, Margaret Humphreys attempts to remedy this gap in *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War* and does discuss the war’s impact on women’s health.

²²¹ For some of the sources that discuss the shift from social to scientific as well as feminine to masculine spheres see: Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A History of Childbirth in America*, Expanded Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Judith Walzer Leavitt, “‘Science’ Enters the Birthing Room: Obstetrics in America since the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of American History* 70, no. 2 (September 1983).

impression that female midwives were no longer central in women's childbirth experiences. This version of events presents a reductionist account that removes the Civil War period from the history of midwives in the United States and only represents the childbirth experiences of a minority of women. What is most interesting about this trend in historiography is that many historians acknowledge that midwives continued to be present at the majority of births up until the early twentieth century.²²² If that is the case, why have most publications about nineteenth-century reproductive health not focused on the continued use of midwives, some even arguing that there was a “gradual disappearance of women from the practice of midwifery”?²²³

The answer to this is twofold. First, from the perspective of the twenty-first century, it is easy to look back on the nineteenth century and focus solely on the major changes that occurred especially since the nineteenth century was the setting for crucial changes in general medical practice.²²⁴ Studying change is central to the study of history in general, therefore historians' minds are programmed to seek out change, to compare the beginning of an era to the end, and to focus on the differences. Unfortunately, this tendency to identify change overlooks aspects of history that may have stayed the same.

Second, this gap in the historiography potentially identifies a gap in available records. It is always easier to write about a topic with records prevalent in archival collections. In this

²²² Discussed in: Nancy Schrom Dye, “History of Childbirth in America,” *Signs* 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1980) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173968>; Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America 1750-1950*, 30th anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Nora Doyle, *Maternal Bodies: Redefining Motherhood in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

²²³ Wertz and Wertz, 46.

²²⁴ I say “changes” instead of “advancements” because not all medical discoveries and practices were bettered as they evolved. There were areas of advancement and betterment, however that does not disqualify the fact that many people suffered due to poor medical practices. See discussion in Wertz and Wertz, xvii-xviii.

case, accessible records illuminate the lives of prominent male physicians, certain female physicians, and literate upper- to middle-class families who provided written records. The impact of these subjects on the understanding of medical history and cultural practice is paramount. However, as is often the case in archival records, the prevalence of documents from certain groups should not be taken as evidence of a singular version of historic events. This idea is reflected by Martha Verbrugge in her article on nineteenth century medicine when she states:

On the one hand, medicine lends itself to the study of how various factors interact in different people's lives; on the other hand, the historiography of medicine has just begun to reflect that complexity. Historians of medicine have traditionally focused on intellectual and professional developments, or medicine as seen through the lives of its most renowned practitioners. The resulting picture is compartmentalized and linear: medical history becomes an account of advances in theory and practice as influenced by scientific changes but insulated from social conditions.²²⁵

Even forty years after the publication of this article, the writing of medical history has a long way to go to portray a full picture of women's, and more specifically midwives', continued influence in the nineteenth century.

This paper will attempt to argue that amidst the changes that were taking place in reproductive healthcare in the nineteenth century, there was also continuity in the childbirth practices amongst most women. This continuity would be most evident amongst lower class

²²⁵ Martha H. Verbrugge, "Women and Medicine in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1, no. 4 (Summer 1976): 958.

women, women of color, and women in rural communities.²²⁶ It will be argued that the majority of women preparing for childbirth during the Civil War probably had more in common with women in 1800 than what may be assumed because changes in medicine had not yet been widely accepted and they continued to fall back on tradition as they prepared for the birth of their children. There certainly were advancements in medical science which helped bring about the fields of obstetrics and gynecology, but these changes did not alter the actual experiences of most American women until at least 1900.²²⁷ In addition, the years of the Civil War may have actually seen an increase in women who may have otherwise used male physicians instead of using midwives.²²⁸ In order to better understand reproductive practices in the years surrounding the Civil War period, it is necessary to have background on this field which came out of the eighteenth century.

Like so many traditions in American history, the colonial American midwife followed the precedence of their English predecessors. In seventeenth and early eighteenth-century America, midwives' responsibilities included more than assisting women with their deliveries. In many cases, midwives had larger social obligations such as being required to testify in court regarding paternity of the babies of unwed mothers. Many would have had to question mothers in the midst of their labor regarding the identity of their child's father in order to help prevent financial dependence on the government.²²⁹ American midwives performed medical

²²⁶ Wertz and Wertz state that "male birth attendants...gradually became the preferred attendants at *middle- and upper-class births*" which does not account for the rest of the childbearing women who did not fall in this demographic. Wertz and Wertz, 44. Emphasis added.

²²⁷ See chart in Leavitt, 12.

²²⁸ Margaret Humphreys, *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 71.

²²⁹ Ellen Fitzpatrick, "Childbirth and an Unwed Mother in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Signs* 8, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 744-745.

tasks unrelated to childbirth as well such as making herbal medicines and calling on sick members of the community, especially in locations where doctors would not have been easily accessible.²³⁰

Colonial midwives were considered the primary caregiver at a birth and only when intervention was needed would a male surgeon or physician be called to a woman's bedside. Surgical procedures such as cesareans and use of tools like forceps or crochets were not generally used by midwives and, prior to male physicians becoming more heavily involved in birth practices, were not used unless birth was not proceeding naturally.²³¹ Early American midwives and physicians had a cooperative relationship that intersected when necessary to deliver babies, however this relationship did not persist and over time more male physicians began to assume responsibilities from midwives.²³²

In the late eighteenth-century, there was a feeling of foreboding present amongst midwives.²³³ The past fifty years had seen the introduction of a new category of birth attendants that had previously been barred from the lying-in chamber: male midwives.²³⁴ Initially using the term "midwife" just as the women accoucheurs that presided over births before them, male physicians began to offer childbirth services to women in the colonies in

²³⁰ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 11.

²³¹ Wertz and Wertz, 39, 42; Judith Walzer Leavitt, "'Science' Enters the Birthing Room: Obstetrics in America since the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of American History* 70, no. 2 (September 1983): 286.

²³² Ulrich, 54, 255.

²³³ Female midwives, both male and female physicians, as well as members of the public published essays and voiced concerns regarding the perceived dangers of using male physicians as midwives. This was not only common in America but also in England. For an example of this, see *The Danger and Immodesty of the Present Too General Custom of Unnecessarily Employing Men-Midwives* published in London in 1772 which can be accessed via https://archive.org/details/b30789424_0001/mode/2up; Wertz and Wertz, 43.

²³⁴ Leavitt, "'Science' Enters the Birthing Room," 281.

greater numbers nearing the turn of the century. This increase in men attending women in travail created a fear over the potential disappearance of the traditional midwife.²³⁵ In the pages of diaries written by women such as Elizabeth Drinker of Philadelphia, the records of male physicians attending the births of women are revealed.²³⁶

Drinker's journal chronicles a prominent Philadelphia family and their choices regarding regular medical care. In addition, the diary provides information regarding the male practitioners chosen to attend the births of Drinker's grandchildren. It has been argued that Drinker's diary illustrates the increased use of physicians in lieu of midwives which has been associated with late eighteenth century childbirth practices.²³⁷ Instead, it would be more accurate to argue that Drinker's diary is evidence of a trend amongst middle- to upper-class women in a certain geographic region to make more use of male physicians for childbirth.²³⁸ While it is true that many women with circumstances similar to Drinker began to make use of male physicians as their childbirth attendants, midwives remained the prevailing choice for American women and their families. While Elizabeth Drinker was recording the use of male doctors as midwives in her family, Martha Ballard was practicing as a midwife for the families in her corner of Maine. Her diary helps illustrate the roles of midwives in colonial communities.

Martha Ballard has become synonymous with early American midwifery due to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's text *A Midwife's Tale*. In many ways, Martha Ballard was an ordinary

²³⁵ Wertz and Wertz, 29, 66.

²³⁶ Sarah Blank Dine, "Diaries and Doctors: Elizabeth Drinker and Philadelphia Medical Practice, 1760-1810," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 68, no. 4 (Autumn 2001).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 427.

²³⁸ Wertz and Wertz, 44; Leavitt, "'Science' Enters the Birthing Room," 281.

colonist of Maine in the eighteenth century. What makes her extraordinary is that in a time when most women, or people in general, were not leaving extensive records Martha recorded hundreds of entries that describe her experiences as a mother, a wife, and as a midwife. Ballard's diary, which encapsulates her daily life between the years of 1785 and 1812, reveals details of her life that at one point had been dismissed as being trivial and boring.²³⁹ The diary describes many of the responsibilities discussed above and in the almost thirty-year long record, Martha attended hundreds of births. Her record also provides documentation of midwifery from the perspective of the midwife. Martha's diary shows her continued impact on her community and that at that time male physicians had not become "preferred" in Hallowell, ME. The "obstetrical revolution" brought about by male physicians continued into the nineteenth century, but still did not dominate childbirth practices.²⁴⁰

As noted above, the nineteenth century was a period of critical changes in medicine, especially in the nascent fields of obstetrics and gynecology. Beginning in 1828, male physicians began using the term "obstetrician" in relation to their practice with women in childbirth differentiating their work from the field of general medical practice and also from traditional midwifery.²⁴¹ Medical schools in the 1800's offered varying degrees of education and clinical practice which created a pool of physicians with levels of experience and knowledge that differed vastly. This was perhaps most painfully true in obstetrics and in any area relating to women's health due to the prevailing Victorian ideals regarding modesty. Beliefs surrounding female modesty stunted the ability of male physicians being able to gain

²³⁹ Ulrich, 9.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 28; Wertz and Wertz, 44.

²⁴¹ Wertz and Wertz, 66.

practical experience with childbirth which often led to doctors attending their first birth when they were called to a woman's bedside. Wertz and Wertz state that "doctors handled the problem of modesty by the rituals against exposure...by cloaking themselves in cultural roles promising that doctors were not only blind but asexual as well."²⁴²

There were a few male physicians that gained prominence in the early years of obstetrics and are still associated with developments in women's healthcare today. Most famous of these physicians is Dr. J Marion Sims who made his medical discoveries while objectifying enslaved women for clinical practice. Known as the "Father of Modern Gynecology," Sims spent years working on the cure for vesicovaginal fistulas, a terrible malady caused by prolonged labor.²⁴³ In modern day Sims has become an infamous contributor to medical discovery due to his unanesthetized, repetitive surgeries on Anarcha, Betsey, Lucy and many other enslaved women to further his research. These women were, as argued by Deidre Cooper Owens, "central to gynecology's birth," for without unimpeded access to their bodies Sims could not have made advancements in gynecological surgery.²⁴⁴

Some women were also able to obtain medical degrees in the years prior to the Civil War. Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman to earn a medical degree from an American college in 1849 and was followed by Marie Zackrzewska in 1856. Both women went on to found medical institutions which both treated and trained women.²⁴⁵ Among her many

²⁴² Ibid, 49, 50, 66, 92.

²⁴³ Deborah Kuhn McGregor, *From Midwives to Medicine: The Birth of American Gynecology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 33.

²⁴⁴ Deidre Cooper Owens, *Medical Bondage: Race, Gender, and the Origins of American Gynecology* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2017), 14.

²⁴⁵ Wertz and Wertz, 59-63; Humphreys, 49, 54, 58-59.

achievements, Elizabeth Blackwell is also known for her contributions to the war effort through her creation of the Women's Central Relief Association and the U.S. Sanitary Commission. Blackwell identified a need and in 1861 "called meetings of like-minded women" and began the plans to assist the Union's cause.²⁴⁶ The war also created a demand for thousands of women to contribute as nurses and help nurture injured soldiers back to health. While less attention has been given to female physicians of the mid-nineteenth century than their male counterparts, countless sources discuss the contributions of female nurses during the war. Women's efforts in relation to medical practice during the Civil War have almost exclusively been associated with these few female physicians and female nurses leaving aside the home front contributions of female midwives. While the war did have major domestic repercussions, the need for midwives did not cease.

Historically it has been illustrated that wars have a significant impact on birth and marriage patterns, and the Civil War was no exception. Louis Dublin discusses this issue in his article "War and the Birth Rate – A Brief Historical Summary."

In our own country, the Civil War provides the first opportunity to observe the effect of war upon the birth rate. Unfortunately, birth records on a national scale for that time are not available. Looking through the records of Massachusetts, it is found that the birth rate fell from a level of 29 per 1000 in 1860 and 1861 to 25.9 in 1862; the decline continued throughout the war and immed[i]ately thereafter, reaching a low point of 23.2 in 1866. There was a sharp recovery to 26.2 per 1000 in 1867.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Humphreys, 69.

²⁴⁷ Louis I. Dublin, "War and the Birth Rate – A Brief Historical Summary," *American Journal of Public Health* 35, no. 4 (1945): 316.

Many women in the North and the South found themselves in the position of waiting for the war to be over before they were able to start or continue building their families. Southern women probably saw the most extreme effects of the war on their marriage and childbearing patterns, but “it is impossible to determine year-to-year variations in marriage during the war itself.”²⁴⁸ There were a greater number of Confederate casualties during the war which created a reduction in the number of men available to marry or have children with, however this did not seem to have a lasting post-war impact on either.²⁴⁹ Even while thousands of marriages were delayed and countless women, both North and South, waited for word on their husbands’ return home, babies continued to be born throughout the war years creating a demand for accoucheurs to assist in the process.

Two months after the start of the war on June 17, 1861, Omar Bundy was born in New Castle, Indiana. Little can be gleaned from available records regarding the circumstances surrounding his birth, however it is possible for limited inferences to be made. Having given birth to ten children in the years between 1840 and 1861, his mother Amanda Elliott Bundy was aware of what to expect in the spring of that year when her last child was born. Her husband, Martin joined the Union forces as a paymaster for the volunteer army of Indiana just three months after the birth of Omar.²⁵⁰ It is unknown whether Martin’s military service is the reason why Omar was the Bundy’s last child, but like so many other American families the war may have had an impact on their future family plans.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Hacker, J. David, Libra Hilde and James Holland Jones, “The Effect of the Civil War on Southern Marriage Patterns,” *The Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 1 (February 2010): 51.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 41; Dublin, 316.

²⁵⁰ Fold 3, “Letters Received by the Commission Branch, 1863-1870,” <https://www.fold3.com/image/305282626> ; <https://www.fold3.com/image/305282632>. See appendix for images.

²⁵¹ All biographical information about the Bundy family was accessed via Ancestry.com.

Unfortunately, there are no records that provide details surrounding the birth of Omar that spring and it cannot be known whether Amanda called on a midwife or a physician.²⁵² It is possible that Amanda Bundy used a local midwife to attend to her labor, however there are no advertisements in any Indiana newspapers in 1861 listing the services of midwives. In fact, there are no advertisements for midwives in Indiana during the entirety of the war. The last ad for a midwife prior to the war was published in 1857 for a Mrs. Pinckard (see fig. 1) who offered midwife services and noted her twenty years of experience and references from London. It is possible that no midwives in Indiana advertised after this because they found that word of mouth was just as successful in gaining clientele, but that is merely conjecture. Perhaps, as Margaret Humphrey's argues more women were using midwives during the war due to lack of access to physicians which also created a demand which did not require additional publicity.²⁵³



²⁵² This is not to say a record does not exist, only that it has not been located at the time this paper was written. More research would need to be done to determine if anything can provide additional details.

²⁵³ Humphreys, 71.

Figure 11 Accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry, the Evansville Daily Journal (Evansville, Indiana), Saturday, August 1, 1857, pg. 3.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/321636280> .

It is also possible that the family may have made use of a local physician who was not serving as a surgeon for the military. There are ads for physicians offering obstetric services in Indiana throughout 1861, including that of a female doctor named Mary Thomas (see fig. 2) who practiced about thirty miles from the Bundy home. In the case of Omar Bundy's birth, the list of what is unknown is much longer than what is known. Amanda Bundy is only one of many women whose choices in childbirth attendants have been lost to history. As the war went on, more women across the country gave birth under varying wartime circumstances, leaving no records. Additionally, the lack of both primary and secondary sources on midwives needs to be remedied to create an accurate portrayal of birth during the Civil War.

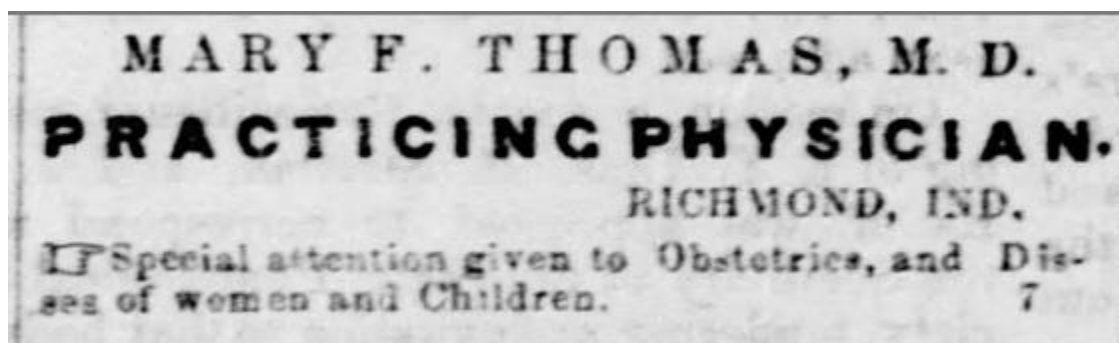


Figure 12. Accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry, the Richmond Weekly Palladium (Richmond, Indiana), Thursday, March 7, 1861, pg. 4,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/465171729/> .

What is most devastating to our understanding of midwives in the nineteenth century is the fact that there seems to be no Martha Ballard for this period. That is not to say

that there was no midwife in the nineteenth century who played a large role in the health of their local community like Ballard, their record may not have yet been found or has been lost due to lack of preservational foresight. What is more realistic is that most midwives of the 1800's did not leave a written record, leaving a gap and a silence in the historical record which has become dominated by records from male physicians. Based on the many references from historians noting that midwives continued to attend most births until the early twentieth century, there were plenty of women who attended births whose records would be beneficial to a better modern understanding of midwifery practices that remained central to women's health throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, according to the Occupational Report from the census in 1900, there was an increase in the number of midwives in the years following the Civil War.²⁵⁴ This statistic deserves additional attention to determine more about this growth in the profession.²⁵⁵

Perhaps the best source in helping to identify midwives for additional research will be newspaper advertisements. In searching a newspaper database using "midwife" as the keyword and limiting results to the years between 1861 and 1865, over one thousand results are populated. Mrs. Hardie (fig. 5) of Salt Lake City who is identified as a midwife published an ad in 1862 noting that she had moved from her prior location. Mrs. M. A. Easley (fig. 6) is listed in *The Democrat* of Huntsville, Alabama in 1861 as a "practical midwife" who can offer "a valuable remedy for delicate females." Madame Mazeaux (fig. 7) offered "comfortable

²⁵⁴ United States Census Bureau, "Occupations at the Twelfth Census," <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/occupations/occupations-part-1.pdf>, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/occupations/occupations-part-3.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ Midwifery is generally not identified as a profession in part due to the varied training and lack of professional organization. Based on the variety of medical degrees in the nineteenth century it seems fair to give midwives the same recognition. See Wertz and Wertz, 47.

apartments at her residence” in her 1862 ad which notified readers she had “removed.” These are just a few of the results identified in a search only using one resource. These women may be the key to answering many questions regarding midwives in the nineteenth century, and more specifically during the Civil War.²⁵⁶

In 1983, Judith Walzer Leavitt published an article discussing the transition from female midwives to male physicians in which she argues that during the nineteenth century “social childbirth” and “medical childbirth” “vied for supremacy.”²⁵⁷ This essay has attempted to argue that there was no struggle for “supremacy” between doctors and midwives. Midwifery continued through the nineteenth century and potentially even saw growth in the number of women who followed the traditional practice. The nineteenth century saw many cultural changes, groundbreaking medical discoveries, and a war that forever changed American history. American midwives persisted throughout these changes, assisting women in their times of need, and delivering the next generation of Americans. The historiographical gap on these women does not reflect a shift to male obstetric dominance in childbirth, just a silence in the records that needs to be remedied.

²⁵⁶ All advertisements were accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry. See appendix for images and links.

²⁵⁷ Leavitt, “‘Science’ Enters the Birthing Room,” 304.

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Appendix

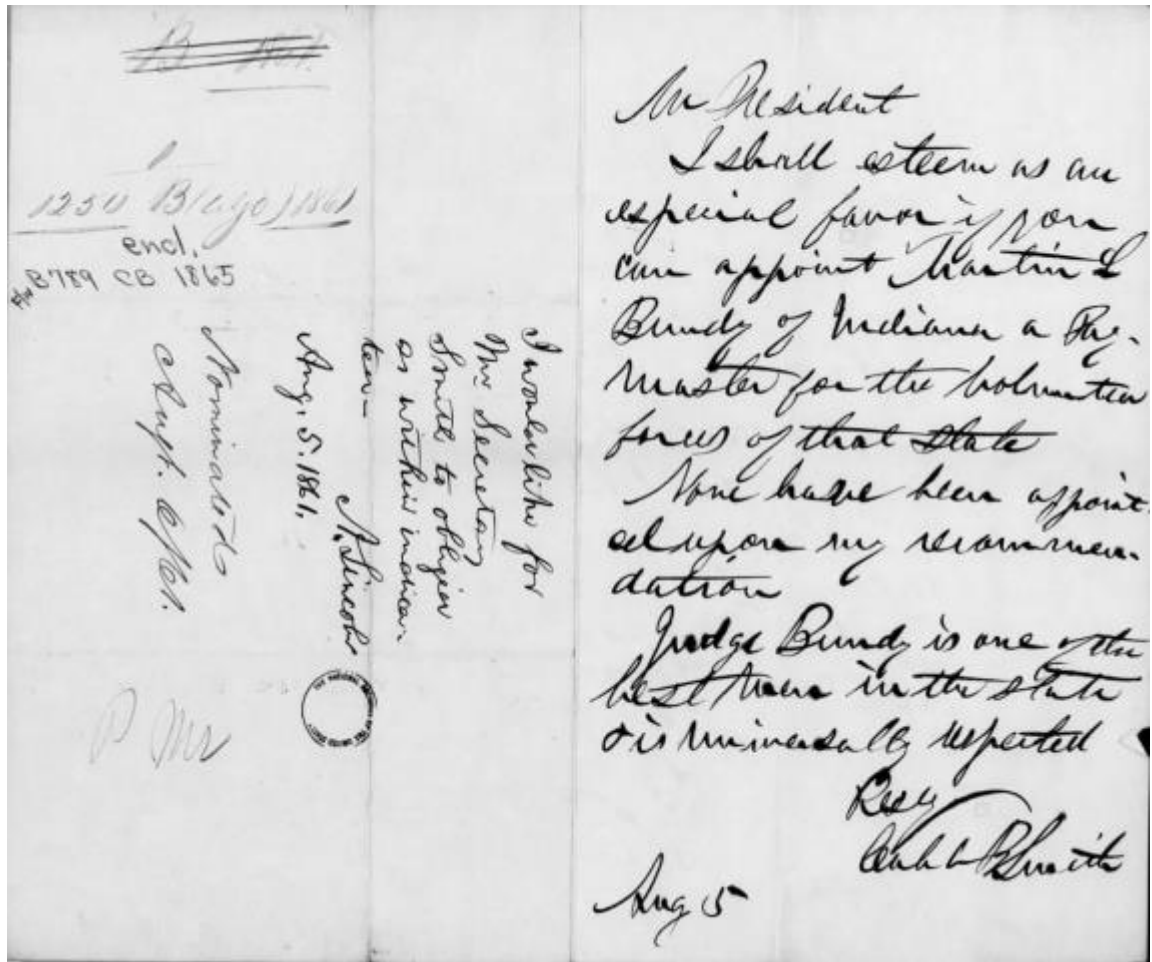



Figure 13 Accessed via Fold3 from Ancestry, <https://www.fold3.com/image/305282632>.



I, *Martin L. Bundy*
 appointed an "Additional Paymaster" in the
 Army of the United States, do solemnly swear, ~~and affirm~~, that I will bear true
 allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will serve them honestly and
 faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whatsoever; and observe and obey the
 orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the Officers appointed
 over me, according to the Rules and Articles for the government of the Armies of
 the United States.

test. *Eshun Wallama*
Bulter Hubbard *Martin L. Bundy*
 Sworn to and subscribed before me,
 at *New-castle Indiana*,
 this *5th* day of *September* 1861.

Elisha Clift

Justice of the Peace.

Figure 14 Accessed via Fold3 from Ancestry, <https://www.fold3.com/image/305282626>.

REMOVED.
MR. HARDIE, MIDWIFE, beg^s to announce to the
 public that she has removed to the 14th Ward, two
 doors south of Bshop Hongland's, on the east side of
 the street, where she will be on hand to attend to the
 calls of all her old friends. 49-3

Figure 15 Accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry, The Desert News (Salt Lake City, Utah) Wednesday, June 18, 1862, pg. 7,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/286320864/>.

A Valuable Remedy for Delicate Females.
PREPARED AND SOLD BY
MRS. M. A. EASLEY.
A PRACTICAL MIDWIFE, who has, for twelve years past, practiced in Huntsville and its vicinity, and confidently refers to its best citizens for evidence of her good department and eminent success in her profession. Call at Easley's Store, or Easley's Hotel, corner of Jefferson and Holme: Streets, Huntsville, Ala.
Oct 30, 1860-1y.

Figure 16 Accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry, The Democrat (Huntsville, Alabama), Wednesday, June 12, 1861, pg. 2,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/607094053/>.

REMOVAL.
MADAME MAZEAUX,
MIDWIFE,
Has removed on the Alley bet. J, K, 5th and
6th streets, Sacramento.
☞ Ladies from the country wishing the services of
Mme. MAZEAUX, can be accommodated with comfort-
able apartments at her residence. s23m

Figure 7 Accessed via Newspapers.com from Ancestry,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/624041259/>.

Quantifying Inferiority:**Scientific Racism, Biological Determinism, and the American Civil War**

Chapter 5.

Timothy Hastings

“Quantifying Inferiority: Scientific Racism, Biological Determinism, and the American Civil War”

On January 28, 1865, Republican Representative James W. Patterson of New Hampshire gave a speech before Congress in defense of the proposed constitutional amendment that would later become the Thirteenth Amendment. He used the occasion to argue that the United States government had the power to amend the constitution and that this

had been understood since its ratification. Furthermore, he asserted that ridding the country of slavery was a moral imperative and that slaves had the right to self-determination.²⁵⁸

In the latter part of his speech, Patterson rebutted comments made by Ohio Democrat George Pendleton about “the horrors of miscegenation,” insisting that the fear was unfounded. He said that “the African... [had] been driven North by the force of slavery” and that upon being freed he would move “to the tropics as naturally and as certainly as the winged people of the air migrate at the approach of winter.” He continued, addressing the fear of competition for free labor between blacks and whites, insisting that in this competition for labor, the stronger group would outcompete the other, asserting that “if the white man [had] a larger brain, stronger and more enduring muscles, and a more active temperament than the black,” then the “weaker race” would be forced from the continent. Patterson continued, saying that, if anyone doubted the outcome of this struggle, “the present servile condition of four millions of this people is a prophecy of the future” and repeated that he “doubt[ed] not... they will wander to other shores.” In doing so, the freed slaves would bring with them “the elements of a civilization in which other lands and futures will rejoice,” and thus, “emancipation, like mercy, will bless him that gives and him that receives.”²⁵⁹ For Patterson, then, the proposed Constitutional Amendment was fully permissible under the Constitution, was a moral obligation, and would be beneficial to the freed slaves and the white population because the former would gain independence and be infused with the positive elements of American culture, while the latter would labor without fear of competition because of their own physical superiority and the freed slaves’ tendency to migrate to tropical climates.

²⁵⁸ “Speech of Hon. James W. Patterson,” *New Hampshire Sentinel*, LXVII, no. 7, February 16, 1865.

²⁵⁹ “Speech of Hon. James W. Patterson.”

Representative Patterson's speech demonstrates both his dislike of slavery and his commitment to its abolition, while also revealing that obviously anti-egalitarian and racist ideas pervaded the anti-slavery rhetoric expounded by those in the upper levels of the American government. How can we reconcile the positive language about abolition and African Americans with, as we view them through a twenty-first-century lens, the pseudo-scientific and racist elements? Additionally, how did such ideas become entrenched in the political discourse? To help answer these questions, it is useful to examine the concept of biological determinism. In his book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, Stephen Jay Gould defined biological determinism as the idea that biological factors (*e.g.*, genes, physiology, etc.) explained the behaviors of different groups of people (*e.g.*, races, sexes, classes, etc.) and that these inborn traits were reflected in and defined the social and economic differences of these groups of people. For example, the socioeconomic status of the poor could be explained by their genetics. Furthermore, biological determinism seemed more valid because it relied on scientific inquiry, the ostensibly disinterested character of which created the illusion that it was purely objective and separated from the political and social factors of the time in which it took place. However, scientific practice was undoubtedly influenced by the political and social contexts of its time and, in the context of biological determinism, was useful for promoting and rationalizing the interests of those in power.²⁶⁰

The relationship between biological determinism and racist scientific inquiry was especially evident throughout the nineteenth century when ideas about racial inferiority and

²⁶⁰ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981), 20-1.

superiority were present for the most part across the political spectrum in the United States. Scientific ideas about the perceived differences among the races played a crucial role in rationalizing the social hierarchy in which whites were at the top and blacks at the bottom.²⁶¹ The American Civil War was a turning point in the nation's history. The dismantling of a social hierarchy based on race appeared possible with the abolition of slavery. It is useful, then, to examine the relationship between race, slavery, and the political order to understand the implications that the war had for this hierarchy. James Oakes explores this idea and asserts that in the 1840s and 1850s Abraham Lincoln had supported the colonization and relocation of former slaves outside of the United States and also viewed slavery as a moral wrong but did not necessarily call for racial equality; however, he eventually changed his views throughout the course of the Civil War when he found both legal and moral justifications for emancipation and equal rights for blacks, including granting them voting rights.²⁶² Yet, while the Republican Party embraced a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery as part of its official platform for 1864,²⁶³ the demand for equal rights for blacks was sounded irrespective of the perceived position in the social hierarchy of whites and blacks. This is evidenced by the line in Patterson's speech in the earlier paragraph when he said that it was "not necessary to fix the ethnological position of the African or to prove his equality with the white races" as a condition for emancipation.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ John S. Haller, Jr., *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), xii, xiv.

²⁶² John Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), Kindle Edition, Locations 150 and 1592.

²⁶³ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 716; Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*, Kinde Location 3106.

²⁶⁴ "Speech of Hon. James W. Patterson."

Thus, the push for abolition and equal rights by an ostensibly egalitarian political party did not proceed from a position in which ideas of racial social hierarchies were scrapped; instead, they remained even in the rhetoric of those in high positions in the United States government. Furthermore, in spite of the hopes of a better future for blacks that emancipation promised, there remained limitations on its potential success because of deleterious and deeply flawed scientific ideas. Finally, the scholarship on Reconstruction often overlooks the role that scientific racism played in the failure of Reconstruction, which consequently serves to mask the responsibility that white Northern elites shouldered.²⁶⁵ This essay will examine the scientific foundations that underlaid the concept of biological determinism as it pertained to African Americans before, during, and after the Civil War and how scientific authority was elevated and translated into other types of authority during and after the war. It will primarily focus on the natural sciences and on the scientists who worked in the United States in the mid-to late-nineteenth century whose influence had an enduring effect on American ideologies and concepts of race. The Civil War was a critical period for the progress of scientific racism and therefore of biological determinism because it vastly expanded the power and authority of scientific ideas, methods, and organization. These factors contributed overwhelmingly to the reification of race and the creation of racial hierarchies, which rested upon a perceived objective and disinterested scientific foundation.

The increased popularity of anthropology in the United States during the nineteenth century created much debate about the origins of human races.²⁶⁶ The discipline had found its

²⁶⁵ Heather Cox Richardson, for example, argues that the failure of Reconstruction and its abandonment by Northerners was due to their strict adherence to free labor ideology. See Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001).

²⁶⁶ Adam Dewbury explains that the term “anthropology” was rarely used for most of the nineteenth century, with “ethnology” being the more widely used term, since anthropology as a profession was not yet

footing during the age of exploration when Europeans traveled to a variety of new locations containing populations of non-Caucasian individuals. Naturalists attempted to classify the various categories of people they encountered and turned to anthropometry, or anatomical measurement, as a means to produce rigorous objective standards. Carl von Linnaeus, a European, created a taxonomy based on skin color in the mid-eighteenth century, which was coupled with a moralistic classification, such as “cunning, lazy, lustful, careless, and governed by caprice” for Africans, the language of which became embedded in scientific ideas on race. This taxonomic system of racial classification became the foundation for future anthropologists, with German Johann Friedrich Blumenbach creating a classification system based not upon skin color alone but relying also on other physical characteristics such as hair and facial structure. These formed the criteria for his distinction of the five races of humans, with the Caucasian as the most attractive. These categories of race would endure throughout most of the nineteenth century, both inside and outside Europe. It was in this ideological environment that American anthropology developed.²⁶⁷

In the eighteenth and nineteenth-century United States, there was general consensus that blacks were inferior to whites, but opinions varied as to whether this was due to cultural or biological factors.²⁶⁸ Discovering the origins of the races was important for answering the question of what caused the supposed inferiority of the African race, and American anthropologists began to use anthropometry to shine light on the issue. Influenced by

established. For clarity and consistency, however, “anthropology” will be used throughout this paper. See page 121 of Adam Dewbury, “7. The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology,” *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3 (2007): 121-147.

²⁶⁷ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 4-6. See page 4 for quotation.

²⁶⁸ Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 31-32.

scientists like Lambert Quetelet, whose statistical methodology for measuring different body parts and anatomical ratios would become the guiding principle for anthropometry during the Civil War, Philadelphia native Samuel Morton measured the internal capacity of skulls in his massive collection, which were taken from various races.²⁶⁹ He hypothesized that the capacity of the skull would correlate to brain size, which would correspond to intelligence, and would thus provide a simple measurement, the aggregated data of which would provide the evidence and justification for ranking races using physical characteristics. His measurements confirmed his hypothesis, although though there is evidence that suggested his statistical methods were flawed and that he did not take into account the idea that a smaller stature corresponds to a smaller brain and has no bearing on intelligence. This implies that Morton conducted his experiments in order to generate data that supported the established racial ideologies and rankings of the time. That is not to say that he intentionally generated false data, only that it was accepted as fact that blacks were inferior intellectually to whites during the period in which he conducted his measurements. Therefore, in this case, the craniometric data to support this would necessarily have had to favor Caucasian skulls.²⁷⁰ Morton's scientific inquiry was almost certainly influenced by the social environment in which it was conducted.

Morton was not on the fringes of the scientific community in the United States but instead was a respected physician from Philadelphia who gained renown in the 1830s because of his work on fossils, for which he was known as one of the founders of invertebrate paleontology. His two works on craniometry, *Crania Americana* (1839) and *Crania Aegyptiaca* (1844), which measured and ranked cranial characteristics of Native Americans

²⁶⁹ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 11.

²⁷⁰ Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 51-64.

and Egyptians, respectively, provided scientific evidence that the human races had been distinct for many thousands of years, which was indicated by the differences in various cranial measurements. This, to Morton, suggested that they constituted separate species.²⁷¹ He submitted his idea about the diverse origins of humans to the American Ethnological Society in 1846, which firmly established ethnology as an American science.²⁷² Morton's studies and conclusions would be of paramount importance to the group of scientists known as the American School, of which Morton would be the de facto leader.²⁷³ One member of this group, Louis Agassiz, would help popularize and legitimize the theory of the diverse origins of humankind.²⁷⁴

What distinguished the American School from other groups of anthropologists, was their acceptance of the theory of multiple origins of man, or *polygenism*.²⁷⁵ Louis Agassiz emigrated from Switzerland to the United States in 1846, where he became a professor at Harvard. He had a medical degree but was most famous for being a naturalist whose extensive work on the fossils of fish won him renown as a zoologist.²⁷⁶ Before moving to America he was a proponent of the unity theory of the origins of man, or *monogenism*, and that the races

²⁷¹ Dewbury, "7. The American School," 128-9.

²⁷² William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 97.

²⁷³ Dewbury, "7. The American, School," 124.

²⁷⁴ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 99; Stephen Jay Gould argued that "no man did more to establish and enhance the prestige of American biology during the nineteenth century" than Agassiz. See Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 43.

²⁷⁵ Dewbury, "7. The American School," 121.

²⁷⁶ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 100-2; Agassiz was noteworthy for proposing an Ice Age Theory in 1840, which turned out to be largely correct. See Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1982), 444.

were shaped by the environment;²⁷⁷ however, while in America he met Morton and was impressed by his skull collection and his methodology, and he also had his first encounter with African Americans in Philadelphia, which may have shaped his polygenist views due to the extreme differences he saw between them and Caucasians.²⁷⁸ Morton's skull collection and his work in *Crania Americana* demonstrated to Agassiz that climates did not determine distinct races because the Indian race was distributed across various climates in North America; instead, a divine creator was responsible, and the distribution of species occurred according to predetermined laws.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, he believed that species' characteristics were fixed and that species were distributed across their ideal habitat, which, to Agassiz, provided proof that African individuals preferred more tropical climates, an idea that was reinforced on a trip to a southern plantation in 1847.²⁸⁰ He asserted that the natural sciences would determine the ranking and societal positions of the races and not social or political ideologies. Furthermore, the duty of scientists was to determine the positions of the races using their innate differences as the guide.²⁸¹ While he eventually stopped providing evidence

²⁷⁷ Polygenism and monogenism arose out of the uncertainty of the origin of the different races of man. Monogenism was the idea that humans were one species with a single origin and that any differences across races were a result of environmental conditions and that unfavorable environments explained the inferiority of races such as Africans. Polygenism was the belief that the different races arose from different origins and that there was no common ancestral race. Both would have implications for justifying slavery and racial hierarchies. Agassiz's conception of polygeny and multiple origins was extreme in that he posited that every small variation even among species (*e.g.*, different breeds of dog) were the products of a separate creation event. See Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 186, 282.

²⁷⁸ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 103; Dewbury, "7. The American School," 131-2; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 45.

²⁷⁹ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 104-5. Stanton further argues that, although polygenism would ultimately be rejected by the religious community as contradicting scripture, Agassiz attempted to demonstrate that the multiple origins of man were consistent with scripture because the book of Genesis was ambiguous about there being one or multiple creations events. See page 107.

²⁸⁰ Dewbury, "7. The American School," 134.

²⁸¹ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 109; Stephen J. Gould puts it nicely: "Education, [Agassiz] argues, must be tailored to innate ability; train blacks in hand work, whites in mind work." See Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 47.

to support his ideas for racial hierarchies, his position as a respected scientist was important for embedding these ideas in the public mind and also in the minds of those who were in positions of power. Thus, his professional authority legitimized ideas of racial inferiority that were already widely held but that became disseminated in scientific publications and influential circles.²⁸²

Eventually, monogenism would supplant polygenism after Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1859; however, the influence of Morton, Agassiz, and others from the American School, such as Josiah Nott and George Gliddon, on the popularization of racial hierarchies would endure, as the bulk of American scientists accepted the diverse origins of humans at one time.²⁸³ Furthermore, while Agassiz's disagreement with Darwin's theory of evolution may have discredited him in the eyes of many, he and his polygenist colleagues were among the first scientists to bring the ideology of racial inferiority on the basis of biological characteristics to the general public on a large scale because of their influence in the scientific and medical communities.²⁸⁴ The American School's role in creating a scientific foundation for the justification of slavery was largely forgotten because of the South's rejection of polygenism in the 1850s on the basis of its anti-biblical implications: Southern slaveholders relied on the Bible and not on scientific arguments to justify slavery.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, this anti-biblical stance prepared the public for Darwin's theory of evolution,

²⁸² Dewbury, "7. The American School," 136-37.

²⁸³ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 192.

²⁸⁴ Dewbury, "7. The American School," 144.

²⁸⁵ Staton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 194-6; For an example of the South's use of the Bible as justification of slavery, see future Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephen's March 1861 "Cornerstone Speech."

and the popularization of Darwinism would later become a powerful force in the creating and upholding of discriminatory social hierarchies.²⁸⁶ Two years after the publication of *On the Origin of Species*, the Civil War started, and the anthropometric techniques used to distinguish the races along biological lines would become more widely applied, and the epistemic authority of scientific inquiry would grow immensely.

The Civil War proved to be a suitable environment for the growth and evolution of anthropometry and statistical methodology. As mentioned earlier, American anthropometry during the war was based on Lambert Quetelet's statistical theories, which enabled American authorities to extract meaning out of the vast quantities of anthropometric data that was collected throughout the course of the war.²⁸⁷ Quetelet was a Belgian astronomer who in the 1840s and 1850s performed quantitative analyses that examined the characteristics of various groups of people in order to determine a representative "average man". He took anatomical measurements of over ten thousand men in the Belgian army and an English prison, and from this aggregate of measurements he concluded that it was possible to determine both representative physical and biological characteristics about the men, as well as behavioral, social, and moralistic ones. Thus, Quetelet demonstrated to his mid-eighteenth-century audience that an individual's mental, physical, and spiritual bearing could be distilled to a series of numbers that had been subjected to a careful quantitative analysis. The individuals, when their numbers were aggregated, became representative of their group as a whole.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 72.

²⁸⁷ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 32-34.

²⁸⁸ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 21-22.

During the Civil War, the US Sanitary Commission would adopt Quetelet's methodology very soon after its formation in 1861.

Founded by members of the upper elite from New England, New York, and the mid-Atlantic, the Sanitary Commission was formed in spring 1861 as a philanthropic organization to supplement the medical efforts of the army and to inspect the sanitary conditions in army camps. In the course of its work, the commission gathered large quantities of vital statistics on Union soldiers.²⁸⁹ Its members recognized early on that the war offered a golden opportunity to extract and analyze the vast quantities of scientific information that was being generated. The concept of this type of data-gathering investigation was not new by the 1860s, as they had been quite widespread in both nineteenth-century Britain and the United States, an example of which was the US Census. This type of raw data was especially important because it created the illusion that the information was unfiltered and unadulterated and therefore provided a way for the reader to understand and envision his society in his own way. Thus, these types of "quantifiable social facts" already carried authority by the onset of war.²⁹⁰

Originally in 1861, under the direction of the general secretary, Frederick Law Olmsted, the commission began a study to determine the physical, mental, and social characteristics of the volunteer army. Olmsted had experience conducting this type of study. As the superintendent of New York City's Central Park in the 1850s, he wanted to investigate the effect of immigration on the labor force of the city and collected various physical

²⁸⁹ George M. Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 98-100.

²⁹⁰ Leslie A. Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work': The U.S. Sanitary Commission and the Elaboration of Race in the Civil War Era," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 4 (2018): 647-576. See pages 653-54 information contained in paragraph and page 654 for quotation.

measurements of thousands of park workers.²⁹¹ By 1863, the Sanitary Commission had secured funding, created a form for the collection of physical and social characteristics of Union soldiers, secured the instruments needed to perform the measurements, and hired two inspectors to conduct the measurements.²⁹² The commission began collecting anthropometric data on white soldiers in early 1863,²⁹³ and by 1864 the commission launched the same initiative on the thousands of recently enlisted black troops. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, who was the head of the commission's Statistical Bureau and had taken over from Olmstead as the principal investigator of the study, foresaw the immense value of a potential comparative racial study and "the production of racial knowledge" that it would engender.²⁹⁴ Gould, the first American to earn a Ph.D. in astronomy, was from a prominent Boston family and was a founding member of the National Academy of Sciences. His background in managing vast quantities of astronomical data suited him well to the task of analyzing the anthropometric data generated on the bodies of both white and black Union soldiers. However, he lacked both anthropological and medical knowledge but compensated for this by consulting with fellow National Academy of Sciences members, one of whom was Louis Agassiz.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Lundy Braun, *Breathing Race into the Machine: The Surprising Career of the Spirometer from Plantation to Genetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 31.

²⁹² Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 654.

²⁹³ The 1863 Sanitary Commission investigation was the continuation and expansion of two similar endeavors. The first, begun in 1858 by physician and future member of the Sanitary Commission, S. Weir Mitchell, and with the backing of the Smithsonian Institution and the American Academy of Natural Sciences, was an effort to obtain anthropometric information from both working class and educated native born whites. The second study, begun in 1861 by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, involved gathering bodily measurements of Union soldiers. This endeavor was ultimately taken over by the Sanitary Commission. See Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 654 and Braun, *Breathing Race into the Machine*, 31.

²⁹⁴ Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 654-55. See page 655 for quotation.

²⁹⁵ Braun, *Breathing Race into the Machine*, 32-33.

Data collection required specialized equipment, as well as an ever-increasing number of inspectors to perform the measurements and clerks to record the results. The equipment included an andrometer (to measure height, limb length and torso width), a spirometer (to measure lung capacity), a dynamometer (to measure pulling force), calipers, and a measuring tape.²⁹⁶ The measurements, which were taken when the individual was naked, were extensive, including the “girth of neck”, the “height to knee,” the “distance between nipples,” and several measurements of the face and head. In addition to this, the administrators of the examinations were asked to report the complexion of skin and color of the individual’s hair, which, presumably, had implications for the fitness of particular ethnicities. For examining black individuals, examiners had to provide an estimate of the amount of African blood the person had, as well as which part of Africa he came from when possible. When investigating intelligence, examiners were told that “in examining negro troops... the ordinary white private soldier” would be the “the standard of comparison.”²⁹⁷ This exposed the fundamental flaw in the Sanitary Commission’s collection methods and quantitative analysis. Like Samuel Morton, when he measured the skull capacities of non-white subjects, the conclusion that Africans were inferior to whites intellectually was already established and the examiners were merely determining the measurable characteristics that proved the racial inferiority.

The bias was evident in Gould’s 1869 report. Throughout the course of the war the commission examined a total of approximately 18,000 whites, 4,000 black soldiers, and 500

²⁹⁶ Schwalm, “A Body of ‘Truly Scientific Work,’” 655.

²⁹⁷ Benjamin A. Gould, *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers* (New York, 1869). Gould provided an extensive explanation of the examination procedures and the measurements that were taken on pages 218-240. See pages 223-25 and page 227 for the first and second sets of quotations, respectively.

Native Americans.²⁹⁸ The report identified many characteristics that made blacks distinct from whites, including their less developed muscles, poor posture, and rapid digestion, along with contradictory observations that blacks were both less and more susceptible to disease and illness.²⁹⁹ Notably, there were differences reported between free state and slave state blacks, as well as between full black and mixed race. In the hierarchy of fitness and intelligence, full blacks were ranked below whites and Native Americans in terms of both physical and mental health, and mixed race fell below full blacks in terms of physical but not mental capabilities. These conclusions about mixed race individuals lent credence to those that feared or warned of the dangers of miscegenation, and they also provided the evidence to demonstrate the supposed biological inferiority of hybrids.³⁰⁰ Finally, it is worth noting that in his explanation of his findings, he did not mention the difference in social circumstances between the black and white soldiers, even with many blacks having entered the Union army after growing up as slaves on a plantation.³⁰¹ The differences between the white and black individuals, therefore,

²⁹⁸ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 26.

²⁹⁹ Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 660.

³⁰⁰ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 28-29. Haller also notes that, although the "evidence" of the time suggested that the mixed-race individual was mentally more fit than the full black, the physical degeneration of him would cause his decline and eventual extinction. This was also an example of the decreased fitness of a hybrid. See Haller, 85; The idea of decreased fecundity and fertility in hybrid species of animals was prevalent in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but they became especially salient when discussing interracial procreation in the United States in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Samuel Morton asserted that hybrids were infrequent because they were contrary to nature. The implication in Morton's work was that the offspring of an interracial couple would be infertile or at least have reduced fertility. See Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, 114-18 and Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 52.

³⁰¹ Braun, *Breathing Race into the Machine*, 37. Margaret Humphreys notes that the use of height as an indicator for overall health almost certainly impacted the image of blacks as weak soldiers, especially for those who had been slaves west of the Mississippi River, where nutritional needs were even more infrequently met (7). For more on the disparate health conditions that existed between black and white soldiers during the Civil War, see Margaret Humphreys, *Intensely Human: The Health of the Black Soldier in the American Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

were due solely to the measurable anatomical characteristics, which provided evidence for the inferior status of blacks.

These anthropometric studies that the Sanitary Commission conducted help illustrate the way in which science, scientific methodology, and the creation of new technologies could be used to produce the concept of a racialized social hierarchy in which blacks were both physically and mentally weak. The social status of the Sanitary Commission leadership, as well as Gould's connections with the elites in the scientific community, facilitated the dissemination of this racist concept, which is even evident in Darwin's book on human evolution, *The Descent of Man*.³⁰² Furthermore, Gould maintained that the information presented in his report was objective and uninterpreted, as was common in nineteenth-century large-scale data gathering investigations, and that the anthropological community would interpret the data and make the final judgment of its meaning for the position of whites and blacks in American society.³⁰³ Thus, the largest anthropological study to date, conducted by an influential and well-connected group of northern elites, established that there were measurable differences between the races and that race, and not, for example, country of origin or occupation, was the most important factor in explaining these physical, mental, and social differences.

The idea of inherent racial differences not only became reified by the anthropometric studies performed during the war but manifested itself also in the disparate health outcomes of

³⁰² Braun, *Breathing Race into the Machine*, 38-41. Braun notes that Darwin cited Gould's report when discussing "the inferior vitality of mulattoes," and she also asserts that the lung capacity data, which was obtained using the spirometer, helped Darwin formulate his theories on the origins of races. Specifically, Braun says that "in giving an evolutionary cast to lung capacity measurements, Darwin reinforced scientific arguments for a hierarchy of difference." See page 41 for quotation. For more on the influence Gould's report had on Darwin's *The Descent of Man* see Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 86-88.

³⁰³ Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 661.

white and black soldiers. In total, around 13.5 percent of whites who went to war would die while serving, compared to 18.5 percent of blacks. Because those in positions of power viewed whites as more capable soldiers than blacks, whites typically served on the battlefield, while blacks served behind the lines. Thus, black soldiers saw less combat but suffered a much higher death rate because they perished from disease at a much higher rate than their white counterparts: ten blacks died of disease for every battle casualty, while the number for whites was only 2.7. The medical statistics on disease deaths confirmed the contemporary idea of differences between white and black bodies, as blacks were more likely to die of diarrhea, pneumonia, scurvy, tuberculosis, smallpox, and malaria.³⁰⁴

The prevalence of death-related disease in black soldiers was explained by, as seen through a twenty-first-century lens, biologically deterministic arguments, which were bolstered by contemporary scientific and medical ideas. As discussed above, black soldiers typically entered the Union army in poor health, having suffered from chronic malnutrition.³⁰⁵ Being disadvantaged from the start, along with insufficient medical care, poor planning and management of resources by war authorities, and overcrowded living arrangements created the ideal conditions for disease to incubate and spread. For example, in Louisiana, black troops died in shocking numbers during 1864 and 1865, as they suffered a 44 percent mortality rate from disease.³⁰⁶ Union commanders knew that that area of the country harbored mosquito-borne illnesses, such as malaria and yellow fever, which made them reluctant to

³⁰⁴ Humphreys, *Intensely Human*, 10-13.

³⁰⁵ See note 44.

³⁰⁶ Humphreys, *Intensely Human*, 116.

send white troops there for fear of mass disease-related casualties.³⁰⁷ They believed, however, that blacks had innate immunity to, or did not suffer as much from, mosquito-borne diseases due to years of slaves working in and around the Mississippi River. Commanders were shocked when they learned of the high mortality rate but accepted that it was most likely due to the inherent weaknesses and lack of endurance of black soldiers and not due to lack of food, overwork, overcrowding, contaminated water, or inadequate medical care.³⁰⁸ Most likely the majority of the soldiers had never been exposed to malaria and thus did not have any immunity to it; nor, most likely, were their ancestors from certain parts of Africa might have possessed partial immunity to the disease. However, this was unimportant, as the high mortality rate from mosquito-borne diseases supported the idea of black weakness and inferiority, not least because they died from diseases to which they were supposed to be less susceptible. Furthermore, even if black soldiers might have possessed more resistance to malaria than white soldiers, the large death figures overshadowed this and made starker the inbred biological differences between whites and blacks.³⁰⁹

Similarly, the health of the four million freed slaves became further proof of black weakness after tens of thousands died and more became disabled or chronically ill after emancipation. Their deaths were caused by illness and diseases and were the product of gross mismanagement by federal and military officials, prejudice, the scientific ideas that guided medical practice, and the mass migrations that emancipation and the war had initiated. As was the case with black soldiers, chronic malnutrition caused poor health from a young age, but in

³⁰⁷ In fact, it was an official policy of the Lincoln administration to station black troops in the South during the warm months when mosquitoes were ubiquitous. See Humphreys, *Intensely Human*, 105.

³⁰⁸ Humphreys, *Intensely Human*, 104-18.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

freedpeople this was exacerbated by their lack of clothing, shelter, and food caused by their uncertain post-emancipation political status as neither citizens, soldiers, nor slaves.³¹⁰ Communicable diseases were a large problem, and between 1862 and 1868, smallpox ravaged the freed population. In major cities throughout the North, the disease spread, and with it came the idea that blacks brought it with them, with some Northern newspapers blaming freedpeople's dirty habits and immoral behavior. This notion was reinforced by the government's endorsement of the assertion that blacks and whites did indeed react differently to the disease and that blacks were much more susceptible, despite medical authorities identifying that environmental factors caused the spread and that it had spread through white communities throughout American history. Furthermore, the system for tabulating the smallpox cases relied heavily on the medical reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, which was established to manage the well-being of the freedpeople and therefore almost exclusively reported cases in freedpeople. Because of this skewed statistical data, federal authorities received disease figures that suggested freedpeople were disproportionately affected by smallpox.³¹¹ The reported disease data on the freedpeople, coupled with widespread claims of disparities between white and black disease susceptibility, further reinforced the biological differences between the races, but it also helped illuminate a pressing political issue that arose after emancipation: what would become of the millions of freed slaves?

As mentioned above, the Freedmen's Bureau was established in March 1865 in order to help freedpeople survive the unhealthy conditions that they encountered after emancipation; however, the organization was ultimately more concerned with creating a viable workforce

³¹⁰ Jim Downs, *Sick from Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4-8.

³¹¹ Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 98-101.

out of the freed population. After freedpeople in the recently emancipated Confederate lands held by Union troops in 1863 became aware of the health crisis unfolding around them, they petitioned both Northern benevolence organizations as well as governmental organizations in order to receive medical care and other aid. In response to this, The Department of Negro Affairs and the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission were established. The Department of Negro Affairs addressed the living conditions and needs of freedpeople, while the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was tasked with exploring possible labor opportunities available for freedpeople in the South and to expand and improve the employment already established.³¹² Samuel Gridley Howe, a New Englander who was well-known for his work with the blind and deaf and who was also one of the co-conspirators who sponsored John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, was appointed to the Inquiry Commission to conduct the survey of the South.³¹³ During the course of his investigation, he began a correspondence with Louis Agassiz.

In the correspondence, Howe asked Agassiz's views on several topics about the current condition of the black population in the United States, saying that he needed the "consideration of political, physiological, and ethnological principles" in order to recommend any "political policy" to his commission. His main concerns were about the future of freed blacks in the United States after the war, and he was particularly worried about the disappearance of blacks from the population due to their relatively small numbers. He wondered if the four million blacks and mixed-race individuals would eventually "be absorbed, diluted, and finally effaced by the white race" because of the latter's much larger

³¹² Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 57-58.

³¹³ Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War*, 102; Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 58.

numbers, which led to his questioning the prevalence of “amalgamation,” or miscegenation, after the war. As already mentioned, ideas about the fecundity and overall health of interracial hybrids were present in anthropological literature, and Howe wanted to know Agassiz’s opinion as to whether amalgamation would cause extinction of mixed-race individuals in the North due to the production of infertile offspring. He further wondered if the full black population would persist in the warmer climates in the Gulf and deep South, or if “the natural tendencies [were] to the diffusion and final disappearance of the black (and colored) race.”³¹⁴

Agassiz’s response celebrated emancipation but warned that without the proper policies in place the government could face the problem of having a society comprised of two “races more widely different from one another than all the other races.” He explained the origins of the races and that they were originally created and distributed across the geographical areas most suitable to them. Because of this, he believed that the full black race would remain viable in the Southern United States. Conversely, whites were better suited to live in the Northern climate, so a natural segregation of the races would occur; therefore, “by a natural consequence of unconquerable affinities, the colored people in whom the negro nature prevails will tend toward the South, while the weaker and lighter ones will remain and die out among us.” Furthermore, this would prevent any competition for labor between the races, as well as prevent the exploitation of blacks by white overseers.³¹⁵ Thus, whites and blacks

³¹⁴ Samuel Gridley Howe to Louis Agassiz, Portsmouth, 3 Aug. 1863, Louis Agassiz correspondence and other papers, MS Am 1419, (415). Houghton Library, Harvard College Library; The idea that people of African descent, whether mixed-race or otherwise, would go extinct, may have influenced the treatment of freedpeople infected with diseases post-emancipation. Medical and federal authorities believed it was futile to treat a person whose race was headed toward extinction. This was also another piece of evidence that physical or physiological characteristics, in this case their response to disease, were indicative of racial differences and that these differences explained a group’s social position. See Down, *Sick from Freedom*, 106-11.

³¹⁵ Louis Agassiz to Samuel Gridley Howe, Nahant, 9 Aug 1863, Louis Agassiz correspondence and other papers, MS Am 1419, (150), Houghton Library, Harvard College Library; Louis Agassiz, Transcript of letter to Samuel Gridley Howe, Nahant, 10 Aug 1863, Louis Agassiz correspondence and other papers, MS Am 1419, (151), Houghton Library, Harvard College Library. See the 9 Aug. letter for the quotations.

would naturally separate if left to do so because of the natural laws that governed the suitability of each race to a particular habitat: blacks preferred warm, tropical climates, while whites were better suited to a temperate environment. As for the hybrid, the product of miscegenation, he would disappear from the American population due to natural laws.

In his response to Agassiz, Howe expressed his respect and admiration for Agassiz, but he maintained that his responsibility was “to gather as many facts and as much knowledge as [was] possible, in order to throw light on every part of the subject” and that he would need to consider other, conflicting theories about amalgamation and hybridization.³¹⁶ It is unclear, then, how much influence Agassiz’s ideas about race and the origins of man had on Howe or anyone else who was in a position to impact governmental policy. However, the correspondence demonstrated that as a Harvard professor and member of many prestigious scientific societies, Louis Agassiz was prominent enough among the elites that his expertise was sought even in spite of his reluctance to accept Darwin’s new theory of evolution.³¹⁷ Furthermore, Howe’s need to consider multiple theories illustrated the position to which science was elevated as a tool in making policy decisions. Finally, the letters illuminated an issue that would become of paramount importance after the war: how to create a functioning society, especially in the South, in which freed slaves would live side-by-side with their former masters and oppressors?

The United States would grapple with the issue of establishing a functioning multiracial democracy for decades. Civil War anthropometry became the foundation for

³¹⁶ Samuel Gridley Howe to Louis Agassiz, New York, 18 Aug. 1863, Louis Agassiz correspondence and other papers, MS Am 1419, (416), Houghton Library, Harvard College Library.

³¹⁷ See note 27.

institutionalized concepts of racial inferiority throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, as science became a tool used to uphold the conservative conception of a stable and ordered society that emerged after the war.³¹⁸ Many studies were conducted that relied and built upon the findings of the Sanitary Commission's anthropometric study, and which also reinforced and legitimized the scientific racism that purported to identify the measurable differences that made the races distinct.³¹⁹ Furthermore, these studies popularized and disseminated the concept of racial difference that helped justify the inferior and disenfranchised position that black individuals held in American society. They confirmed, relying on the objective nature of scientific inquiry and its reliance on numbers, the already-held notion of white superiority.³²⁰ After Reconstruction, scientific racism was instrumental in stripping blacks of their hard-fought political and economic gains. White politicians argued that the poor socioeconomic situation that blacks found themselves in after the Civil War was the result of their inherent inferiority and was proof that slavery had been a more suitable station for them.³²¹ In order to prevent the collapse of society, blacks and whites would have to be separated, which was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1896 in their *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, ushering in Jim Crow Segregation.³²² Thus, biological deterministic ideas became further embedded in post-Civil War American Society, and the ideas were legitimized by the scientific endeavors of white

³¹⁸ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, 19-20; Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War*, 112-13.

³¹⁹ Schwalm, "A Body of 'Truly Scientific Work,'" 662.

³²⁰ Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution*, xiv.

³²¹ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019) 67-75.

³²² Gates, *Stony the Road*, 34-35.

Northerners. With the help of these individuals, many could now cleanse their consciences of their complicity in the re-subjugation of a group of people deemed inferior.

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Chapter 6.

Ryan Goff

“The Evolution of Medicine Due to the Civil War”

An important fact that occurred in the Civil War was the expansion of our medical knowledge due to all the horrific war injuries that happened and how we learned to improve our medical procedures as the war progressed. Without the Civil War, our country might still be far behind European countries regarding medical procedures for years to come if not for the medical advancements during the war. Advancing our medical procedures from the Civil War is not what most people think of when they speak of what good came out of the Civil War. For many people, including historians, the notion that the only positive element that came out of the Civil War was the abolishment of slavery is wrong. Civil War history is not typically viewed as a time where great medical and surgical advancements were made that helped shape the U.S. as the medical innovators that we are today. Before the war, our country’s knowledge and performance with medicine and surgery was definitely lacking. “This era is often referred to in a negative way as the Middle Ages of medicine in the U.S.”³²³ Our medical and surgical methods were seen as barbaric and cruel to other countries who themselves had made great strides in the medical field. Our methods were savage and dark before the war but see positive and innovated progress due to the constant need of medical attention during the Civil War. Despite a horrendous and brutal war, it was required for us as a

³²³ Robert F. Reilly, Jr. M.D., “*Medical and Surgical Care During the American Civil War 1861-1864*” (Lecture, University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center, May 30, 2014), https://utswmed-ir.tdl.org/bitstream/handle/2152.5/1420/Reilly_protocol_FINAL.pdf?sequence=1

country to learn and experiment so that we could innovate and surpass our backwards approach of medicine. Evidence and research clearly shows that without the Civil War, our medical knowledge would not have shown the tremendous amount of progress we attained for years to come. There was, in fact, a bright side to the war and even though the war had its negatives, it also had true positive outcomes as well. Innovations in surgery would never have come as far as they had, if not for the medical experiences of the war.

The South and the North during the war were very far behind in the medical field compared to Europe. Both the Union Army and the Confederate Army lacked the knowledge that we see today and view as common sense. Overall, Confederate medicine was far weaker than the Union Army medicine and in fact was not even close. Unfortunately for the South, at the start of the war, most of the prestigious medical officers and doctors were brought to work on the side of the Union army, which was a great advantage. “Confederate medicine was basically medieval, with doctors serving the Confederate army with no experience and no sense of hygiene. Thousands would die due to careless care and lack of medicine for wounds.”³²⁴ The Confederate army not only lacked the knowledge of medicine, but they also lacked the medical supplies due to the fact that the federal government of the Union held most medicine. President Abraham Lincoln had set up blockades for all the Southern ports so there were shortages of all supplies, including many important medical supplies. “These included medical instruments and many medicines that could not be domestically produced easily, especially quinine, morphine, and chloroform.”³²⁵ One of the only options for the Confederacy to obtain the medical supplies they needed was either from nature itself or from

³²⁴ Waring Historical library, *Civil Practice to Civil War*, “Confederate Medical Department,” 2020.

³²⁵ Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, *The Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine*, (Armonk, New York: M.E Sharpe, 2008), 50.

stealing or capturing the supplies from the federal government. The death rate for the Confederate army was much greater than the Union army due to inexperience on how to work on a wounded soldier. This is due to the lack of experience, lack of medicine and also because of the many blockades that were put up by the Union to stop supplies from reaching the Confederate army. Unlike the Confederate medicine, the Union medicine was the most up to date at the time. As stated earlier, they had the full support of the well-structured and organized federal government with no worries of lack of supplies. “The Union soldiers had a 26% more morality rate than the Confederate army.”³²⁶ The Union Army had marked improvement from the Mexican War (1846-1848) where the death rate for a soldier by disease was seven out of ten soldiers. The death toll by disease during the Civil War was one in every ten soldiers. As you can see, the Union army was much more knowledgeable than the Confederate army, but both of the army’s knowledge of medicine skyrocketed due to the war.

An important innovation was the medical treatment of a gunshot wound victim and how the treatment throughout the war changed the survival rate. Two-thirds of the gunshot injuries were to the arms and legs. For the majority of the gunshot injuries, if the wound was bigger than the size of the mini ball, then the hope for survival was very small due to the doctors not knowing how to close and stop the bleeding. Most of the time, amputation was the number one response to any wound on a limb. With the doctors and surgeons experiencing so many gunshot wound victims, they were able to learn what worked and what did not. They learned on both sides that if the mini ball shards were left in for a long period of time, then there was more of a chance that an infection could occur. Of course, sadly finding these medical and surgical findings cost a lot of lives, but it also gave a positive outcome. “If the

³²⁶ Reilly, “*Medical and Surgical Care During the American Civil War 1861-1864*”

injury caused little or no damage to the bone, the wound was often treated, with intervention limited to the removal of the missile, foreign substances and bone splinters. But if the bone was badly damaged, Civil War surgeons quickly learned that the best chance of survival was through the use of amputation.”³²⁷ At the start of the war and earlier, if someone had a gunshot wound on a limb then the surgeons’ first thought was amputation, but now they found out that if the injury caused little to no damage to the bone, then the wound could be treated with little to no surgical treatment. “Amputation was the most radical treatment for gunshot wounds, used by both sides during the Civil War.”³²⁸ They then also knew amputation was then only necessary if the gunshot wound destroyed the bone or the ligaments to a point of obvious no return. The amputation process was not necessarily the worst outcome a civil war doctor could perform because amputation would help with stopping the spread of disease, but it is the fact that what person would want to lose an arm or a leg if it was unnecessary in the first place. “The limb was lost, but the soldier had a less chance of developing life-threatening complication like gangrene and bone infection.”³²⁹ Overall, at the beginning of the war the death rate from a gunshot wound for the Confederacy was 63% and for a Union soldier the death rate was 61%, but by the end of the war both death rates dropped 20% due to the knowledge gained about gunshot wounds throughout the war.

Another innovation in the surgical field was the innovation of the amputation process. Amputation was the biggest surgical process in the medical field during the war and before the war. This was the aspect of war that many people on both sides said was the most barbaric

³²⁷ Terry Reimer, “Wounds, Ammunition, and Amputation.” National Museum of Civil War Medicine, November 9, 2007, <http://www.civilwarmed.org/surgeons-call/amputation1/>.

³²⁸ Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, *The Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine*

³²⁹ Reimer, “Wounds, Ammunition, and Amputation”

and brutal method of anything involving the war. Before the Civil War, almost all wounds on a limb were considered unfixable and the only treatment was to remove the limb. At the beginning of the war, if an amputation was performed on the leg, there was only a 20% chance that a soldier would survive due to blood loss or disease that frequently went unnoticed. If the amputation occurred on the arm, then you had a 40% chance of living. This all changed throughout the war. The medical officers and surgeons of both sides were able to realize after many failed amputation attempts, that what they were doing was all wrong. The doctors were able to figure out that the mortality rate depended on how close the cut had to be made to the torso. If the cut had to be made closer to the torso, then they must go over all their options before they basically send the soldier to death. If the cut was to be made closer to the foot or hand, then the doctors knew that they could perform an amputation due to the survival rate being much greater. “Generally, the further the amputation was from the trunk of the body, the better the patient’s chance for survival. Arm amputees had a better survival rate than leg amputees.”³³⁰ Another big discovery found during the war by the doctors was the timetable they had to save lives. At the start of the war, many surgeons did not believe that there had to be a certain amount of time they had to perform a surgery on a soldier to save them. After failing to save many soldiers, they discovered that if a surgery were performed in less than 24 hours, then the survival rate would go up tremendously. “The Union doctors were and becoming more medically innovated every day. They understood that with wounds and disease everything must be timed. They knew now that wounds, if amputation was needed, they had a 24-hour window to save the soldier.”³³¹ This seems an obvious point in today’s

³³⁰ Schroeder-Lein, *The Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine*, 16.

³³¹ Reilly, “*Medical and Surgical Care During the American Civil War, 1861–1865.*”

thinking, but during this time our knowledge was so low; even lower than you would probably think. “After two years in the war, the surgeons were now understanding that with wounds and disease everything must be timed when performing an amputation.”³³² From our historical records of the Civil War, the survival rate of an “amputation at the beginning of the war was only 48% and by the end of the war the survival rate was 67%,” which as you can see is a huge jump.

Disease was probably the most feared by a soldier during the Civil War, due to its life-threatening tendencies. Prior to the war, even if you survived the surgery process, you were still far from recovery. If you did not die from the loss of blood from the surgery, you most likely died due to infection or disease that had attacked your wound afterwards. This problem would occur due to the fact that doctors and surgeons had no knowledge of surgical hygiene, so an operation table and surgical equipment would consist of many diseases. Fortunately, our knowledge on germs was on the rise in the 1850’s. At the beginning of the war, thousands of soldiers were dying; not from the battles, but from the infection and diseases that came after. “Thousands of soldiers would die from blood poisoning, malaria, typhoid, pneumonia, and many other diseases. There wasn’t enough surgeons or doctors on hand, that most of the soldiers would just rot away in a camp or on the battlefield due to disease.”³³³ The most common diseases that would kill a soldier were blood poisoning, malaria and typhoid. “Among the most feared and often fatal of the terrible epidemic diseases in the nineteenth century, typhoid is an intestinal infection spread by ingesting food or water contaminated with

³³² Schroeder-Lein, *The Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine*, 38.

³³³ Ira M. Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*. 2 vols., (New York: Random House, 2005), 224.

fecal bacteria.”³³⁴ Historians say that the first two years of fighting was not only against the Confederacy and the Union, but the soldiers and disease. Also, the Civil War is said to have lasted an extra two years due to the high spread of disease that affected both sides of the war. “For every three deaths during the Civil War, two of them was caused by disease.”³³⁵ Now after stating those terrible facts, there are some positives to the disease epidemic that hit the soldiers of the war. Like the other innovations of war, there was innovation with how we surgically and medically handled disease throughout the war. After seeing many get infected, the surgeons and doctors knew they needed to find a new method so that the soldiers would not die from disease. They did discover a new method and that was quarantine. Surgeons and doctors realized that disease spread like wildfire and leaving the dead and diseased bodies and infected soldiers near the camp of the healthy soldiers, they realized the healthy soldiers were becoming ill from the unhealthy. The doctors then decided to isolate the sick and the healthy to prevent spread and with that, it helped the doctors attend to the sick without anyone else getting an infection or disease. Due to the quarantine, the doctors were able to virtually eliminate disease without spread. Another improvement was the successful treatment of gangrene with bromine and isolation. Soldiers feared getting gangrene due to it being almost impossible not to get gangrene with the conditions they were fighting and living in. After experimenting with many chemicals to find a way to stop the gangrene, the doctors discovered that the use of bromine was a deterrent to gangrene and helped stop the spread. Without the Civil War, we would have never put so much time and effort into finding out what could help to destroy and isolate diseases.

³³⁴ Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*, 226.

³³⁵ Reilly, “*Medical and Surgical Care During the American Civil War, 1861–1865.*”

Throughout history and even in the Civil War period, women were seen as almost useless and that they should only worry about tending to the children. The leaders during the American wars before the Civil War were very stubborn and would not let any women participate in a war duty due to men thinking war was for the men only. This all changed during the Civil War, when on June 10, 1861, the Secretary of War for the Union army declared Dorothy Lynde as the superintendent of women nurses and then the creation of the nursing organization began. “Approximately 6,000 women were employed as nurses for the war.” Surgeons, doctors, and assistants were viewed as male jobs in wars and the men would have never thought women could work in the medical field. The nursing organization came into being due to the lack of doctors the Union had and due to a majority of doctors having either died or being in the Confederacy. Sadly, there are very few written accounts of the nurses during the war, but of the few that were written about, some are the most famous nurses of all. The most famous nurse was Clara Barton who established an agency to supply the soldiers during the war. The agency would go on to become the American Red Cross agency. “Clara Barton worked in many battles, often behind the lines, delivering care to wounded soldiers on both sides. She would go on to found the well-known, American Red Cross agency, which is still active today.”³³⁶ Before the war, many soldiers would end up dying from being neglected by the doctors; not because the doctors intended to, but because of the lack of doctors. With a war such as the Civil War, the doctors needed help so they innovated and adapted to having nurses. If it were not for the war, women would still be on the sidelines of later wars. Just like Clara Barton, there were many nurses that were becoming the backbone to the Union army. These nurses would prepare most surgeries for the surgeons

³³⁶ Alice Stein, *Civil War Nurses*, September 1999, <https://www.historynet.com/civil-war-nurses>.

and would not shy away from the blood. The nurses would attend to hundreds of soldiers a day and thousands over the war. Surgeons greatly appreciated having the nurses during the surgeries; not so much to help with the surgery, but more for the comfort that a woman could give the soldier who was having surgery. The presence of the nurse during the surgery greatly boosted the morale of the soldiers, and gave the male soldiers hope and also a reminder as to what they were fighting for at home. “There were approximately 600 nurses at each hospital and they were called the mothers of war.”³³⁷ Without the help from the nurses who prepared the operating tables and who tended to the wounded, thousands or more soldiers would have died throughout the war. The nurses were a medical innovation in their own way and this innovation could have not been possible without the Civil War.

The book entitled *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War* by Margaret Humphreys strongly agrees with the argument that without the Civil War, our medicine would have not evolved as it did during that time. This book is a great source due to the author being an expert in the field. The background of Margaret Humphreys is that she is a professor at Duke University and School of Medicine. She teaches the history of medicine at the university. Her research focus is on illnesses in America and most particularly in the south. Her focus in history is the American Civil War regarding the history of medicine. In her book, there are many ways you can tell that the Civil War helped evolve our medical knowledge. “Union health did improve over the course of the war, but it involved a steep learning curve.”³³⁸ Before the Civil War, many soldiers were able to steal and be given drugs

³³⁷ Stein, *Civil War Nurses*.

³³⁸ Margaret Humphreys, *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 21.

for medical or social use very easily, but the Civil War changed that. Humphreys explains how soldiers were abusing some medicines and that was one of the curves; was the delivery of medicine actually making it to the patients and not coming up missing. After the war, doctors and high-level officers figured out this problem and learned of the missing resources and knew something must be done. The army's prohibited access to the drugs for the soldiers unless the soldier desperately needed it. The senior surgeons and pharmacists were allowed to give out the medicine if deemed necessary. This helped curb the addicts of the armies and help the soldiers stay focused and organized. Another great piece is the new way that doctors were able to handle the spread of fevers. "The army even used daily quinine rations as a means of preventing the fevers that could so thoroughly and quickly depress troop strength."³³⁹ Doctors during The Civil War were starting to understand how to treat fevers to lower soldiers' temperatures. They decided to give the soldiers quinine rations and what they discovered from this was innovative because in previous wars, many soldiers would die from the smallest disease. With the quinine rations given out, the quinine would not only help the soldiers with fevers, but it helped prevent a fever to a healthy soldier. With this discovery, the experiments of new medicine started and many illnesses could go from being a death sentence to being cured. Humphreys' book is a great source and shows so much research and evidence that the Civil War had some positive outcomes. At the beginning of the Civil War, our medical officers were going into battle and war and were very noticeably unprepared. "The ineptitude of the medical officers in the first year of the war was quickly recognized."³⁴⁰ Our country had never seen a full-scale war like this before. The officers were not trained or

³³⁹ Humphreys, *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War*, 29.

³⁴⁰ Humphreys, *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War*, 21.

prepared medically to care for and treat the many soldiers of the Civil War. The South had the worst of it due to the North having most of the well-trained senior surgeons and medical officers, so the South had to learn and evolve to medically treat a war of this size. An example of the lack of knowledge and ability by the medical officers was at the first battle of Bull Run. At the battle of Bull Run, they were completely unprepared and made many mistakes. A huge mistake was that patients were being placed in an area and unintentionally forgotten about, and these soldiers would end up dying. Both medical performances of both sides were an overall disaster and needed to be changed and that is exactly what they did. The medical officers at Bull Run were all re-taught by senior surgeons and senior medical officers and they began the road of becoming experts. The coming battles would prove that the medical officers were evolving and saving more lives. "The Sanitary Commission was appalled that so many men lacked toothbrushes, and it instructed the soldiers to eat their vegetables."³⁴¹ The USSC (United States Sanitary Commission) were giving out toothbrushes, clean clothes, shoes, rations and bedding. These common supplies would help keep common sicknesses away from soldiers. This was the first time there was an organization that was created to help care for the soldiers concerning their personal hygiene during their day-to-day lives. This Commission would continue to grow and grow without stopping. With this sanitary commission, we were able to evolve and learn more about medicine and cleanliness during The Civil War and afterward.

The contribution of the USSC (United States Sanitary Commission) excelled and advanced our knowledge in medicine past America's previous knowledge. With the War

³⁴¹ Humphreys, *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War*, 132.

being so gruesome and the death rate skyrocketing, the North created an organization known as the USSC. The organization was created in 1861 and its sole purpose was to support the soldiers and help find more safe and efficient ways to handle soldiers' wounds and surgeries. "...was a civilian organization authorized by the United States government to provide medical and sanitary assistance to the Union Volunteer forces during the Civil War."³⁴² The Commission was led by some of the best physicians of the day and they investigated the living conditions of the soldiers to see if those conditions were a cause for the health crisis. The USSC also checked the surgical and treatment areas to see if that was also a problem area. A few weeks into the War, the Commission clearly saw that all of the medical and living areas of the soldiers was causing and contributing to all of the disease and health issues that the soldiers were experiencing. The USSC then went into action and began teaching the soldiers and medical staff how to take care of themselves and their fellow soldier. "...matters concerning the inspection of recruits, the health and sanitary condition of the volunteer forces, their general comfort and efficiency, the provision of cooks, nurses and Hospitals"³⁴³ The Commission would then supply soldiers with personal hygiene supplies and would inspect conditions weekly. The Commission brought the understanding to the people of the North and the Federal Government that they needed an organization like the USSC to help win the War. Overall, with the help of the USSC, the medical field was starting to grow and become popular in the U.S. The foundation of today's medicine for doctors both treating and prescribing medicine to patients was created due to the creation of the USSC during The Civil War.

³⁴² United States Sanitary Commission records, The New York Public Library Digital Collections.

³⁴³ United States Sanitary Commission records, The New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Today we all know that we would get our medicine if needed from a doctor or a pharmacy in our local town or in the surrounding areas, but before the Civil War there was no such understanding. The problem that was causing chaos in the armies was the quick and easy access for soldiers had to drugs. This easy access did caused soldiers to all quickly become addicts and almost nonfunctional due to these drugs. This was a major problem in the South due to more than half of the armies being addicts. When the South left the Union, they had no way of getting medicine because they had no medicine manufactured in the South, due to all the drugs coming from the North before the conflict. The soldiers started to steal from the Union medicine transport and even the medicine that was left in the reserves of the Confederate army and the soldiers would then keep all the medicine for themselves so the southern soldiers could keep up their fix. The high officials of the Confederate Army knew something must be done so that they would not only have enough medical supplies to win the war, but also try and curve the addiction crisis in the army. The South rounded up all of its local doctors with some experience in making their own medicine. The locals were relocated to certain areas of the South to test and experiment on new medicines that could treat an unhealthy soldier. The senior and experienced doctors of the South led the local doctors. Jefferson Davis then brought their most profitable aspect of their economy, which was their cotton trade and invested a lot of that profit to the building of medicine for his army. Mass production on medicine then began and medicine started to be produced, not as fast as the North, but enough to end the drought of medicine for the Confederate Army. After the achievement of making a proper manufacture for medicine, the South knew that they needed a strict and organized way of giving out the medicine without adding to the soldier's addiction. The small-town doctor's number one priority now was to strictly maintain balance and

maintain a strict process for the citizens of the South and soldiers to receive drugs or medicine. The local doctors were then called pharmacists with the meaning being a person who is professionally qualified and who dispenses medicine and drugs to the public. This became a tradition for many local doctors after the War, both in the South and in the North. This most importantly stopped the extreme addiction of some types of drugs in the armies and in the communities. This is just another fact that with the Civil War came another evolution of our medicinal knowledge and our medicine production.

In conclusion, when people look at the Civil War, they see basic medicinal knowledge of today, but they forget during that time period that the evolution we made with medicine during the war changed everything for the better. The strides we made throughout the war took us from the dark ages to a more civilized time for our country. All medical corps made tremendous advancements that had not been seen before or thought could be done. Our doctors were able to discover different and safer ways to conduct surgeries that brought the death rate from surgeries to an all-time low; with many more soldiers surviving. We created ambulances so the soldiers in the field that were injured could get treatment that could save them instead of have been done previously before. If you were a soldier and injured in the field, you were most likely going to die and rot away on the battlefield. Also, we designed field hospitals that were kept in very good conditions than during previous wars. We were now able to treat the wounded very efficiently. Doctors learned more about surgical procedures and were able to decrease the mortality rate and were able to help hide surgical scars to a point where they were unnoticeable. Prior to this advancement from the beginning of the War to the end, the after-surgery photos were horrifying and frightening. Many historians say that you would not be able to recognize the medical field before the Civil War

because with the tremendous evolution we made with the medical field during the War, it took us from being a third world country to a first world country like our European counterparts were in the medical field during the same time. Overall, the Civil War changed everything to do with medicine for the U.S. After the War, the doctors became so much more organized and the field of medicine became a growing occupation for the country of the U.S. Even though the Civil War did cause total chaos and destruction to our country, the War kept us learning and growing even more in our medical knowledge to where we could have had some of the best medical knowledge in the world at the time. The Civil War set up the medical field and surgical aspects that we see today.

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Part III. Military and Soldiers

Chapter 7.

Kyle Gilmore

“Snipping the Sinews of War: How the Union Blockade Strangled the Confederate Economy”

No other event in American history has been so intensely studied as the American Civil War. It has been one hundred-fifty years since Confederate General Lee surrendered to Union General Grant through which brought a close to the American Civil War. One hundred-fifty years later and Americans are still interested in the Civil War. Whether it be in movies or books, there is still a fascination with the subject. The lion's share of historical writing and popular memory of the Civil War has been dominated by the military campaigns and battles that took place in the American South. In comparison to the bloody battles, the maritime aspects of the Civil War receive little attention, besides the rise of the ironclads with the battle between the *Monitor* and *Virginia*. One might conclude that the Union Navy played an insignificant role in Union victory since their works aren't comparable to those of the Army. James McPherson's popular works on the Civil War, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, has

but one chapter dedicated to the Navy and its blockade. But in that chapter McPherson doesn't say that naval contribution won the war, but he does say that, "...it did play an important role in Union victory."³⁴⁴ The Navy's contributions, specifically the role of the blockade, have been undervalued and misunderstood. To better understand the outcome of the American Civil War, it is necessary to know the vital role that the naval blockade played in the war. The war was "a war of exhaustion," and the North was able to gain an upper hand only because the blockade helped decrease the South's ability to make war. Several historians³⁴⁵ are critical about the effectiveness of the Union's naval blockade of the Confederate South and its role in securing victory, but this so-called "paper blockade" strangled the Confederacy's economy, matériel, and morale.

A brief history of the United States Navy is necessary to better understand its role in the Civil War. The origins of the American Navy can be credited to John Adams during his time as U.S. President (1797-1801) and his belief that a navy helped defend the new nation from attack, for which he said, "Naval power... is the natural defense of the United States."³⁴⁶ After Adams, future administrations neglected naval policy but grew the Navy sporadically in order to meet the demands of the nation's rapid growth in commercial shipping and expanding boundaries (in turn becoming one of the top three global navies, behind France and Great Britain); even with the threat of secession, President Buchanan (who preceded Abraham

³⁴⁴ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 382.

³⁴⁵ Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2008); Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running during the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988); M. Brem Bonner and Peter McCord, "Reassessment of the Union Blockade's Effectiveness in the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 88, no. 4 (2011): 375–95.

³⁴⁶ John Adams, *Autobiography and Diary of John Adams*, ed. L.H. Butterfield, vol. 1–4, 4 vols., *The Adams Papers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961).

Lincoln) devalued the Navy and did nothing to prepare it for conflict.³⁴⁷ From the time of his inauguration to his assassination, Abraham Lincoln faced total chaos. With Lincoln being in office for a little over a month, war erupted between the Union and Confederacy and one of his first strategic acts of the war was when he declared a naval blockade against the South on April 19th, 1861. Those who are fascinated with the Civil War always question why declaring a blockade was a part of the Union's strategy and how it contributed to the overall victory in the war.³⁴⁸

The American Civil War erupted in 1861 with the bombardment of Fort Sumter and within a week President Lincoln declared that the Union will blockade Southern ports. But why spend time and resources on a naval blockade? War was the last thing President Lincoln and his administration wanted but when war came, they did not want a prolonged war with mass-amount of death. The aging General-in-Chief Winfield Scott, a hero of the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico, was who Lincoln looked to and got the idea of a blockade. Scott proposed a strategy in the spring of 1861 that was similar to the one used with the war against Mexico, in which the United States had blockaded Mexico's Gulf Coast.³⁴⁹ But there was a big difference in the scope between that war and the Civil War. That idea would be the key part of Scott's "Anaconda Plan" in which the navy would blockade the Southern coast and isolate them economically, suffocating the Confederacy. Since the South was an agricultural

³⁴⁷ Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1990), 119; William H. Roberts, *Now for the Contest: Coastal and Oceanic Naval Operations in the Civil War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 2.

³⁴⁸ Kurt Hackemer, *The U.S. Navy and the Origins of the Military-Industrial Complex, 1847-1883* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2002), 69; David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (Glendale, N.Y.: Benchmark Publishing Corporation, 1970), 36.

³⁴⁹ Gary W. Gallagher and Joan Waugh, *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era* (State College, PA: Flip Learning, 2015), 35.

society with little industry, they depended on imports of war materiel in which the exportation of cotton would pay for it. With that in mind, the blockade would do serious damage to this process. According to Scott, by suffocating the Southern economy, it would make the war shorter and save thousands of lives.³⁵⁰

With war having begun a week earlier, it was on April 19th, 1861 that President Lincoln declared a blockade against the “insurrectionist” Southern states and their ports with its purpose to “...prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports...”³⁵¹ One could conclude that based on this strategy, in order to prevent a prolonged war and save lives all one has to do is just bar entrance and exit from ports, which in essence is correct. In the minds of the Union, it makes sense that by preventing the Confederate South from making money would make their ability to make war difficult, if not impossible. Essentially the Union just had to “wear out” the South with this blockade. This strategy may sound easy, but this was a far greater task than it sounds. Many historians of the American Civil War and naval history agree that the Union navy was in no way prepared for the war and saw this daunting task nearly impossible given the large amount of area having to be covered.

The blockade was more than just a military and economic matter, it had legal and political implications as well. Lincoln’s Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, had to carry out this task as well as follow international law put forth by the Declaration of Paris (1856). For a blockade to be respected and accepted abroad, it had to be established immediately and

³⁵⁰ War Department United States, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Gettysburg: National Historical Society, 1971), 369/70.

³⁵¹ Abraham Lincoln, “Proclamation by the President of the United States of American on Blockade of Confederate Ports.” (Washington, D.C., April 18, 1861), <https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm000582/>.

be effective.³⁵² The meaning of “effective” was open to argument, but the blockading nation had to constantly patrol the waters off the barred ports. Welles wisely concentrated the bulk of the blockade off important Southern ports such as Mobile, Savannah, New Orleans, Wilmington, and Charleston. At the outbreak, the Union had an approximate of thirty vessels total, twelve being in home waters and the remaining eighteen abroad.³⁵³ With one hundred-eighty ports situated on the 3,549 miles of coastline, a major complication arose: how was this blockade of Union naval vessels supposed to effectively bar the Confederate States from the rest of the world with just twelve ships?

At the beginning of the war, the Union Navy did not have enough ships on hand to do much besides show a flag near the entrance of Southern ports. As time progressed the navy did grow. Secretary of the Navy Welles immediately recalled ships that were abroad after the of Fort Sumter. Throughout the war’s entirety, Welles expanded the Union Navy as well as reorganize it. The expansion came through shipbuilding programs, purchasing/chartering, and converting ships that were not originally meant for naval service. To put it bluntly, if it could float and chase a ship, it was “fit for duty.” According to historian Bern Anderson, the Union was to “...purchase or charter every available ship and craft that could be armed...”³⁵⁴ In short, the Navy was sent scrambling in desperate need of using any ship. The conversion of vessels that were not meant for naval service was both faster and cheaper than building new ships.³⁵⁵ For example, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the Monticello was converted from a

³⁵² Bern Anderson, *By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War*, First (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1962), 34.

³⁵³ David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (Glendale, N.Y.: Benchmark Publishing Corporation, 1970), 36.

³⁵⁴ Anderson, *By Sea and By River*, 289.

³⁵⁵ Hackemer, *Military-Industrial Complex*, 35.

luxury passenger ship into a warship within twenty-four hours.³⁵⁶ Welles even allowed the use of captured Confederate vessels. In addition to the purchase, chartering, and conversions of ships, the Union was able to build vessels in less time than usual due to the North's industrial power. The navy had to increase the number of sailors in order to operate the increasing number of ships. At the outbreak of war there were approximately one thousand professional officers and seventy-five hundred enlisted men; by 1864 there were six thousand officers as well as forty-five thousand enlisted men.³⁵⁷ As a result of this activity, by December of 1861 the Union Navy boasted a total of two hundred and sixty-four warships, and the blockade that had been no more than a notion well on its way to becoming a reality.³⁵⁸ By the end of the war, the total of ships on blockade duty was about five hundred to six hundred ships. Having begun the increase of vessels, the Union still had to come up with how to organize the blockade instead of just placing ships by a port and waiting for action. To remedy this issue, the Blockade Strategy Board was created and adopted a strategy that was used by the British Navy during the American War for Independence. The strategy used was called a "cabinet blockade", in which squadrons of ships would patrol every port and harbor along the Confederate coast. This strategy was used because it maintained a continuous presence of a blockade.³⁵⁹ As the war continued, the Union developed a "layered" blockade.³⁶⁰ This strategy used three lines of ships, or "layers". The first line placed at least

³⁵⁶ Craig L. Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009), 35.

³⁵⁷ Anderson, *By Sea and By River*, 290.

³⁵⁸ Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 35.

³⁵⁹ Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 36.

³⁶⁰ William H. Roberts, *Now for the Contest: Coastal and Oceanic Naval Operations in the Civil War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 109-111.

three ships of each entrance. The second line had two or three steamers stationed five miles further offshore, with outliers along the right and left sides incase runners tried to run along the coast. The third line was composed of “steamers of superior speed” that were placed far enough out to intercept runners.

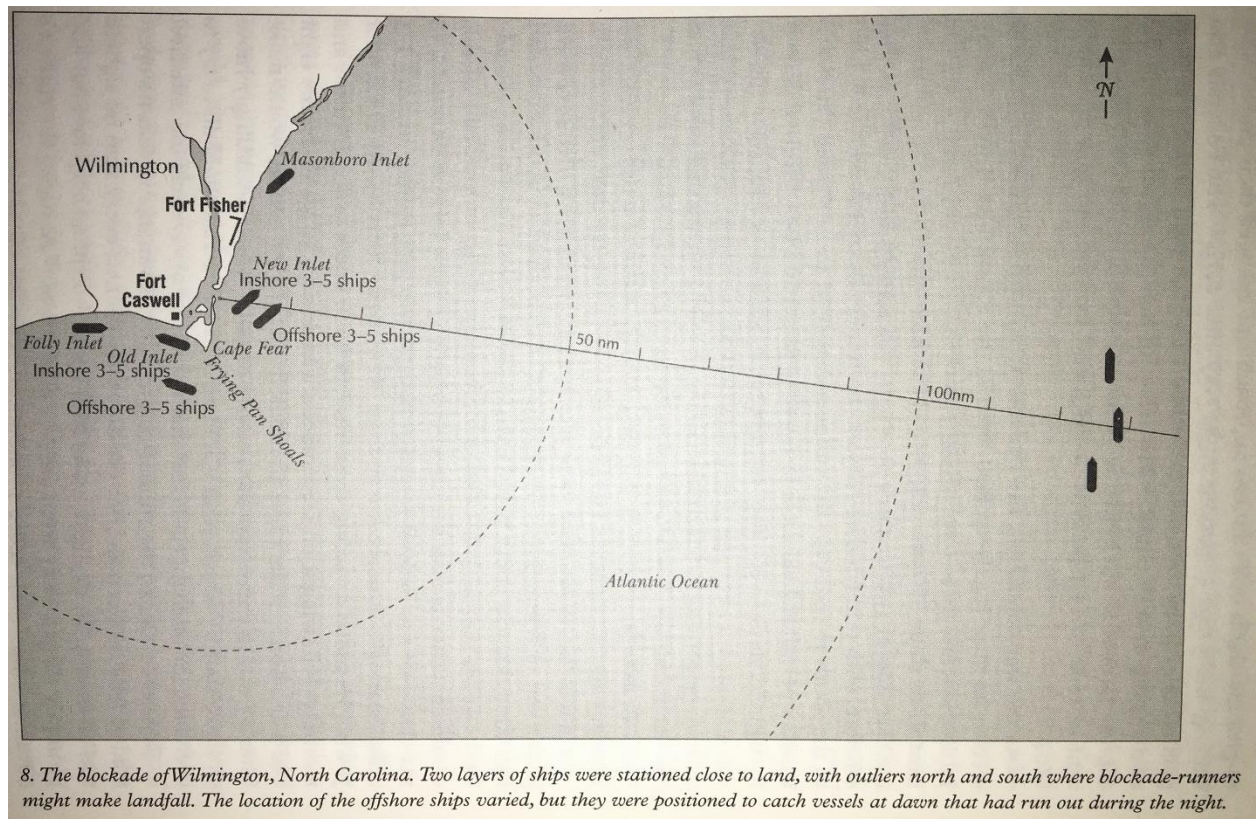
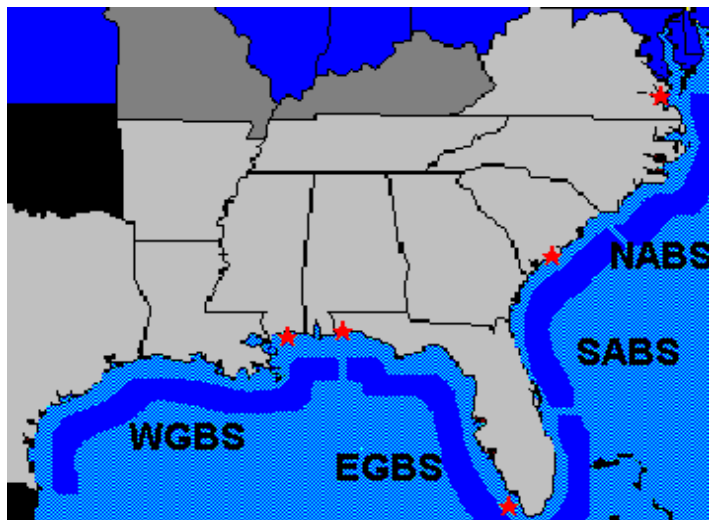


Figure 17: Example of layered blockade of Wilmington³⁶¹

Night was the most dangerous time, for that was when blockade-runners were most likely to attempt to run in or out of port. With the darkness and possible rain, a slightly darker shadow made be perceived creeping through the anchored blockade ships. Firing into darkness ran the risk of firing at other blockaders, if not runners. It was in the form of colored

³⁶¹ Roberts, *Now for the Contest*, 110.

flares that came to be used for simple communication to avoid the risk of blindly firing.³⁶² Typically, a vessel would fire a red or white flare asking another ship “friend or foe?” If the appropriate response was not forthcoming, a rocket might be fired into the night sky to alert the rest of the squadron. As the war progressed the number of squadrons increased from two to four squadrons; the North and South Atlantic Squadrons, East and West Gulf Squadrons.



The above image shows the assigned area of each blockading squadron.

It was that the *U.S.S. Niagara* appeared off the coast near the entrance the Charleston Bay on May 10th, 1861 and marked the beginning of the blockade.

In order to better understand the downfall of the Confederacy, attention must be paid to their economic collapse, brought on by the Union blockade. To shorten the war and save thousands of lives, the Union made a critical blow to the heart of the Confederacy, their cotton economy. In the words of historian Frank L. Owsley, “If slavery was the corner stone of the Confederacy, cotton was its foundation. At home its social and economic institutions rested upon cotton...” The blow to their economy would stop their ability to make war and in turn end the war quicker. According to David Surdam’s *Northern Naval Superiority*, the Union

³⁶² Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 47.

would use its naval superiority to prevent Southern revenue from commercial shipping.³⁶³

The Union blockade on the South was necessary in preventing the Confederacy from establishing a full-scale war economy, which was key to ending the war. There are those who measure the blockade's effectiveness by counting how many blockade-runners slipped through and labeling it "ineffective", which in turn is the only method used to disprove the blockade. The best way to measure the blockade's effectiveness is not by counting the cargoes that made it through but by comparing prewar and wartime export totals. The tightening blockade and eventual occupation of Southern ports cumulatively weakened the Confederate economy, decreased civilian morale, and effectively undermined the government and its war efforts.

With the blockade in place and tightening as time went on, the highly depended on exports of cotton was what knocked the Confederacy to its knees, and it was only time before they tapped-out. In the last three antebellum years about ten million bales of cotton were exported, with three million bales in 1860. In comparison during the war, the Confederacy managed to export between half a million to a million bales of cotton.³⁶⁴ Since cotton was unable to be exported, there was less of a need to grow it which led to reduced cotton plantings during the years of war. Not only did the blockade prohibit exportation but it also restricted their importations, which led to shortages and inflation. Instead, war matériel was the vital and immediate need that took priority over the importation of consumer goods and necessities of life. Being cut off from coastal trade forced the Confederacy to depend on the

³⁶³ David G. Surdam, "Northern Naval Superiority and the Economics of the American Civil War," Cambridge University Press, *The Journal of Economic History*, 56, no. 2 (1996): 473–75.

³⁶⁴ Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 56; Anderson, *By Sea and By River*, 230; James M. McPherson, *War on the Waters: The Union and Confederate Navies, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 225; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 250-290; Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, 221 and passim.

inadequate railroad network, which deteriorated quickly without the importation of materials needed for maintenance. It was the blockade that pushed this breakdown of the Southern transportation system and crippled the economy further.

With the breakdown of the Southern economy and transportation system, the effects of the blockade were further felt on the battlefield as well as in the home. Due to the deterioration of the inadequate railroads and the inability to maintain it, shortages ran rampant and inflation became ruinous. The lack of imports, due to the blockade, caused shortages that impacted the lives of soldiers and their families, which provides another way to measure the blockade's effectiveness. Life essentials like clothing and shoes came unobtainable to soldiers and families back home, except at prohibitive prices due to inflation. Julia Johnson Fisher - a woman from Camden County, Georgia during the Civil War - described in her diary of the rampant inflation brought on by the blockade which caused lack of food and clothing:

We have been out of meat some days. Live on corn and rice...No one has anything to sell—all are short...Shoes \$100 a pair—Flour \$200 a barrel Eggs \$3.00 per dozen...The bubble must burst before long...We want Northern comforts...The thought of milk, potatoes and good bread makes us mourn for a return of good times.³⁶⁵

In his *By Sea and By River*, Bern Anderson remembers reading Civil War letters about how women had to resort to using thorns as a substitute for high-priced steel needles caused by inflation.³⁶⁶ With hardships at home, indirect effect of the blockade, being described in

³⁶⁵ Julia Johnson Fisher, "Julia Johnson Fisher, 1814-1885: Diary, 1864.," Documenting the American South, n.d., <https://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/fisherjulia/fisher.html>.

³⁶⁶ Anderson, *By Sea and By River*, 231.

letters to Confederate soldiers could explain the rise of desertions throughout the war. One can conclude that the Union Army's major victories did not occur until the South began to suffer from the shortages, brought on by the Union blockade. It wasn't just families that suffered from shortages, it was also the soldiers on the battlefields. According to historian Stephen Wise, the blockade had nothing to do with shortages experienced throughout the South; instead he blames the poor condition of the Southern railroads for the "rotted foodstuffs in the South,"³⁶⁷ There is a flaw in Wise's claim that the blockade had no impact on the deterioration of the Southern railroads. The flaw is in the fact that the collapse of the railroads is due to the inability to import materials needed to maintain said railroads.

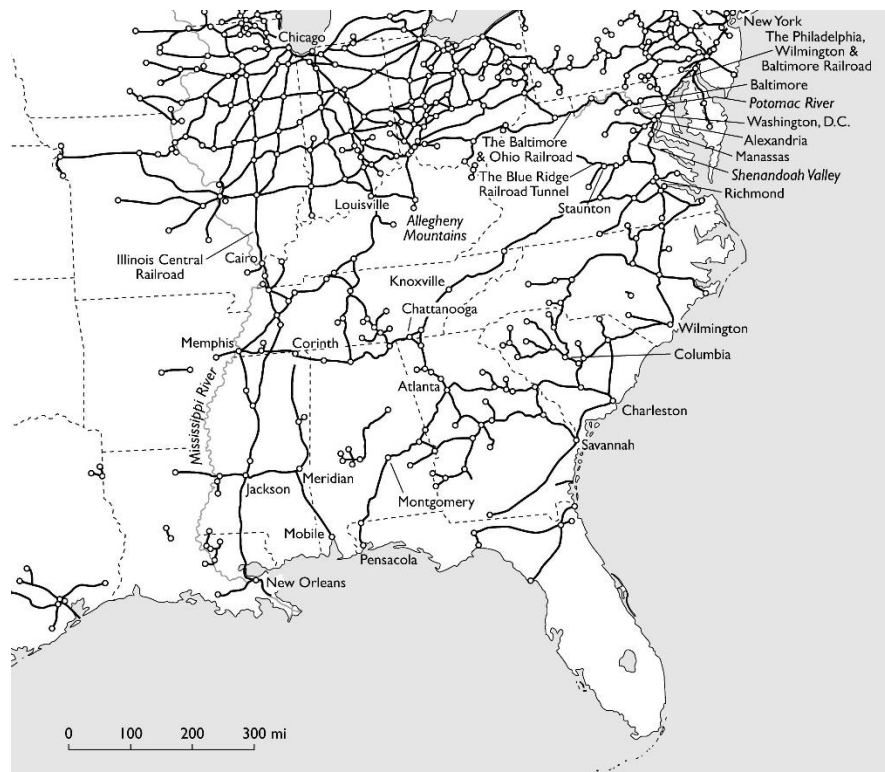


Figure 18: This map shows the major Southern ports and their railroad connections.

³⁶⁷ Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*. 229.

The Union blockade created these shortages and ultimately insured Union victory. William Diamond, historian of Southern history, explains in his *Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico* the state of the Confederacy throughout the war:

...the seceded South...lacked most of the raw materials from which they could be manufactured. The South needed clothing, medicine, tools, and, later on, food. It lacked the factories, too, with which to manufacture the sinews of war, and the machinery and skilled labor with which to establish and run factories...³⁶⁸

Diamond later in his article concludes how the Confederacy would've been able to shift the tides of war with their seaport traffic if the Union blockade was not present and how the mere presence of the blockade was a deterrent to possible blockade-runners.

It has been admitted that the blockade wasn't perfect and was prone to some blockade-runners managing to squeeze through. Regardless of being porous at times, the blockade was still effective in that it caused a "domino effect" throughout the South. In the words of historian Stephen Wise, vessels that managed to run the blockade were the "lifeline of the Confederacy."³⁶⁹ Early on, when the blockade was porous, blockade-runners managed to sustain the Confederacy, but as stated previously, the blockade tightened as the war progressed, sending success rates of blockade-runners in a decline. The general pattern of trade was for legal merchants to bring their cargoes from Europe to a neutral port near the United States. Popular ports such as St. George, Bermuda and Nassau in the Bahamas were

³⁶⁸ William Diamond, "Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico," *The Journal of Southern History*, 6, no. 4 (1940): 470.

³⁶⁹ Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, passim.

where the transfer of cargoes, onto especially designed ships made for running the blockade, would be made.³⁷⁰



Instead of bringing in what the Confederacy needed, these profit-driven blockade-runners brought in what made money, such as luxuries. In February of 1864, Confederate President Davis urged the Confederate Congress to pass a law to forbid the importation of luxury goods. On that long list included "...ale, rum, beer, brandy, billiard tables, furniture, carpeting, tapestries, carriages, lace, jewelry, dolls or toys, glass, marble, fur, hats, capes, paintings, statuary, wallpaper, bricks, roofing slates, perfumes, playing cards, and velvet, as well as any kind of wine..."³⁷¹ It's ironic how historians like Wise still claim that blockade-runners kept the Confederacy alive; maybe luxury goods kept those who were wealthy alive.

Regardless, every ship that managed to escape through the blockade, whether it be cargoes of luxury goods or needed supplies, was fodder for the blockade's effectiveness.

³⁷⁰ Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, 120.

³⁷¹ Mark Thornton and Robert B. Ekelund Jr., *Tariffs, Blockades, and Inflation: The Economics of the Civil War*. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2004), 50-51.

Whatever the perception, the Confederacy felt the impact of the blockade on its economy. Many people of the South came to resent that their lifeline “was fast degenerating into an illicit and unpatriotic traffic.”³⁷² The hope that Davis’ new rules to make blockade-running more efficient were too little, too late. The Confederacy was breathing its last breath at this point since it had lost so many ports, the collapsing transportation system, and shrinking size of the territory from which supplies and food could be drawn. All begun with the Union blockade.

The blockade did more than just stop ships from coming in and out of port. It also took part in joint actions with the Union Army in that it provided fire support for amphibious landings on the enemy’s shores as well as provide transportation for troops and supplies, giving the Union an advantage over the Confederate generals. Historian Craig Symonds said that Confederate General Lee became frustrated when it came apparent to him the impossibility to move troops up and down the coast as fast as Union vessels could steam from place to place. “Wherever his fleet can be brought[,] no opposition can be made to his landing.”³⁷³ Historian Bern Anderson finds it significant that the Union Army’s major victories didn’t occur until the South was suffering from shortages imposed by the Union blockade.³⁷⁴ He makes it known though that his implication doesn’t reflect the performance of the Union Army, instead he believes that joint-operation was necessary to force Lee’s surrender and the collapse of the South.

³⁷² Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 52.

³⁷³ Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea*, 45.

³⁷⁴ Anderson, *By Sea and By River*, 303.

There are those who claim the blockade to have been ineffective. Yet, basic economic analysis and research done by scholars and historians clearly supports the blockade having impacted the Confederate war-making ability. Now imagine the possibility in which there was no Union blockade of Southern ports; the Confederacy might have prevailed and claimed victory due to there being no threat on their economy. How many commercial vessels would have entered and exited major Southern ports had there been no blockade? According to James McPherson, about twenty thousand commercial vessels entered and cleared Southern ports during the four antebellum years with cargo capacity greater than those of blockade-runners.³⁷⁵ Instead of counting how many ships got through the blockade, an even greater measure of the blockade's effectiveness is how many never tried. This "deterrent" theory as a measurement is flawed though, in that it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove.

In comparison to the lives of soldiers on battlefields, life aboard a ship on blockade duty was boring, to put it simply. "Day after day, day after day, we lay inactive, roll, roll," put one naval officer in his description of blockade service. Another wrote to his mother that should could understand what being aboard a blockader was like if she were to "go to the roof on a hot summer day, talk to a half-dozen degenerates, descend to the basement, drink tepid water full of iron rust, climb to the roof again, and repeat the process at intervals until (you are) almost fagged out, then go to bed with everything shut tight."³⁷⁶ Blockade service was a tedious job. A sailor's chances of surviving were immensely greater than being a soldier on a battlefield, but it was a constant battle against boredom and the sea. There are conflicting numbers when it comes to deaths of Union sailors, but more than four thousand sailors died

³⁷⁵ McPherson, *War on the Waters*, 225.

³⁷⁶ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 378.

from during the four years of war.³⁷⁷ As Secretary Welles put it, blockading was “unattractive and devoid of adventure.”³⁷⁸ Things were livened up when a blockade-runner was spotted on the horizon. Besides the low mortality rate, blockade service was attractive in terms of financial gains. When a blockade-runner was captured, the loot would be divvied up among the crew, the most going to the officers and the Union government. This was known as the “Prize System” and it was one of the motivators to join the Union Navy. With the Confederate Navy being considered non-existent, naval action was sporadic. Sailors would spend days intently watching the horizon and ports, waiting to spot a blockade-runner in the hopes of monetary gain. It was often that days, even weeks, passed with no sign of either a blockade-runner or a ship trying to leave a port. Looking at the daily journal of John Marchand, a commander of the blockading squadron stationed off Charleston, South Carolina, helps one understand what it felt like.

- March 13th, 1862: “All day had nothing to do as no vessels appeared in sight.”
- March 14th, 1862: “A very pleasant day and nothing gas occurred to destroy its monotony.”
- March 17th, 1862: “Uninterruptedly all day doing nothing.”
- March 31st, 1862: “Nothing whatever destroyed the monotony of the day.”³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Nese F. DeBruyne, “American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics” (Congressional Research Service, Updated 2019), <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL32492>;

³⁷⁸ Gideon Welles, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1860-61*, 5.

³⁷⁹ John B. Marchand, *Charleston Blockade: The Journals of John B. Marchand, U.S. Navy 1861-1862*, ed. Craig L. Symonds (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College, 1976), 136/138. <https://digitalcommons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=historical-monographs>.

Due to the lack of anything happening, when sailors were not on duty or doing chores, they had to pass the time somehow. They read, fished, wrote letters to loved ones, and played card games. Another diary entry from John Marchand described how on July 4th, 1862 one day when the weather was pleasant, a couple ships laid anchor and attached themselves to each other so the men could visit while officers discussed the war.³⁸⁰ A common activity among sailors was the consumption of alcohol, which became a problem as time went on. Alcohol on vessels became such a problem that Congress abolished the sailor's alcohol ration beginning on September 1st, 1862. A common scene aboard a vessel on Sundays were religious services.

Besides passing the time on board a blockader, the crews had daily routines, beginning the day at 5:30 or 6:00 A.M. by sweeping the decks, washing their clothing, and polished brightwork. Meals were served at different times but usually at 8:00 A.M., noon, and 5:00 P.M. Between their meals, crews would keep busy with other cleaning chores, painting, standing four-hour watches, and drills. The ship would be thoroughly cleaned, and the decks scrubbed down several times a week. The most important and frequent function on board was drilling. Each day after the call to quarters, a drumroll would signal the crew to their battle stations, where they practiced loading and aiming the large guns. Often, they would tie old flour barrels together and fired at them between a range of 1,500-2,000 yards to sharpen their gunnery skills. They also performed musket drills and fire drills and practiced repelling boarders.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Marchand, *Charleston Blockade*, 172.

³⁸¹ Robert M. Jr. Browning, *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear: The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron During the Civil War* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 210.

As always, criticism follows when there is success. Agreement can be made among those who are knowledgeable about the Union blockade in saying that it wasn't perfect. Historians and even figures involved in the blockade admit that the blockade was not in any form flawless. It was Union Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles who said, "This whole blockade is and has been unsatisfactory from the beginning."³⁸² That coming from the Secretary of the Navy has heavy meaning in it. But by looking at the how the blockade crippled the Confederate economy and the decrease in successful blockade-runs shows how the blockade tightened as the war progressed. Criticism has come from historians like Stephen Wise who claim that the Union blockade was a waste of time and defend the Confederate government's position that the blockade was illegal. According to Wise, the blockade was "useless and counterproductive" since it absorbed ships and men that could've been used elsewhere with more effect on the war's outcome.³⁸³ President Lincoln has also been criticized because of the decision to impose a blockade upon the South. The criticism of this decision comes from the Lincoln's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Confederacy. But Gideon Welles saw a flaw in the President's action, he pointed out that a country does not blockade its own ports, it closes them. Proclaiming a blockade had the effect of recognizing a state of belligerency with the Confederacy, in turn directly contradicts Lincoln's refusal.

While some historians contend that the blockade was ineffective, research and studies clearly show that the blockade was one of the major causes of the Confederate collapse. In the early months of the war the blockade was virtually nonexistent, but as the war progressed

³⁸² United States Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, vol. 7, 30 vols., 1 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924051350860&view=1up&seq=552>, 515.

³⁸³ Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running during the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 138-139.

the blockade tightened and more Southern ports were sealed, economic isolation of the South became increasingly effective. Due to increasing economic isolation, the blockade made it harder for the Confederacy to wage war with reduced revenue from exporting cotton. To help explain this, consider the equation below:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl} \text{Car} & + & \text{Gasoline} & \rightarrow & \text{Move} \\ \text{Confederacy} & + & \text{Money} & \rightarrow & \text{Make war} \end{array}$$

The claim being made by equation is that the Confederacy needed money in order to fund the war, just the way that a car needs gasoline in order to move. Now, with the Union blockade in place the Confederate economy was being constricted. Without money coming into the Confederacy they could not continue fighting for long. With the blockade becoming increasingly effective, the chances and hope of Southern victory dwindled. With the South being cut off from international trade, they lost the ability to wage war. Despite the lack of works dedicated to the blockade, major works such as McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* don't discuss the subject in length but do credit the blockade for securing victory. The exportation of cotton kept the Confederacy alive during the Civil War and it was the Union blockade that choked the Confederacy. The Union blockade was never air-tight but as the blockade kept constricting, the South was constantly gasping for air, until they could breathe no more, bringing an end to the war. There are those though who believe the blockade unnecessary as those resources and money could've been put towards the war on land. What is not being understood is that the blockade prevented the Confederacy from being able to pay for the war and inevitably continuing the war.

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Chapter 8.

Cole Tollett

“The Texas Brigade”

The Texas Brigade rose quickly through the ranks of the Confederate Army. This was due to the unique circumstances surrounding the creation of Texas, and their perseverance in defending their homes from what they saw as total devastation and destitution at the hands of the Union and the slaves. To understand the formation and role of the Texas Brigade, one must first understand the circumstances surrounding the formation of Texas and the events that occurred within it. Texas was different from the other states that were currently in the Union. The circumstances surrounding its formation were unique, and led to a different mentality among its people.

Over its history, Texas has had six different countries own part of or all the territory associated with it. These included Spain, France, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, the United States of America, and the Confederate States of America. Most importantly were the times that Texas was under Mexican rule, and its subsequent revolution and establishment of itself as a republic. This time spent as a republic, between 1835-1846, was instrumental in shaping the attitudes and psyche of Texans afterwards.

The primary question is, “How did Texans differ from the rest of the south?” With their time spent as an independent republic Texans were more self-sufficient and independent than many of the other southern states. Also, being the western-most region of the United States Texans were accustomed to fighting off Native Americans, bandits, and vandals from

both the United States and Mexico. Texans were no strangers to fighting and surviving in harsh conditions. This sense of “rugged individualism” became part of the Texan image by 1860. With their legendary battle at the Alamo, many southerners regarded Texas as a sort of mythical region filled with men who were living on the frontier. This legendary status would later help the Texas Brigade in the Confederate Army.

Perhaps the most famous battle that involved Texas was the Battle of the Alamo during the Texas Revolution. The battle took place between February 23, 1836 and March 6, 1836. Several months before the battle, Texans had driven Mexican troops out of Mexican Texas and garrisoned one hundred men at the Alamo mission to bolster defenses. Further reinforcements were acquired when eventual Alamo commanders James Bowie and William B. Travis arrived at the Alamo with around one hundred men. However, one thousand-five hundred Mexican troops gathered for a counterattack and proceeded to push into Texas from San Antonio de Béxar on February 23, 1836. Over the course of ten days the Mexican and Texan forces engaged in several small skirmishes, but casualties were low. William B. Travis sent an urgent message to both Texas and the United States pleading for more men and supplies, for he knew that the small force at the Alamo could not stand up to the much larger Mexican force. The United States sent less than one hundred men and no supplies, as anything more would have been an overt act of war with Mexico, with whom they had a treaty with. The treaty was called the Treaty of Limits,³⁸⁴ and it confirmed the borders between the two nations. On March 6, 1836, the Mexican Army moved to secure the Alamo. The garrisoned forces were able to fend off two attacks, but the Mexican Army soon broke through the

³⁸⁴ “1828 Detail: The Treaty of Limits with Mexico goes into effect,” *americasbesthistory*, Accessed April 12, 2020. <https://americasbesthistory.com/abhtimeline1828m.html>

defenses and began to overtake the defenders. Anyone who tried to escape was swiftly cut down by the Mexican cavalry. Many reports state that between one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and fifty-seven Texans died at the Alamo, while nearly six hundred Mexicans were killed. What occurred next was the Battle of San Jacinto. The battle took place on April 21, 1836, and was the decisive victory that the Texans needed to help drive out the Mexican army. Supposedly, the battle lasted merely eighteen minutes, and ended with a Texan victory. Two days after San Jacinto, the Mexican President Santa Anna was captured and held prisoner. After three weeks in captivity, President Santa Anna signed the peace treaty that dictated the Mexican army leave the region of Texas.³⁸⁵ Afterwards, Texans gained a reputation as fierce fighters who would hold until the last man.

Slavery was an integral part of southern society in the United States. It shaped the way that people in the south thought, how they acted, and how they approached politics. One major player in Texan politics was Louis T. Wigfall, a southern senator. In his most famous speech, "Cotton Is King", Wigfall describes what would happen if the south and north were to come to blows. "On March 22, 1860, Wigfall took the floor in the senate to give his speech. As he said, It is all twaddle and nonsense to talk about fighting and bloodshed in the event of dissolution of the Union, what would the effect be? Their spindles would cease to turn; their looms would cease to move. Their ships would be laid up at their wharves, he fairly shouted, glaring at the northern senators who represented "their" in his speech."³⁸⁶ This attitude was shared by many wealthy and influential southerners.

³⁸⁵ Kemp, and L. W. "San Jacinto, Battle of." *The Handbook of Texas Online*| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA), June 15, 2010. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qes04>.

³⁸⁶ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade, The Soldiers and Families of the Confederacy's Most Celebrated Unit*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge), 12.

The beginning of the Civil War/Secession

Amidst the growing concerns of secession and the 1860 election, there happened to be a massive fire that swept through the town of Dallas, Texas, while other fires soon broke out in the nearby towns of Denton and Pilot Point. “Many locals concluded that it was due to the relentless heat- temperatures had reached 110 degrees the day of the fire in Dallas- combined with the shipment of new, highly unstable phosphorous matches that had arrived in stores across the state.”³⁸⁷ However, Charles R. Pryor, editor of the *Dallas Herald*, was not so sure about this explanation. He contacted *Austin State Gazette* editor John F. Marshall and warned him that “certain negroes” had been questioned and admitted to starting the fires. This was pure hearsay and was not substantiated by any evidence whatsoever. Shockingly, the news of this spread fast, and soon became the accepted story. People were on the lookout for arsonist negroes who were planning to assist the abolitionist movement by starting fires that would devastate the whole of Northern Texas. This led to general chaos, where mobs would execute whites and blacks on the mere suspicion of being sympathizers or being a part of the scheme. With the election of Lincoln in 1860, many Texans felt that this was confirmation of their deepest fears of slave rebellion and abolitionist plots. On February 1, 1860, Texans organized a secession convention and voted to leave the Union.

The beginning of the Civil War saw many Texans rush to enlist so that they could fight to sustain their way of life. One such person was William A. Fletcher of Beaumont, Texas. He was a man who patched roofs for a living, and was known as a hard worker. He was also a proud Texan and sought to serve his state in whatever way he could. When the

³⁸⁷ Susannah J. Ural, *Hoods' Texas Brigade*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge), 12.

firing on Fort Sumter occurred, “The news made Fletcher very nervous thinking the delay of completing the roof might cause him to miss the chance to enlist...”³⁸⁸ Why were men rushing to enlist in what people now know was the bloodiest war in American history? During the preparation phase of the Civil War, many believed that the war would only last for a few battles at most. However, they were proven wrong soon after the beginning of the war.

Both in North and South there were companies being formed in nearly every community to support their cause. These companies were usually led by local political leaders or by prominent men in the community with little to no military experience. In Texas, many of the companies often lacked weapons or other basic equipment. Over the next few weeks the companies drilled and “attended an endless round of public ceremonies featuring patriotic addresses by local dignitaries and veterans of the Texas Revolution and Mexican War.”³⁸⁹ A gruesome consequence of having many men from one town in one unit was that the entire unit could be wiped out in one battle. This led to a town losing an entire age group of men in one go.

One of the odd questions that has been posed during this research was “Why were Texans fighting in the eastern theater; specifically in Virginia?” It would make perfect sense for the Texans to stay in Texas or the surrounding states during the Civil War to help defend the western theater and the Mississippi River. However, the Texas Brigade fought nearly exclusively in the eastern theater in battles such as Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. The answer to this question is more simple than one might think. As most know, the south was

³⁸⁸ Ralph A. Wooster and Robert Wooster, “Rarin’ for a Fight,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (April 1981): 387-426.

³⁸⁹ Ralph A. Wooster and Robert Wooster, “Rarin’ for a Fight,” 388.

fiercely for states' rights. This led to a strong sense of loyalty to a person's home state. However, when the Confederacy was formed many Texans felt that the Confederacy was fighting to protect the southern way of life. This resulted in many Texans having strong sense of nationalistic pride in the Confederacy. As Susannah J. Ural puts it, "The men were often as determined to defend their own rights as citizens as they were the rights of the Confederacy. They were also strongly nationalistic, identifying as Texans but preferring to fight in Virginia, where they believed their service would be most effective."³⁹⁰ In short, Texans went where they felt they would be most useful. This led to the Texan Brigade being in many battles in the Eastern theater, most of which are quite famous.

Military Campaign/Overview of Texas Brigade

The Texas Brigade was officially organized on October 22, 1861. John Allen Wilcox, a congressman from Texas, was the chief political patron of the brigade. The brigade initially comprised of the 1st Texas, 4th Texas, 5th Texas, and 18th Georgia Regiments. The Texas Brigade (also known as Hood's Brigade) was an infantry formation that distinguished itself in the American Civil War. Along with the Stonewall Brigade they were considered the Confederate Army's shock troops. The brigade fought in every major battle of the Eastern Theater of the war, except Chancellorsville. Over the course of the war the Texas Brigade was under the command of Major General Gustavus W. Smith, Lieutenant General James Longstreet, Brigadier General Jerome B. Robertson, and, briefly, General Robert E. Lee.

By June 1, 1861 the Texas Brigade had made it to Richmond, Virginia. The troops came in small batches, but by the end of the day they were all ready to fight. However, the

³⁹⁰ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge), 27.

Texas Brigade was not ordered to the front until July 21, 1861, when the Battle of First Manassas took place. Coincidentally, the Texas Brigade was not able to make it to the battlefield on time, and arrived after the battle was already fought. “Thence, with L. T. Wigfall as colonel, Hugh McLeod as lieutenant-colonel, and A. T. Rainey as major, the First Texas was ordered to the extreme right of the Confederate line, taking position near Dumfries, VA., as support to masked batteries at Cockpit Point.”³⁹¹

The Texas brigade was soon brought into the war in full. The brigade’s first engagement was the Battle of Eltham’s Landing on May 7, 1862. There, the Texas Brigade lost 36 men killed and wounded. Colonel John Bell Hood was promoted to a Brigadier General and given leadership of the Texas Brigade in October of 1861. After taking charge of the Texas Brigade, Hood “held them in camp near Richmond, and drilled and disciplined them, until about the last of November.”³⁹²

The Texans of the Texas Brigade were prone to disease; more so than those from South Carolina or Georgia, who were also present in the brigade.. “Much sickness prevailed among the Texans-more, perhaps, than in commands from the Southern Atlantic States and from Tennessee, where the winters were so nearly equal in severity to those of Virginia. Measles and pneumonia caused the death of many brave young men. Diarrhea led the way to the more fatal complaints.”³⁹³ Disease killed more men during the Civil War than the war

³⁹¹ J. B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade: Its Marches, Its Battles, Its Achievements*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1910), 13.

³⁹² J. B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 15.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 17.

itself did. While in camp outside of Richmond, the Fifth Texas had no more than “twenty-five men fit for duty”³⁹⁴ even though the Fifth Texas was composed of eight-hundred men.

The Seven Days Battle marked the first major campaign the Texas Brigade participated in. They distinguished themselves at Gaines’ Mill, where they captured a battery of Union guns and repelled a cavalry attack. The battle of Gaines’s Mill marked a Confederate victory during the Seven Days Battle. The battle itself was fought on June 27, 1862, and took place near the Chickahominy River. The battle began with D. H. Hill and his division moving through Old Cold Harbor and to the crossroads. There, they encountered unexpected infantry fire from the Union lines. At the same time, A. P. Hill and his division moved across Beaver Dam Creek and approached the former Union line at Gaines’s Mill. Several brigades, both Union and Confederate, became embroiled in a small battle in the swamps near Boatswain’s Creek. The 1st South Carolina Rifles sustained heavy casualties during the fighting. After repeated unsuccessful attacks by Confederate forces, General Lee began his own attack around 7 p.m. that evening. Lee conducted his attack with sixteen brigades, approximately 32,100 men. The Union line, commanded by Fitz John Porter, had around 34,000 men to defend it. However, the Union forces were tired and worn out from the previous Confederate attacks. Lee’s advance was coordinated with a flanking action on the Union’s left side by the Stonewall Brigade and Alexander Lawton’s five Georgia brigades. Near sunset, Brigadier General John Bell Hood’s Texas Brigade moved forward aggressively and broke a hole in the Union lines near William Whiting’s division. Subsequently, there were two other breakthroughs on the right and center of the Union line, and the line then crumpled. A

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 17.

battalion of the 5th U.S. Cavalry under Captain Charles J. Whiting made a desperate charge against the Texas Brigade, but were forced to surrender after heavy losses. By the next morning, Major General Porter had moved back across the Chickahominy River, burning the bridges as he went. It was a solid Confederate victory. However, the victory also came at a cost. During the battle the Texas Brigade lost nearly twenty-five percent of its total strength. At Malvern Hill, the Texas Brigade was held back in reserve for fear that the unit would be completely wiped out if they were sent into battle so soon after their losses. It was after this battle where John Bell Hood was named division commander of the Texas Brigade. Hood's first act was to write to Senator Wigfall and ask for 1,336 new recruits to supplement the losses that the Texas Brigade had sustained at Gaines' Mill.

By the end of July, the Texas Brigade was severely diminished in strength and manpower. Of the approximately three thousand original troops, only around one thousand remained. However, with John Bell Hood's letter to Senator Wigfall, within a month the Texas Brigade was back up to full strength with new Hampton's Legion of South Carolina joining the brigade. This was done just in time, as the Northern Virginia Campaign was about to begin. With the collapse of McClellan's Peninsula campaign in the Seven Days Battles of June 1862, President Abraham Lincoln appointed John Pope to command the newly formed Army of Virginia, in hopes that he could succeed where McClellan failed. McClellan had a reputation for being too cautious in a battle, where he could be going on the offensive or advancing on routing troops. John Pope had seen some success in the Western Theater, and Lincoln hoped that the more aggressive Pope could secure the Shenandoah Valley and protect Washington. General Lee saw this as a chance to destroy Pope while he was still setting up and separated from McClellan. Lee would then turn his attention back to McClellan's army

and destroy that as well. Based on his fighting with McClellan during the Seven Days Battles, Lee felt that he no longer needed to be in direct defense of Richmond. This led Lee to move the forces of Jackson to Gordonsville, in the hopes of blocking John Popes' army and protecting the Virginia Central Railroad.³⁹⁵

Between August 22 and August 25, 1862, the opposing Union and Confederate armies fought several small skirmishes along the Rappahannock River. Due to heavy rains, Lee was unable to cross the river and move more decisively against the enemy. By August 25, reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac were arriving to support the Army of Virginia. Lee felt that the best way to counter the overwhelming forces of the Union was to send Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart with half of the army on flanking march to cut Pope's line of communication.³⁹⁶ On August 26, 1862, Jackson and his forces passed around Pope's right flank via Thoroughfare Gap. Jackson's wing of the army then struck at the Orange and Alexandria Railroad at Bristoe Station, and swiftly captured it. In the early morning of August 27, Jackson and his forces moved to capture the Union supply depot at Manassas Junction. The surprising maneuver caught Pope off guard, and forced him to beat a hasty retreat back down the edge of the Rappahannock River. During the night of August 27-28, 1862, Jackson marched his forces north to the First Manassas battlefield. Jackson then took up position behind an unfinished railroad grade below Stony Ridge. It was an excellent defensive position, as the heavy woods around the Confederates offered concealment and cover from enemy fire, as well a good vantage point of the Warrenton Turnpike. The Warrenton Turnpike

³⁹⁵ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Second Battle of Bull Run." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., August 22, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Second-Battle-of-Bull-Run-1862>.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

was the likely avenue from which the Union would arrive. There were also several roads from which Longstreet could arrive to reinforce Jackson; or for Jackson to retreat to the Bull Run mountains if reinforcements could not arrive in time. The unfinished railroad also offered cuts and fills that were to be used as rudimentary trenches.

On August 28, 1862, the Battle of Thoroughfare Gap took place between Lieutenant-General Longstreet and Brigadier-General James B. Ricketts. The battle was short, and resulted in a resounding victory for Longstreet and his forces. The victory allowed Longstreet to march through the gap in Union forces and join up with Jackson. This was an essential part of the Confederate victory at Second Manassas, as it allowed two of the wings of Lee's army to unite on the Manassas battlefield. The Battle of Second Manassas lasted from August 29, 1862 until the next day. The Union forces numbered anywhere from 62,000 to 75,000, while the Confederate forces numbered approximately fifty thousand men.³⁹⁷ The battle included Jackson's defense of Stony Ridge, where he repelled several Union attacks, resulting in Union losses of approximately eight thousand troops. The Texas Brigade spearheaded Longstreet's attack on August 30, 1862. The brigade overran two Union regiments, captured a battery of Union guns, and nearly annihilated the 5th New York Zouaves. The Texas Brigade lost 628 men during the battle. This attack, along with several others coordinated at the same time, drove the Union forces to retreat. The Union had around fourteen thousand killed and wounded, while the Confederacy had one thousand killed and seven thousand wounded.

³⁹⁷ History.com Editors. "Second Battle of Bull Run." History.com. A&E Television Networks, April 5, 2011. <https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/second-battle-of-bull-run>.

The next major battle that the Texas Brigade was present at was the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg). There, the Texas Brigade sealed a gap that opened in the Confederate line near the Dunker Church, as well as drove back the two Union corps under Brigadier General George Meade that were attacking at the time. Of the 854 soldiers in the Texas Brigade that went into battle at Sharpsburg, 550 were killed or wounded.³⁹⁸ Antietam served as a wake-up call to the Confederates, one that told them that striking in Union territory was a risky endeavor that could end in tragedy.

After the Battle of Antietam in 1862, and the general reorganization of General Lee's army, the Georgians and South Carolinians were reassigned to units from their own states. The 3rd Arkansas was added to the Texas Brigade as they were the only other trans-Mississippi regiment serving in General Lee's army. At first, the brigade was poorly equipped, some having no weapons at all. While some scrounged what weapons they could, others were assigned or used anything that could shoot. Hunting shotguns and rifles, pistols, flintlock muskets that were used in the Texas Revolution, model 1841 Mississippi rifles, Colt Revolving rifles, etc. Soon after enlistment the Texas Brigade was equipped with modern Enfield rifles.

After Sharpsburg came the Battle of Fredericksburg, The Texas Brigade saw little fighting during the battle, "As save through its scouts and skirmishers, the Texas Brigade took no active part in the battle."³⁹⁹ The Texas Brigade held the center of the right side of Longstreet's line, in a stretched out line in the open valley away from the action. The main

³⁹⁸ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Battle of Antietam." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., September 10, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Antietam>.

³⁹⁹ J.B. Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 138.

fighting was left to “McLaws’ division at Marye’s Hill, and by Jackson’s troops in the vicinity of Hamilton’s crossing, and between that and the river.”⁴⁰⁰ The Texas Brigade was placed out of the range of the Union cannons located on Stafford Heights, and thus were not present for the mass bloodshed that occurred there. Burnside’s charges up the Heights have become legendary, and ended in tragedy for the Union forces. Burnside possessed approximately 116,000 troops, while Lee had approximately 80,000 troops. However, Lee’s position on Stafford Heights afforded him an advantage of positioning that nullified the numerical advantage that Burnside had. “How the battle of Fredericksburg would end was a foregone conclusion. Lee and his 80,000 men held a position as impregnable to any assault that could be made on it by Burnside’s 116,000, as were Stafford Heights to the 80,000.”⁴⁰¹ The Union attack was repulsed at every point in the line that they attacked, and they eventually retreated back across the Rappahannock. Fredericksburg was an astounding Confederate victory, and a resounding defeat for the Union. The Union had nearly twice as many casualties as the Confederacy, and showed the Union that this war would not be a short one.

After Fredericksburg there was a lull in the fighting, as the armies hunkered down for the winter. The Texas Brigade “was assigned heavily timbered ground,”⁴⁰² which they were to clear in order to prepare the building of the winter quarters for the troops. The Texas Brigade, and many other units in the Army of Northern Virginia, felt that their winter stay would be a short one. The assumption soon proved correct, as “about the middle of February, 1863, there

⁴⁰⁰ J.B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 138.

⁴⁰¹ J.B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 139.

⁴⁰² J.B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 139.

were indications of a move upon Richmond, or Petersburg, from the direction of Suffolk.”⁴⁰³ With this news General Lee, to allay fears of a Union attack on the city, sent Pickett’s and Hood’s division to Richmond to protect it. On February 15, 1863, the two divisions marched, with Pickett’s division halting on the Chickahominy River, while Hood’s stopped four miles south of Richmond, on Falling Creek. Little occurred until March 15, 1863, when the Texas Brigade received news that General Hooker, who had replaced General Burnside after Fredericksburg, was planning some sort of action. General Lee ordered the Texas Brigade to move through the city of Richmond and down the Brook turnpike towards Ashland, in order to protect the city against any plans against it. “When within five miles of Ashland, an order from General Lee recalled it, he having assured himself that no danger threatened the capital of the Confederacy.”⁴⁰⁴

The next major battle to occur was Gettysburg. One of the most infamous battles of the Civil War, the Texas Brigade played a crucial role in capturing Devil’s Den during the battle, but sustained heavy losses. “Lee’s plan for the second day at Gettysburg was for Longstreet’s First Corps to attack the Federal left flank and roll up their line, while A. P. Hill and Third Corps kept pressure on the Federal center, preventing Union major general George Gordon Meade from supporting either flank while Hill remained ready to support Longstreet’s success.”⁴⁰⁵ The plan was fraught with difficulties from the beginning, as Longstreet wanted to wait until Hood’s division (including the Texas Brigade) was at full strength to begin the attack. Longstreet also felt that the “Federals were too strong there for the attack to be

⁴⁰³ J.B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 140.

⁴⁰⁴ J.B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 142.

⁴⁰⁵ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 150.

successful.”⁴⁰⁶ Longstreet and his Corps marched as stealthily as they could towards Emmitsburg Road, and towards Little Round Top. Captain S. R. Johnston served as a reconnaissance scout on Lee’s staff, and had earlier surveyed the area ahead, assuring Longstreet and Lee that there were no Union troops on Little Round Top. Due to this report, “Lee directed Longstreet to position his men perpendicular to Emmitsburg Road in the area known today as the Peach Orchard.”⁴⁰⁷ The Peach Orchard was another of the famous spots where fighting was particularly intense during the Battle of Gettysburg. Hood’s division was put into position on Lafayette McLaws’s line to the south. This put them in a position to strike at the unexpected, and what they hoped was the undermanned, Little Round Top and Houck’s Ridge. The Texas Brigade waited in the woods along Warfield Ridge as the Union and Confederate artillery traded volleys. Around 4 p.m. on July 2, 1863, Hood gave the order for the Texas Brigade to charge forward. Hood’s division rushed forward through the woods, and were constantly under fire by Union artillery and sharpshooters. However, the entire Confederate advance was breaking apart. Due to the speed at which Hood’s division moved forward, they were edging ahead of the rest of the Confederate line. The Fourth and Fifth Texas returned fire on the Union sharpshooters, driving them back up the hill. “Law decided to pull the Forty-Fourth and Forty-Eighth Alabama out of line from the far right of his brigade and shifted them west, behind the Fourth and Fifth Texas. This did not plug the gap in the Texas Brigade, but it did allow these Alabamians to aid the assault on Devil’s Den.”⁴⁰⁸ The fighting at Devil’s Den was intense and bloody, with casualties on both sides. However,

⁴⁰⁶ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 150.

⁴⁰⁷ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 151.

⁴⁰⁸ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 155.

during Hood's assault, the First Texas Regiment drove forward and captured the Union cannons at the top of the hill. The Confederates would then use this position and the cannons to bombard the Union during the first attack on The Wheatfield. The Fourth and Fifth Texas were assigned to take Little Round Top and failed to do so, due to fierce Union resistance and the infamous charge organized by Joshua Chamberlain. After the failure at Little Round Top, The Texas Brigade fell back near the Bushman farm. The next day, the Union Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick "ordered one of his cavalry brigades, commanded by Brig. Gen. Elon J. Farnsworth, on a nearly impossible and suicidal assault on the Texans' position."⁴⁰⁹ When the Texans' felt the rumble of hooves from their position behind the stone wall lining the road, they leapt up and "poured a murderous fire upon them, and the cavalymen scattered in every direction."⁴¹⁰ Gettysburg ended on the third day with a Confederate defeat, and the Texas Brigade had sustained heavy losses.

After Gettysburg was the Battle of Chickamauga on September 18-20, 1863. The Texas Brigade participated in the battle, again under the command of Hood in Longstreet's Corps. Chickamauga was the result of General Braxton Bragg wanting to recapture Chattanooga. After having been forced out by Union forces led by Major General William Rosecrans. Bragg assaulted the Union line with great fervor the first day of fighting. However, his forces could not break through the Union line. The second day, Bragg resumed his assault. Maj. Gen. Rosecrans received word that there was a gap in his defenses, and so sent troops there to shore them up. Incidentally, there was no gap there in the line, and, in doing so, he opened an actual gap in the line. General Longstreet, who's Corps had been assigned to help

⁴⁰⁹ Susannah J. Ural,, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 163.

⁴¹⁰ Susannah J.. Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 163.

Bragg in his campaign in Tennessee, sent eight of his brigades (including the Texas Brigade) through the gap. The attack caused about a third of Rosecrans' army to rout, and thus the Confederates to win the battle. While the attack was underway, Hood was, once again, shot. "About this time I was pierced with a minie-ball in the upper third of my right leg; I turned from my horse upon the side of the crushed limb, and fell - strange to say, since I was commanding five divisions - into the arms of some of the troops of my old brigade, which I had directed so long a period, and upon so many fields of battle."⁴¹¹ Hood was speaking of the Texas Brigade, of which he was no longer directly in command of. The brigade would, after the battle and Hood's injury, be put under the command of Brigadier General John Gregg.

During the winter of 1863-1864, the Texas Brigade experienced a loss in faith. For years, their defining trait had been their determination and willingness to do what they were told to the best of their ability. However, the winter of 1863-1864 caused dissolution in the Texas Brigade. The faith that they had in Lee and Hood did not translate over to their commanders in Tennessee, Braxton Bragg and Joseph E. Johnston. "This can best be seen in the discipline problems and spike in desertions that defined the Texas Brigade between November 1863 through March 1864."⁴¹² Most of these problems can be tied to the supply problems that notoriously plagued the Confederacy, however, the Texas Brigade had been known for being disciplined and following orders. "Of the 102 courts-martial involving Texas Brigade soldiers throughout the war, 20 percent of those took place between October 1863 and April 1864."⁴¹³ One of the primary reasons for the lack of discipline in the Texas Brigade

⁴¹¹ J.B. Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 203.

⁴¹² Susannah J. Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 195.

⁴¹³ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 196.

during this time was the lack of leadership. From late 1862 through late 1863, the Texas Brigade had been under the command of Jerome Bonaparte Robertson. Robertson was not the most aggressive field commander, however, he earned the respect and loyalty of many of the Texas Brigade. Robertson was always attentive to the needs and wishes of his troops. Robertson also led the Texas Brigade well during two of their most challenging battles: Gettysburg and Chickamauga. Due to conflict between Longstreet and Robertson, Robertson was sent to the Trans-Mississippi West, and John Gregg was selected as commander. Gregg had been rescued by “Hood’s Texans...from the Chickamauga battlefield after Gregg had been wounded and abandoned.”⁴¹⁴ From December 1863 until March 1864, Gregg was recovering from his injury, and so the Texas Brigade had no one to lead them for some time.

The Texas Brigade also participated in the Battle of the Wilderness, which took place during Union General Grant’s Wilderness Campaign in the summer of 1864. After the Battle of the Wilderness, the Texas Brigade was also present at Cold Harbor. While at Cold Harbor, the Texas Brigade was under the command of Brigadier General John Gregg, whom they had come to respect. After Cold Harbor came Appomattox Court House and the surrender of Lee. Of the estimated 5,353 men who enlisted in the three Texas and one Arkansas regiments, only 617 remained to surrender with Lee.

The Texas Brigade seemed to be different than the other brigades in the Confederate army. They were more determined, and went above and beyond the call of duty. For instance, they saved their future commander at the Battle of Chickamauga, and frequently took on tasks that seemed impossible to others. The First Texas capture of Devil’s Den is an example of

⁴¹⁴ Susannah J. Ural, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 196.

that. Texas itself was also different from the other southern states. With its unique formation based in revolution, its legends in the Alamo and the Battle of San Jacinto, and its people, Texas was an oddball among the southern states.

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Chapter 9.

Zachary Grupp

**“The Value of Southern Honor: How Confederate Irregulars Became
 American Outlaws”**

The American gangs of the post-Civil War era were a continuation of irregular warfare during the Civil War, specifically Confederate guerrillas, who transferred their skills and values as irregulars into their daily lives as bank robbers, murderers, and outlaws of America. They sought out a common goal, to preserve their southern honor and their southern way of life. The war ended whilst these irregulars were skirmishing with Union soldiers and many took advantage of the war's end to start a new war against the North. They became the American outlaws of the Midwest, targeting northern businesses, banks, trains, etc. to carry on their fight against the Union. These men used their lives as outlaws to steal large sums of money and live like royalty while also continuing their fight to uphold their southern honor.

All southerners, whether wealthy plantation owners or poor white small-scale farmers, had a common definition of southern honor. Although this definition varied from person to person, the root of this definition stayed the same. The underlying commonality between southerners and their honor was the protection of, "individual, family, group, or race from the greatest dread that its adherents could imagine... the fear was of public humiliation."⁴¹⁵ To them, they did not fear death because death while fighting was glorified as ultimate protection of their honor. To die before ever submitting themselves to anything but their way of life. Instead, fear laid within public humiliation. Therefore, so many southern men wanted to fight in the war because if not, they would be cowards for not protecting their honor through violence. Violence is another key piece of southern honor as violence was their only way of protection. Without violence there was no guarantee that protection was there. Therefore, many men like, Bill Anderson, William Quantrill, and Jesse James fought for to uphold their

⁴¹⁵ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), viii.

southern honor. They became the guerrillas to lead the most violent acts the Civil War saw and without them, the outlaws of America never would have been what they became.

There were three main factions of irregulars during the Civil War: jayhawkers, partisan rangers, and guerrillas. There were two different types of jayhawkers during the Civil War. One form of jayhawkers were men who were “draft-dodgers” and ran away from their lives to avoid conscription into the Confederate Army. Many of these jayhawkers began to create their informal groups who carried out raids against civilians for food and other survival necessities. According to Jennifer Phillips, “Federal officers encouraged the deserters and draft-dodgers to come within Union lines where they would be given protection and jobs.”⁴¹⁶ Some of these men even became spies for General Nathaniel P. Banks and his Red River expedition. This type of jayhawker was always unfavorable with southerners. Southerners saw them as traitors to the Confederacy. They weren’t protectors of their southern honor and had no respect for their way of life.

The better-known definition of jayhawkers was that of northern guerrilla fighters. These men carried out many actions that mirrored southern guerrillas, though they focused many of their raids against civilians. Many jayhawking groups were built during the period of Bleeding Kansas as a means of protecting themselves during the brutal time. Tony O’Bryan mentions in his article on jayhawkers that, “When the Civil War began, these vigilante units mustered into the federal army and became formally recognized Union regiments calling themselves ‘Jayhawkers.’”⁴¹⁷ The range of motivations for these jayhawkers was high. Many

⁴¹⁶ Jennifer Phillips, “The Fine Line: A Study of the Definition of Partisan Ranger, Guerrilla and Jayhawker as Seen in North Louisiana During the Civil War,” *North Louisiana Historical Association Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996): 143.

⁴¹⁷ Tony O’Bryan, “Jayhawkers,” *Civil War on the Western Boarder*. The Kansas City Public Library, <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/encyclopedia/jayhawkers>. (accessed March 21st, 2020).

of these men were devout abolitionists, fighting for the freedom and equality of blacks. Many were sincere supporters of the Union who wanted to defend their northern way of life, just as much as southerners wanted to protect theirs. Some men just joined to get away with their dirty deeds of stealing and violence. Some even joined to settle vendettas against people during the Bleeding Kansas period. These jayhawkers were brutal and carried out some of the most intense actions the Civil War saw and were the only group for the Union who were truly irregulars.

Partisan rangers were men who fought independently from an army with irregular warfare tactics but wore Confederate uniforms and reported to Confederate officials. They were considered a more official guerrilla band. Many of these official partisan ranger groups reverted into unofficial guerrilla fighters. On April 21, 1862, the Confederate States of America passed an act called the Partisan Ranger Act that allowed the president, Jefferson Davis, to, “commission such officers as he may deem proper with authority to form bands of partisan rangers.”⁴¹⁸ These partisan rangers under the Partisan Ranger Act were guaranteed the same pay, quarters, and rations as other soldiers in the Confederate Army.

Many of these former partisan rangers began destroying and pillaging the rural countryside of northern Louisiana. Before dismantling into guerrillas, many partisans fought small skirmishes with the Union Army in northern Louisiana. According to Phillips, many of these skirmishes were mainly fought as delay tactics against Union soldiers moving through northern Louisiana. “On August 20, General John D. Stevenson... left Vicksburg by way of Goodrich’s Landing en route to Monroe... Stevenson encountered strong, but temporary

⁴¹⁸ Phillips, “The Fine Line,” 138.

Partisan resistance at Oak Ridge.”⁴¹⁹ These actions taken by the partisans are some of the early stages of influence for outlaws after the war. Many of these partisan rangers would see no other way to live other than protecting the future of the Confederacy. Partisan Rangers fought for the preservation of the Confederacy, even if it meant giving their lives and putting themselves at full risk. Although these motives weren’t the same for every single southern outlaw after the war, the same motives were there for most of them, the fight to preserve the Confederacy.

Another irregular group were the guerrilla fighters. One Union Brigadier General E. B. Brown discusses what he sees as guerrilla warfare in the southern states. “The only barbarism that I am aware of is being perpetrated by a few men in the southern portion of the State [Missouri] in the name of the so-called Southern Confederacy, who in the garb of citizens are practicing open violations of the laws of war. To this class of men, no quarter is given when found with arms and fighting our troops, nor mercy shown when they are taken without arms and found guilty by a military condition.”⁴²⁰ Guerrilla fighters were some of the most violent fighters during the war. These men took their rage out against Union soldiers and were able to do so because they were not part of any official army. Most guerrillas were pro-Confederate and although they mainly focused their violence against the Union Army or pro-Union guerrilla groups, they didn’t always refrain from roping in civilians as well. These guerrillas had the same motives as partisans, to preserve the Confederacy and the southern way of life. The biggest difference being the guerrillas were not restricted by the Confederacy because they were independent groups of men. Much like the guerrillas, gangs weren’t connected to

⁴¹⁹ Phillips, “The Fine Line,” 139.

⁴²⁰ Phillips, “The Fine Line,” 142.

anything official other than themselves. Both guerrillas and southern gangs held the same style of life and similar motives to their actions; independent from all and the want to preserve the southern way of life.

This motivation comes from a line of past guerrillas and irregulars who joined the Confederate ranks, officially or not, to keep the old south alive through the establishment of the Confederacy. One of these important men was William “Bloody Bill” Anderson. Bloody Bill got most of his southern ideals through his family, much like most southerners at the time. Author Larry Wood mentions that Anderson’s family moved to Kansas from Missouri after Kansas-Nebraska Act was established.⁴²¹ The Kansas Nebraska Act repealed much of what was established by the Missouri Compromise in 1820, giving the territories of Kansas and Nebraska up to popular sovereignty. This allowed the people of those territories to choose whether their territory would be free or slave. Naturally, this caused a major influx of pro-Union and pro-Confederate families to rush into these two territories, one family being the Andersons. Wood notes that the Andersons, “had come from the upper tier of Southern states, and the family undoubtedly identified with Southern culture and accepted the lower status of blacks as given.”⁴²² Though they didn’t own any slaves, the Andersons still carried this acceptance of southern white dominance over blacks and held true that that was the way of life. Moving into the territory of Kansas shows that Bill Anderson’s family was doing their share of support for the south.

After his family’s move to Kansas, Anderson continued his life working as a ranch hand but once the war came on, he started to steal horses and sell them to people along the

⁴²¹ Larry Wood, *The Civil War Story of Bloody Bill Anderson* (Austin: Eakin Press, 2003), 3.

⁴²² Wood, *The Civil War*, 4.

Santa Fe Trail. This marks the beginning of Bloody Bill's mischievous career full of illegal and violent actions. Shortly after Anderson's mother was struck by lightning and killed, his father was killed in a scuffle over a warrant out for Bill's arrest. Anderson's father was furious that his family had been labeled as accomplices to horse theft and threatened to kill the judge who sent out the warrant. This resulted in Anderson's father getting himself killed by the Union man, A. I. Baker, who sent out the warrant in the first place.⁴²³ William C. Anderson's death was the major trigger, after a lead up of many events, that turned Bloody Bill Anderson into the man he became, a violent guerrilla seeking revenge for his father who was killed by a Union man, all while making as much of a profit he could. Not only did this start the career of a madman but it also marked the beginning of the line of men to eventually become the outlaws of America after the Civil War.

Bloody Bill continued to steal horses, murdering, and fleeing on a repeated cycle with his friend William Reed. They mainly attacked and robbed Union soldiers when they weren't dealing with their stolen horse business. Their attacks were violent ambushes that modeled much of what Confederate guerrillas were doing in the war. They never targeted southern soldiers or civilians with their crimes because that would be an attack on the Confederacy. Anderson eventually split from his friend and found himself joining William Quantrill and his band of raiders in 1863 to help fight Union soldiers on the Kansas-Missouri boarder. Anderson joined Quantrill in one of his biggest raids yet, the raid on Lawrence, Kansas.⁴²⁴ Lawrence, Kansas was famously known as a big Union supporting, free-state town in Kansas. During the raid, Quantrill's Raiders were ruthless in their attacks, killing around 180 people

⁴²³ Wood, *The Civil War*, 11-15.

⁴²⁴ Wood, *The Civil War*, 36-37.

during the raid. Their intentions were clear; seek out jayhawkers of the Union and kill them at sight. In the *Official Records of the Civil War*, an account is made by Union Colonel C. W. Marsh, who reports on Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence. He reports, "Quantrill, alias Charley Hart [?], reached this town at about 4.30 o'clock this morning; burned the town; slaughtered in cold blood about 60 citizens."⁴²⁵ It's clear in this report that Quantrill's raid was not a simple battle, but rather a violent attack on Union townsfolk by "slaughtering" them and burning down their town. A direct attack against the Union for the protection of the Confederacy. In an eyewitness account of the raid by one of Quantrill's scouts, John McCorkle, he mentions some of the things that Quantrill said to him men moments before the raid on Lawrence. According to McCorkle, Quantrill said, "Boys, this is the home of Jim Lane and Jennison; remember that in hunting us they gave no quarter. Shoot every soldier you see, but in no way harm a woman or a child."⁴²⁶ This quote is a clear example of how Quantrill felt about the raid against the jayhawkers of Lawrence, Kansas. He wanted his men to have no boundaries on the men that they killed in the raid, but also expressed his feelings about harming women and children. Many of these actions are seen in gang life as well. Gang members still had a high amount of respect for women and were gentlemanly around them, but merciless against the men targeted in their heists.

Both Anderson and Quantrill died during and shortly after the Civil War, respectively, so neither of these men continued their guerrilla careers into the lives of outlaws. However, after their deaths, men from their bands of guerrillas continued their lives as outlaws. One

⁴²⁵ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 585.

⁴²⁶ John McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrell: A True Story Told by His Scout* (Golden Springs Publication, 2015).

man who took control of many of Quantrill's Raiders was Archie Clement. Archie Clement began his career as another violent guerrilla fighter in Missouri alongside Bill Anderson and Quantrill. He helped Anderson lead more violent excursions towards the end of the war and even took command of Anderson's men following his death.⁴²⁷ After the war, Clement didn't stop his raids. He worked alongside Jesse James to turn the former bushwhacking guerrillas of Quantrill's Raiders into the violent gangsters of the James-Younger Gang.

After the end of the war, Clement began shifting his men's focus onto large bank robberies. These robberies were still targeted towards Union supporters. In, T.J Stiles' book about Jesse James, he talks about their first big job that was a robbery of the Clay County Savings Association in Liberty, Missouri. This savings association according to Stiles, "was more than a bank: it was the physical embodiment of the Radicals' vision of themselves as the party of progress and industry."⁴²⁸ This was a perfect target for Clement and his men because not only does it hold a bunch of cash, but it was a piece of Union identity as Stiles says. It was a building owned by Republicans that the men could unleash their anger on and embarrass the Union's honor by stealing over \$48,000 dollars in cash and coin. Stiles has a chapter in his book called "The Guerillas Return" which mainly focuses on this 10 month long lasting fight between Clement and his men and the "Radicals" of the north starting with the first ever daylight bank robbery in American History. On February 13th, 1866 Greenup Bird, the cashier at the Clay County Savings Association was held up by two men with revolvers reporting that, "One presenting his revolver at Wm. Bird & the other man presenting his revolver at me, [they] told us if we made any noise they would shoot us down, demanded all the money in the

⁴²⁷ Wood, *The Civil War*, 48+139.

⁴²⁸ T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 168.

bank...”⁴²⁹ After the cashier complied the two gang members met up with several others and rode off on their horses, firing their guns in the sky in celebration of their \$58,072.64 take. As the men were riding off a horse spurred up and caused one robber to aim right at George Wymore, an innocent 19-year-old bystander.⁴³⁰ The gang kept moving, not giving any care if they accidentally shot a northerner because all they were focused on was getting away. An editor for the *Liberty Tribune* named Robert Miller included in his report that it was unanimously understood that the robbers were guerrillas. Here the title guerrillas and robbers go hand in hand. Those former guerrillas working for Clement may have still been publicly identified as guerrillas but in all reality, this was their first big hit as outlaws.

The American public never witnessed something so organized as a crime like that before and have not dealt with organized gangs much before. They didn’t have a clear definition to call this new group of people, so they kept calling them bushwhackers or guerrillas. Even the men themselves didn’t know what to call themselves. All their time in the war they saw themselves as a band of guerrillas and so they’d consider themselves guerrillas moving forward. Even after the robbery the president of the Clay County Savings Association, James Love, blamed the massive robbery on “a band of bushwhackers, who reside chiefly in Clay county, and have their rendezvous on or near the Missouri River, above Sibley in Jackson county.”⁴³¹ It wasn’t until Archie Clements’s death and Jesse James’s rise to leadership were they considered a gang by the American public and in return, to themselves.

⁴²⁹ Greenup Bird, *Clay County Savings Association Robbery Description* (1866), quoted in T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 171.

⁴³⁰ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 172.

⁴³¹ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 173.

Although the want for money is clearly seen with this robbery, it wasn't the guerrillas only motivation. These men carried their view of southern honor into this new life. Their want to protect the southern way of life has not dissolved up to this point but has rather become so subconscious in their mind that it is no longer flaunted about or talked about. It has become a part of them and no longer needs to be discussed because deep down these guerrillas know they are still fighting under southern honor for the protection of the southern way of life. This new lifestyle of robberies and murders is a mask to make it seem that they are fully in it for the money. Though this transition from guerrilla to gang member still holds the old values of the Confederate guerilla while integrating new values and bigger sums of money. A lot of former guerrillas took advantage of being independent from the Confederacy and were able to be more violent and get more money like they wanted to. Gang life was no different except for the identity change and the larger amounts of money. All in all, gang life gave these former guerrillas a chance at both fighting for their southern honor by being as violent as they wanted while also protecting their way of life by attacking northern civilians, northern towns, northern banks, northern trains, and in the grand scheme the Union Radical Republicans who were a threat to their lifestyle in the first place.

The robbery on the Clay County Savings Association was the first big move by Clement and his men but surely not his last. An election was being held in 1866 in Missouri which spurred Clement and his men to act. They harassed the Republican government officials in Missouri constantly and decided to cause an upheaval of chaos on election day in Lexington, Missouri. It was here that Clement suffered a gun wound that turned fatal. Though according to Major Bacon Montgomery of the state militia that as Clement was dying he was trying to cock his revolver back with his teeth and stated that, "I've done what I always said I

would do ... die before I'd surrender."⁴³² It's clear how deeply rooted Clement's intentions are here to continue to fight for the Confederate cause, long after it's gone. The definition of southern honor includes fighting to the last breath and dying before surrendering. That is exactly what Archie Clement did, he kept fighting. Even after the dissolution of the Confederacy through bank robberies as an American outlaw. He continued his violence as a guerrilla fighter into his new life as a gangster and carried his values as a southern man and a Confederate, all until his last breath.

Although Clement met his maker, his men continued their lives as newly made gangsters through mid-western America. Many of these outlaws already knew each other through their time as guerrillas. Most of Clement's men were his former guerrilla fighters, therefore they were already comfortable with each other, making the transition from guerrilla to outlaw smoother. They also all had a commonality between them which was their passion for the Confederacy. These men all held the value of the Confederacy true to their hearts and expressed their southern honor everyday through guerrilla fighting. After the war ended and Clement's death, they couldn't necessarily continue expressing their values in the same way if they were to go home and go back to life before the war. Instead, they were able to continue their fight for the Confederacy through gang life. These guerrillas turned gangsters also continued the same brutal tactics but applied them to new situations. They robbed Union soldiers, killed them relentlessly and used other tactics and used them to rob banks and kill people who were targets of the gang. If people were born into the outlaw life, they typically were committed to the outlaw life. They learned the same ways of life that those before them did, knowing that everyday could be their last, but it was better than sucking up to the Union

⁴³² Stiles, *Jesse James*, 181-186.

authorities. Just about everything between guerrillas and outlaws were the same except for the target and the bare thought of pure survival as an outlaw. The targets were technically different. Union soldiers were no longer the victims however Union supporters were. The physical target of a Union soldier was changed but the conceptual target stayed the same; anybody who the supported the Union cause. Most banks that were robbed were banks of the North. Trains that were robbed were own by large Union businessmen and railroad owners. Even the people they targeted were Union supporters, government officials, or those who crossed the gang. Also, although the men's lives as outlaws were more survival based than before, some members saw guerrilla life as survival too. As the only escape from the Union and the only life away from Union control. That is why they fought skin and bone for their southern honor, much like Archie Clement.

There were two guerrilla fighters in particular that rose to the new throne as leaders of this guerrilla band and that was two brothers, Jesse and Frank James. Jesse and Frank James grew up in slave-dependent Clay County in the border state of Missouri. Their family consisted of their sister Susan, mother Zerelda, and father Robert who owned a hemp farm. With a slave driven economy of the south and a slave-dependent county they lived in, it's no surprise the family had slaves. The father owned at least five child slaves and an elder woman of 30 years.⁴³³ Growing up in a slave owning family surely had an impact on the James brothers' ideals as southern boys. Their lives growing up in Missouri as southerners influenced them to carry out some of the nasty things these men did against northerners in their later years in order to protect the southern way of life. Not long after Jesse's birth came another

⁴³³ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 19-20.

large influencer to their later lifestyle. When Jesse was just three years old and Frank seven, their father passed away, leaving the family in financial troubles and a big hole in their lives.⁴³⁴ Much like Bill Anderson, these two boys lost their father at such a young age. It left a hole in their lives, a hole of masculinity, southern pride, dignity, strength, and honor. In order to fill that void they would do it themselves and become guerrillas, a group of men who held all the values that their father did and that they could become.

Before their lives as guerillas, Frank James was old enough to head into war as a soldier and did so at the age of 18. Frank James wanted a chance to fill that void that his father left behind. He wanted to fulfill his role as a southern man to protect the rights of southerners and the Confederacy. It's no question this was his motivation as a report in the *St. Joseph Journal* states, "The secessionists have charged that the purpose of this war was to free the negros."⁴³⁵ Frank James and his fellow soldiers had one grand mission and that was to rebel against Union leadership and fight for their right to slavery. That was the motivation for almost every Confederate soldier out there. Jesse on the other hand wasn't old enough to bear arms against the Yankees of the North. Though Frank's fight against the Union fell short as he became sick with measles and was captured by Union soldiers and became a prisoner of war (POW). He was then released on a statement that he would never fight against the Union again and his time as a soldier was no more.⁴³⁶ Though Frank swore he would never fight again, that was under official terms. After his return home from the war he began hearing about small groups of militias and guerrillas popping up around the area, including that of

⁴³⁴ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 26.

⁴³⁵ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 70.

⁴³⁶ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 76-77.

William Quantrill's. He was elated to see that there were more opportunities for him to fight for his cause and joined a band of brothers fighting against the Union. Stiles states that this lifestyle was right for Frank as he just wanted to fight the Union without all the official drilling and marching in the army. Here he joined a group that, "initiated combat at will, deceiving and defeating the enemy in ecstatic bursts of fighting."⁴³⁷ They moved through Missouri roughhousing any Union supporters and Union soldiers they came across, blitzing them with anger and hatred for their attempts to take away their southern way of life. Jesse wanted to take part in these actions too. He wanted to fulfill his role as a southern man just as much as Frank did but was turned down by every group for his young age. It wasn't until the end of the war did Jesse join a guerrilla band and that group ended up being the guerillas led by Charles Fletcher Taylor.

At age 16 Jesse finally joined alongside with his brother Frank and a group of guerillas led by Taylor but there was another, more influential person in the group that the James brothers got to know well fighting with and that was Archie Clement. The James brothers now fully invested together in being guerrillas grew a reputation with Clement as they ransacked Union camps and burned down Yankee houses.⁴³⁸ They all had one common goal and all bonded together through that goal. These were a group of men who fulfilled every piece of their southern honor as guerillas. Through violence, these men protected their individual, family, and social respect and denied being humiliated by northerners. They were also able to do this independently from the Confederacy but still fought for them despite the officiality. After their time with Fletch Taylor, the James brothers along with Clement reached a new

⁴³⁷ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 87.

⁴³⁸ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 100.

point in their guerrilla lives by joining alongside William “Bloody Bill” Anderson. Here is where their careers took off and they became more and more prominent. They continued their violence with Anderson which was some of the worse the war saw. As one bushwhacker states, ”You talk about Quantrill, Todd, and Taylor being reckless raiders and fighters, but Anderson I thought was worse than any of them when I joined him.”⁴³⁹ The James brothers’ time with Anderson is where they inherited some of their most violent actions they used as gang leaders after the war.

They began to see more raw skirmishes and bloody deaths in their time with Anderson. Anderson carried out so many violent actions, ambushing Missouri State Militia (MSM) groups and tearing through their ranks to satisfy the violent itch of their honor.⁴⁴⁰ Some of these actions were so similar to those that a gang would carry out. On September 27th, 1864 the James brothers joined Anderson in an attack against a Union train carrying thousands of dollars worth of greenbacks. The James brothers along with the others rode alongside the train on their horses and hopped on when possible to rob the train of all their money. They found out as they robbed the train that the passengers were all Union veterans who fought alongside Sherman in his march to the sea. These veterans became hostages to the robbery and Anderson’s men gave no mercy to them because they were northerners. After being robbed the men were lined up and prepped for death.⁴⁴¹ Something about Sherman’s men that was different from most Union soldiers is that they faced many guerillas in their march to the sea and reportedly scalped guerrillas if they were captured. Anderson didn’t

⁴³⁹ Jim Cummins, *Jim Cummins, The Guerrilla* (Excelsior Springs, MO.: Daily Journal, 1908), 32, quoted in T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: The Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 113.

⁴⁴⁰ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 117.

⁴⁴¹ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 120.

hesitate to avenge his fellow guerillas and stated, ““You are Federals. and Federals scalped my men, and carry their scalps at their saddle bows.”” The line of veterans were then stripped naked and ruthlessly killed by Anderson’s men as Stiles describes it, “A crackling roar swept over the line of prisoners; they screamed in the mist of blood and smoke...”⁴⁴² This is just one example of many violent acts Anderson carried out that the James brothers participated in. They satisfied their thirst for violence while protecting their southern way of life and avenged their fellow guerrillas. They were also to make friendships and commonalities with men through these actions. They built relationships for their future gang, even if they weren’t intending that at the time. Many of the men they met fighting with Anderson joined their ranks as gang members in the James-Younger Gang.

After Anderson’s death shortly after the war, Archie Clement began to lead the guerrillas. Clement was the man who began to turn the guerrillas slowly into gangsters, but he died as well leaving Jesse and Frank James at the helm of the hybrid guerrilla gang they were once members of. They applied at they learned as guerrillas and now with the reigns of the group, lead the men to greater things. This group had a history together, fighting as guerrillas for years. They all had a skillset that could be utilized in the life as gangsters such as ambushing and quick in and out planning. They also carried the same motives of southern honor and a want for the conservation of what was left of the Old South. With all this experience, the James brothers led the group to the first ever daytime bank raid America had ever seen, the raid on the Northfield Savings Bank in Northfield, Minnesota.

⁴⁴² Stiles, *Jesse James*, 121-122.

The motivations for the robbery of the Northfield Bank were much like Quantrill's raid on Lawrence but they made it seem like it was all about the money. On September 7th, 1976, eight members of the James-Younger Gang entered the town of Northfield with the plan to rob the bank. These eight men included Cole, Jim, and Bob Younger, McClellan "Clell" Miller, Charlie Pitts, Bill Chadwell, and what was believed to be Jesse and Frank James. These men attempted to rob the Northfield Bank; however, their plan went completely sour within the first few minutes of the raid. Two of the robbers were left for dead and all \$15,000 was still in the bank. The survivors road off and proceeded to evade the manhunt that was after them.⁴⁴³ In the spotlight, these men wanted the money from the bank and that was a clean motivator however deep rooted into their southern honor and personalities, they targeted a northern bank on purpose. To send a message because these gangsters would never rob a southern bank. Much like Quantrill who targeted a northern supporting town to desecrate those who supported the Union. These men have histories as guerrillas and continued their ideologies as guerrillas into their lives as outlaws. Minnesota was always a free state ever since entering the Union and they were even the first state to offer volunteers once the war started. The James-Younger Gang had plenty of opportunities to rob banks of former Confederate states or those that supported the Confederate cause, but instead they travel to Minnesota to conduct one of the first ever bank robberies in American history. It's clear that these former guerrillas, southern sympathizers, and confederates held their southern honor for their entire lives. The James brothers were both guerrillas during the war and Frank James was a confederate soldier as well. Cole Younger was also a confederate guerrilla and his two brothers had just as much experience with the war as any other Confederate. These men led

⁴⁴³ "The Bank Raid," Northfield Historical Society, accessed February 10, 2020, <http://www.northfieldhistory.org/the-bank-raid/>

the robbery and the gang itself. As former Confederates and guerillas, they knew what they were truly fighting for during the war. Quantrill was one of the leading Confederate guerrillas of the war at the time of his raid. They were ally fighting for the protection of slavery, to challenge any form of Union authority, and to kill those who disagreed with and were trying to rid of their southern lifestyle. So, they carried over their ideals into the James-Younger Gang and found men suitable enough to not only work for them but also uphold the same values that they held before the war even started. With that combination, these men decided to target a northern bank that was filled with cash and Unionists to attempt to kill and run with the money, all for the Confederacy.

While it's clear that most of the men who fought as guerrillas and turned into outlaws were fighting for the same cause, it's unclear if the rules of the war fall upon them as well. Many historians address the question of if the Civil War was a just or total war and who the laws of the war applied to. Many pieces of legislature were passed by the Union during the war to address how soldiers should carry out their duties. In the middle of the war, Abraham Lincoln signed off on General Orders #100, also known as the Lieber Code. These orders were basic guidelines for Union soldiers to follow when encountering enemies in the field, including irregulars. In fact, Article 21 of the Lieber Code strictly states that, "The citizen or native of a hostile country is thus an enemy, as one of the constituents of the hostile state or nation, and as such is subjected to the hardships of the war."⁴⁴⁴ Civilians were enemies of the state, even if unarmed they were enemies. In the same orders, it's states that if unarmed, their property, person, and honor should be left alone. Though not every soldier, both Confederate

⁴⁴⁴ Francis Lieber, "General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code," (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863).

and Union, followed these guidelines and challenged the definition of a just war. Within the Lieber Code are actions addressed that seem unjust but weren't by law. Actions against innocent civilians was still allowed because even if they physically did no harm to the Union, their support for the Confederacy was seen as hostile. In fact, many guerrillas including Anderson lost family or were affected by Union soldiers enacting these codes. Cole Younger lost his father to a Union captain who apparently carried out a personal grudge against Cole's father after burning his business and stealing his horses. Frank James told of the story of Union soldiers trying to hang his stepfather, flogging Jesse, and arresting his mother and stepfather, all because they were enemies of the state. Some guerrillas even made up stories to give them even more motivation. Quantrill stated his older brother was killed by jayhawkers, but he never had an older brother.⁴⁴⁵ Though manifesting this story in his head gave even more reason to humiliate and wreak havoc against the Union. In a way, the laws that were classified as just by the Union seemed unjust to southerners. Not only laws that pertained to Union action but also the Union's biggest concern, the abolishment of slavery. This caused the southerners to revolt in a way they deemed just, through violence to protect their families.

There was an exponential amount of cases of irregular warfare with violence in Missouri during the time of the Civil War. According to Aaron Sheehan-Dean, guerrillas organized themselves and attacked Union soldiers and their supply lines regularly in Missouri. They carried out their raids on Union soldiers in Missouri more than anywhere else during the Civil War.⁴⁴⁶ These raids were the southerners answer to the threat of Union control and their

⁴⁴⁵ Wood, *Bloody Bill*, 34-35.

⁴⁴⁶ Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence: How Americans Fought the Civil War*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 73.

unjust laws. There were many direct reports and journal entries from soldiers who encountered guerrillas and other irregulars in Missouri. Union Major Edward B. Eno reported an attack on his battalion made by guerrillas. He stated, "I have the report that, on the night of the 3rd instant, the guerrilla chief, Livingston, with 100 men, dashed into Granby, where 25 men of my battalion were stationed. The patrol guard, 2 men were captured, disarmed, and probably killed..."⁴⁴⁷ In another set of reports made by Union Major O. D. Greene, he reports on Union raids against a guerrilla band. He says, "... that on the 16th instant Captain Joseph Parke, commanding at Boonville, crossed to the north side of the river with his command... wounded 1 guerilla, and captured 3 horses, 3 double-barreled shotguns, and 3 revolvers."⁴⁴⁸ Both Eno and Greene's reports show small skirmishes that were held between Union soldiers and guerrilla bands that were both conducted in Missouri. They reported these skirmishes that were fueled by southern anger. They wanted to protect their way of life no matter what it took and in their eyes, what they were doing wasn't unjust because they witnessed and experienced unjust actions by the Union first; it was retaliation and defense if anything in their eyes. Within the *Official Records of the Civil War* there are many more primary sources involving irregulars and Union soldiers in Missouri.

Although the Union fought many skirmishes with irregulars, the Union government made quite a few policies regarding the issue of irregular warfare. One being General Orders No. 11, which exiled thousands of residents living in western Missouri as an attempt to put an end to guerrilla warfare on the Missouri-Kansas border. According to Sheehan-Dean, "Ewing sought to end the long-running guerrilla conflict in that part of Missouri and to avenge the

⁴⁴⁷ *The War of the Rebellion*, 235.

⁴⁴⁸ *The War of the Rebellion*, 85.

worst civilian massacre of the war, William Quantrill's raid on the town of Lawrence, Kansas."⁴⁴⁹ Though guerrillas in Missouri continued their harassment against Union soldiers even after the issue of General Field Orders No. 11 and even into their lives as outlaws. This exile meant nothing to the southerners and it wasn't going to stop them from getting what they wanted. Nothing was more important to them as was their honor and no field order was going to stop them from protecting their honor. That is why guerrillas didn't stop after the war and turned their fight against the North into their gang lifestyle. Another policy issued to suppress the irregular warfare was General Field Orders No. 59. This set of field orders specified the measures that Union soldiers could retaliate with when it came to irregular warfare. The field orders were issued by the new Union commander for Kentucky and stated that, for every Unionist that was murdered, he pledged to shoot four guerrilla fighters who were held as prisoners. Dean believes that General Field Orders No. 59 is, "... one of the most punitive anti-guerrilla policies undertaken by Union officials."⁴⁵⁰ It was to punish the southerners for their actions, giving even more leniency to Union soldiers to carry out their unjust acts. Both sides of the war fought with unjust tendencies. They both wanted what they wanted and what they wanted was so outstandingly important to each side that they'd do whatever it'd take to win, even if that meant some unjust actions.

Confederate guerrillas of the south turned to unjust actions to carry out their duties as men who needed to protect their honor and southern way of life. It entailed some of the worst things the Civil War Era of America saw like Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Kansas and Anderson's aggression against Union soldiers in Missouri. Though the war eventually ended,

⁴⁴⁹ Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence*, 207.

⁴⁵⁰ Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence*, 185.

and the Confederacy lost the war to protect what they cared for, that didn't mean the end of the Old South for everybody. Men like Archie Clement transformed their lives and the men around them to carry on their fight for southern honor into a life full of thrill and money. Their lives as outlaws continued using their values as Confederate guerillas but turned those values into a subconscious fight. The urge to gather money as gangsters was in no doubt a new value, however they got their money through their skills and motivation as guerrillas by ambushing trains, robbing banks, violently killing people standing in their way, and much more. By taking all those pieces of their past lives, men like Jesse and Frank James applied it to their new lives as outlaws, and successfully continued their number one duty as southern men, to fight for the preservation of the Confederacy and protect their southern honor.

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Chapter 10.

Michael Fremeau

“Pride in One’s Country or Hatred for the South? Why New England Soldiers Fought in the Civil War”

There are many reasons why the Civil War was fought. The primary cause at a national level was slavery. The Southern states’ economic system and their social structure relied on the institution of slavery. The reasons for the common foot soldier fighting are less clear. Southern soldiers fought to uphold slavery, even though most of them did not own slaves. They did that because they felt the end of slavery meant the end of their world. Historians have debated for a long time with changing mindsets from the lost cause narrative to more recent slavery-oriented schools of thought. Meanwhile, reasons as to why Northern soldiers fought have not been as widely discussed, more specifically why New England soldiers fought. Slavery had long since been abandoned by New Englanders by the time of the Civil War but soldiers from New England still readily took up arms to put down the Southern rebellion. Some soldiers said outright in their letters why they went to serve but others were subtler in their reasons for going to war. There are some historians like Chandra Manning who

believe all Northern soldiers fought against slavery as shown in her book *What this Cruel War was Over*. This motivation is not true for New England soldiers. As the war went on their views of slavery may have changed at their core all New England soldiers fought in the Civil War to preserve the Union and their patriotism was fueled by a common hatred of Southerners. The argument made by this paper is to explain why citizens of New England went off to fight in a war for slavery. The soldiers of New England fought in the Civil War because they saw the betrayal of the South as a threat to preservation of the Union. To support this argument letters have been selected based on location the soldier is from, rank in the military, class-standing, and political views if possible. By examining and studying the letters they sent home to their friends and families, it is clear soldiers on the ground from New England were fueled by patriotism and their hatred of the South. That is why they fought to preserve the Union. From the journals they kept and the letters they sent home to their friends and families, New England soldiers fought the South because of a patriotic need to preserve the Union which was fueled by a hatred of the Southern rebel identity.

In *What this Cruel War was Over*, Chandra Manning tracks the journeys of three separate groups of Civil War soldiers, Southern whites, blacks, and Northern whites. She argues that Northern white soldiers fought for abolitionism even before the Emancipation Proclamation was declared.⁴⁵¹ She claims that once Northern soldiers went down to the South and realized just how brutal slavery really was, they were repulsed and took it upon themselves to free blacks from slavery long before Lincoln or the federal government considered the emancipation of blacks. She does stress that even though the white Union

⁴⁵¹ Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Why Union and Confederate Soldiers Thought They Were Fighting the Civil War* (Vintage, 2002).

soldiers were abolitionists, they were still racist and saw blacks as less than whites. While many soldiers surely were changed by seeing slavery in action, not all were. Some men held similar views of slavery to those of Southerners. John Burrhill was a man from Howeville, New Hampshire in Cheshire County and served in New Hampshire's Second Regiment. He wrote to his family back home and told them about his adventures in D.C. and other places down South. In his initial letters home, he said he was not homesick and had longed for a chance to go on an adventure and he saw this as that chance. He enlisted to go on an adventure and see other parts of the country.⁴⁵² Overtime his opinions on the war changed though, just as many soldiers' opinions changed. John Burrhill eventually joined the mindset that wanted to preserve the Union. In one letter he remarks, "It would be impossible to guess when the war will end. I shant come home till then." This shows that despite his innocence at the beginning he's evolved and now realizes that preservation of the Union is the most important cause he was fighting for. By fighting for preservation of the Union, his opinions on Southerners showed and they were not high opinions at all. He had this to say about the Southern people, "they [Southerners] are lazy and good for nothin..."⁴⁵³ He meant that towards all people of the South, not just the soldiers and not just the whites either.

John Burrhill became more pessimistic as the war went on though and his racism really showed in his later letters. Interestingly, he is a Northern soldier who goes against Manning's interpretation of Civil War soldiers' reasonings for going to war. Manning believed that once soldiers saw the brutality of slavery, they became abolitionists even though many still clung to racist ideals. John Burrhill did not become an abolitionist according to his

⁴⁵² John Burrhill, "John Burrhill Papers" (Letters, Keene, NH, 1861), MG185, Historical Society of Cheshire County.

⁴⁵³ John Burrhill, "John Burrhill Papers" (Letters, Keene, NH, 1861), MG185, Historical Society of Cheshire County.

own letters though. In another letter to his family he says, "...a negro is none too good to be held as a slave. But I believe in putting away an institution if by so doing it will put down the rebellion for I hold that nothing should stand in the way of the Union- niggers or anything else."⁴⁵⁴ This quote perfectly demonstrates his reasoning for going to war. John Burrhill fought in the Civil War because he believed that preservation of the Union was worth fighting for, even if that meant ending slavery which he was initially against. Burrhill is also an example that not all Northern soldiers were anti-slavery and in fact some of them were even pro-slavery but not if it meant sacrificing the Union. Burrhill gets a very extreme viewpoint of his across in another letter, "No one can come out here, & believe his senses & remain an abolitionist."⁴⁵⁵ According to this segment, it seems Burrhill may have tried to see the abolitionist mindset, but he could not accept it. He does still feel patriotic during this time, he even said he still liked Lincoln after the Emancipation Proclamation was declared. In one letter he pondered, "I wonder what is the reason for their [CSA] leaving here for they leave one of the best places [USA] when they do."⁴⁵⁶ He clearly believed the United States is one of the best places in the world and he still liked the leader of the nation after they did something he disagreed with, which just goes to show how high his patriotism really is. John Burrhill is an example of a Northern white soldier who was fighting to preserve the Union even though he disagreed with the Union's thoughts on slavery.

Another soldier who had interesting views on abolitionism was George French. He was a man from Vermont and was so ready to serve in the Civil War that he enlisted without

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ John Burrhill, "John Burrhill Papers" (Letters, Keene, NH, 1861), MG185, Historical Society of Cheshire County.

his parents' permission.⁴⁵⁷ He was young and ready to fight to preserve the Union. In one of his first letters home on January 7th, 1863 he had a negative view on abolitionists as shown in this quote, "a soldier curses a like an abolitionist or a secesh."⁴⁵⁸ This is a very extreme quote as it shows to him, there was no difference between someone who argued for the abolition of slavery and the Southern rebels. To him, one was just as bad as the other. His views on abolitionism did not seem to change as the year went on either as we wrote in another letter, "I think it would do them [fellow soldiers] good & stop some of their abolitionist twadle."⁴⁵⁹ This quote shows that clearly some soldiers did gain abolitionist views as the war went on but not all of them did. George French's views on slavery and abolitionism did not seem to change until the election of 1864 where he wrote, "I care not who is Pres. if they only go in for a Vigorous prosecution of the War. Making Slavery a secondary question & using the full Abolition principle, if necessary to weaken our enemy, & restore & maintain the Union."⁴⁶⁰ He only accepted abolitionism on the condition that it would harm the Southerners. George French entered service into the Civil War not because he wanted to free the slaves but instead because he felt patriotism the need to preserve the Union. Both George French and John Burrhill are examples of Northern soldiers who never accepted the idea of abolitionism except as a war strategy to harm the South. These men represent a portion of soldiers' whose motivation was never abolitionism as Chandra Manning argues in *What this Cruel War was Over*. They did not enter the war to end slavery and only accepted abolitionism as a means of

⁴⁵⁷ George French, "George Oscar French Letters" (Montpelier, Vermont, 1864 1862), Vermont Historical Society, <https://vermonthistory.org/french-letters>.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, 1864.

harming the South. Their motivation for fighting in the Civil War was first and foremost preservation of the Union.

Citizens in New England took up arms to suppress the rebellion in the South because they were fueled by patriotism for the Union. Soldiers were affected by patriotism no matter what rank or branch they were in the military. Some of them acknowledged that in their letters. This first example is from George Henry Preble, a man from Portland, Maine who was a Commodore on a ship called the Oneida.⁴⁶¹ Commodore Preble already had prior naval experience dealing with pirates and he was ready to fight again and crush the rebels in the South. He was a part of the fleet who helped take New Orleans at the beginning of the war and after that success he was sent to blockade Mobile, Alabama.⁴⁶² During his time guarding Mobile, a ship managed to get past his watch and out into the Gulf of Mexico. Apparently this one slip-up was enough to make the Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles think Commodore Preble was unfit for duty. The Commodore wrote several letters to both the Naval Secretary and President Lincoln urging them not to relieve him from duty. He cites several victories against pirates in Asian and Mexican waters as evidence he is “perfectly capable” and “should not be removed from command.”⁴⁶³ In another letter he wrote, “the president recommended me by name...” as more evidence as to why he should lead the naval blockade in Mobile.⁴⁶⁴ Commodore Preble clearly had the experience and reputation to lead the blockade but there is more to his motivations than just those two factors. In another letter he outlined perfectly why he felt it was his duty to lead this mission. Preble said, “honor is dearer [to me] than life

⁴⁶¹ George Preble, “George Henry Preble Papers” (Portland, Maine, 1862), Maine Historical Society, https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/2179/page/3616/display?use_mmn=1.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ George Preble, “George Henry Preble Papers” (Portland, Maine, 1862), Maine Historical Society, https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/2179/page/3616/display?use_mmn=1.

itself.”⁴⁶⁵ This line shows that it was more than just his reputation on the line with this dismissal from duty. Commodore Preble felt that his honor was on the line and that it was his duty to take part in this war so he could keep the Union together. Honor is normally associated with Southern soldiers, but the North had a sense of honor too. Northern soldiers’ honor was different from the Southern way of thinking though. Southern men thought of honor in a selfish way and mostly thought of it as their own. They had pride for their state but would never put that before their own pride. This is clearly shown in *What This Cruel War was Over*. When word got out to Southern soldiers that their Confederate government was thinking of arming slaves to fight for the Confederacy, many soldiers said they would desert and stop fighting in the war if it meant they had to fight alongside blacks.⁴⁶⁶ In the North meanwhile, honor and pride were felt in one’s self, but they felt more honor and pride for their community and the nation as a whole. Commodore Preble is a good example of this. He believed he would be dishonored if he were dismissed from service for one failure. Commodore Preble felt a sense of honor and duty to preserve the Union and when he was told by his own command to leave, he argued he had to stay because he was bound by honor to his rank and the nation as a whole.

This honor and sense of duty was felt by other soldiers in the Union army as well. Another soldier from Maine, Private Meshach P. Larry served in Maine’s Seventeenth Regiment and fought at the Battle of Antietam. In one letter to his sister while describing the battle he wrote, “Our general Berry shouted, ‘Do honor for your state men!’ as we charged... I was frightened but I obeyed all orders!”⁴⁶⁷ Again, a sense of honor is shown through this quote.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over* (Vintage, 2002).

⁴⁶⁷ Meshach Larry, “Meshach P. Larry Letters 1862-1863” (1862), Maine Historical Society, <https://www.mainememory.net/bin/Features?fn=14&fmt=list&n=1&supst=Exhibits&mr=all>.

Meshach Larry's general clearly felt a great battle cry would be telling the men they had to honor their own home state of Maine and that honor was meant to be displayed by fighting for the Union. The second part of that quote shows that while he was afraid for his life, he charged into battle anyway to honor his home state. Southerners claimed they would fight for their states but also said that if they had to fight alongside blacks than they would desert.⁴⁶⁸ That is a clear sign as to where their honor and loyalty truly lies. Meanwhile, Northern soldiers did fight alongside blacks and very few deserted because of that. This shows that they were fighting for their home states but also by extension for the Union. Both sides felt honor for their home states but to Southerners, their own honor was prioritized over honor to their home state. On the other hand, Northern soldiers felt honor for their home state and since their home states were aligned to the Union, they fought to preserve the Union.

During war it was common for a soldier to be taken captive during or after a battle. This was the fate for Charles Wilcox of Keene, New Hampshire. Charles Wilcox served in New Hampshire's Eleventh Regiment but was captured by the Confederate soldiers early in his service on May 12, 1864 at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House.⁴⁶⁹ Charles Wilcox was an officer so he had a more humane prison experience than other soldiers. He kept a diary in which he wrote down all his thoughts during his imprisonment. In this diary he constantly referred to Southerners with the derogatory slang word "rebs" similarly to other Northern soldiers and he even once called his prison's warden a drunk who was not fit to be corporal or lead anyone. He talked a lot about how he and other prisoners were moved deeper into

⁴⁶⁸ Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over* (Vintage, 2002).

⁴⁶⁹ Charles Wilcox, "Diary of Charles Wilcox" (Diary, Keene, NH, March 1, 1864), MG48, Historical Society of Cheshire County.

Confederate territory as the war went on, starting off in Virginia but quickly moving down into the Carolinas and Georgia. Despite being in prison, Charles Wilcox's spirit did not break, even when changing to worse camps like Andersonville where according to Charles Wilcox 60 people died per day.⁴⁷⁰ Despite circumstances worsening, his resolve grew stronger and his hatred of the South increased. There were several instances where Charles Wilcox cited some form of Union pride. On one occasion, specifically the Fourth of July, all the Union soldiers gathered together and sang the National Anthem of the United States for most of the day. Charles Wilcox said, "[the men] sang with more enthusiasm than I ever saw before."⁴⁷¹ On another occasion, some soldiers were captured during an escape attempt and as punishment they were whipped in front of the whole prison. Despite awful conditions inside the camp, the soldiers held onto hope and eventually they got some. Soldiers who were captured from Sherman's army started arriving at the camp and they told the prisoners who were already there that Sherman was on his way to free them. All of the prisoners celebrated the fall of Atlanta and Charles Wilcox remarked, "The Reb are sobering up and realizing it's over for them."⁴⁷² Unfortunately, Charles Wilcox would not be part of Andersonville's liberation, because he was transported elsewhere before the camp was liberated. He did eventually return to New Hampshire and he left behind his diary for his family to find and hold onto after he was gone. The diary showed his thoughts as he lived in the prison camps. At the beginning his hatred for Southerners was mainly towards the soldiers because he met a Confederate woman who he had no ill-will towards. After he was captured and forced to live in various prison

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

camps though, his opinions on Southerners understandably went down. His views on the Southern people are much different at the end than they are at the beginning, as can be seen when he rejoices along with everyone else when news of Sherman's campaign of destruction is headed their way. Consider how at the beginning of his diary he had lunch with a Confederate woman in a Confederate household, he did not even call her a Reb, but then after his time in prison he cheers at the thought of Confederate houses and towns getting destroyed. The time Charles Wilcox spent as a prisoner greatly affected his reasoning for going to war. His opinions did not outright change, but they became more rigid and defined the more time he spent in the prison camps.

There were many soldiers captured in battle during the Civil War, especially in the early days. If they were not liberated, they were exchanged by their captors and sent back home. Some men finished their service right there, but there were others who reenlisted after being captured. One notable example was Augustus Bronson of the Third Connecticut Regiment. Augustus Bronson and several other companions in his unit were captured at the First Battle of Bull Run.⁴⁷³ They spent the first nine months of their service in a prison camp before they were finally exchanged. Upon being released from the prison camp, Bronson immediately reenlisted and joined the Seventeenth Connecticut Regiment with whom, he served until his death in 1864. Augustus Bronson's reentry into the service can be interpreted two ways. He either felt a sense of pride for his country and wanted to fight more, or he felt hatred towards and a need for revenge against the South for imprisoning him after his first battle. One letter he wrote home may provide insight as to why he reenlisted. On November

⁴⁷³ Augustus Bronson, "Letters of Sgt. Augustus E. Bronson – Company C" (1865 1864), <https://seventeenthcvi.org/blog/the-soldiers-story/bronson-letters/>.

13th, 1862 he wrote, “Who wouldn’t be a soldier?”⁴⁷⁴ Augustus Bronson’s letters are unique in the fact that he wrote to a newspaper in his hometown. It is possible that he wrote that letter and phrased that particular quote in that way as a method of recruiting more people to the army. Augustus Bronson felt pride in his country and tried showing off his patriotism in his letters to the paper as a way to rally others to join the cause of keeping the Union together.

There were some soldiers who reenlisted without getting captured though, such as William Walsh. William Walsh was a corporal from Providence, Rhode Island and he reenlisted in the First Calvary Rhode Island Regiment in 1864. As far as the reasoning for soldiers’ reenlistment goes, William Walsh falls on the end of hatred towards the South. His hatred showed in his diary, in one entry he mentioned his unit ran into rebels and they exchanged fire. No one died in the skirmish and William Walsh expressed his anger and regret for not killing the rebels.⁴⁷⁵ His anger at not being able to kill any rebels shows that he despised them. In another letter he wrote, “They [rebels] fired at I and my companion horse was shot in the fore shoulder and disabled... And the worst part is they all got away safe.”⁴⁷⁶ William Walsh does not say if he had to put his horse down after but it is almost a given that it was dead because a horse is unlikely to survive a bullet wound while in a skirmish. This act of murdering his companion horse likely only fueled his hatred of the South more as he started associating them with the death of his partner. William Walsh already had patriotism for the Union as shown by his reenlistment but now he showed clear hatred towards the South after

⁴⁷⁴ Augustus Bronson, “Letters of Sgt. Augustus E. Bronson – Company C” (1865 1864), <https://seventeenthcvi.org/blog/the-soldiers-story/bronson-letters/>.

⁴⁷⁵ William Walsh, “Diary of Corporal William E. Walsh: First Rhode Island Cavalry, 1861-1865” (Providence, Rhode Island, 1864), Providence College Special and Archival Collection, https://www.civilwardigital.com/html/civil_war_diaries.html.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

rebels killed his horse in a skirmish. He regretted encounters where he did not kill any rebels and future entries showed that his entire regiment was not kind to rebels they encountered. In one entry on September 18th William Walsh's regiment captured thirteen rebel guerillas and executed them all.⁴⁷⁷ William Walsh's motivation to fight in the Civil War was patriotism fueled by hatred for the South but once Southerners killed his horse the hatred took over and he became more brutal with his treatment of the rebels. Another case of brutality can be seen in the letters of Meshach Larry. In a letter dated October 18th, 1863 he said that the entire camp gathered and watched the execution of a deserter who was caught mid-escape.⁴⁷⁸

Similarly to Walsh, this brutality served as fuel to the motivation of the soldiers, but it was not motivation for Meshach Larry. This was a clear example of patriotism by the commander who performed the execution. The commander clearly tolerated no deserters and wanted to provide an example of what could happen to someone should anyone else have thoughts of running away from the war. These acts of brutality would frighten Union soldiers enough to make them stay in line. These were some darker examples of how far patriotism would push soldiers during the Civil War.

Those commanding soldiers took their positions very seriously and knew they had a way of affecting those under their command. They took actions that some may deem as extreme because they believed in the cause they were fighting for, preservation of the Union. Another example of a soldier who was strict with his soldiers, though not to the degree of executions, was Charles Cummings. Charles Cummings was from Vermont and served as a

⁴⁷⁷ William Walsh, "Diary of Corporal William E. Walsh: First Rhode Island Cavalry, 1861-1865" (Providence, Rhode Island, 1864), Providence College Special and Archival Collection, https://www.civilwardigital.com/html/civil_war_diaries.html.

⁴⁷⁸ Meshach Larry, "Meshach P. Larry Letters 1862-1863" (1862), Maine Historical Society, <https://www.mainememory.net/bin/Features?fn=14&fmt=list&n=1&supst=Exhibits&mr=all>.

lieutenant in Vermont's 11th, 16th, and later 17th, Infantry Regiments. When he first entered the service in November of 1862 he wrote home, "I am ready to go where and when ordered so that I can serve my country."⁴⁷⁹ He clearly had great national pride from the moment he enlisted and his patriotism only grew as the war went on. By December he was put in command of a prison building near Fairfax Courthouse. This prison held not only rebels but also disorderly drunks whether they be civilian or soldier. In a letter to his wife dated December 14th, 1862 he wrote, "I have the county jail at my command where I put the men at night and in the morning they are "brought up" for examination and punishment if necessary."⁴⁸⁰ He clearly took his position very seriously and enforced his will on both rebels and his own soldiers to keep them in top shape to serve their country. Charles Cummings had great disdain for those who did not support the Union cause and it clearly shows in his letters. On January 29th, 1863 when he learned that General Burnside resigned he wrote, "I hope all the [long list of generals] will be weeded out and men put in command who believe in fighting for love of country and patriotism, more than for men professional reputation."⁴⁸¹ He had clear disdain for people in positions of power who he felt, were placing their own interests before the interests of the country. The only people he may have hated more than those generals would be the, "...traitorous copperheads in the north..."⁴⁸² In that very same letter he also wrote, "I am at my country's service until this great work is accomplished and may God speed the day." Charles Cummings clearly outlined his strong sense of patriotism in his letters

⁴⁷⁹ Charles Cummings, "Charles Cummings Letters" (Montpelier, Vermont, 1862), Vermont Historical Society, <https://vermonthistory.org/cummings-letters>.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 1863.

⁴⁸² Ibid, 1862.

and he felt that anyone who was not taking the war as seriously as he was, was not fit to serve in the war. He felt he had to inspire his men because he was in a position of command and did what he believed would benefit the cause of preserving the Union.

Charles Cummings showed his patriotism proudly both in his letters and in his actions. He was easily able to do this by being in a position of command. Other soldiers who were not in positions of command could still show off their patriotism in other ways. This is clearly demonstrated by a man named Calvin Shedd. He served in New Hampshire's Seventh Regiment which went down to Fort Jefferson, Florida during the first nine months of their service in Civil War. In a letter home to his wife and daughters Shedd said that he and his fellow soldiers were anxious to leave the barracks and see the "rebs."⁴⁸³ It would take a long time for them to see battle though because they were supposed to guard Fort Jefferson which is at the very edge of the Florida Keys in the Gulf of Mexico. They were an infantry regiment part of the blockade which cut off the South from the greater world economy. During their time on the island a smallpox epidemic broke out and the soldiers were constantly being tested for the disease. Those who died had to be buried at sea. Calvin Shedd wrote in a letter on March 15th, 1862, "...the good soldiers are scarce in this regt that is that do their duty from sence of patriotism & love of country I cant find a man that sticks up to the rack as I do. I feel the same courage to keep on as I did when I enlisted..."⁴⁸⁴ Calvin Shedd felt as if he was the most patriotic man on their island because the others were not as patriotic as him. He thought the rest of them had either grown laid back with island life or they had grown disheartened by

⁴⁸³ Calvin Shedd, "Calvin Shedd Papers The Civil War in Florida: Letters of a New Hampshire Soldier" (Miami, Florida, 1862), University of Miami Library Special Collections, <https://scholar.library.miami.edu/shedd/index.html>.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

the smallpox epidemic. Calvin Shedd however, said he kept his resolve to fight the rebels the entire time he was on the island. Later on that year on September 30th, he and other healthy soldiers were taken out of Fort Jefferson and brought to St. Augustine, Florida. Shedd wrote that he, “hopes to see more action up North”⁴⁸⁵ because he heard a rumor that Fort Augustine was going to be attacked by Southerners. There was no attack and instead they were just there to guard the city. There were a few occasions where Calvin Shedd thought he heard rebels but they turned out to be false alarms, although on one occasion he did find an abandoned horse so there were likely rebels nearby. While in St. Augustine he wrote in one letter dated October 19th, “Everything is 100 years behind the time here in slavery...”⁴⁸⁶ He saw the slaves serving the whites which made him write in that same letter, “[Southern] whites are lazy.” Shedd’s views on slavery are not mentioned much more beyond that quote but his reasoning for entering the service was already confirmed in many other letters. Calvin Shedd was already a patriotic man but upon witnessing the true South for the first time he saw what confirmed his prior beliefs. His views on Southerners did not change much as he stayed in St. Augustine and on April 17th, 1863 he wrote, “...I wish the rebs would just scare us a little if nothing more.” This shows that over a year into his service he was still there with the primary objective of killing Southerners to preserve the Union and he was disappointed that there were not many rebel soldiers around to kill.

Not all soldiers were as blatantly obvious with their patriotism as Charles Cummings and Calvin Shedd though. In the journal of John Marshall Brown of Maine’s twentieth

⁴⁸⁵ Calvin Shedd, “Calvin Shedd Papers The Civil War in Florida: Letters of a New Hampshire Soldier” (Miami, Florida, 1862), University of Miami Library Special Collections, <https://scholar.library.miami.edu/shedd/index.html>.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

volunteer infantry he wrote about how the soldiers celebrated the wedding anniversary of another soldier. That night on December 7th, 1862 John Marshall Brown wrote, “[I] drank the last bottle of ale mailed from home...”⁴⁸⁷ A week later though on December 14th he wrote, “My birth day. Staid on the field all day.”⁴⁸⁸ The soldiers already celebrated the wedding anniversary of one man, but they did not celebrate the birthday of John Marshall Brown. He did not seem particularly bothered by this which is odd because he knew the soldiers would have liked to celebrate since they celebrated a wedding anniversary just a week prior. This could be a more subtle example of patriotism by a soldier who is not in a position of command. John Marshall Brown may have thought that his birthday was not that big of a deal to celebrate with the greater context of the war going on.

Many of the soldiers who went off to fight in the Civil War were young men, some of whom had just entered adulthood and were thrust into the heat of battle. These young men were optimistic and were looking for a sense of adventure in this war. As the war went on though, they eventually came to realize their patriotism. This next selection of letters comes from a man from Hillsborough, New Hampshire who left home for that reason at first. This area of the state is very inland and cut off from the greater Atlantic economy. From this it is likely these soldiers were not going to war because their economic livelihoods threatened by slavery, so another solution has to be found. This set of letters can provide some insight because they are from Willard J. Templeton. He was an ordinary young man from Hillsborough, New Hampshire who fought in the Civil War. He wrote many letters home

⁴⁸⁷John Brown, “John Marshall Brown: An Officer’s Experience” (Portland, Maine, 1862), Maine Historical Society, https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/1873/page/3089/display?use_mmn=1.

⁴⁸⁸ John Brown, “John Marshall Brown: An Officer’s Experience” (Portland, Maine, 1864 1862), Maine Historical Society, https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/1873/page/3089/display?use_mmn=1.

detailing the experience of the war to his family. The letters provide great insight on his time on the battlefield as well as in the military camps. In his letters he gives his opinions on everything he experiences down South and he is not shy when he wants to insult some aspect of Southern life. On July 7, 1863 Willard Templeton writes, "...water is dreadful scarce & probably the rebs don't wash their hands much..."⁴⁸⁹ From this we can gather that he thinks of Southerners as unclean and wasteful since even though they do not wash their hands, water still manages to be scarce. He also uses the term "rebs" which was common Union army slang for Southern soldiers. This way of addressing them using the slang term is another way of demeaning them and treating them with disrespect. On top of hatred towards the South, patriotism and Union pride were also reasons soldiers went to war. An example of Willard Templeton's patriotism is shown in another letter from September 8, 1863, "It seems to me people are very foolish to pay \$300 to get rid of this draft..."⁴⁹⁰ In this quote Templeton clearly shows that he believes draft dodgers are fools. He thinks that anyone who is of age to fight should come and fight in the war and not cower at home. Willard Templeton's patriotism was extremely notable in September of that year because on the 27th he wrote, "...if the war is to last another year we shall fight on with the same determination to conquer we must and conquer we will for right must prevail."⁴⁹¹ Here not only does Willard Templeton express his desire for the North to conquer the South, he believes the cause they are fighting for is absolutely right and as he put it, "right must prevail." In the same way Southerners were fighting to preserve what they thought was the right way of life, so too does Templeton, and

⁴⁸⁹ Willard J. Templeton, "Willard J. Templeton Letters" (Concord, New Hampshire, 1864-1862), New Hampshire State Library, <https://commons.keene.edu/handle/20.500.12088/67>.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

by extension other New England soldiers, fight for what they believe to be right. They believe preservation of the Union is absolute even if it means total conquest and submission of the South. They see the South seceding from the Union as a perversion of the natural order and seek to correct that wrongdoing by any means necessary.

The natural order they see the South destroying is actually related to family structure. According to Reid Mitchell in his book, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home*, Union soldiers saw the United States as their elderly father who they had to help because he was sick with a case of rebellion.⁴⁹² The Union soldiers saw the nation as their father and their fellow soldiers as either elder brothers or friends. Templeton supports this claim as multiple times in his letters he addresses his friends from Hillsborough serving with him as, “Hillsboro boys.”⁴⁹³ This group nickname is obviously a callback to their time growing up together in Hillsborough and he often uses this term when talking about something good so it carries a certain mood or tone for him. Examples of this can be seen when he says things like, “the Hillsboro boys are well and in good spirits”⁴⁹⁴ or “the Hillsboro boys had a jolly time.”⁴⁹⁵ Willard Templeton went to fight in the Civil War because he was fueled by Patriotism which in turn fueled some of his hatred for the South.

Willard Templeton was just one of many young men lured off to war by the thrill of adventure. Another man from Massachusetts had similar experiences to Templeton, the man’s

⁴⁹² Reid Mitchel, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁴⁹³ Willard J. Templeton, “Willard J. Templeton Letters” (Concord, New Hampshire, 1863), New Hampshire State Library, <https://commons.keene.edu/handle/20.500.12088/67>.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 1862.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 1863.

name was Charles Reed. Charles Reed was part of Massachusetts' Nineth Regiment and was around twenty years old when he enlisted. He was from Roxbury in Boston and in an early letter dated July 25th, 1862 he said he "...hasn't left Boston yet..." but he was still eager to get his soldier equipment and go down South.⁴⁹⁶ Just like Willard Templeton he was excited to see more of the world and get out of his home town. As the war went on though he grew more hatred for the South as shown in this letter dated October 21st, 1863 he and his unit had not seen battle in a long time. He wrote, "I thought the day would never pass without me having shot at the Rebs, but it didn't come about..."⁴⁹⁷ He uses the "rebs" slang similarly to many others at the time and he was disappointed by the fact he and his fellow soldiers had not shot a rebel that day. Charles Reed never lost that adventurous side though and after the war ended, he purchased a house in Arlington and moved his family out there for a temporary amount of time. While out there he lived as a painter and specialized in Civil War paintings. The idea of adventure brought him to the war and while it never left him, he did grow a hatred for Southerners which fueled him during the war. Another man whose story almost mirrors Charles Reed's is Dan Mason from Vermont's sixth volunteer infantry. Mason enlisted into the army at the very start of the war and by 1861 he was already down in D.C. He wrote to his fiancé and told her about how he and a few other soldiers were touring the capitol and white house. In a letter from December 10th, 1861 he said, "I could not describe the splendor in a letter."⁴⁹⁸ He saw the original Declaration of Independence, the military uniforms of George

⁴⁹⁶ Charles Reed, "Charles Wellington Reed Papers, 1776 to 1926" (Washington D.C., 1862), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/charles-reed/about-this-collection/>.

⁴⁹⁷ Charles Reed, "Charles Wellington Reed Papers, 1776 to 1926" (Washington D.C., 1863), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/charles-reed/about-this-collection/>.

⁴⁹⁸ Dan Mason, "Dan Mason Letters" (Montpelier, Vermont, 1861), Vermont Historical Society, <https://vermonthistory.org/mason-letters>.

Washington and Andrew Jackson, and many other things, all of which inspired him to fight for the Union.⁴⁹⁹ Both Charles Reed and Dan Mason were men from very different areas of New England, one from rural Vermont and the other from the bustling city of Boston, yet they both had similar experiences. They both enlisted because they felt a need for adventure and as they fought in the war their patriotism manifested through pride in the nation for one and hatred of the South for another.

Many Civil War soldiers were religious, and their religion connected heavily with their patriotism. An example of this soldier would be Elisha Rhodes of Rhode Island. He served in Rhode Island's Second Infantry Regiment which was a part of McClellan's peninsula campaign. During his time in the service he kept a diary where he kept track of his thoughts as the war went on. In his earlier entries he thanked God many times for giving him the chance to serve the Union's cause.⁵⁰⁰ He did not write down any feelings of fear and trusted God's cause would prevail because God favored the Union. This is clearly shown when he encountered a group of poor white Southerners suffering from the war. In that entry he wrote on August 24th, 1862 he wrote, "They are reaping their reward." These were Southern civilians who were displaced by the fighting, yet Rhodes showed no sympathy for them because they were a part of the Southern rebellion and he saw their rebellion as an act against God. No matter how difficult the war got Rhodes' faith never wavered. After his unit was ambushed badly on the way to Richmond he wrote on May 8th, "But all is for the Union and we do not complain."⁵⁰¹ This came a day after their victory at Williamsburg which he attribute

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Elisha Rhodes, "Diary of a Union Soldier (1862)" (1862), https://www.norton.com/college/history/archive/resources/documents/ch17_04.htm.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

to God just the day prior. Later on, that year he was promoted again and once again he thanked God for the chance to serve in the Union army and take part in the struggle to keep the Union together.⁵⁰² In the closing remarks of his 1862 diary on December 31st, he reflected on the year and was thankful that God allowed him to live and receive such blessings. Rhodes hoped that through God's will, the Union would be restored.⁵⁰³ Elisha Rhodes' patriotism was heavily intertwined with his religion and it showed that he saw the Civil War as a holy war long before the rest of the Union saw it in a similar light.

Most historians agree that as the Civil War went on religion became more involved and the war became a holy war once the Emancipation Proclamation was declared.⁵⁰⁴ For some soldiers though, this idea of a holy war was present long before the Emancipation Proclamation. Obviously, most soldiers were religious back in the 1860s but to varying degrees. Some found their faith on the battlefield while others like Michael Lally went to war because they felt God was calling them to do it. Michael Lally was a man who served in Massachusetts' Eleventh Regiment and he started off every letter he wrote to his family thanking God for all his blessings.⁵⁰⁵ In each letter he would greet his family, thank God for his blessings, and then tell his family about what he was up to on the battlefield. He was an Irish immigrant and likely Catholic so faith clearly influenced his life greatly as shown by his letters. Michael Lally stated that he did miss his family on numerous occasions, but he also

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 691.

⁵⁰⁵ Michael Lally, "Michael Lally Civil War Letters, 1861-1865" (Waltham, Massachusetts, 1861), Brandeis University Archives & Special Collections, <http://omeka.wellesley.edu/civilwarletters/collections/show/2>.

said he needed to be out there fighting in the war and God was guiding him in this war. In one of the last letters Michael Lally wrote to his family, just four days after Lee's surrender, he said, "...thanks to the Lord, we have gained our objective at last."⁵⁰⁶ Michael Lally clearly felt the war had religious significance long before Abraham Lincoln declared the Emancipation Proclamation and that is shown in the letters he wrote home to his family. He was not the only soldier who thought this way though.

Another soldier by the name of Sullivan Ballou is famous for a letter he wrote to his wife early in the Civil War. Sullivan Ballou would not survive past his first battle, but this letter has been popularized by the Ken Burns Civil War documentary series for what Sullivan Ballou said to his wife in the letter.⁵⁰⁷ In the letter he explained why he went to war even though he loved his wife Sarah. Sullivan Ballou said, "Sarah my love for you is deathless... nothing but omnipotence could break [it]; and yet my love of Country comes over me like a strong wind..."⁵⁰⁸ In that one quote he perfectly sums up his reasoning. Sullivan Ballou's love for his wife was unmatched by everything except divine omnipotence intervening on behalf of the country. Sullivan Ballou felt like he was called by God to fight in the Civil War and serve the Union cause. These men were staunchly religious and it showed in their letters. Moreover, these were just the men who mentioned their religion very often. Charles Wilcox put in one diary entry that he was reading the Old Testament while at the prison camp. As mentioned previously man soldiers were religious, just to varying degrees of it. On top of that religion severely changed by the end of the war with emancipation making it a holy war. Southerners

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Sullivan Ballou, "Sullivan Ballou Letter" (July 14, 1861), PBS, <https://www.pbs.org/kenburns/civil-war/war/historical-documents/sullivan-ballou-letter/>.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

had to make a major shift upon realizing the war was not God's way of testing their new nation. Meanwhile, Northern soldiers had their religion mix with Patriotism. An idea that God wanted the United States to remain one country became more widely accepted among Union soldiers and the population for a short time in early reconstruction. The idea of divine patriotism and God loving America would become a foundational part of American identity as time went on.

Every one of these New England men fought in the Civil War because they felt a sense of pride for something they believed in. That pride manifested itself patriotism. Some fought declared their patriotism in their letters while other showed their patriotism in their acts. Some entered the war with patriotism while others gained it overtime. Some connected their faith to patriotism which made it incredibly stronger. This patriotism created a hatred and while that hatred varied from soldier to soldier, it was present in all of them. Some hated Southerners because they betrayed the Union, some hated Southerners because they saw how they lived down South. Some hated Southerners because they felt the South had gone against God by rebelling against the Union. The South felt threatened by the election of Lincoln and believed the North would take away the institution of slavery, so they seceded. The North saw the South seceding as an act of betrayal and nobody likes a traitor. The betrayal of the South created a hatred towards the Southern rebel identity which fueled patriotism for the New England. That patriotism sent thousands of men down South to crush the rebellion. These men did not go because they wanted to free slaves, they went to punish traitors and crush a rebellion. It is clear that by studying the journals they kept and letters they sent home to their friends and families, that New England soldiers fought the South because of a patriotic need to preserve the Union which was fueled by a hatred of the Southern rebel identity.

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Part IV. Politics and Abolitionism

Chapter 11.

Amber Hobbs

“Running the Underground Railroad”

The Underground Railroad caused an impact in the American Civil War by pushing the fight for African American freedom. Historians argue that there were many significant causes of the Civil War and one important cause that stands out is, the fight for freedom. Slavery was seen as fundamentally good in the South while the North saw the true cruelty of slavery. These African Americans were raised and sometimes born into slavery. These individuals were ripped out of their home countries and brought to America to be forced to do free labor and be sold as property. Some African Americans knew nothing about the opportunities in life they could be experiencing by living outside the plantation.⁵⁰⁹ There is no exact date for when the Underground Railroad started but it ended at the beginning of the Civil War. America was built around the ideas of slavery and although the Constitution may not state slavery directly, its presence is there without saying the word slavery. The Constitution is a pro-slavery document that benefited the wealthy whites of America while minorities still are suffering today. The Underground Railroad marked the beginning to the rise against the Confederacy and the fight for enslaved African Americans freedom before The Civil War. Fugitive slaves were trying to escape their way to freedom to show the reality of the inhumane way that society was run.

African Americans are never able to tell their story about the history of America's past and how society is today. By reading narratives and the stories of slaves that lived during this time show the truth of the lives these African American slaves were living. No one will ever be

⁵⁰⁹ Foner, Eric. *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016.

able to put themselves in the shoes of these brave individuals but knowing the harsh lives they lived shows the severity of the situation. The Underground Railroad was the voice and action of the change towards freedom and giving these slaves their own lives. Some knew nothing but how to pick cotton and to live day to day on the plantation. The perspective of the lives of the slaves are important to know during the time before the Civil War and even their lives entering the war. Some of these slaves had to fight for their country that they were even seen as citizens to try to gain their rights as the other white men fighting beside them. Handwritten accounts by slaves during this time along with other primary and secondary sources show the hardships of African American lives before, during, and even after the war.

Historiography states that first slaves came to America in 1619, when twenty slaves were captured from Africa and brought to “New World”. The twenty slaves were brought to Jamestown, Virginia and were traded for food.⁵¹⁰ Shortly after, around the time of the Revolution slave labor began to rise with the demand for plantations of natural resources such as rice, tobacco, sugar cane and cotton. The plantation system and rich nutritious soil in the South provided ideal conditions for crops to thrive. The solution to the rise of plantations wide spreading across the South was the institution slavery. Slavery itself started to become an important source in international trading throughout triangular trade in the 17th century and especially in the 18th century after the creation of the cotton gin. Eli Whitney created the cotton gin in 1793, which sped up the process of removing seeds from the cotton and caused the rapid increase of cotton being produced quicker.⁵¹¹ The institution of slavery was booming in the South and goods were coming through the Atlantic trade into the North. Slavery never

⁵¹⁰ History.com Editors. “Slavery in America.” History.com. A&E Television Networks

⁵¹¹ History.com Editors. “Slavery in America.” History.com. A&E Television Networks

widespread through the North but many of the northern businessmen became wealthy through slave trade and investing in Southern plantations.⁵¹² Domestic trade flourished until 1808 when the trans-Atlantic import of slaves was banned. The practice still continued as well as the internal selling of slaves from Border States to the deep South. By 1860, enslaved people in the antebellum South consisted about one third of the Southern population. At this time the enslaved population was close to 4 million enslaved African Americans. The harsh reality of the institution of slavery were hidden or ignored by the public because it was justified by it being fundamentally good. Abolitionists became to highlight the harsh conditions and horrific treatment of enslaved people. Hidden networks were made of opposed white and blacks, trails, and safehouses were created to help the enslaved African Americans escape. These hidden networks were called the Underground Railroad. Some of the slaves who experienced slavery that escaped or were freed were able to tell their traumatizing stories of enslavement while other documents of this time were destroyed because of it being potential evidence.

Historians don't know for sure when the Underground was actually established but the earliest mention of its existence is in 1831. In 1831, a slave escaped from Kentucky and was caught in Ohio. His owner mentioned the cause of his escape being the "underground railroad." In 1839 another slave was caught again trying to escape to Boston and when he was brought back to his owner he was tortured to get information out of him. The slave was so brutally tortured he was forced to give the information about the secret networks and the help of abolitionists making an effort to free slaves.⁵¹³ From 1835 to 1840 there were "Vigilance Committees" created first in New York and then later in Philadelphia. The purpose of these

⁵¹² History.com Editors. "Slavery in America." History.com. A&E Television Networks.

⁵¹³ History.com Editors. "Underground Railroad." History.com. A&E Television Networks.

committees in New York and Philadelphia were to protect escaped slaves from getting caught by bounty hunters on their way to freedom in the North and Canada. By 1840, the word of the Underground Railroad went widespread throughout the nation and no longer was a secret. It was easier for slaves to escape from border states such as Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland because in the deep South fugitive slave laws made it harder to escape. The laws in the deep south were implemented strictly which made escaped slaves a priority to find.⁵¹⁴ There were also fewer hiding places and safe houses for the escaped slaves to take refuge in. Later on, in 1850, a new fugitive slave act was enacted and made it even harder for slaves to escape but the Underground Railroad didn't stop operations until the beginning of the Civil War.

The Underground Railroad was a secret network made out of abolitionists, regular people, safe houses, and mapped out trails for slaves to escape from the South to the North or Canada. The purpose of the Underground Railroad was not just to help slaves escape to freedom but also to undermine the Confederacy by recognizing the brutality of slavery. By undermining the Confederacy and recognizing the brutality of slavery people began to make the effort to push towards the abolition of slavery by helping in the Underground Railroad. The operations of the Underground Railroad were very precise and planned out well by the people running it. The people who guided the slaves through the mapped out trails were called the "conductors."⁵¹⁵ Safe houses were also called "stations" and were homes or other buildings used to hide slaves. Slaves only traveled through the Underground Railroad late at night and early in the morning when it was dark out so it was harder for them to be seen. The people who owned or operated these so-called "stations" were called "stationmasters". They

⁵¹⁴ History.com Editors. "Underground Railroad." History.com. A&E Television Networks.

⁵¹⁵ National Geographic Society. "The Underground Railroad." National Geographic Society.

provided escaped slaves with a hiding place with protection, food, and a resting place for them. There were many different routes for escaped slaves to take so if bounty hunters caught on to a route they had other trails as options to escape to the North or to Canada. “There were many well-used routes stretching west through Ohio to Indiana and Iowa. Others headed north through Pennsylvania and into New England or through Detroit on their way to Canada.”⁵¹⁶ Once the new fugitive slave act was put into place again in 1850 it became harder for slaves to be free in northern states while Canada welcomed freedom to all escaped slaves. The Underground Railroad took runaway slaves from Border States into Canada. In the U.S the Northern free states still did not recognize blacks as citizens, denied them the right to vote, and they could not hold the property. Canada however gave blacks citizenship, right to vote, right to trial and to sue, and right to education. They even had a monetary system to provide blacks with some money to help them build homes, schools, and communities while they learned a trade. Thus Canada was a very appealing place to settle and many black communities were established there. The southern states began to lose more and more slaves to Canada but the south threatened to separate from the Union. Many free blacks escaped to Canada to avoid being captured and having to be returned to slavery. The new fugitive slave act was put into place to respond to the cause of the escaping of slaves through the Underground Railroad. Although the laws made it more difficult for escaped slaves to be free in the United States, the fight for their freedom didn’t end.

The Underground Railroad aided fugitive slaves until 1863, then it ended due to the beginning of the Civil War. The Civil War was the major push towards the abolition of

⁵¹⁶ “History.com Editors. “Underground Railroad.” History.com. A&E Television Networks

slavery and was one of the many causes of the war. Free African Americans and even African Americans that were still enslaved became a large part of the war. They joined in with the Union army and fought alongside whites for their freedom. Although they were not granted the total freedom they fought for, they still caused a large impact on the Confederacy when going into the Reconstruction Era after the war. The efforts of everyone during the Underground Railroad continued even after the operations stopped. The same people who helped during the Underground Railroad pushed for the abolition of slavery during and even after the war. The abolition of slavery was finally granted by being passed in the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. All slaves were not freed after the Emancipation Proclamation until the 13th Amendment was created in 1865. The 13th Amendment being passed freed the thousands of slaves who were still being enslaved after the war.⁵¹⁷ African Americans might have been granted their freedom, but their fight for equality continued throughout history along with their experiences of slavery being passed down through later generations. When teaching and learning about the history we try to teach the brutality of slavery in America's history to discuss the reality of how America was built and to show how we still have equality barriers today. The history of the Underground Railroad and the Civil War is important to understand how America was founded by taking land that wasn't ours and conquering people to create what we have today. The Underground Railroad was a means for the slaves to escape to the free North. The system was made up of both blacks and whites who opposed the oppression of other human beings. The Underground Railroad was a very important part of U.S. history that made freedom possible for many.

⁵¹⁷ National Geographic Society. "The Underground Railroad." National Geographic Society

Every slave that experienced the cruelty of slavery and the effect of the war on the abolition of slavery to the country have their own unique story. When we learn about history many times we talk about the African Americans as slaves and not as individuals. They all have their own story but it is important that we display the important message of how America was created through the brutal reality of our history. Without teaching this message to our youth about the reality of our history we will have a sheltered world that we likely repeat the same mistakes as we did in the past. Many primary sources from the Underground railroad were destroyed. First handwritten accounts such as diaries, journals, and papers were destroyed because they were afraid of getting themselves or anyone else in trouble. They destroyed most of the evidence of the Underground Railroad so that they couldn't be prosecuted or found guilty for helping slaves escape. Although many have been destroyed there are still primary sources such as journals, diaries, papers, etc, and newspaper accounts that help us understand the Underground Railroad. Among some of the famous slaves that papers and first hand written accounts that were kept reserved throughout history are William Still, Harriet Tubman and Fredrick Douglass. William Still, Fredrick Douglass, and Harriet Tubman all have rich information about the history of the Underground Railroad that is told within their own slave stories.

Fredrick Douglass, William Still, and Harriet Tubman are among some of the most famous African Americans that lived during the time of the Underground Railroad. Not all African Americans were slaves and trying to escape to freedom but some were free trying to help the enslaved African Americans. Harriet Tubman was a slave that escaped to freedom and then became a huge part of the underground railroad and even a large part in the Civil War as well. Fredrick Douglass was also a slave during the time of the Underground Railroad

but finally was able to escape the Covey farm after several failed attempts and began his journey on a train through Delaware before ending up at a safe house in New York.⁵¹⁸ He then became an abolitionist and lived in New Bedford, Massachusetts with his family. William Still is another slave that is famous for his contribution to the Underground Railroad. He grew up on a plantation in New Jersey with his mother, father, and siblings. His mother and one other sibling were able to escape with their freed father. William was able to find a job in Philadelphia that helped him find his purpose in helping the movement of abolition of slavery. He aided runaway slaves and offered a shelter for them to hide on their way through the Underground Railroad. All these slave stories are so different but are similar in the way that they found their way to freedom but still continued to help the bigger cause of the abolition of slavery.

One of the most famous slaves during the time of the Underground Railroad was Harriet Tubman. She was a “conductor” during the Underground Railroad and escaped to freedom herself to the North in 1849. She grew up as an enslaved African American along with her family on a plantation in the South. Tubman was given the name Araminta Harriet Ross but changed her name to Harriet Tubman when she got married.⁵¹⁹ Harriet Tubman suffered many hardships while she was on the plantation growing up. She had three sisters sold to plantations far away and was severely beaten. One incident where she got a huge brick thrown at her head by her master she faced lifelong health issues. She would have headaches,

⁵¹⁸ “Frederick Douglass: National Underground Railroad Freedom Center.” Frederick Douglass | National Underground Railroad Freedom Center.

⁵¹⁹ “Research Guides: Harriet Tubman: A Resource Guide: Digital Resources.” Digital Resources Harriet Tubman: A Resource Guide – Research Guides at Library of Congress.

seizures, and narcoleptic episodes throughout the rest of her life. She would also have very vivid dreams that she believed was a connection to God. Her father was eventually freed due to his past contract with his master before but Harriet and her mother were not freed. The father continued to work on the plantation but as a “freed ” slave so he wouldn’t have to leave his family behind. Harriet Tubman had a hard life growing up on the plantation and used her experiences to free herself along with her family and hundreds of other slaves.

Harriet Tubman met a free black man in 1844 named John Tubman. They soon were married but their marriage was cut short when she decided to join the Underground Railroad and her new husband wanted to stay in Maryland with a new wife. In 1849 Harriet Tubman escaped herself and then joined the Underground Railroad to help other slaves who were trying to escape to freedom. She first set out to escape with her two brothers to Philadelphia in 1849 but her brothers were scared off by the “wanted” signs for their sister. Harriet made sure her brothers were back safe at the plantation then set off to Philadelphia by herself. Tubman made it to freedom with the help of using safe houses set up by the people who controlled the Underground Railroad. Instead of wanting to stay in freedom and start her new life of being a free slave she went back to get her family and other slaves.⁵²⁰ Harriet Tubman helped over 300 people in total and even when the Fugitive Slave Acts were repassed in 1850 she figured out a new route to Canada and continued to help the slaves to freedom. After the acts were passed and her changing the new route to Canada, she still brought over many groups through the Underground Railroad. She continued to help slaves until the Underground Railroad was stopped by the start of the Civil War.

⁵²⁰ “Harriet Tubman.” Biography.com. A&E Networks Television

Harriet Tubman also played a large role in the Civil War along with her major role as a “conductor” in the Underground Railroad. In 1858 she was introduced to John Brown who was an abolitionist who wanted to end slavery. Harriet and John Brown became allies and believed in the same goals as one another.⁵²¹ She was known as “General Tubman” and helped on the raid at Harpers Ferry. Tubman also worked for the Union as a nurse and cook but quickly became a spy and an armed fighter. Tubman was the first woman to guide a militia into a raid known as the Combahee River Raid which freed 700 enslaved African Americans in South Carolina. She lived the rest of her days in Auburn, New York where she was remarried and adopted a daughter with her husband. Harriet Tubman traveled 90 miles to escape to freedom and “conducted” the Underground Railroad for 8 years. She was a spy in the Civil War and took her experiences of being physically abused her whole childhood to become a marvelous woman of history.

Fredrick Douglass was an abolitionist during the time of the Underground Railroad and throughout the Civil War. Douglass was born in Maryland as a slave around 1818. Before Fredrick escaped his name was known at birth as Fredrick Augustus Washington Bailey. Bailey was his mother’s maiden last name and Douglass himself never knew when he was exactly born. Douglass was African American and European which he got from his dad and he was also Native American which he got from his mother.⁵²² Douglass didn’t know his mother very much and was taken away from her as a baby. He lived with his grandmother till about the age of six when he was taken away again to work with Wye House plantation in

⁵²¹“Research Guides: Harriet Tubman: A Resource Guide: Digital Resources.” Digital Resources Harriet Tubman: A Resource Guide – Research Guides at Library of Congress.

⁵²² “Frederick Douglass: National Underground Railroad Freedom Center.” Frederick Douglass | National Underground Railroad Freedom Center.

Maryland. He was then given to a couple in Maryland who gave him to their brother who worked in Baltimore. This is where Douglass learned the alphabet by his owner's wife Sophia and then he began to teach himself how to read and write. He used these skills of reading and writing of teaching the other slaves he worked/lived with to read and write as well, especially by using the Bible. Douglass was seen as a threat by his owner and others because he was able to read and write and taught other slaves how to as well. He was then sent away again but this time to a brutal slave owner known as Edward Covey who regularly beat the young teenage Fredrick who was about sixteen at the time.⁵²³ In 1838 Douglass was finally able to escape the Covey farm after several failed attempts and began his journey on a train through Delaware before ending up at a safe house in New York.

Once Douglass escaped to freedom he met his wife, a free black woman known as Anna Murray whom he met back in Baltimore at the plantation where he learned to read and write. Within the same year of escaping, Anna and Fredrick were married and soon were to have five children together. Douglass and his wife shortly after being married moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts. In New Bedford is where Douglass' abolitionist ideas began to rise by attending abolitionists movements and talking about his escape from the hardships of slavery. This is where he met a fellow abolitionist known as William Llyod Garrison. The two men worked together and spoke about their abolitionist ideas. Garrison believed in Douglass and encouraged him to become a leader and speaker for the abolitionist movement.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ "Frederick Douglass: National Underground Railroad Freedom Center." Frederick Douglass | National Underground Railroad Freedom Center.

⁵²⁴ Sundstrom, Ronald. "Frederick Douglass." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Stanford University, January 6, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/frederick-douglass/>.

Douglass began to travel around the United States to push his ideas of freedom and abolitionism to fellow Americans. He was tormented by his haters and pro-slavery followers. He then traveled to Europe and made speeches in Ireland and Great Britain. When Douglass returned home from Europe he began to see how the United States treats the rights of their people. He created his own newsletter known as the “North Star” where he would write his abolitionist ideas and thought about women’s rights. Douglass became very interested in women’s rights and began to fight for the women’s rights movement. The paper’s name was changed to the “Frederick Douglass Paper” and was published up until the beginning of the Civil War. When the Civil War was happening Fredrick Douglass would continue to speak for the freedom of African Americans and the right for the newly freed slaves to be able to vote.

In the early years, Douglass believed in the ideas of President Abraham Lincoln and they worked together until the Emancipation Proclamation where Douglass would disagree with the way Lincoln would free all the blacks slaves but did not give the right to vote after they fought alongside their white companions during the war. Douglass and Lincoln still remained close and after the assassination of President Lincoln, he spoke at his memorial at Lincoln Park. Throughout the rest of Douglass’s life, he still fought for African Americans and women’s rights. He became the ambassador of the Dominican Republic and the first black man to hold high office. Later on in his life in 1877, he met his former owner in Baltimore and they worked out their differences. His wife Anna died in 1882 and he remarried in 1884 to a white activist known as Helen Pitts. In 1888 he became the first African American who was to

receive a vote for the U.S. presidency.⁵²⁵ Douglass died in 1895 and up until his death, he continued to be a speaker and advocate for women and African American equality.

William Still was born into a slave family and escaped later on in life before the time of the Underground Railroad. Still was born in Burlington County, New Jersey where he lived with his mother, father, and siblings on a plantation. His father Levin Steel purchased his own freedom but had to change his last name when they escaped. When Levin Steel purchased his freedom his owner didn't allow his family to be freed with him. His mother, father, William, and two siblings were able to escape to freedom. They left behind some of his siblings because they couldn't bring everyone with them. William Still has no formal education and practiced reading and writing when he could. In 1844 he moved to Philadelphia. A few years later in 1847, he found a job as a clerk and janitor for the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Williams' new job led him to the opportunity to help during the Underground Railroad. He left a big impact on helping slaves get through the Underground Railroad. Still used his opportunity of being an escaped slave himself to help other slaves to escape during the Underground Railroad.

William Still found his job in Philadelphia to make money but found a bigger purpose to working there. He was directly able to help the cause of the abolition of slavery but helping slaves escape during the Underground Railroad. He began aiding fugitives, often sheltering them until they could find their way North⁵²⁶. "Still was the director of a complex network of

⁵²⁵ Sundstrom, Ronald. "Frederick Douglass." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Stanford University

⁵²⁶ "Underground Railroad." PBS. Public Broadcasting Service.

abolitionists, sympathizers, and safe houses that stretched from Philadelphia to what is now Southern Ontario.” One of the fugitive slaves ended up being his brother Peter who was one of the siblings his mother had to leave behind when they escaped forty years earlier. William began to save records about the people he helped. He soon became scared when the law began to crack down on the operations of the Underground Railroad and started to destroy his documents so there was no evidence. After the war Still had documents, diary entries, and records of his time helping during the Underground Railroad. He decided to publish a book called *The Underground Railroad* explaining his experiences helping in the Underground Railroad. In his book he portrays the fugitives as courageous individuals who struggled for their own freedom.⁵²⁷ Still used his opportunity of freedom to help fugitive slaves escape their way to freedom as he did when he was a boy. His book is also a very important piece of history that tells about the experiences helping with the Underground Railroad. Without the help of Still and other people who were involved with the Underground Railroad the history of the abolition of slavery could have been changed. The actions and bravery of everyone involved created a chain reaction throughout the North with the movement of undermining the Confederacy and giving slaves the opportunity to be free.

The lives of the enslaved African Americans shape American history and the foundations of the society that present today. The history of the American Civil War and the Underground Railroad both show the harsh realities of how America was made through the enslavement of people. Harriet Tubman, Fredrick Douglass, and William Still were all born

⁵²⁷ Still, William, William Still, and James P. Boyd. *Stills Underground Rail Road Records: with a Life of the Author: Narrating the Hardships, Hairbreadth Escapes and Death Struggles of the Slaves in Their Efforts for Freedom: Together with Sketches of Some of the Eminent Friends of Freedom, and Most Liberal Aiders and Advisors of the Road*. Philadelphia: William Still, Publisher, 244 South Twelfth Street, 1886.

into slavery and were able to be granted their freedom. All other slave stories are important and are different in their own various experiences that they went through. Still, Douglass and Tubman all provide resources to an important part of history during this time. Their written accounts all shape together the harsh reality of slavery and the long fight for freedom. Slaves during this time were not permitted to read and write so only slaves who knew had to read and write or were taught when freed, were able to record their experiences. Other documents and accounts written during this time were destroyed due to the severity of punishment when caught helping a fugitive slave. The success of the Underground Railroad helped spread abolitionist feelings in the North. The Underground Railroad also undoubtedly increased sectional tensions, convincing pro-slavery southerners of their northern men to determination to defeat the institution that sustained them. The Underground Railroad ended and shortly after the Civil War began to continue the fight for freedom.

The life of a slave depended on their master and the conditions that they experienced being on their plantation/farm. The horrible life of a slave didn't start from the way their master was treating them but began when they were captured or kidnapped from their villages. They were then forced into cramped, dark, smelly cargo ships that were always overflowing with captured slaves.⁵²⁸ Many slaves died on the ride back to America and they were thrown overboard when they died. None of the slaves were fed, washed or let out of the bottom of the cargo ship. When they arrived in America they were fattened up, clothed, their wounds from being beaten were covered and grey hair was even painted or shaved to make a slave look

⁵²⁸ Stowe, Harriet Beecher, Henry Louis. Gates, and Hollis Robbins. *The Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007.

younger. Auctions happened rapidly after they arrived into America and many families were ripped apart from one another. Women were raped by their masters and slaves were beaten to death or beaten to the point of open wounds with blood that covered their body. The life of a slave was never easy but some slaves did have conditions better than others. The reality of the founding of America and the history of slavery is truly horrific and mind-blowing to believe that the enslavement of people had to be used to create this country. African Americans are still oppressed, racially profiled and considered a minority today. Everyone should be educated about the reality of the inhumane history of the enslavement of African Americans and recognize the fight for freedom is still being continued today.

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Chapter 12.

Lydia Mardin

“Political Slavery and Personal Freedom: Federal Legislation of the Underground Railroad”

For African Americans in the 1800s, the road to freedom was riddled with suffering and pain. While they risked their lives to come North there was much more to it than just the way the slaves traveled North towards New England and Canada. Politics and the roles of the government are important in understanding the ways in which slaves traveled on the Underground Railroad. Freedom is a quintessential characteristic to America’s history since the founding of the country, but it has not always been the case that freedom is a right to all of those born in America. For a long time in the nation's history the idea of whether African Americans could gain their freedom was largely argued about. Some even risked their lives to help those who were trying to access it. The Fugitive Slave Laws that attempted to combat the freedom the slaves so longingly desired and if it was not for the Personal Liberty Laws of the North and the Underground Railroad would have had as much of a positive impact.

The Underground Railroad is probably one of the most looked at pre-Civil War events and with good reasoning; it was one of the only ways in which slaves on southern plantations could access this freedom they so longingly desired. However there were rules in place to combat this movement of people north. The Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 were critical in the development and the role the Underground Railroad played in America. Yet the Personal Liberty laws, which were results of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, had a positive

effect on the Underground Railroad and New England's involvement in the movement of enslaved African Americans towards the northern part of the country.

To start, just a little bit of background on slavery in the United States. This wicked system had played an important role in the economic development of the South. Essentially slaves, who were forced into living and working on southern plantations produced a myriad of products or cash crops which their masters, who were the plantation owners sold to other parts of the World. However, besides forceful servitude, the slaves faced many complications. They were owned by others and had no basic freedoms that were granted to them. In the chance they were seen as problematic by their owners, for either disrupting production or were they were often harshly punished. Many were sold away from their families after being captured on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The hardships they endured from their capture to their deaths on plantations are critical in understand the necessity of the Underground Railroad in America and why the Personal Liberty Laws that states put in place to protect them are important to this time and to the fugitive slaves.⁵²⁹

Slavery was in the American Colonies for a long time before the Civil War and when it came to drafting documents during the colonial period and early America the question of fugitive slaves was usually included. In fact, the first formal agreement on what to do with runaway slaves was mentioned in the New England Confederation of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven in 1643 it stated "... if any servant run away from his master into any of these Confederate Jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in jurisdiction out of which the servant had fled or upon another due proof, the

⁵²⁹ Marion Gleason McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves (1619-1865)* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1891), 1-5.

servant shall be delivered either to his master or to any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof...”⁵³⁰, this provision was included in the First Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and again in 1850 with the Fugitive Slave Act.

There were many different responses to the First Fugitive Slave Act *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* being the biggest one. And while it was not very important when it was decided in 1842, it is often look at it in a modern sense it is easy to see just how important it actually was.⁵³¹ Essentially what the case is about is Edward Prigg for Maryland had attempted to kidnap Margaret Morgan, a newly freed slave who resided in Pennsylvania, a free state, since she had run away from Maryland and the plantation she had worked on.⁵³² The reasoning for Prigg was to sell her back into slavery in Maryland. Previous to this case, on March 29 of 1788 Pennsylvania passed an amendment to a law, An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, stating “No negro or mulatto slave... shall be removed out of this state, with the design and intention that the place of abode or residence of such slave or servant shall be thereby altered or changed...”. March 25, 1826, further legislation was passed stating,

If any person or persons shall, from and after the passing of this act, by force and violence, take and carry away, or cause to be taken or carried away, and shall, by fraud or false pretense, seduce, or cause to be seduced, or shall attempt so to take, carry away or seduce, any negro, from any part or parts of this commonwealth to any other place or places whatsoever, out of this commonwealth, with a design and intention of selling and disposing

⁵³⁰ Yale Law School, “The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; May 19, 1643,” *The Avalon Project*, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/art1613.asp (accessed March 3, 2020).

⁵³¹ Oyez, “*Prigg v. Pennsylvania*,” Oyez, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1789-1850/41us539> (accessed March 21, 2020).

⁵³² *Ibid.*

of, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing to be kept and detained, such negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatsoever, every such person or persons, his or their aiders or abettors, shall on conviction thereof, in any court of this commonwealth having competent jurisdiction, be deemed guilty of a felony.⁵³³

This quotation tells the more about the ways the state of Pennsylvania responded to the legislation before the case was even decided. Prigg had argued that these laws were unconstitutional. First, because of the ruling in Article IV of the U.S. Constitution: “No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”⁵³⁴ Second, because the exercise of Federal legislation, such as that undertaken by Congress in passing the act of February 12, 1793, has higher jurisdiction over state laws. As a consequence, they argued that the 1788 Pennsylvania law, in all its provisions applicable to this case, should be voided. The question was whether Pennsylvania law violated the constitutional guarantee of fugitive slave return and the 1793 Act of Congress, passed to implement it.⁵³⁵

In response to the horrors that slavery brought onto the American society and due to how all African American slaves wanted their freedom but at this time it was almost impossible to obtain, the Underground Railroad ended up becoming one of the few ways their

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Oyez, “Prigg v. Pennsylvania,” Oyez, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1789-1850/41us539> (accessed March 21, 2020).

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

freedom could be gained. Essentially slaves would escape from plantations and would be able to hide in homes, and churches, amongst other places, with the help of abolitionists in the North. The First Fugitive Slave Law was critical in the understanding of how the Underground Railroad operated. Due to the rules and regulations the country had implemented if a slave was found they must be returned to the plantation they came from. So, it was very secretive, implying underground in its name.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 where passed in response to the Underground Railroad. While there was legislation that dealt with returning fugitive slaves it was often ignored in the North especially because of the northern states' participation in the Underground Railroad, prior legislation had expressed that differences between the free states and the slave states. The slaves would be free once they reached a free state, but still needed to be cautious until they could safely not be on the Underground Railroad any longer. However, even before the legislation was officially passed many papers offered there looks on it even before the it reached the president desk. The first time the Fugitive Slave Law was mentioned in the Keene Sentinel, which was a Northern Republican paper out of Keene, New Hampshire, was September 5th, 1850.⁵³⁶

The next paper that talked about the Law was the one from September 12th, which mentioned how the bill had officially passed the House.⁵³⁷ It speaks more of their opposition to the bill but there is also a section which mentions that a few Northern Republicans voted in favor of the bill stating that “they may have been dictated by a patriotic spirit, and may result

⁵³⁶ “Fugitive Slave Bill,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), September 5, 1850.

⁵³⁷ “Fugitive Slave Bill,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), September 12, 1850.

in promoting the best interests of the people” which implies that they voted in favor of the act because it is in their best interests to preserve the union, and that succession will not help anything, so by passing this they are able to avoid that.⁵³⁸ Later in the paragraph, it states that “it cannot quiet the hostility of the norther against the extension of slavery”, so while they do not agree with it this helps to solidify the point that they voted in this manner purely to keep the states unified.⁵³⁹ The law also mentions,

That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory [including the District of Columbia] of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, dually authorized, by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which (*sic.*) the same maybe executed, may peruse and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from someone of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive of such service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive where the same can be done without process by taking, or causing such person to be taken.⁵⁴⁰

While this law is very thorough it what it means this section of the law essentially is stating that any fugitive slave can be captured and reclaimed with, or without a warrant and with or without probable cause.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ McDougall, 8.

September 26th's paper mentions the suppression of the Slave Trade in D.C. and that it is a "favorable consideration of the public".⁵⁴¹ This, although off the topic of the law, is important to note because it means the newspapers forbids the continuation of the Slave Trade in the nation's capital. Which really emphasizes the point that this paper was pro-abolition in the country. In fact, many pro-abolitionist papers at this took all took a very similar stance. This unification was critical in helping fugitive slave to travel through the country without being caught because everyone had the same understanding and understand the consequences of if slaves where to be caught or if they were caught helping.

On October 17, after the Fugitive Slave Act was officially made into law it is featured in the section the *Laws of the United States*.⁵⁴² This includes every section of the law that was passed, plastered on the front page for everyone to see. Subsequently, there is an additional column later in the paper condemning the Fugitive Slave Law, while there is no name attributed to it, whoever wrote this column states that slavery and the new law are violations of the basic inalienable rights given within The Constitution.⁵⁴³

November 7th's paper tells more of the Southern States, mainly South Carolina, within the Union and the ways in which they are manifesting this new act and putting in on display for the North to bear witness to.⁵⁴⁴ The same paper also had a meeting advertised to "Consider The Fugitive Slave Law", which is interesting because the political groups at the time are considering the law even though they hold no power within the government but simply want

⁵⁴¹ "Slave Trade in the District of Columbia," *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), September 26, 1850.

⁵⁴² "Laws of the United States," *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), October 17, 1850.

⁵⁴³ "Fugitive Slave Law," *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), October 17, 1850.

⁵⁴⁴ "The South and the Union," *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), November 7, 1850.

to discuss how to go about it since the bill was passed and what to do about it.⁵⁴⁵ Another thing this paper included was that since the state of New Hampshire did not have a law combating it, they are required to list a few cases in which slaves ran away.

November 21st, a column was written stating what had happened at the meeting considering the law. They had “adopted resolutions” which condemned the law and they unanimously passed resolutions that were put forth by Mr. Jenness, a democrat.⁵⁴⁶ It was also noted later that this somewhat violates personal privacy. Since it states that it is a violation of personal privacy it is really neat to see how that idea expanded into the Personal Liberty Laws later on.⁵⁴⁷

A letter to the Governor from Thomas E. Sawyer, of Dover from November 28th, states that they simply cannot stand by and watch this unfold into disunion and that something must be done in order to preserve the union.⁵⁴⁸ The next few weeks of papers talk more about how they really do not agree and what should be done about it. As well as a Whig editorial stating their position on the law.⁵⁴⁹

The paper had essentially stating that the Fugitive Slave Law was to soon be signed by the President after getting passed by the Legislature. This small section offers the basics of the laws the provisions that went with it. The last few sentences of the paper indicate the pro-

⁵⁴⁵ “Meeting to Consider the Fugitive Slave Law,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), November 7, 1850.

⁵⁴⁶ “Fugitive Slave Law,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), November 21, 1850.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ “Union or Disunion,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), November 28, 1850.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

abolitionist perspectives of the writers and those will read it, “In these reports, if in no other, this bill is both unjust and unreasonable beyond the present laws upon the same subject, and should it become a law would be... great abuse.”⁵⁵⁰ The same paper also mentions the Free-Soil newspapers and their opposition towards the Fugate Slave Law as well, many pro-abolitionist papers and parties at the time offered very similar investigations the Fugitive Slave Law.⁵⁵¹

The legislation was extensive and included many regulations, it was illegal to not conform to the new ruling. The new law encompassed a lot, but the main point of the law was “... that when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due... may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person...”⁵⁵², which essentially states that, with proof, the masters of the runaway slave may pursue them and bring them back with them to the plantations that they escaped from, though not explicitly stated many slaves would often receive harsh punishments once found and returned.

Many states had different outlooks on the law and how it was to affect their states and their beliefs. Many northern papers often hated this law, as most northern Republicans did. For instance, the Keene Sentinel out of Keene, New Hampshire offered an abolitionist's look into the law by have many editorials from shortly after the laws passing in 1850 that

⁵⁵⁰ “Union or Disunion,” *Keene Sentinel* (New Hampshire), November 28, 1850.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² McDougall, 113.

condemned the law. Many articles from 1850 stressed their distaste with the new law and also how angry they were about the continued protection of slavery within the United States.

The Southern papers were vastly different, which makes sense considering the political divides at the time. Considering that South Carolina had the most slaves at the time of succession so one could imagine that they felt very particular about the law. The Sumter Banner which was also called The Black River Watchmen and The Sumter Watchmen, offered a somewhat vague outlook, while they were obviously in favor of the Second Fugitive Slave Law, but they did not really celebrate it as much as one would have thought. And the articles themselves were very hard to find when they were there.

Some religious papers however had different looks on the law. Many religions during the time after offered different outlooks on slavery and often times the larger religions that spread throughout the North and South had different political beliefs. For example, the Methodist religion and the Methodist Episcopal Church, while not being the most popular group, size-wise they are very dynamic and have many locations of worship around the United States at the time.⁵⁵³ As the papers spread through the country at the time had a really interesting look on the Fugitive Slave Law.

Many Methodist abolitionists feared that Southern Succession would severely affect the religion and how it spread, considering how large the religion is.⁵⁵⁴ Since religious newspapers were more based on religion following that on politics in some papers that are

⁵⁵³ Ralph A. Keller, "Methodist Newspapers and the Fugitive Slave Law: A New Perspective for the Slavery Crisis in the North," *Church History* vol. 43, no. 3 (1974): 320-321, <http://www.jstor.org/> (accessed March 21, 2020).

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 322-324.

studied the people who reported on the new law were not always those who wrote the opinions on it, leading to inconsistencies in the papers. Some writers would condemn the laws in articles and opinion pieces whereas others would be really for it. Which really proves the point of the paper's inconsistencies.

However, this was not rare in many religious papers. Especially considering that Democrats and Republicans really had a strong emphasis on the power of God and the important of religion within the country.⁵⁵⁵ Especially after the Second Great Awaken and the importance slave holders put on religion on their plantations.⁵⁵⁶ It is noticeable how important religion was around this era and the divides it faced. Due to slavery being not an inherently religious topic.

This new law severely affected the operation of the Underground Railroad during this era because they deemed it far more dangerous now than it was ever before. Essentially, the Legislation altered the way it was run because the increased risk of being captured in addition to the fact that those who harbored runaway slaves would be punished with a \$1,000 in fines and six months in prison.⁵⁵⁷ The Law explicitly states this when it says,

That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the

⁵⁵⁵James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 88-91.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁵⁷ McDougall, 113-114.

custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and declared; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge, of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and impressment not exceeding six months.⁵⁵⁸

In fact, it was not until the personal liberty laws in northern states came along to suppress parts of the law. And helped to make the jail time, fines, fugitive slaves be much less likely through the states' rights laws.⁵⁵⁹

Many states condemned the Fugitive Slave Law and had responded to it with Personal Liberty Laws which would help to protect those who traveled along the Underground Railroad. Connecticut enacted a law in 1828 making it possible for the slaves to have a jury trial possible upon appeal. Which is substantial because that was not included in the bill. Later on, Vermont and New Hampshire passed a similar right to a trial and would even provide them with public defenders. So, after many Northern states followed which almost encouraged an increase of travel along it. Especially after 1842 when the Supreme Court enforced the Fugitive Slave Act and considering that many states felt it was a violation of states' rights and set up the jury trials for slaves as a way to combat that enforcement.

⁵⁵⁸ McDougall, 113-114.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

The Personal Liberty Laws had a positive effect on the Underground Railroad because it helped many African American's finally achieve the freedom they desired so badly. Aforementioned it helped Northern Abolitionists when it came to them acting towards their cause but being able to do it outside of the public eyes. And in addition to those it can be seen as one of the many reasons the South Succeeded and helped to eventually lead to the outbreak of war.

The Underground Railroad was altered in a positive way due to the effects the Personal Liberty Laws had on it. It helped many people achieve freedom while also being a critical moment in the pre-Civil War era. The Fugitive Slave Law held a critical impact on the country while also being able to help the North when it came to the Underground Railroad and the uses of state sovereignty.

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Chapter 13.

Molly Ryan

“The Battle of Abraham Lincoln’s Reelection”

In the Summer of 1864, the Sixteenth President of the United States Abraham Lincoln invited a well-known freed slave named Frederick Douglass to the White House for an urgent meeting. Already friends, these self-made men decidedly had much in common as they both had causes they had dedicated their lives to. Frederick Douglass was a leader in the abolitionist movement and Abraham Lincoln was in the thick of leading the American Civil War. Although friends, this meeting was sobering as Lincoln had invited Frederick Douglass to admit to him, he did not think he would win the Republican nomination for reelection in 1864. Then, he explained his plan to help free the slaves when he lost; a daring and insane plan. The men talked, or more so Lincoln explained almost panicked, that before he lost the war, he wanted Frederick Douglass to take as many slaves as he could into free Northern territory as a kind of John Brown scheme.⁵⁶⁰ That same summer, Abraham Lincoln had a

⁵⁶⁰ Stauffer, John. *Giants: The Parallel Lives of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln*. Twelve, 2008.

meeting with his Cabinet in which he expressed the same sentiment that he would lose the presidential nomination later that November. However, in this meeting with the Cabinet, Lincoln acknowledged that he had a duty to fulfill his promises that he made to end the Civil War and unite the Confederacy and Union, slavery-free.⁵⁶¹

Abraham Lincoln was that sure he would lose his reelection to George McClellan, who wanted peace at all cost. McClellan's campaign included allowing slavery to remain intact and the Confederacy to stay separate from the Union. Although McClellan started as a Union general under Lincoln, once he was relieved from the Union army he was contacted by Democrats with the idea to run for president on the Democratic ticket based on his ideas of peace at all cost. As historians have contested, up until the Capture of Atlanta in the Summer of 1864, a Union victory was still unclear, and many people wanted the war to end due to the extreme loss of life. However, there were not only other battle victories, but homefront events and decisions made by Lincoln that secured his reelection victory in 1864. The 1864 renomination of Abraham Lincoln allowed a Union victory; thereby ending slavery and reuniting the Union and Confederacy. Had Lincoln not won, McClellan would have ended the war without the United States reforming or slavery ending, changing the fate of America forever. Until the capture of Atlanta in the summer of 1864, citizens, including Lincoln himself, were uncertain that President Abraham Lincoln should be reelected, exhibiting that Lincoln's reelection campaign win meant the Union victory. To ensure a united America and end slavery, Abraham Lincoln had to earn his 1864 reelection by getting nominated within his

⁵⁶¹ Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. Simon and Schuster, 2005.

party, beating the democratic nominee, and winning the people's favor by way of victory on the battlefield.

Abraham Lincoln's election of 1860 was a surprised victory for many Americans not only due to his background, but also because the Republican party he ran for was new. However challenging his first run for presidency was though, it was uncomplicated compared to running for reelection during a Civil War in which the Union believed they were losing. Although through loyal Republican newspaper archives, which are the main surviving articles on the subject, it is difficult to see that a Union victory was not eminent, Abraham Lincoln himself was unsure of his victory.⁵⁶² The war had not been going well for the Union and with many casualties, civilian morale was spiraling down. Lincoln spoke on multiple occasions, to Frederick Douglass and his Cabinet both in the Summer of 1864 as the most notable, Abraham Lincoln believed he would not be able to secure a Northern victory in the Civil war and therefore be unable to reunite the North and South. A losing war meant a losing president, and the Union was losing. Abraham Lincoln was losing his own morale in the process of ending the Civil War. He knew in order to get reelected; he would have to get support from both the Radical Republicans and republicans so he could win the Republican ticket. Then, win the vote on the home front from Northern Democrats who wanted peace at all cost and from civilians who did not see an end to the war near. Lincoln thought these obstacles impossible to climb.

The republican party was divided between the Republicans and the Radical Republicans. Radical Republicans called for Confederate leaders to be severely punished in

⁵⁶² Ronald C. White. *A. Lincoln: A Biography*. Brilliance Audio, 2009.

reconstruction and believed whites and blacks should be politically equal.⁵⁶³ The major competitor for the Republic ticket was Salmon P. Chase. Chase was a New Hampshire born native who had been an open anti-slavery supporter since before the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Chase, along with other Northern leaders such as Charles Sumner and Horace Greeley were part of the original founding members of the Republican Party. In his time in the Senate, Chase openly and vehemently opposed the extension of slavery into the North. By the time he ran for presidency in 1860, he was a prominent figure in antislavery within the Republican party. Although Chase lost to Lincoln in 1860, Lincoln elected him as Secretary of the Treasury and he served this position until 1864 so as to prevent Chase from running for president.⁵⁶⁴ Radical Republicans showed support for Salmon P. Chase, whereas others wanted Lincoln reelected. In order to placate the Radicals, Lincoln elected Chase as Supreme Court Justice, thereby solving the issue of the divide within the Republican Party in 1864.

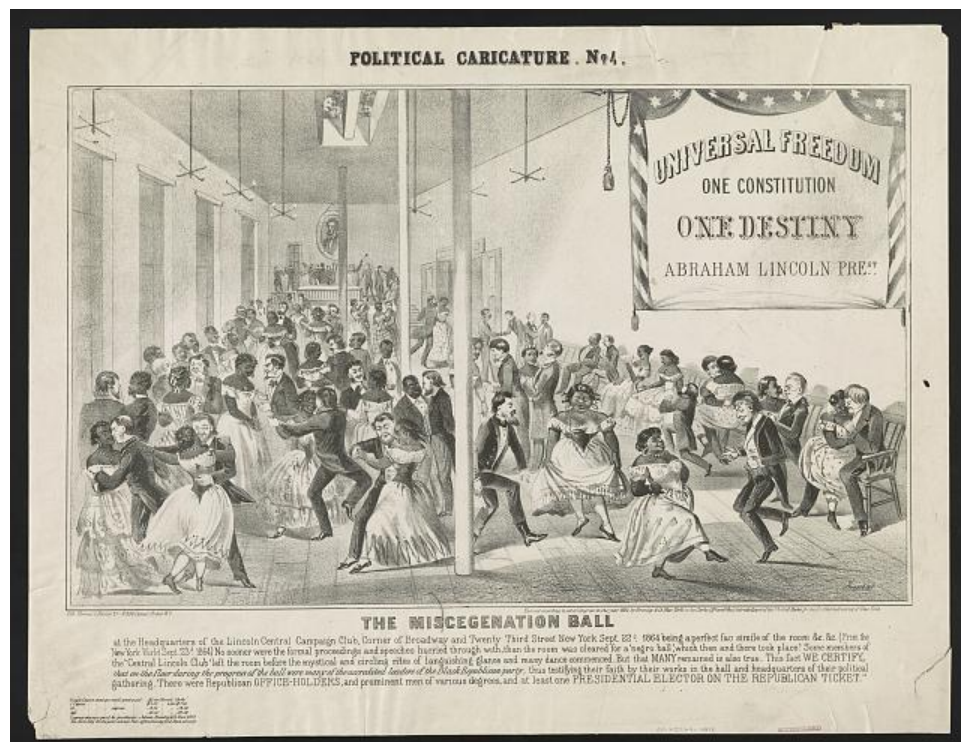
During the early 1860s, the opposing party Democrats were creating campaigns against Abraham Lincoln so as to appeal to Southern and Northern fears of miscegenation. This Miscegenation Campaign was a series of anti-republicanism satire played on racist fears of Northerners that, should Emancipation become a reality, White Americans and African Americans would marry and have children of their own, which was an idea that even the most strong abolitionist had yet to tolerate.⁵⁶⁵ This started in 1864 when an anonymous author

⁵⁶³ "Radical Reconstruction," ushistory.org. Independence Hall Association, 2019. <https://www.ushistory.org/us/35b.asp>.

⁵⁶⁴ Louis S. Gerteis. *Salmon P. Chase, Radicalism, and the Politics of Emancipation, 1861-1864*. Oxford University Press, 1973.

⁵⁶⁵ Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *The Journal of Negro History* 34, no. 3 July 1949.

published [“Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro”](#) in which faulty pseudoscience was used to encourage interracial marriage⁵⁶⁶. Although seemingly noble in nature, the pamphlet started a stream of satire works to instill fear that should Lincoln win the reelection, “miscegenation” would become a reality. This is exhibited in the “Political caricature. No. 4, The Miscegenation Ball” where white men and black women are dancing under a portrait of Lincoln.



“Political caricature. No. 4, The Miscegenation Ball” Author Unknown. Retrieved

from Loc.gov.

Lincoln was being attacked from the left and the right; from within his own party and outside parties. George McClellan was the Democratic candidate who was originally a

⁵⁶⁶ Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *The Journal of Negro History* 34, no. 3 July 1949.

Commander for the Union army but after Lincoln relieved him, he was approached by Democrats who would stand behind him as President. McClellan's platform was peace at any cost; including allowing slavery to continue in the Confederacy. This was directly against Lincoln's platform because he knew that the Union had to win the war and slavery must cease to be. However, within his party too people were against his renomination as president. There was a sector of the Republican Party, the Radical Republicans, who vehemently opposed Lincoln for his plans on Reconstruction and his handling of the war. They believed that the Union should be more forceful in their fight for emancipation and wanted strict punishment for loyal Confederates. Salmon P. Chase, a politician and governor of Ohio, was the Radical Republican's top choice for presidency in 1864. Radical Republican's approved his plans for Reconstruction because he took a much more aggressive approach as to how America would look after the war. Chase was very cunning in his plans to run for presidency as he wanted to appear loyal to Lincoln to keep his position in government.⁵⁶⁷ This greatly divided the Republican Party on who they would nominate for the 1864 presidency as many saw the end of the war coming and so reconstruction seemed like the next big decisions the Union would make.

Atlanta was a city for Confederate center for military operations as well as a major supply route. Into the summer of 1864, the Union army was losing the majority of battles to the Confederate Army. Ulysses S. Grant, the Union Commanding General, was failing at securing major cities in Virginia and Tennessee. However, General William T. Sherman was relentless in his pursuits of capturing Atlanta, coming from the west. His military tactic was to

⁵⁶⁷ Chase, Salmon P. *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase*. Golden Springs Publishing, 2015.

pursue the Confederate's strategic, economic, and psychological resources and not only destroy it, but burn it so that no Confederate can use it again and hopefully cut off all supplies.⁵⁶⁸ General Sherman was able to hold down multiple attacks by the aggressive Confederate General John B. Hood and suffered far less casualties than his troops. After multiple days and battles, General Hood's troops were unable to hold back the Union troops and on July 28th, the Battle of Atlanta had become the Capture of Atlanta by Union victory. Union troops dismantled railways and burned down the city to secure the stop of Confederate commerce coming out of Atlanta. By September 1st, General Hood had evacuated residents of the city, securing the biggest singular Union victory. This victory changed the entire tide of Lincoln's doubts on reelection; even two weeks before he told a White House visitor "I am going to be beaten...and unless some great change takes place, badly beaten." But the Capture of Atlanta changed many people's forlorn attitudes towards the war; and directly in consequence, their actions to Abraham Lincoln's presidency.

The Capture of Atlanta was not the singular turning point in the war that historians had claimed it to be. There were other battles won that secured the Union victory. Leading up to the capture of Atlanta, the Battle of Stones River in Murfreesboro in 1862 gave the Union army control of Central Tennessee. Then it was the infamous Battle of Gettysburg, largely considered the war's turning point. Although it had the most casualties in a single battle during the Civil War, it was a Union victory and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was published in newspapers across the Union, boosting moral and full of belief that the men died for a worthy

⁵⁶⁸ Sherman, William T., *The Capture of Atlanta and the March to the Sea: From Sherman's Memoirs (Civil War)*. Dover Publications, 2007.

cause. Supporters of Lincoln admired the emotion and eloquent writing of the Gettysburg Addressee, whereas others were quick to judge the briefness of its length. Also, the Siege of Vicksburg and the Siege of Port Hudson in July of 1863 gave the Union army complete access to the Mississippi River; another huge milestone for the Union army. Three other important battles; the capture of Fort Wagner in 1863, the success of the Chattanooga Campaign that opened the deep south, and the victory in Knoxville all allowed General Sherman's troops to march through the south and led to the Capture of Atlanta.⁵⁶⁹ These battle victories towards the Union turned the tide in favor of a decisive Union victory and consequently, a renomination victory for Abraham Lincoln because a winning war almost always means a winning ticket to presidency.

Another crucial campaign was the Shenandoah Valley series of campaigns that helped to secure the Union victory. From July of 1861 to March of 1865, Union soldiers fought for the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, as it had important transportation advantages to the Confederacy with only 60 miles separating them from Washington. Throughout the four years of the campaigns, Union troops had to be repeatedly called back to the Shenandoah Valley in order to ensure the safety of the capital in Washington D. C. It was not until General Philip H. Sheridan ordered a series of brutal battles and General George Custer struck a final blow to the Confederate's army that ultimately led to Union victory over the area and cut of resources to the Confederacy. The Shenandoah Campaigns along with the taking of Mobile Bay, one of

⁵⁶⁹ Edwin C. Bearss. *Fields of Honor: Pivotal Battles of the Civil War*. National Geographic, 2009.

the last remaining Southern ports, on August 5, 1864 was bigger than the fall of Atlanta and sufficiently helped secure Lincoln's reelection for presidency.⁵⁷⁰

However many battles the North won and thought that it would be a turning point, they still lost a great deal of soldiers. And the casualties from Union-won battles does not begin to cover the casualties from lost battles. The Battle of Stone River saw over 12,000 Union casualties, and that was a Union victory. The Second Battle of Bull Run, a Confederate Victory, had over 14,000 Union casualties. The Battle of Gettysburg is known to be the bloodiest battle in Civil War history, with over 23,000 Union casualties.⁵⁷¹ There is an approximate that one in four soldiers never even returned home. With every battle, the Northerner public opinion of war had become quite weary due to so many casualties.⁵⁷² The Union no longer had the morale on the home front to believe in fighting until victory. Therefore, peace talks in both parties, but mostly within Democrats, became more popular by the day. In the Summer of 1864, there were so many casualties within Virginia before Atlanta. Even the battle that exhibited an end to the war and a more obvious Union victory, as Sherman's troops were stuck outside of Atlanta, there were so many casualties before the actual Battle of Atlanta. At this point, the North was tired of war and morale was down throughout the Union. People were tired of war. Many did not think emancipation was worth the four years of bloodshed that had already transpired and the unknown amount of years that

⁵⁷⁰ "The Campaigns," shenandoahatwar.org. Preservation of the Shenandoah Valley's Civil War Battlefields, 2019. <https://www.shenandoahatwar.org/the-campaigns/>

⁵⁷¹ "Civil War Casualties by Battle," Digitalhistory.uh.edu. Digital history, 2019. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=11&psid=4468.

⁵⁷² Civil War Casualties," battlefields.org. The American Battlefield Trust, 2020. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-casualties>.

were in store. The Battle of Atlanta made people see that there might be an end to the war sooner than many thought and that a Union victory was also obtainable within the next year if Lincoln were to stay president.

A reason Abraham Lincoln thought he would not win reelection is because white Americans, most notably Irish immigrants, believed that in an Emancipated America, free slaves would move north and take their jobs as factory workers and laborers. These workers already were paid barely enough to sustain their families and knew that recently freed slaves would work for even less. In New York, many had already been rioting due to strict draft laws in 1863 for the war.⁵⁷³ A historian remarks, “Increasing support for the abolitionists and for emancipation led to anxiety among New York's white proslavery supporters of the Democratic Party, particularly the Irish.”⁵⁷⁴ This shows the divide among Northerners on the issue of slavery. New York especially saw increasing negative attitudes toward the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. And of course, at the heart of it all, the face to all of this, was Abraham Lincoln. To counteract this, Lincoln supported immigrants by introducing a bill to form a Bureau of Immigration. Congress hoped that Reconstruction would offer new jobs to rebuild America once the war was completed and the Union had won. The hope was that there would be so many new jobs, freed slaves and immigrants would have work and made clear that it would be without slavery or indentured servitude.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ Harris, Leslie M. *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. University of Chicago Press, 2003.

⁵⁷⁴ Harris, Leslie M. *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. University of Chicago Press, 2003.

⁵⁷⁵ Harold Holzer and Norton Garfinkle, *A Just and Generous Nation: Abraham Lincoln and the Fight for American Opportunity*. (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 78.

Other decisions that increased support for Lincoln's 1864 reelection was his decision to allow soldiers to return to their home states to vote. Before this order only the state of Pennsylvania allowed soldiers to vote at all. This decision won him over three states in the Midwest alone that marked a milestone in soldier's rights and helped expand Lincoln's support in the United States. About 55% of civilians at home voted for Lincoln and about 78% of soldiers who returned home to vote voted for Abraham Lincoln.⁵⁷⁶ One soldier's account is written as follows, "...Yesterday was the State election here, and most of our regiment went down to the city and voted. Some of the boys voted twenty-five times each... Governor Morton, the Republican candidate, was elected by a large majority. So the Massachusetts men helped elect him."⁵⁷⁷ The multiple voting for one person was noted as a problem, but it was never resolved; allowing Union soldiers to vote Republican multiple times, and they were happy to. Although there was voter suppression as some soldiers were punished or court-martialed for attending Democratic rallies, many Democrats were now second-guessing the Democratic party's loyalty. Many Northerners saw voting for Democratic as an admission of defeat. Lincoln's decision to allow soldiers to go home to vote was also a huge step in giving African Americans the right to vote as they could challenge that since they were soldiers serving the United States, they were citizens and therefore had the right to vote.

Lincoln also won civilians over because of his decision to rally with politicians who were popular in areas where he was not favored. For instance, in the Midwest Copperhead support was still strong so he asked Roscoe Conkling, a radical politician who could rally

⁵⁷⁶ White, Jonathan W. *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln*. LSU Press, 2014.

⁵⁷⁷ *The (Columbus, Ohio) Crisis*. October 16, 1864.

people more so in the Midwest than Lincoln, to join him on his tour of some states. He would also ask politicians and leading figures such as William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and Edward Bates. Abraham Lincoln made the decision to put political rivals in his cabinet in order to have a wide range of opinions and to keep these different opinions together. This proved even more useful during his reelection campaign because he was able to provide a united home front against the Confederacy.⁵⁷⁸ This is especially considering the anti-Lincoln Democrats were disorganized and in disarray. A united front showed people that the president had a strong party and political support to get the Union through the Civil War to a Union Victory. Edward Bates represented Missouri, Salmon P. Chase had been governor of Ohio, and William H. Seward had been governor of New York. With rivals turned allies in every corner of the Union, Lincoln was able to reach and connect with most states. In the end, Abraham Lincoln only lost Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey to his Democratic counterpart, McClellan.

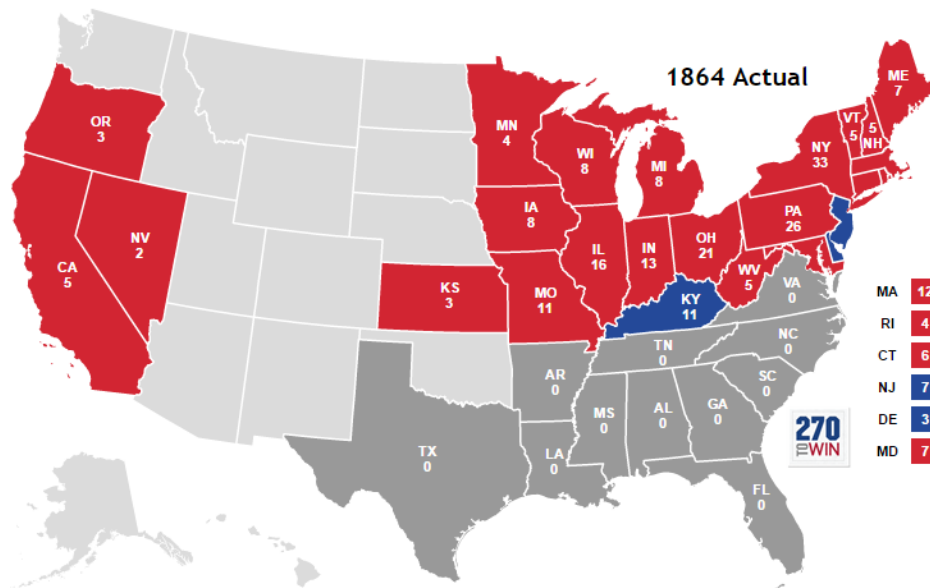
Although it may appear obvious through biographies and Lincoln's memoirs that he was unsure of his reelection, this notion is difficult to believe looking at New York Times newspaper archives and other such sources as they made it seem that all Republicans were loyal to Lincoln. The New York Times was an obvious Republican led newspaper that, because of how far this newspaper could reach in 1864, often published articles from other newspapers in the Union and clips of surveys and opinions from other states. For instance, published January 1s, 1864 the results from the senate in Baltimore, Maryland wrote, "Resolved, By the General Assembly of Maryland that the administration of ABRAHAM

⁵⁷⁸ Doris Kearns Goodwin. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. Simon and Schuster, 2005.

LINCOLN deserves and receives the hearty approval and will secure the cordial cooperation of the General Assembly... the reelection of ABRAHAM LINCOLN to the Presidency of the United States is the earnest desire of a vast majority of the loyal people of Maryland.”⁵⁷⁹ The strong language and words such as “earnest desire” and “loyal people” even before any of the major battles that secured the Union victory exhibit just how fanatic some Republicans were and how truly loyal many were to Lincoln and his presidency. With the Capture of Atlanta, writers now had evidence of a Union victory. As evident in the quote, “At the commencement of the political contest it was foreseen that the least gleam of military success on the part of the Federals would revive the warlike spirit, drooping under defeat, and supply the official party with exactly the kind of influence it had been losing. The capture of Atlanta made Mr. LINCOLN's reelection possible. The victory gained by Gen. SHERMAN has, we may assume, rendered it almost certain.”⁵⁸⁰ The newspapers were gaining steam to ensure Lincoln’s victory and tell the people.

⁵⁷⁹ “From Baltimore.; INDORSEMENT OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN THE STEAMER GEN. MEIGS.” *New York Times*. (*New York, New York*), January 1, 1864.

⁵⁸⁰ *New York Times*, October 18, 1864.



Abraham Lincoln's reelection by state retrieved from 270towin.com.

In Mid-November of 1864, the newspapers that had been pro-Lincoln, showed celebratory writings in their articles. On Tuesday, November 8, 1864 it was announced that Abraham Lincoln had won the election for presidency again. The victory writings parallel that with Lincoln's reelection victory, will come the Union victory in battle. In writing "LINCOLN has been reelected President of the United States... His first election could not surprise any one, for he was wholly unknown; but his reelection, after four years' experience of his character and capacity, will not fall to impress the world with a very low opinion of popular government. So far as the people of these States are interested, the reelection of LINCOLN is entirely satisfactory. For us, he is the right man in the right place. We would not have him defeated, but gave all the influence of the Enquirer to him."⁵⁸¹ This type of speech popular in newspapers after Abraham Lincoln's reelection win, helped lift people's spirits in terms of war moral because Lincoln's reelection meant people were beginning to see a Union

⁵⁸¹ *New York Times*, November 11, 1864.

victory in sight. Whereas months before they could not see an end to the war and were willing to elect McClellan to ensure an end to the war.

Looking at the home front of New Hampshire, it is evident that New Hampshire was full of loyal Republicans who were going to follow Lincoln to the end of the Civil War. Newspapers dated back into 1863 show loyalty to Lincoln and the Republican party: while bashing all opposing parties. In 1864, the Sentinel writes “It is the glory of the Union cause that it unites loyal men of all creeds” speaking against Democrats and Confederates in an almost radical language. The Sentinel exhibits that New Hampshire residents were loyal to Lincoln’s presidency and reelection.⁵⁸² As mentioned above, pro-Lincoln papers had always written favorably in terms of Lincoln and with the Capture of Atlanta, the papers now had proof that Lincoln would be the best candidate. New Hampshire had always been a loyal Union state. After Lincoln’s election victory, The Keene Sentinel turned to victorious articles for Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln was able to win the reelection by appealing to the divided republicans, soldiers, and northern civilians and secured his reelection to bring a Northern victory. There was a point where Lincoln was one of the few people that believed the North may not have even had a chance of winning but knew that the North had to win because preserving the Union was vital to the American way of life. By winning not only battles, but home front advantages, Abraham Lincoln won the presidency in 1864. The Capture of Atlanta is seen to have turned the tide in favor of a Union victory, however battle wins have a history of being a prime motivating factor in getting presidents reelected. Lincoln’s home front

⁵⁸² “National Union Ticket,” *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene, New Hampshire), October 13, 1864.

advantages, such as allowing soldiers to vote and appealing to newly immigrated immigrants also secured his reelection amid a sea of wavering views on his politics. Abraham Lincoln's reelection in 1864 was so important because it secured the Union win; thereby ending slavery and uniting the North and South, an event that changed history forever.

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