

# AMERICAN STUDIES JOURNAL

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## The American Civil War

"Civil War Scholarship in the 21st Century"  
Selected Conference Proceedings



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# Editor's Note

Lutherstadt Wittenberg  
November 2001

Dear Readers,

It is with some regret that I must give notice that this present issue of the *American Studies Journal* is my last as editor. My contract at the Center for U.S. Studies expires at the end of 2001, so I am returning to the United States to pursue my academic career there. At present, no new editor has been found, but the American Embassy in Germany, the agency that finances the printing costs and some of the transportation costs of the *Journal*, are seeking a new editor and hope to have one in place shortly. As you are aware, the editing process has been carried out without the assistance of an editorial assistant since November of 2000. A search has been made for a new assistant, but now requires the approval of the board of directors of the Stiftung Leucorea.

It is hoped that the *American Studies Journal* will continue to be published without any interruption. Therefore, I would like to remind all of the readers, especially those who are interested in submitting articles for publication, that the theme for issue #49 is "the United

States and the Environment." Since the year 2002 marks the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of the University of Wittenberg, the Leucorea, where the Center for U.S. Studies is based, issue #50 will be devoted to education at the university level in a broad sense. Articles on university history, articles on higher education and so forth are very welcome. For further information on submitting an article, please see the *Journal's* web site.

AUF WIEDERSEHEN,

Dr. J. Kelly Robison  
Editor



**ZUSAS**

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# Guest Editor's Note

Lutherstadt Wittenberg/Berlin  
October 2001

Dear Readers,

The sectional conflict of the mid-nineteenth century was probably the greatest crisis in the history of the United States. Consequently, courses on this momentous event have become a necessary and much needed feature in American and German history curricula. No field of American history has been more transformed by recent scholarship than the study of the Civil War. Despite this outpouring of written history that has shaped our understanding of Northern and Southern attitudes in this conflict, there seems to be no diminution of interest in the subject.

Since 1865, more than 50,000 books have been published on this most crucial event in American history. In addition, an average of 800 Civil War books are still being published annually, and Civil War roundtables, military enactments and Hollywood movies are increasingly high in popular favor.

While the immense interest of American scholars in this field needs no explanation, it was only recently that Germany has witnessed the emergence of wide scholarly interest in the era of the American Civil War. Naturally, a number of

outstanding studies have focused on the ethnic dimensions of the war, tightly connected with issues of ethnic leadership, race, and politics. In both countries, however, there are still topics that lie fallow. That was the reason why the Center for U.S. Studies decided to hold a conference at Lutherstadt Wittenberg, March 29 – 31, 2001, entitled “War makes rattling good history’: Civil War Scholarship in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” For the first time 30 German and American Civil War scholars, both established and young, met outside the United States to discuss, evaluate, and analyse the findings of recent research in the field.

The current issue of the *American Studies Journal*, “The American Civil War, 1861 – 1865” features a selection of the papers presented at this conference, that we felt you would enjoy most. The articles included, therefore, range from ethnical participation to historiographical analysis. Hopefully, you will agree with Thomas Hardy after the perusal of this issue, who once said: “War makes rattling good history; but Peace is poor reading.”<sup>1</sup>

1 The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations (Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1955), 236.

Dr. Andrea Mehrländer, Guest Editor



## COVER PICTURE

German-born forty-eighter Colonel Louis Blenker (May 12, 1812 - March 31, 1863) and his staff of the 8th New York Infantry in 1861.

Source: *National Archives and Records Administration*



# OVERFLOWING AND HALF-FULL:

## ACHIEVEMENTS AND GAPS IN RECENT CIVIL WAR MILITARY HISTORY

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In his too-thin study of General George Pickett's role in the hanging of 22 North Carolinians for desertion following their capture as Union soldiers in 1864, Civil War writer Gerard A. Patterson concludes that the dashing Rebel general's harsh decision "has, deservedly or not, faded deeper into obscurity, disregarded by generations far more attracted by glorious deeds."<sup>1</sup> With this observation he characterizes a long-standing, but no longer valid, state of Civil War military historiography: The "glorious deeds" of battlefield actions and personalities continue to dominate the field, yet a broader portrait of a society in ever-deepening conflict is beginning to emerge, with an emphasis on disruption and conflict within the wartime South. Such a dichotomy signifies more than an academic debate, it touches on several key issues: the use and purpose of history in American society, the nature and extent of military history, and indeed the universal questions of *Geschichte* and *Vergangenheit*, the difference between historical study and historical memory.

Since the mid-1980s Civil War history has flourished, fueled by the popular interest aroused by Ken Burns' PBS documentary and several major film productions, and facilitated by the electronic revolution that permits immediate access to the full contents of the 128-volume *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* on a single CD-ROM.<sup>2</sup> The proliferation of websites and resources available through the internet allow the examination of vast quantities of source materials — even detailed accounts of battles — in a manner undreamed of just 20 years ago.<sup>3</sup> Recent publications of conventional finding aids have also facilitated the use of official and state records and of relevant manuscript collections.<sup>4</sup> The consequent outpouring of literature has been astonishing, with an estimated 800 new or reprint Civil War publications appearing each year, and during the 1990s not less than five popular periodicals and three journals vied for the attention of Civil War readers.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately this prolific production is partially covered by two new critical bibliographies<sup>6</sup> and the establishment in 1999 of another periodical devoted entirely to Civil War book reviews.<sup>7</sup>

My purpose is to survey the literature of these differing strains of Civil War military history over approximately the past 15 years, but with an emphasis on the newer alternative that combines social, political and military history. The sheer bulk of recent literature precludes a comprehensive review, rather we hope to

describe the principal trends, identify the most significant works, and note some gaps where work might be done.<sup>8</sup> In so doing we shall consider the question raised by William W. Freehling, whether a social analysis of the war can replace battlefield suspense as a plot for a dramatic epic.<sup>9</sup>

Before addressing the principal areas of military history literature, it is necessary to note the more limited number of studies that examine Civil War military history as a whole or in highly specialized fields. At the "macro" level, the most influential single-volume treatment in recent years remains James B. McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom*, a Pulitzer Prize-winning narrative that combines military, political and social history but emphasizes the military dimension of the conflict.<sup>10</sup> Almost simultaneously Edward Hagerman produced a thoughtful and detailed examination of the war's military aspects and lessons, particularly in field fortifications and logistics.<sup>11</sup> While these works were in preparation several historians jointly produced a two-volume thematic study of the war that concluded a lack of Southern will ultimately cost the Confederacy the war.<sup>12</sup> More recently Henry Hattaway and Russell Weighley authored summary studies that synthesized the most current military research.<sup>13</sup> For general audiences, two series of books produced by Time-Life Books furnished well-illustrated narrative accounts of battles and campaigns, supported by previously-unpublished accounts by participants.<sup>14</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum are studies of highly specialized categories of Civil War military history. The field of military prisoner-of-war camps and the abominable conditions that prevailed in them for both sides has received extensive treatment,<sup>15</sup> particularly for Andersonville.<sup>16</sup> Studies of medical aspects have also increased, particularly since the establishment of the National Museum of Civil War Medicine in Frederick, Md., in 1996.<sup>17</sup> Abraham Lincoln's assassination by John Wilkes Booth and the possible involvement of the Confederate government remains a growth industry.<sup>18</sup> Much new work has been done regarding the important work of mapmakers during the war,<sup>19</sup> as well as on the surprising number of women who successfully served — and sometimes died — as soldiers in the conflict.<sup>20</sup> These and additional specialized fields (some of which are noted below) will continue to draw attention in coming years.

The trends in the principal fields of military history

during this period have also favored specialization, particularly for less well-known battles and commanders (particularly Confederate) of smaller armies and corps. These characteristics are well illustrated by recent treatments of the Western theater of operations, between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River and from Kentucky to the Gulf. Virtually every major battle and campaign in this region has provided the subject of one or more books in recent years, often excellent operational narratives.<sup>21</sup> Both the Chickamauga-Chattanooga<sup>22</sup> and Atlanta campaigns<sup>23</sup> have been well served by recent studies, the latter including a major reassessment of Joe Johnston.<sup>24</sup> Even the abortive Confederate invasion of New Mexico has received extended treatment,<sup>25</sup> at least equal to that for the Vicksburg campaign during the period under consideration.<sup>26</sup> In addition, several critical command studies, if not full biographies, of nearly all independent commanders (North and South)<sup>27</sup> and of many Confederate corps — sometimes division — commanders in the theater (especially of Patrick Cleburne) have been published,<sup>28</sup> a focus rarely extended to Union corps commanders in that theater.<sup>29</sup> The second volume of Grady McWhiney's planned biography of Braxton Bragg was completed by one of his students,<sup>30</sup> and the careers of Ulysses Grant<sup>31</sup> and William T. Sherman<sup>32</sup> continue to attract new examinations.

Unit histories for the Western theater are relatively fewer in number than those for the East, and are often linked to the diaries/correspondence of a participant.<sup>33</sup> Others constitute new monographs,<sup>34</sup> still others unit rosters;<sup>35</sup> in any case, Confederate units predominate (possibly as many Union regimental histories were published before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century). Ironically, perhaps the best unit histories are those that deal directly with the Confederate Army of Tennessee, which has provided the subject of a comparative study with its more illustrious Northern Virginia counterpart, a grass-roots account of the army as seen from its ranks, and a superb assessment of its state of training and tactical doctrine.<sup>36</sup>

Yet we still lack a comprehensive overview of this long-neglected theater, one that underscores the primary Union accomplishment of the war: The mobilization of Federal resources and their projection as military power deep into the Southern heartland, an area of considerable expanse in terms of 19<sup>th</sup> century military capabilities (the land area of the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama alone is larger than that of Germany today). This represented not merely the winning of a succession of battles, but a triumph of logistics, engineering, and communications — maintaining the flow of provisions, arms and ammunition, while building and constantly repairing bridges and railroads, and garrisoning towns and key points against marauding guerrillas and cavalry. It was in this theater

that African-Americans contributed most significantly to Union victory, both as soldiers and as civilian laborers. And it was this ability to harness and project power over great distances that carried the greatest implications for the future, when the United States would extend that legacy to Europe and across the Pacific. Some recent works provide a foundation for such a study,<sup>37</sup> but the task requires a comprehensive grasp of the full achievement.

Traditional military history especially predominates in the Eastern theater of operations, defined for the most part as Northern Virginia and specific parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Here too, each major campaign and engagement has received distinctive treatment in the period under study,<sup>38</sup> with Antietam<sup>39</sup> and Gettysburg<sup>40</sup> garnering more than their share of attention — indeed, studies of Pickett's Charge alone outnumbered those for any battle in the West during the period under consideration.<sup>41</sup> Some publishers have also filled particular niches, most notably a number of monographs on lesser-known battles and campaigns in Virginia by the same publisher of the Virginia regimental histories.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the cutting edge of operational analysis can be found in the series of battle studies edited by Dr. Gary W. Gallagher covering the major engagements in the theater — each volume offers essays by leading scholars that build on established literature with fresh analyses of combat leadership, tactical aspects, morale, or other particular aspects of the engagements, as well as excellent bibliographies.<sup>43</sup> Each volume typically treats one battle, with Antietam and Gettysburg again more extensively covered<sup>44</sup> (the First and Second Battles of Bull Run/Manassas have not yet been treated). At the other extreme, books and articles continue to appear that simply reiterate and extend a favorite "Lost Cause" thesis that Stonewall Jackson's absence, and James Longstreet's presence, lost the war for the South at Gettysburg.<sup>45</sup> While this view does not represent a consensus, the power of the "Lost Cause" interpretation<sup>46</sup> remains evident in the relative disparity between studies of Confederate commanders in the East and those of their counterparts. Whether more recent writers are favorable to Longstreet<sup>47</sup> or critical of Lee,<sup>48</sup> whether they follow more traditional laudatory interpretations of the Army of Northern Virginia's commander,<sup>49</sup> or whether they instead detail the qualities of Lee's lieutenants,<sup>50</sup> the focus remains on the command personalities of Confederate leaders as the key to victory or defeat in the war.

Two recent developments suggest a gradual change in this perception. First, as already noted, historians are becoming sensitive to an overdue examination of "historical memory" and particularly the influence of the "Lost Cause" thesis on Civil War historiography, and the recognition that what many have accepted as historical fact is rather historical argument. To evaluate



Robert E. Lee as military commander requires first an appreciation of the revered place he has been accorded in American culture. That military historians now understand this perspective can be seen in Carol Reardon's excellent case study of Pickett's Charge and Gary Gallagher's essays on Confederate leadership under the influence of Lost Cause "memory."<sup>51</sup> It is also reflected in several recent studies of Lee's troop strengths in 1864-65 that challenge long-established scales of Confederate numerical inferiority.<sup>52</sup>

Second, military literature has at last begun to address institutional and organizational issues of the Civil War that place the actions of commanders and armies in a more complete context. For the Rebels in particular we now have studies of their principal supply bureau, provost guard, and the administration of military justice.<sup>53</sup> Of more direct operational value are two studies, by J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., and R. Steven Jones, that analyze the importance of staff work as part of exercise of Confederate and Union command, respectively, and thereby identify a chronic problem for the Army of Northern Virginia far more significant than Longstreet's alleged "slows."<sup>54</sup>

These works (particularly Jones') offer a foundation to redress a long-overdue need to bring the Army of the Potomac out of the shadows. Beyond battle and campaign narratives, most recent literature of the army emphasizes its failed commanders,<sup>55</sup> the success of Joshua Chamberlain, Winfield Scott Hancock, and a handful of others in preventing defeat at Gettysburg,<sup>56</sup> and a collective inferiority complex with regard to their opponents.<sup>57</sup> Was the army "like Rome's Praetorian Guard — an overbureaucratized, hidebound, inflexible organization," as characterized by one writer,<sup>58</sup> or is this an extension of the Lost Cause thesis that reduces the army's achievement to victory by attrition?" Building on the foundations established by recent reference works,<sup>59</sup> historians now need to reexamine the army with regard to its evolution and development in fighting capabilities. The performance of its cavalry, long recognized as having achieved parity with its Southern opponents at Brandy Station in June 1863, has been lauded in recent operational studies,<sup>60</sup> the accomplishments of its artillery arm, particularly from Gettysburg through Petersburg, have also been recently treated.<sup>61</sup> Edwin C. Fishel has contributed a major work on the significant improvements in the army's intelligence-gathering and evaluation from First Bull Run to Gettysburg, and the achievements of its engineers in conferring mobility have been recently described.<sup>62</sup> It now remains to draw these threads together with an intensified study of the infantry, in particular its officer corps, tactical doctrine, and training.

In addition to studies of battles and generals, traditional military historiography treats the perspective of common soldiers through histories of individual units,

sometimes of brigades but more typically of regiments. Usually the units described played key roles in major battles in the East, particularly Gettysburg<sup>63</sup> — and in some cases, the histories describe only the units' roles at Gettysburg.<sup>64</sup> This, of course, excludes a majority of Civil War regiments on both sides. One solution is provided by the periodical *Civil War Regiments: A Journal of the American Civil War*, which began publication in 1991 and has retained a regimental or brigade focus, although its most recent issues incorporate this emphasis into specific battles. Even more welcome is the *Virginia Regimental Histories Series*, which provides operational narratives for every infantry and cavalry regiment and independent artillery unit for the state, whether its military service was distinguished or not. In addition to detailed personnel rosters and summary statistics on casualties and desertions, the best of these histories also furnish detailed data on the occupations, ages and other characteristics of recruits.<sup>65</sup> This series could serve as a model for publications in all states that participated in the conflict.

Regimental histories have also served as the doorway for African-American studies to enter the mainstream of Civil War military history. As popularized in the 1989 film *Glory!*, the exploits of the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry under Col. Robert Gould Shaw at Battery Wagner in July 1863 have not only generated new studies of the unit and its commander,<sup>66</sup> but contributed to other treatments of African-Americans' military service for the Union.<sup>67</sup> In addition, the increased interest in black troops of necessity draws more attention to the battles they fought, thus resulting in several new studies of the Union siege of Charleston<sup>68</sup> and of other Atlantic coast operations.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, traditional military historiography has provided in recent years a wealth of information on new and familiar battles and campaigns, the leaders who received credit or blame for them, and the brigades and regiments that actually fought them. The mass of detail involved in these topics may easily overwhelm the student of the conflict, rendering more difficult but no less imperative the need to establish the context — or, more properly, contexts — in which these events occurred. The classic military fields of strategy and tactics furnish an example. Since the 1982 publication of the thesis that Celtic genetic DNA caused Southern leaders to be overly aggressive in the attack,<sup>70</sup> only one major study of tactics has appeared, which reverses conventional wisdom and describes the conflict as closer to the Napoleonic than to modern wars.<sup>71</sup> In the area of overall strategy (or even of Confederate grand strategy), little has been added to the work by Archer Jones<sup>72</sup> except for some noteworthy studies of Abraham Lincoln's and Jefferson Davis' interaction with their generals.<sup>73</sup> Thus the current literature, particularly reflected in the plethora of studies and collected essays on combat

generalship in the war,<sup>74</sup> lacks a comprehensive framework of the possibilities and limitations imposed by available tactical doctrine and strategic goals.

Moreover the operational narratives of each major battle can obscure the gradual evolution in weapons technology that progressively shortened battlefields, a topic deserving of independent study.<sup>75</sup> The need for more comparative studies of the American and European, and particularly the German, military experiences for the period also remains compelling, not only in terms of perceived lessons in tactics and weaponry but for the social dimension as well.<sup>76</sup>

And it is the social dimension that provides the ultimate context for the actions of Civil War soldiers, as representatives of the various components and values within their society. Here William Freehling's question of social analysis replacing battlefield narrative appears to be gaining adherents. For example, the "melting pot" thesis of military service as a means to homogenize diverse ethnic groups has been explored for the Union side in depth by William L. Burton,<sup>77</sup> and for the Confederate side by general monographs on Irish and Jewish Confederates<sup>78</sup> and regimental histories of ethnic Rebels.<sup>79</sup> Other works are in preparation, most notably Andrea Mehrlaender's study of German communities in the South.<sup>80</sup> Another insightful analysis has examined the social origins of junior officers serving in both armies from the state of Maryland, revealing the interplay of ideology, ethnicity, and class factors in personal choices.<sup>81</sup>

Other recent studies have made impressive strides in assessing soldier attitudes, values, and relationship to the society they represented, a "bottom up" view of Civil War military service. Reid Mitchell, Gerald F. Linderman, and others have pioneered modern studies of ordinary soldiers' experience of combat and attitudes toward the war, the enemy, and civilian society.<sup>82</sup> Their labor provided a foundation for later and more extensive research of James McPherson among the private correspondence and diaries of over 1,000 Union and Confederate soldiers, resulting in a definitive analysis of soldier morale and a revelation of ideological commitment among combatants.<sup>83</sup> Additional and more specialized work by Joseph Allan Frank examined the political socialization of combat veterans.<sup>84</sup> Reid Mitchell and others have examined the importance of home communities and family for Northern soldiers in shaping attitudes toward the war.<sup>85</sup> Regardless of emphasis, all these efforts illuminate potential research uses of diaries and correspondence to resolve questions that go beyond the battlefield.

One of these questions must center on Southern attitudes and values carried into combat by Confederate soldiers. The recent work on antebellum Southern society by Bertram Wyatt-Brown and others has identified the importance of "honor" and an attendant

reliance on force and violence as not only necessary for the maintenance of slavery, but integral to the social order.<sup>86</sup> Southern fears and consequent violence in the suppression of slave insurrections became manifest on the battlefield in a consistent ruthlessness shown African-American Union troops, best known in the Ft. Pillow massacre in April 1864<sup>87</sup> but evident in many other actions that both preceded and followed it.<sup>88</sup> The Confederate burning of Chambersburg in August 1864 has also been interpreted as an example of the application of charivari (or "shivaree"), an instrument of Southern social control most commonly evident in tar-and-feathering rituals.<sup>89</sup> What requires much further study is the continuity of grass-roots white violence "whether by individuals or in communities — against blacks and Unionists from the insurrection scares of 1860-62,"<sup>90</sup> through maintenance of domestic order during the war (discussed in part below), and into the riots, murders, and intimidation tactics under Reconstruction.<sup>91</sup>

As another example, the question of slave ownership, exhaustively researched with respect to antebellum Southern society, has never been systematically addressed regarding the Confederate military. The traditional view that slaveowners "constituted a very small percentage of the South's population" and, therefore, "the average Southerner was not fighting for slavery" is still asserted,<sup>92</sup> despite the most recent research that establishes that approximately 31% of white households in the eleven Confederate states owned slaves in 1860.<sup>93</sup> For the state of Tennessee some very useful data was collected during the 1915-22 period through a questionnaire survey of antebellum social and economic backgrounds among resident Civil War veterans. A 1987 study of the more than 1,200 Confederate veterans who responded to the survey with sufficient information to allow analysis reveals that over half owned slaves, including nearly all of the prewar elite and more than half of yeoman farmers.<sup>94</sup> The questionnaires, published in their entirety in connection with the study,<sup>95</sup> provide a fascinating sociological profile of the Confederate Tennessean that invites both further study and comparison with available data (e.g., in state pension files) for other Southern states.

For the North, difficult questions remain regarding the mobilization of manpower from 1863-65, particularly in the application of conscription: "How well did it work?" James W. Geary has begun the answer,<sup>96</sup> but more work is already under way to a more comprehensive understanding. Recent research has demonstrated that the violent opposition the draft sometimes aroused, as in the New York draft riots of July 1863 and in the Pennsylvania coal mining region where "Molly Maguires" were active, usually touched deeper social and economic tensions within American society.<sup>97</sup> The roles of Northern state governments and their agents in "enlisting" men outside state boundaries to meet draft

quotas require much further examination, as in the recent discovery that Massachusetts resorted to fraudulent recruitment of native Germans to fulfill its quota and protect valued textile workers,<sup>98</sup> or the various methods used by "crimps" to induce Canadians into American service.<sup>99</sup> Other agents similarly enlisted for their states African-Americans in the Deep South, often already in Union military employ.<sup>100</sup> The obvious consequences of the evolution of Union forces from veteran volunteers to a mixed conscript army in 1863-64, whether measured in tactical capabilities or unit cohesion and morale, awaits detailed study.

Of extreme significance are several recent studies of Southern society in conflict, examinations that build on a massive amount of research for the antebellum period and which logically extend military history to consider the Confederacy's mobilization for total war. The thesis that the South primarily lost the war from domestic causes dates at least from the mid-1920s with the work of Frank Owsley and Albert Burton Moore.<sup>101</sup> Their original political emphasis on "excessive states' rights" has been replaced by a more general framework of economic and social tensions manifest in such general conditions as Southern manpower that served the North,<sup>102</sup> the inability of Jefferson Davis and the central government to stimulate Confederate nationalism,<sup>103</sup> examinations of regional class conflict<sup>104</sup> and state-level political collapse,<sup>105</sup> assessments of planters' preference for producing excess cotton in preference to war-related foodstuffs,<sup>106</sup> or the pattern of desertion from Confederate armies.<sup>107</sup> Still other works focus on active Unionist groups and individuals within the South.<sup>108</sup> These many fields of evidence for an internal Southern collapse suggest the inevitability of Confederate defeat, consistent with the perception that the South never constituted a separate nationality or society, merely a distinctive section.<sup>109</sup> But this thesis is vigorously rejected by many traditional historians, who believe the South nearly achieved victory before succumbing to a combination of mistakes, misfortune and superior Northern resources and will, and that battlefield results determined Southern morale more than any other factor.<sup>110</sup> The controversy is unlikely to be resolved, as the opposing sides refer to different phenomena: proponents of Southern collapse focus on the untapped or misused resources whose potential never reached the battlefield, while traditionalists emphasize the extraordinary exertions made on the battlefield.

Some of the most interesting analyses, however, avoid the debate and simply investigate conditions not previously considered. Even as Mark Grimsley has examined Union military government in the wartime occupied South, Stephen V. Ash treats the impact of these policies on Southern civilians, their responses to it and the postwar social consequences.<sup>111</sup> These works provide the foundation for a broader analysis of the

interaction among the Union Army, Southern civilians, and freedmen in defining the limits of wartime and Reconstruction military government in the South.<sup>112</sup>

In other works, the general perception of western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee as Unionist strongholds requires some revision as a result of the work of John C. Inscoe, Gordon B. McKinney and W. Todd Groce who provide more complex portraits of divided highland communities.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps most significant are several recent superb studies of the bitter guerrilla war waged in these locales and elsewhere in the South, which remind us that however appropriate the metaphor of the "brothers' war," this conflict also represented a very nasty fight of neighbor against neighbor. If the familiar subjects of John Singleton Mosby's "Confederacy" in northern Virginia<sup>114</sup> and William Quantrill's reign of terror in Missouri and Kansas<sup>115</sup> respectively constitute the relative "best" and "worst" in Civil War partisan warfare, then the southern Appalachians reveal a new middle ground of intra-community violence and guerrilla resistance to Union occupation in eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Alabama and Georgia.<sup>116</sup> These conflicts were not limited to mountainous regions but extended throughout the South, from tidewater North Carolina communities to the ethnic German settlements in Texas.<sup>117</sup> Finally the role of Southern women and families in the maintenance of Confederate morale has begun to come under scrutiny in what promises to be a new area of research.<sup>118</sup> Another fresh field of studies has emerged as African-American studies have at last turned to the war years, and the transition from slavery to freedom. Many important journal articles of recent years have been republished in a two-volume compilation edited by Martin H. Greenberg and Charles G. Waugh that focus on such issues as black troops in the Union Army, the Confederate military use of African-Americans, and slaves who effected escape from their condition.<sup>119</sup> For the first of these topics, which recent literature has already discussed in part, more remains to be done in determining the Union Army's own treatment of black units. Above all, however, more is required to establish the identity of the postwar black veteran: his occupation, status, and social role in American society.<sup>120</sup> The second topic requires more systematic examination, to determine: (1) if the evidence of "black Confederates" possesses more than local or symbolic significance,<sup>121</sup> and (2) the terms by which the Confederate leadership gradually came to consider emancipation in return for military service.<sup>122</sup> The standard work thus far remains Robert F. Durden, *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972). In his preface to the paperback reissue in 2000, Durden summarizes the most recent literature to illustrate the lack of any consensus on this subject. See

also the pointed comments in Freehling, *South vs the South*, 188-96. Finally the topic of wartime runaway slaves also requires further study to determine patterns of self-emancipation and their consequences for both Northern emancipationist policies and the Southern economy.<sup>123</sup>

But much here also awaits further study. The generally neglected subject of civilian mortality during the war assumes significant if unexamined proportions when applied to slaves and runaways, whether as military laborers, refugees living in unsanitary contraband camps, or recaptured fugitives executed by their former owners.<sup>124</sup> Some evidence of the slaves' own ability to exact revenge on white Southerners has also come to light.<sup>125</sup> This can be integrated within a broader framework of the "Black Southerners' Home Front," i.e., how African-Americans shaped the performance of the Confederate war economy: "How many slaves escaped their owners during the war?" "Can we assess the labor performance of those slaves who remained?"<sup>126</sup> What resources did Confederate authorities commit to slave control, and how successful were they?"<sup>127</sup> Some of these questions have been addressed in excellent local studies,<sup>128</sup> but it remains to broaden the scope.

In concluding our review, it is appropriate to consider some characteristics and limitations of the divergent strains of military history literature discussed. Mainstream studies on battles, commanders, and units have consistently demonstrated their popular appeal, and the literature of the past 15 years suggests an increase of interest. Yet problems continue to characterize this approach, problems whose significance is not diminished even if they remain unrecognized.

One of these concerns the relative lack of reliable primary source material. A student of the 20<sup>th</sup> century German military conditioned to the availability of detail-laden *Kriegstagebücher mit Anlagen* and prepared at the time the events occurred must realize that such procedures do not characterize American military recordkeeping even today, much less so then. The traditional American after-action report, as the name implies, was prepared following the conclusion of an engagement, when the results made clear where credit might be claimed and blame apportioned. For example, Robert E. Lee submitted his initial outline report of the Gettysburg campaign four weeks after the battle, his complete report did not follow until January 1864, more than six months after the action.<sup>129</sup> Even with this evidential caveat, Confederate primary sources are moreover fragmentary with the loss or scattering of many documents as a consequence of defeat.<sup>130</sup> Inevitably, historians must fill these gaps with memoirs and postwar recollections, sometimes removed from the events described by two or three decades and often colored by specific objectives. Notwithstanding the undoubtedly

gifted memory of Edward Porter Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, can historians credit his verbatim exchanges of conversation with Lee on a specific day in 1864 or 1865 as recalled in the late 1890s?"<sup>131</sup>

Finally, we need to note the profound ideological dimension of mainstream American military history. As is characteristic in many societies, the study of military history often invokes a tradition of history as commemoration, featuring the "glorious deeds" noted by Gerard Patterson at the beginning of this essay: the dramatic climax of a "decisive" battle, the courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice of ordinary soldiers, the firm leadership of victorious commanders, and the validation of the cause for which they fought. Minimized or omitted in this tradition are such factors as cowardice and malingering, desertion, wounds and madness, and the inherent, indiscriminate brutality of killing. In the case of the Civil War, such imperatives were further influenced by the perceived need to reconcile white Northerners and Southerners for the wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, resulting in the incorporation of elements of the "Lost Cause" explanation of Confederate defeat and the relegation of slavery and African-Americans to secondary roles. The dawn of a new century, with the United States now the preeminent world power and more sensitive to its African-American heritage, has not altered in the least the ideological imperatives for Civil War military history, as explained by Dr. Russell Weighley:

In American national memory, the Civil War stands with the Second World War as a conflict that was worth fighting...the Civil War calls for a rethinking of the attitude toward that which has become widespread, even predominant, in the United States since the Vietnam War: the belief that war is always futile, that its rewards never match its cost, that any conflict that is accepted at all must assuredly be briefly, immediately decisive and virtually without loss of American lives.<sup>132</sup>

Thus the freshly-reaffirmed emancipationist legacy of the Civil War is linked to the "Vietnam Syndrome" to admonish Americans to accept the necessity of costly wars, with the implied assurance that historians 140 years in the future will validate their sacrifice. As a counterpoint, we might note the perspective offered by famed black historian W.E.B. DuBois, at the Shaw Memorial to African-American soldiers: "How extraordinary...that in the minds of most people... only murder makes men. The slave pleaded; he was humble; he protected the women of the South, and the world ignored him. The slave killed white men; and behold, he was a man!"<sup>133</sup>

But, whether in spite of or because of this ideological dimension, operational studies of battles, leaders, and units continue to mount like a towering skyscraper. Yet, at the same time, a varied and growing body of research has established a broad foundation that extends Civil War military history in new directions. The study of



"glorious deeds" remains, but it is increasingly accompanied by an appreciation of ordinary people caught in extraordinary times.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gerard A. Patterson, *Justice or Atrocity: General George E. Pickett and the Kinston, N.C. Hangings* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1998), 137. Patterson, who judges Pickett's action appropriate, does not link the incident to the broader questions of desertion and loyalty within the Civil War South; for a more detailed and thoughtful analysis see Richard Bardolph, "Confederate Dilemma: North Carolina Troops and the Deserter Problem," *North Carolina Historical Review*, LXVI, No. 1 (January 1989): 61-86, and No. 2 (April 1989): 179-210.

<sup>2</sup> For excellent reviews of the CD-ROM options and capabilities of the *Official Records*, see Nancy Smith Midgett, "The War on Your Desktop: The *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* on CD-ROM," *Civil War: The Official Magazine of the Civil War Society*, No. 63 (August 1997): 7-10, and Theodore P. Savas, "Software Review: *The Official Records* on CD-Rom," *Civil War Regiments*, V, 2 (1996): 143-51. A part of Series I Vol. I is available online at <http://moa.cit.cornell.edu/MOA/MOA-JOURNALS2/WARO.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> The best single website, operated by the Civil War Center at Louisiana State University and containing links to over 6,000 related sites, is: [www.cwc.lsu.edu/civlink.htm](http://www.cwc.lsu.edu/civlink.htm). An example of an outstanding unit roster (that of the Confederate 1st Tennessee Regiment) is located at <http://www.ngenweb.org/franklin/frana.htm>; and the model of a website devoted to a single engagement is that prepared by Geoffrey R. Walden for the Battle of Mill Springs/Fishing Creek (19 January 1862), at <http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/Quarters/1864/battle.htm>. A new guide to Civil War websites has just been published by William G. Thomas and Alice E. Carter, *The Civil War on the Web: A Guide to the Very Best Sites with CD-Rom* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Alan C. and Barbara A. Aimone, *A User's Guide to the Official Records of the American Civil War* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1993); James C. Neagles, *Confederate Research Sources: A Guide to Archives Collections* (Salt Lake City, UT: Ancestry, 1986); and a series of articles by the Dr. Michael P. Musick, the National Archives' authority on Civil War records: "Civil War Records: An Introduction and Invitation" and "The Little Regiment: Civil War Units and Commands," *Prologue: Quarterly Journal of the National Archives* (hereafter *Prologue*), XXVII, 2 (Summer 1995): 145-71; "Honorable Reports: Battles, Campaigns, and Skirmishes - Civil War Records and Research," *Prologue*, XXVII, 3 (Fall 1995): 258-77; and "War in an Age of Wonders: Civil War Arms and Equipment," *Prologue*, XXVII, 4 (Winter 1995): 348-68. Harold Holzer and Daniel Lorello, eds., *The Union Preserved: A Guide to Civil War Records in the New York State Archives* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), serves as a model finding aid to relevant state archives. A quick reference to sources and interest groups is Richard A. Sowers, *How to Do Civil War Research* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> National periodicals included *Civil War Times Illustrated* (the oldest), *Blue and Gray*, *Civil War: The Official Magazine of the Civil War Society* (now defunct), *America's Civil War*, and *North and South*; academic journals included *Civil War History*, *Columbiad: A Quarterly Review of the War Between the States* (also now defunct), and *Civil War Regiments: A Journal of the American Civil War*.

<sup>6</sup> Steven E. Woodworth, ed., *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), an outstanding work arranged in 47 topical bibliographical essays; and David J. Eicher, *The Civil War in Books: An Analytical Bibliography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), covering 1,100 new and old titles.

<sup>7</sup> The quarterly magazine *Civil War Book Review*, published by the United States Civil War Center at Louisiana State University, does offer reviews of both traditional and social Civil War books; its website is [www.civilwarbookreview.com](http://www.civilwarbookreview.com). In addition, of course, are the regular reviews found in *Civil War History*.

<sup>8</sup> For economy's sake I omit here naval literature on the war and the (re)publication of participants' accounts, many of which are summarized in Gerald L. Cole, *Civil War Eyewitnesses: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles*, 1986-1996, foreword by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), a successor volume to the author's earlier *Civil War Eyewitnesses: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles*, 1955-1986 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988). Finally I omit the great bulk of periodical literature, except where articles directly relate to books noted; three excellent guides to this literature have been compiled by Lee W. Merideth, *Civil War Times and Civil War Times, Illustrated 30 Year Comprehensive Index, April 1959-February 1989* (Twentynine Palms, CA: Historical Indexes, 1990), *Guide to Civil War Periodicals* (Vol. I) (Twentynine Palms, CA: Historical Indexes, 1991); and

*Guide to Civil War Periodicals* (Vol. II) (Twentynine Palms, CA: Historical Indexes, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> William W. Freehling, *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 220-22.

<sup>10</sup> James B. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> See Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones, *How the North Won: A Military History of the Civil War* (Urbana/Chicago/London: University of Illinois Press, 1983) and Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, Richard E. Beringer, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Herman Hattaway, *Shades of Blue and Gray: An Introductory Military History of the Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997); Russell F. Weighley, *A Great Civil War: A Military and Political History 1861-1865* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Editors of Time-Life Books, *The Civil War* (28 vols.; Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books Inc., 1983-86), and *Voices of the Civil War* (ca. 17 vols. before discontinued; Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books Inc., 1995-98); both series employed several writers and consultants under the general editorship of Henry Woodhead.

<sup>15</sup> For an overview see Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997); examples include Mauriel Phillips Joslyn, *Immortal Captives: The Story of 600 Confederate Officers and the United States Prisoner of War Policy* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1996); George Levy, *To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas 1862-65* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1999); Benton McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island: The Story of a Civil War Prison* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), and Ted Genoways and Hugh H. Genoways, *A Perfect Picture of Hell: Eyewitness Accounts of Civil War Prisoners from the 12th Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> The best recent study is William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), who relies on original sources to emphasize circumstances rather than intentions to explain the extreme mortality of Union POWs there. See also John W. Lynn, *800 Paces to Hell: Andersonville* (Fredericksburg, VA: Sgt. Kirkland's Press, 1999), and J. H. Segars, ed., *Andersonville. The Southern Perspective* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Heritage Press, 1995). Much more might be done regarding the development and eventual breakdown of the prisoner-of-war exchange program.

<sup>17</sup> Examples include: Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, *Confederate Hospitals on the Move: Samuel H. Stout and the Army of Tennessee* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); R. E. Denney, *Civil War Medicine* (New York: Sterling, 1994); Jack D. Welsh, *Medical Histories of Confederate Generals* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995); J. E. Kuz, M.D., and Bengston, B. P., M.D., *Orthopaedic Injuries of the Civil War* (Kennesaw Mountain, GA: Kennesaw Mountain Press, 1996); Frank R. Freeman, *Gangrene and Glory: Medical Care During the American Civil War* (Rutherford/Madison/Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998); Mark J. Schaadt, M.D., *Civil War Medicine: An Illustrated History* (Quincy, IL: Cedarwood, 1998); George Winston Smith, *Medicines for the Union Army: The United States Army Laboratories During the Civil War* (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> The literature on Lincoln assassination theories up to 1980 is summarized by William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983). The late William A. Tidwell reopened the issue of Confederate Secret Service and military participation (as retaliation for the perceived similar Union intent in the Dahlgren Raid) with his two books, *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln*, with James O. Hall and David Winfred Gaddy (Jackson and London: University of Mississippi Press, 1988), and *April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995). Booth's own perspective is now available in John Rhodehamel and Louise Taper, eds., "Right or Wrong, God Judge Me": *The Writings of John Wilkes Booth* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); and some of the most recent research can be found in the Surratt Society's *In Pursuit Of: Continuing Research in the Field of the Lincoln Assassination. Compiled from the newsletters of the Surratt Society* (Clinton, MD: The Surratt Society, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Peter W. Roper, *Jedediah Hotchkiss, Rebel Mapmaker and Virginia Businessman* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1992); William J. Miller, *Mapping for Stonewall: The Civil War Service of Jedediah Hotchkiss* (Washington, DC: Elliott & Clark, 1993); Earl B. McElfresh, *Maps and Mapmakers of the Civil War* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999) and "Blinded Giant: The Role of Maps in Robert E. Lee's Gettysburg Campaign," *Mercator's World*, V, 3 (May/June 2000): 30-37; and Harold Holmquest, *Battle Maps of the Civil War* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 2001).



<sup>20</sup> See Elizabeth Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), and Richard Hall, *Patriots in Disguise: Women Warriors of the Civil War* (New York: Paragon House, 1993); and Lauren Cook Burgess, ed., *An Uncommon Soldier: The Civil War Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, alias Pvt. Lyons Wakeman, 153rd Regiment, New York Volunteers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> A sampling includes: Peter Cozzens' quartet of studies, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stone's River* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992); *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994); and *The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka and Corinth* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Fort Henry and Donelson: The Keys to the Confederate Heartland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); James Lee McDonough, *War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Larry J. Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Larry J. Daniel and Lynn N. Bock, *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Battle of Belmont: Grant Strikes South* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) and *Bentonville: The Final Battle of Sherman and Johnston* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Chester G. Hearn, *The Capture of New Orleans 1862* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); William I. Shea and Earl J. Hess, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Lawrence Lee Hewitt, *Port Hudson: Confederate Bastion on the Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); Kenneth A. Hafendorfer, *Perryville: Battle for Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: KH Press, 1991); Wiley Sword, *Embrace An Angry Wind: The Confederacy's Last Hurrah: Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); and William Garrett Piston and Richard W. Hatcher III, *Wilson's Creek: The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought It* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). The finale of the Western Theater in North Carolina is superbly treated by Mark L. Bradley's two works, *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville* (Campbell, CA: Savas, 1996), and *This Astonishing Close: The Road to Bennett Place* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Michael R. Bradley, *Tullahoma: The 1863 Campaign for the Control of Middle Tennessee* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2000), is solid but allows room for more work.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the Cozzens books cited above, Steven E. Woodworth offers an excellent overview of the campaign in *Six Armies in Tennessee: The Chickamauga and Chattanooga Campaigns* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), and also provides a battlefield guide in *Chickamauga: A Battlefield Guide with a section on Chattanooga* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). Another excellent guide to Chickamauga that includes many excerpts of official records is Matt Spruill, ed., *Guide to the Battle of Chickamauga* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), one of the superb U.S. Army War College Guides to Civil War Battles series. For the soldiers' perspective of one Union brigade at Chickamauga, see Richard A. Baumgartner, *Blue Lightning: Wilder's Mounted Infantry Brigade at Chickamauga* (Huntington, WV: Blue Acorn Press, 1999).

<sup>23</sup> Albert Castel's *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), provides the best overview. Less comprehensive is William R. Scaife, *The Campaign for Atlanta* (Salin, MI: McNaughton & Gunn, 1993); a useful collection of essays is provided by Theodore P. Savas and David A. Woodbury, eds., *The Campaign for Atlanta and Sherman's March to the Sea*, 2 vols. (Campbell, CA: Savas/Woodbury, 1992 and 1994). David Evans examines the role of Union cavalry in *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996); the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain is ably recounted in Richard A. Baumgartner and Larry M. Strayer, *Kennesaw Mountain June 1864: Bitter Standoff at the Gibraltar of Georgia* (Huntington, WV: Blue Acorn Press, 1998).

<sup>24</sup> See Richard M. McMurry, *Atlanta 1864: Last Chance for the Confederacy* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), the latest but perhaps most moderate of McMurry's critiques of Johnston's performance. See his earlier essays, "Confederate Morale in the Atlanta Campaign of 1864," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LIV, 2 (Summer 1970), 226-43; "The Atlanta Campaign of 1864: A New Look," *Civil War History*, XXII, 1 (March 1976), 5-15; and "A Policy So Disastrous: Joseph E. Johnston's Atlanta Campaign," in Savas and Woodbury, eds., *The Campaign for Atlanta*, II, 223-48. Steven E. Woodworth expanded on Johnston's shortcomings in *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), esp. pp. 184ff., 272-76, and "The President's Choices: Confederate Command Options on the Eve of the Atlanta Campaign," in *No Band of Brothers: Problems of the Rebel High Command* (Columbia and London: University

of Missouri Press, 1999), 81-93. For a defense of Johnston in the campaign, see Steven H. Newton's essays "Formidable Only in Flight: Casualties, Attrition and Morale in Georgia," *North & South*, III, 4 (April 2000): 43-56, and "What Really Happened at Snake Creek Gap," *North and South*, IV, 3 (March 2001): 56-67. The best and most balanced study of Johnston remains Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston. A Civil War Biography* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Donald S. Frazier, *Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1995); Don E. Alberts, *The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998); Thomas S. Edrington and John Taylor, *The Battle of Glorieta Pass, A Gettysburg in the West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); John Taylor, *Bloody Valverde: A Civil War Battle on the Rio Grande, February 21, 1862* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. offers a general survey of the Trans-Mississippi war in his *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

<sup>26</sup> Since Edwin C. Bearss' masterful *The Vicksburg Campaign*, 3 vols. (Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1985-86), the most recent followups are: Phillip M. Thienel, *Seven Story Mountain: The Union Campaign at Vicksburg* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland, 1995); James Arnold, *Grant Wins the War: Decision at Vicksburg* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997); Leonard Fullenkamp, Stephen Bowman, and Jay Luvaas, eds., *Guide to the Vicksburg Campaign* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); and Terrence J. Winschel, *Triumph and Defeat: The Vicksburg Campaign* (Mason City, IA: Savas Publishing, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> An example of an excellent full biography is Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., and Roy P. Stonesifer, Jr., *The Life and Wars of Gideon J. Pillow* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). See also Jerry Thompson, *Henry Hopkins Silbey: Confederate General of the West*, foreword by Frank E. Vandiver (Natchitoches, LA: Northwestern University Press, 1987; pb. ed. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996); Wallace J. Schutz and Walter N. Trenerry, *Abandoned by Lincoln: A Military Biography of General John Pope* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Christopher Phillips, *Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990); Michael B. Ballard, *Pemberton: A Biography* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991); James G. Hollandsworth, *Pretense of Glory: The Life of Nathaniel P. Banks* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Chester G. Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), a study in command military government; Steven D. Engle, *Don Carlos Buell: Most Promising of All* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Arthur B. Carter, *The Tarnished Cavalier: Major General Earl Van Dorn, C.S.A.* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999); Curt Anders, *Henry Halleck's War: A Fresh Look at Lincoln's Controversial General-in-Chief* (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, 1999); and Peter Cozzens, *General John Pope: A Life for the Nation* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Diane Neal and Thomas W. Kremm, *The Lion of the South: General Thomas C. Hindman* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1993) offer a full biography of a Confederate general who both led a department and later a division in the Army of Tennessee. To the already extensive literature of Nathan Bedford Forrest must now be added Brian Steel Wills, *A Battle from the Start: The Life of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), also issued as *The Confederacy's Greatest Cavalryman: Nathan Bedford Forrest* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992); and to that for John Hunt Morgan, James A. Ramage, *Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986).

<sup>28</sup> For Cleburne, see Craig L. Symonds, *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), and Mauriel Phillips Joslyn, *A Meteor Shining Brightly: Essays on Maj. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne*, foreword by Wiley Sword (Milledgeville, GA: Terrell House, 1998). Other treatments of the Army of Tennessee's corps and divisional commanders include: Christopher Losson, *Tennessee's Forgotten Warriors: Frank Cheatham and His Confederate Division* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Joseph H. Parks, *General Leonidas Polk, C.S.A., The Fighting Bishop* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *General William J. Hardee. Old Reliable* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Phillip Thomas Tucker, *The "Forgotten Stonewall of the West": General John Stevens Bowen* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); and Sam Davis Elliott, *Soldier of Tennessee: General Alexander P. Stewart and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1999); and Russell K. Brown, *To the Manner Born: The Life of General William H. T. Walker* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

<sup>29</sup> The exception appears to be Richard L. Kiper, *Major General John Alexander McClernand, Politician in Uniform* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Judith Lee Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Vol. II* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1991), complementing McWhiney's 1969 volume.

<sup>31</sup> The best new treatment of the Union supreme commander appears to be Jean Edward Smith's *Grant* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), a full biography that devotes equal attention to the war and his presidency. Brooks D. Simpson, *Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph Over Adversity, 1862-1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), is the first of a projected two-volume biography that focuses on the war, but lacks some of the insights of Geoffrey Perret, *Ulysses S. Grant — Soldier and President* (New York: Random House, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> The most balanced recent assessment of Sherman is John F. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York: Free Press, 1993). Other recent works include Charles Edward Vetter, *Sherman: Merchant of Terror, Advocate of Peace* (Gretna: Pelican, 1992), which focuses on Sherman's generalship, Michael Fellman, *Citizen Sherman* (New York: Random House, 1995), a psychological study, and Lee Kennett's *Sherman: A Soldier's Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), another general assessment. The historiography of Sherman's place in the Civil War is reviewed by Dr. Marszalek in his conference paper.

<sup>33</sup> E.g.: William C. Davis, ed., *Diary of a Confederate Soldier: John S. Jackman of the Orphan Brigade* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990); Flavel C. Barber, *Holding the Line: The Third Tennessee Infantry, 1861-1864*, ed. by Robert H. Ferrell (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994); and Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., ed., *The Civil War Memoir of Philip Daingerfield Stephenson, D.D.: Private, Company K, 13th Arkansas Volunteer Infantry, Loader, Piece No. 4, 5th Company, Washington Artillery, Army of Tennessee, C.S.A.* (Conway, AR: UCA Press, 1995).

<sup>34</sup> Examples include Phillip Thomas Tucker's two-volume history of the First Missouri (Confederate) Brigade, *The South's Finest: The First Missouri Confederate Brigade from Pea Ridge to Vicksburg* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1993), and "God Have Mercy on Us:" *The Confederate First Missouri Brigade from Vicksburg to Fort Blakely* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); and Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of the Tennessee* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997). Examples of recent Union unit histories include William M. Anderson, *They Died to Make Men Free: A History of the 19th Michigan Infantry in the Civil War* (Berrien Springs, MI: Hardscrabble Books, 1980, reprinted Dayton, OH: Morningside, 1994); Jack K. Overmyer, *A Stupendous Effort: The 87th Indiana in the War of the Rebellion* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1997); and Frank J. Welcher and Larry G. Liggitt, *Coburn's Brigade: 85th Indiana, 33rd Indiana, 19th Michigan, and 22nd Wisconsin in the Western Civil War* (Carmel: Guild Press of Indiana, 1999).

<sup>35</sup> E.g., James R. Fleming, *The Ninth Tennessee Infantry: A Roster* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1996). Many unit rosters are now available on internet websites, a listing of which appears in Thomas and Carter, *Web*, 175-92.

<sup>36</sup> Richard M. McMurry, *Two Great Rebel Armies: An Essay in Confederate Military History* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); and Andrew Haughton, *Training, Tactics, and Leadership in the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> E.g., Frank J. Welcher, *The Union Army, 1861-1865. Organization and Operations, Vol. II: The Western Theater* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993), an excellent reference work and companion piece to his earlier volume on Union forces in the East; James R. Arnold, *The Armies of U.S. Grant* (London: Arms and Armour, 1995), pp. 35ff, for useful summaries; Phillip M. Thienel, *Mr. Lincoln's Bridge Builders: The Right Hand of American Genius* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 2000), 88-94, 113ff., 185ff., on engineering accomplishments; Benjamin W. Bacon, *Sinews of War: How Technology, Industry, and Transportation Won the Civil War* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1997), and David W. Miller, *Second Only to Grant: Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 2000), which provide logistical overviews; and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1986), which includes valuable statistical data on the composition of Sherman's forces. One forthcoming work will focus on Grant's subordinates in the West, Steven Woodworth's *Grant's Lieutenants, Vol. I* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, scheduled October 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Examples include: JoAnna M. McDonald, "We Shall Meet Again:" *The First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), July 18-21, 1861* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1999); Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1992), and *Chancellorsville* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); William J. Miller, ed., *The Peninsula Campaign of 1862: Yorktown to the Seven Days*, 2 vols. (Campbell, CA: Savas/Woodbury, 1993/95); Gary L. Ecelbarger, "We are in for it!" *The First Battle of Kernstown* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1997); two studies by Robert K. Krick, *Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), and *Conquering the Valley: Stonewall Jackson at Port Republic* (New York: William

Morrow, 1996); John J. Hennessey, *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Daniel E. Sutherland, *Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville: The Dare Mark Campaign* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Ernest B. Furgurson's two studies, *Chancellorsville 1863: The Souls of the Brave* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), and *Not War But Murder: Cold Harbor 1864* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000); Richard R. Duncan, *Lee's Endangered Left: The Civil War in Western Virginia Spring of 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); John Michael Priest's dual tomes on the Wilderness, *Nowhere to Run: The Wilderness, May 4th & 5th, 1864* and *Victory Without Triumph: The Wilderness, May 6th & 7th, 1864* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1995-96); Gordon C. Rhea's three studies of the Overland Campaign, *The Battle of the Wilderness May 5-6, 1864*, *The Battles for Spotsylvania Court House and the Road to Yellow Tavern May 7-12, 1864*, and *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee May 13-25, 1864* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1994, 1997, and 2000, respectively); Scott C. Patchan, *The Forgotten Fury: The Battle of Piedmont, Virginia* (Fredericksburg, VA: Sgt. Kirkland's Press, 1996); Benjamin F. Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid on Washington 1864* (Baltimore, Md: Nautical & Aviation, 1989); Jeffery D. Wert, *From Winchester to Cedar Creek: The Shenandoah Campaign of 1864* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987); Noah Andre Trudeau's trio of studies of the final year, *Bloody Roads South: The Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May-June 1864* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), *The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia, June 1864-April 1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), and *Out of the Storm: The End of the Civil War, April-June 1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994); and A. Wilson Greene, *Breaking the Backbone of the Rebellion: The Final Battles of The Petersburg Campaign* (Mason City, IA: Savas, 2000).<sup>39</sup> The latest and best of recent Antietam studies consists of Joseph L. Harsh's three-volume analysis of Lee's strategy, *Confederate Tide Rising: Robert E. Lee and the Making of Confederate Strategy, 1861-1862*, *Taken At the Flood: Robert E. Lee and Confederate Strategy in the Maryland Campaign of 1862*, and *Sounding the Shallows: A Confederate Companion for the Maryland Campaign of 1862*, the last representing an evaluation of source materials used (Kent, OH, and London: Kent State University Press, 1998, 1999, and 2000, respectively). Since Stephen Sears' treatment of the battle, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New Haven, CT: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), the following additions are noteworthy: Jay Luvaas and Harold W. Nelson, eds., *Guide to the Battle of Antietam: The Maryland Campaign of 1862* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996); two studies by John Michael Priest, *Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1989), and *Before Antietam: The Battle for South Mountain* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1992); and Phillip Thomas Tucker, *Burnside's Bridge: The Climactic Struggle of the 2nd and 20th Georgia at Antietam Creek* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000).

<sup>40</sup> Examples include: Jay Luvaas and Harold W. Nelson, *Guide to the Battle of Gettysburg* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); Edward G. Longacre, *The Cavalry at Gettysburg: A Tactical Study of Mounted Operations during the Civil War's Pivotal Campaign, 9 June-14 July 1863* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); David G. Martin, *Gettysburg July 1* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995; rev. 1996); Harry W. Pfanz's three studies, *Gettysburg: The Second Day*, *Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill*, and *Gettysburg: The First Day* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987, 1993, and 2001, respectively); Elwood Christ, *The Struggle for the Bliss Farm at Gettysburg July 2nd and 3rd 1863* (Baltimore, MD: Butternut & Blue, 1994); Richard Rollins, "The Damned Red Flags of the Rebellion:" *The Confederate Battle Flag at Gettysburg* (Redondo Beach, CA: Rank & File, 1997); and above all the establishment of a separate historical journal/magazine *Gettysburg Magazine* by Morningside Press in July 1989, with 24 issues published thus far containing generally excellent articles on different aspects of the battle. Also welcome is the National Park Service's publication of the proceedings of recent historical seminars at Gettysburg (*Gettysburg National Military Park/National Park Service, Unsung Heroes of Gettysburg: Programs of the Fifth Annual Gettysburg Seminar* [1996], *Mr. Lincoln's Army: The Army of the Potomac in the Gettysburg Campaign: Programs of the Sixth Annual Gettysburg Seminar* [1997], and *High Water Mark: The Army of Northern Virginia in the Gettysburg Campaign: Programs of the Seventh Annual Gettysburg Seminar* [1999]). Other works are noted in successive footnotes below.

<sup>41</sup> In addition to the books by Frey and Reardon noted below, see: Kathy Georg Harrison and John W. Busey, *Nothing But Glory: Pickett's Division at Gettysburg* (Gettysburg: Thomas, 1987, rev. 1993); Richard Rollins, ed., *Pickett's Charge! Eyewitness Accounts* (Redondo Beach, CA: Rank & File, 1994); David Shultz, "Double Canister At Ten Yards" *The Federal Artillery And the Repulse of Pickett's Charge* (Redondo Beach, CA: Rank & File, 1995); and John Michael Priest, *Into the Fight: Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1998). Another valuable account, available only on CD-Rom, is that by Don Ernsberger, "The Great Charge At Gettysburg" (Warmistest, PA, 1998).

<sup>42</sup> This series includes: Steven A. Cromier, *The Siege of Suffolk: The Forgotten Campaign, April 11-May 4, 1863* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1989); Martin F. Graham and George F. Skoch, *Mine Run: A Campaign of*

*Lost Opportunities*, October 21, 1863–May 1, 1864 (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1987); J. Michael Miller, *The North Anna Campaign: "Even to Hell Itself," May 21–26, 1864* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1989); Thomas J. Howe, *The Petersburg Campaign: Wasted Valor, June 15–18, 1864* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1988); Michael A. Cavanaugh and William Marvel, *The Petersburg Campaign: The Battle of the Crater "The Horrid Pit," June 25–August 6, 1864* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1989); and John Horn, *The Petersburg Campaign: The Destruction of the Weldon Railroad: Deep Bottom, Globe Tavern, and Reams Station, August 14–25, 1864* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1991). The same publisher also produced the Virginia Regimental Series, described below.

<sup>43</sup> Except for the volumes on Antietam and Gettysburg (see succeeding endnote), the series includes Gary W. Gallagher, ed. (for all volumes), *Struggle for the Shenandoah: Essays on the 1864 Valley Campaign* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991); *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); *Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); *The Wilderness Campaign* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); *The Spotsylvania Campaign* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); and *The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula and the Seven Days* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

<sup>44</sup> The very first in the series edited by Gallagher was *Antietam: Essays on the 1862 Maryland Campaign* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), later supplemented by *The Antietam Campaign* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The Gettysburg volumes include *The First Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992); *The Second Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1993); *The Third Day at Gettysburg and Beyond* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); and *Three Days at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), which reproduces essays from the earlier volumes but adds some new material.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., Donald J. Frey, *Longstreet's Assault — Pickett's Charge. The Lost Record of Pickett's Wounded* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2000), and Scott Bowden and Bill Ward, *Last Chance for Victory: Robert E. Lee and the Gettysburg Campaign* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas, 2001); and the tireless efforts of Richard Rollins, as in "The Second Wave of Pickett's Charge," *Gettysburg Magazine*, No. 18 (January 1998): 96–113, "Prelude to Pickett's Charge," *Columbia: A Quarterly Review of the War Between the States*, II, 4 (Winter 1999): 109–29, and "Pickett's Charge and the Principles of War," *North and South*, IV, 5 (June 2001): 12–24. Strong elements of the hypothesis of Jackson's decisive absence at Gettysburg is examined by Peter S. Carmichael, "Oh, for the presence and inspiration of Old Jack": A Lost Cause Plea for Stonewall Jackson at Gettysburg," *Civil War History*, XLI, 2 (June 1995): 161–67; for the view that Jackson originated Confederate offensive strategy in the East with precise invasion plans for Pennsylvania, see James A. Kegel, *North with Lee and Jackson: The Lost Story of Gettysburg* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996). On the "Lost Cause" targeting of Longstreet at Gettysburg, see William Garrett Piston, *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant: James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 104ff., and Jeffrey D. Wert, "James Longstreet and the Lost Cause," in Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2000), 127–46; both of these build on the seminal work on the topic by Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

<sup>46</sup> The military aspects of the "Lost Cause" interpretation are dissected in the essays in Gallagher and Nolan, eds., *Myth*; for an excellent overview of this perspective's genesis and influence, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), building on the foundation laid by Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865–1900* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1973); and for Northerners' gradual acceptance and incorporation of "Lost Cause" views, see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

<sup>47</sup> Jeffrey D. Wert, *General James Longstreet: The Confederacy's Most Controversial Soldier. A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), and R. L. DiNardo and Albert A. Nofi, eds., *James Longstreet: The Man, the Soldier, the Controversy* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1998). See also Gary W. Gallagher, "scapegoat in Victory: James Longstreet and the Battle of Second Manassas," *Civil War History*, XXXIV, 4 (December 1988): 293–307.

<sup>48</sup> E.g.: Alan T. Nolan, *Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Edward H. Bonekemper, III, *How Robert E. Lee Lost the Civil War* (Fredericksburg, VA: Sgt. Kirkland's Press, 1997); John D. McKenzie, *Uncertain Glory: Lee's Generalship Re-Examined* (New York: Hippocrene

Books, 1997); and Michael A. Palmer, *Lee Moves North: Robert E. Lee on the Offensive* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998). All of these constitute extended essays rather than full biographies, and all focus on Lee's costly aggressiveness in the tactical offensive; however justified the criticism, the arguments are not placed in the context of tactical doctrine or perceived strategic goals at the time. Gary Gallagher critiques them in "Reconsidering Lee's Revisionists," *Columbia: A Quarterly Review of the War Between the States*, IV, 1 (Spring 2000): 122–36.

<sup>49</sup> The best is a collection of essays on various military aspects of Lee edited by Gary Gallagher, *Lee the Soldier* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Emory M. Thomas offers a more unified portrait in *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995); Steven E. Woodworth highlights basic strategic disagreements in *Davis and Lee at War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); and for a psychological sketch, see Michael Fellman, *The Making of Robert E. Lee* (New York: Random House, 2001).

<sup>50</sup> E.g., James I. Robertson, Jr.'s massive *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, and the Legend* (New York: Macmillan, 1997), and his earlier *General A. R. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior* (New York: Random House, 1987); Donald C. Pfan, *Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Emory M. Thomas, *Bold Dragoon: The Life of J.E.B. Stuart* (New York: HarperTrade, 1986); Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Defender of the Lost Cause* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Lesley J. Gordon, *General George E. Pickett in Life and Legend* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); and Ralph Lowell Eckert, *John Brown Gordon: Soldier, Southerner, American* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).

<sup>51</sup> Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998). For the impact of "Lost Cause" white reconciliation on the emancipationist legacy, see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University/Belknap, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> See Steven H. Newton, *Lost for the Cause: The Confederate Army in 1864* (Mason City, IA: Savas, 2000); Alfred C. Young, III, "Numbers and Losses in the Army of Northern Virginia," *North & South*, III, 3 (March 2000): 14–29; and William Marvel, "Perspectives" (a study of Lee's strength during the retreat to Appomattox), *America's Civil War*, July 2001, pp. 62–70.

<sup>53</sup> Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Confederate Commissary General: General Lucius Bellinger Northrop and the Subsistence Bureau of the Southern Army* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1996); Kenneth Radley, *Rebel Watchdog: The Confederate States Army Provost Guard* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); and Jack A. Bunch, *Military Justice in the Confederate States Armies* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 2000).

<sup>54</sup> J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., *Buff Facings and Gilt Buttons: Staff and Headquarters Operations in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861–1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), which provides a wealth of detail, and R. Steven Jones, *The Right Hand of Command: Use and Disuse of Personal Staffs in the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000), which concentrates on Union commands but is more critical in approach.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1889), and his subsequent essays on Union command, *Controversies and Commanders: Dispatches from the Army of the Potomac* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Thomas J. Rowland's more favorable *George B. McClellan and Civil War History: In the Shadow of Grant and Sherman* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1998); William Marvel, *Burnside* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g., Alice Rains Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence: Joshua Chamberlain and the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Edward G. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined, 1999); David M. Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988); and the comparative biography by Mark Perry, *Conceived in Liberty: Joshua Chamberlain, William Oates, and the American Civil War* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997). Along the same lines see also Kent Masterson Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg: The Story of a Union Artillery Commander* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1993).

<sup>57</sup> Michael C. C. Adams, *Our Masters the Rebels: A Speculation on Union Military Failure in the East, 1861–1865* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), reprinted as *Fighting for Defeat: Union Military Failure in the East, 1861–1865* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); and Gordon Rhea et al., "What Was Wrong with the Army of the Potomac," *North & South*, IV, 3 (March 2001): 12–18.

<sup>58</sup> Arnold, *Armies*, 170, who also criticizes Grant's staff work in the Overland Campaign (*ibid.*, 186, 211, 235).



<sup>59</sup> In addition to Arnold, *Armies*, see esp. the monumental work by Frank J. Welcher, *The Union Army 1861-1865, Organization and Operations*, Vol. I, *The Eastern Theater* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989), the companion piece for the Western theater already noted earlier.

<sup>60</sup> Edward G. Longacre, *Lincoln's Cavalrymen: A History of the Mounted Forces of the Army of the Potomac* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole, 2000); George A. Rummel III, *Cavalry on the Roads to Gettysburg: Kilpatrick at Hanover and Hunterstown* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> See L. Vanloan Naisawald, *Grape and Canister: The Story of the Field Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, 1861-1865* (2nd ed.; Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole, 1999); and the valuable comparative essays by Richard Rollins and Dave L. Schultz, "A Combined and Concentrated Fire: Federal Artillery at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863," *North & South*, II, 3 (March 1999): 39-60, and Richard Rollins, "The Failure of the Confederate Artillery in Pickett's Charge," *North & South*, III, 4 (April 2000): 26-42.

<sup>62</sup> Edwin C. Fishel, *The Secret War for the Union: The Untold Story of Military Intelligence in the Civil War* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); Thienel, *Bridge Builders*, 30ff., 96-112, 157ff.

<sup>63</sup> E.g., for Union commands: Warren Wilkinson, *Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-Seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Army of the Potomac 1864-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990); Phillip Thomas Tucker et al., *The History of the Irish Brigade* (Fredericksburg, VA: Sgt. Kirkland's Press, 1995); Alan D. Gaff, *On Many A Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996); Edward J. Hagerty, *Collis' Zouaves: The 114th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); Joseph G. Bilby, *The Irish Brigade in the Civil War: The 69th New York and Other Irish Regiments of the Army of the Potomac* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1997); Alan T. Nolan and Sharon Eggleston Vipond, eds., *Giants in Their Tall Black Hats: Essays on the Iron Brigade* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998); James S. Pula, *The Sikel Regiment: A History of the 26th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865* (Campbell, CA: Savas, 1998); Michael A. Dreese, *The 151st Pennsylvania Volunteers at Gettysburg: Like Ripe Apples in a Storm* (McFarland, 2000); and Bradley M. Gottfried, *Stopping Pickett: The History of the Philadelphia Brigade* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1999). Studies of Confederate commands include: Lawrence R. Laboda, *From Selma to Appomattox: The History of the Jeff Davis Artillery* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1994); Jeffrey P. Stocker, ed., *From Huntsville to Appomattox: R. T. Coles' History of the 4th Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A., Army of Northern Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); James P. Gannon, *Irish Rebels, Confederate Tigers: A History of the 6th Louisiana Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Campbell, CA: Savas, 1998); and Robert J. Driver, Jr., *First and Second Maryland Cavalry, C.S.A.* (Charlottesville, VA: Rockbridge Publishing, 1999). A unique comparative study of two famous brigades is Jeffrey D. Wert, *A Brotherhood of Valor: The Common Soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, C.S.A., and the Iron Brigade, U.S.A.* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> Examples of recent unit histories dedicated solely to Gettysburg include: Richard Moe, *The Last Full Measure: The Life and Death of the First Minnesota Volunteers* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993); Thomas A. Desjardin, *Stand Firm Ye Boys from Maine: The 20th Maine and the Gettysburg Campaign* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1995); J. S. McNeily, *Barksdale's Mississippi Brigade at Gettysburg: Most Magnificent Charge of the War* (Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, 1987); William Thomas Venner, *The 19th Indiana Infantry at Gettysburg: Hoosiers' Courage* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1998); Morris M. Penny and J. Gary Laine, *Struggle for the Round Tops: Law's Alabama Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1999); and Rod Gragg, *Covered with Glory: The 26th North Carolina Infantry at Gettysburg* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000). See also the accounts in the special issue of *Civil War Regiments, Gettysburg: Regimental Leadership and Command*, VI, 3 (1999), and various articles devoted to regiments in *Gettysburg Magazine*.

<sup>65</sup> Prepared over the period 1984-95, the *Virginia Regimental Histories Series* was written by a number of authors, some of whom (particularly Jeffrey C. Weaver and R. J. Driver, Jr.) contributed several volumes, and published by H. E. Howard, Inc., Lynchburg, VA. Included are separate volumes for each regiment and independent battalion of infantry (totaling 64 vols.), cavalry regiment or partisan battalion (30 vols.), and independent battalions or batteries of artillery (33 vols.); in some cases two units were combined in one volume. As an example of the series' thoroughness see Jeffrey C. Weaver, *64th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1992), a 175-page treatise with extensive statistical data on a regiment that "would only fight where it suited them to fight" and "was a disastrous military unit" (p. 112).

<sup>66</sup> E.g., Russell Duncan, *Where Death and Glory Meet: Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Infantry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), and the same author's earlier editing of Shaw's papers, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992). For a collection of essays on the unit, the film, and commemorating African-American military service in the

war, see Martin H. Blatt, Thomas J. Brown, and Donald Yacovone, *Hope & Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

<sup>67</sup> On general accounts of African-American Union soldiers, see Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988); Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Edwin S. Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War 1862-1865* (Boston/New York/London: Little, Brown, 1998); for specific unit histories, see James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); James M. Paradis, *Strike the Blow for Freedom: The 6th United States Colored Infantry in the Civil War* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1998); and Versalle F. Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999). For an excellent collection of published documentation, see Ira Berlin et al., eds., *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), Series II of the ongoing publication *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*.

<sup>68</sup> Specific examples include: Steven D. Smith, "History and Archaeology: General Edward Wild's African Brigade in the Siege of Charleston, South Carolina," in *Charleston: Battles and Seacoast Operations in South Carolina*, a special-theme issue of *Civil War Regiments*, V, 2 (1996): 20-70; Stephen R. Wise, *Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); and Timothy Bradshaw, Jr., *Battery Wagner: The Siege, The Men Who Fought and the Casualties* (Elgin, SC: Palmetto Historical Works, 1993).

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Rod Gragg, *Confederate Goliath: The Battle of Fort Fisher* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Chris E. Fonvielle, Jr., *The Wilmington Campaign: Last Rays of Departing Hope* (Campbell, CA: Savas, 1996); and William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1990).

<sup>70</sup> Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, *Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1982), which at least stresses the heavy price paid by the Confederate preference for the tactical offensive. For a refutation of their argument see Beringer et al., *Why the South Lost*, 458-81.

<sup>71</sup> Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), supplemented by his articles "Civil War Cavalry: Missed Opportunities," *Military History Quarterly*, I, 3 (Spring 1989): 60-71, and "Packs Down — Charge!," *Military History Quarterly*, II, 1 (Autumn 1989): 110-11. In the preface to the paperback edition of his book (also published by Yale University Press, 2001), Griffith notes that "surprisingly few writers have tackled the specific problems of minor tactics in a major way in a serious way" and sees no evidence to alter his findings (p. 13). For a skeptical critique of Griffith, see the review by Albert Castel in *Civil War History*, XXXV, 4 (December 1989), 335-38; for a summary of literature on Civil War tactics, see Joseph T. Glatthaar, "Battlefield Tactics," in James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper, Jr., eds., *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 60-80.

<sup>72</sup> See Archer Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat* (New York: Free Press [Macmillan], 1992), perhaps the best single volume of military history published during the period studied. See also Jones' earlier works, *Confederate Strategy From Shiloh to Vicksburg* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), and his collaborative effort with Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973). Both works were reprinted in the 1990s.

<sup>73</sup> On Lincoln, see Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Lincoln's Generals* (Oxford, UK, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); on Davis, see Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, op cit., and *Davis and Lee*, op cit.; a useful volume that combines studies of both Presidents is Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Partners in Command: The Relationship Between Leaders in the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1993). Also valuable for Lincoln's perspective is Bruce Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998). Robert G. Tanner, *Retreat to Victory: Confederate Strategy Reconsidered* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001), is less an examination than an argument in defense of an aggressive Southern strategy.

<sup>74</sup> E.g., Thomas B. Buell, *The Warrior Generals: Combat Leadership in the Civil War* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1997), an interesting profile of six generals throughout the war and very useful for its portrayal of Union general George H. Thomas. Other examples (again reflecting the Lost Cause emphasis on Confederate generals) include: Lawrence L. Hewitt and Roman J. Heleniak, eds., *The Confederate High Command and Related Topics: The 1988 Deep Delta Civil War Symposium* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1990), and the same co-editors' *Leadership During the Civil War: The 1989*

*Deep Delta Civil War Symposium* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1992); Steven W. Woodworth, ed., *Leadership and Command in the American Civil War* (Campbell, CA: Savas/Woodbury, 1995); W. J. Wood, *Civil War Generalship: The Art of Command* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997); Steven E. Woodworth, ed., *Civil War Generals in Defeat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999); Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Jefferson Davis' Generals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Woodworth, *No Brand of Brothers*, op cit.

<sup>75</sup> One useful work is Joseph G. Bilby, *Civil War Firearms: Their Historical Background, Tactical Use and Modern Collecting and Shooting* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1996). The author is unaware of any detailed study comparing proportionate use of rifled vs. smoothbore muskets in the 1862-63 campaigns, nor of the relative use of breech-loading vs. muzzle-loading weapons in 1864-65, nor of how the developments in artillery were reflected in combat results.

<sup>76</sup> A start has been made in Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler, eds., *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861-1871* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press and the German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, 1997), presenting the papers of a conference hosted by the German Historical Institute in 1992. A Prussian observer *Observes the American Civil War: The Military Studies of Justus Scheibert*, trans. and ed. by Frederic Trautmann (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2001), offers an annotated translation of two treatises on the war by a Prussian observer. Archer Jones succinctly places Civil War tactics and strategy in the overall development of Western warfare in his *The Art of War in the Western World* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 409-18.

<sup>77</sup> William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Soldiers* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1988; 2nd ed., New York: Fordham University Press, 1998).

<sup>78</sup> See Kelly J. O'Grady, *Clear the Confederate Way! The Irish in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Mesa City, IA: Savas, 2000), who argues that proportionately more Irish served with Lee than with the Army of the Potomac, and Robert N. Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000). The latter demonstrates a natural overlap, as most of the book's subjects constituted German-speaking immigrants.<sup>79</sup> See Thomas Walter Brooks and Michael Dan Jones, *Lee's Foreign Legion: A History of the 10th Louisiana Infantry* (Gravenhurst, Ontario: Abstract Company/Computer Wizards, 1995), a mixed formation composed of Irish, Germans, French and Canadians with native Louisianans, and Ed Gleeson, *Rebel Sons of Erin, A Civil War History of the Tenth Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Irish), Confederate States Volunteers* (Carmel: Guild Press of Indiana, 1993).

<sup>80</sup> Andrea Mehrlander, *In Dixieland I'll Take My Stand: The German Communities of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans During the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, scheduled for 2002). See also Dr. Mehrlander's paper in this conference volume.

<sup>81</sup> Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Maryland's Blue & Gray: A Border State's Union and Confederate Junior Officer Corps* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

<sup>82</sup> Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), and Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences* (New York: Viking, 1988). Glatthaar reinforced their findings in his *March to the Sea*, 66-80, 134-55. Closely related are studies by Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves, "seeing the Elephant": *Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh* (Westport, CT, and New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), both of which focus on the experience of combat. By contrast, James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), and Gregory A. Coco, *The Civil War Infantryman: In camp, on the march, and in battle* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas, 1996), offer more general surveys of soldiers and soldier life.

<sup>83</sup> James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), which summarizes the author's early findings, and the more complete *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). McPherson disputes Linderman's findings of alienation and disillusionment among veterans, probably reflecting the latter's emphasis on later years.

<sup>84</sup> Joseph Allan Frank, *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), and with Barbara Duteau, "Measuring the Political Articulateness of United States Civil War Soldiers: The Wisconsin Militia," *Journal of Military History*, 64, 1 (January 2000): 53-77.

<sup>85</sup> Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), and several of the essays in Maris A. Vinovskis, ed., *Toward A Social History of the Civil War: Exploratory Essays* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), esp. 366ff., and

*Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), esp. 183ff. See also David Grimsted, *American Mobbing 1828-1861: Toward Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 135ff. on the extraordinary levels of violence evident in the South on Lincoln's election.

<sup>87</sup> On the long-considered events at Ft. Pillow, the most recent treatment is that by Richard L. Fuchs, *An Unerring Fire: The Massacre at Fort Pillow* (Rutherford/Madison/Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), supplemented by John Cimprich and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Statistical Note," *Journal of American History*, 76, 3 (December 1989): 830-37, and Kenneth Barcroft Moore, "Fort Pillow, Forrest, and the United States Colored Troops in 1864," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, LIV, 2 (Summer 1995): 112-23. Others, relying on a lack of evidence that Nathan Bedford Forrest ordered the massacre, minimize the event as "not an intentional atrocity" (William R. Brooksher, "Betwixt Wind and Water," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XXXII, 5 (November/December 1993): 64-70, 82-87).

<sup>88</sup> Evidence on other excessive killings of black soldiers can be found in: Anne J. Bailey, "A Texas Cavalry Raid: Reaction to Black Soldiers and Contrabands," *Civil War History*, XXXV, 2 (June 1989): 138-52; Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., and Gerald W. Thomas, "Massacre at Plymouth: April 20, 1864," *North Carolina Historical Review*, LXXII, 2 (April 1995): 125-97; Gregory J. W. Urwin, "'We Cannot treat Negroes...As Prisoners of War': Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in Arkansas," *Civil War History*, 42, 3 (September 1996): 193-210; Thomas D. Mays, *The Saltville Massacre* (Ft. Worth, TX: Ryan Place, 1995); Bryce A. Suderow, "The Battle of the Crater: The Civil War's Worst Massacre," *Civil War History*, XLIII, 3 (September 1997): 219-24; Nulty, *Confederate Florida*, 210-13; and the incidents described in Trudeau, *Like Men of War*, 189-95, 245-49, 263-66, 271-74, 279.

<sup>89</sup> Everard H. Smith, "Chambersburg: Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," *American Historical Review*, 96, 22 (April 1991): 432-55. For more traditional interpretations of the Chambersburg raid as justified by Union Gen. David Hunter's actions in the Shenandoah, see David L. Phillips, *Tiger John: The Rebel Who Burned Chambersburg* (Leesburg, VA: Gauley Mount Press, 1993), and Ted Alexander et al., *Southern Revenge! Civil War History of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1989).

<sup>90</sup> A start here has been made by Grimsted, *American Mobbing*, 174-77, and the case studies by Winthrop D. Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1993 and rev. ed. 1995), and Richard B. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1994). For early work in this area, see Steven A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), Chapter VIII.

<sup>91</sup> Some foundations have been laid in the following recent studies: Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (Oxford, UK, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), esp. 54ff.; Stetson Kennedy, *After Appomattox: How the South Won the War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995); and the revisionist study by Gilles Vandal, *Rethinking Southern Violence: Homicides in Post-Civil War Louisiana, 1866-1884* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

<sup>92</sup> Robertson, *Soldiers*, 9.

<sup>93</sup> See Otto H. Olsen, "Historians and the Extent of Slave Ownership in the Southern United States," *Civil War History*, XVIII, 2 (June 1972): 101-16; the social diversity among Southern slaveholders is analyzed in James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Random House, 1982). Note that both publications predate Robertson's.

<sup>94</sup> Fred Arthur Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), esp. 3-6, 147-50. Over 1,600 veterans responded to the survey, including 115 Tennessee Unionists and over 260 non-Tennessee natives; the 1,250 Confederate veterans included 286 categorized as wealthy (95% of whom owned slaves, usually 20 or more), 385 slaveowning and 336 nonslaveowning yeoman farmers, and 243 nonslaveowning poor farmers or laborers. The obvious qualification to this data is the likelihood of wealthier individuals to live longer, yet the slaveowning percentage remains striking.

<sup>95</sup> Gustavus W. Dyer and John Trotwood Moore (compilers), *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, edited by Colleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley, 5 vols. (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1985). The volumes are arranged alphabetically by surname.

<sup>96</sup> James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991).

<sup>97</sup> See Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 82ff.; and Grace Palladino, *Another Civil War: Labor, Capital, and the State in Anthracite Regions of Pennsylvania, 1840-68* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

<sup>98</sup> See Andrea Mehrländer, "ist daß nicht reiner Sklavenhandel" Die illegale Rekrutierung deutscher Auswanderer für die Unionsarmee im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg," *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, 44, 1 (1999): 65-93.



<sup>99</sup> Adam Mayers, "stolen Soldiers," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XXXIV, 2 (May/June 1995): 56-59.

<sup>100</sup> See the examples cited in the documents reproduced in *Black Military Experience, passim*; for additional examples of Massachusetts's reliance on such sources, see Richard H. Abbott, "Massachusetts and the Recruitment of Southern Negroes, 1863-1865," reprinted in Martin H. Greenberg and Charles G. Waugh, eds., *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and the Civil War*, Vol. I: *The Demise of Slavery* (Nashville, TN: Cumberland, 2000), 67-78 (see note below).

<sup>101</sup> Frank Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925); Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), reprinted with a new Introduction by William Garrett Piston (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996). Recent reissues of similar studies from the 1930s and 1940s include: Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934; new intro. by David Williams, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Charles Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1937, new intro. by John David Smith, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943; new intro. by Paul D. Escott, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000); and Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944, ed. and with a new intro. by Wendell H. Stephenson by the same publisher, 1972, reprinted 1997).

<sup>102</sup> Most recently seen in Beringer et al, *Why the South Lost, passim*; Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Oxford, UK, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and William W. Freehling, *The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>103</sup> Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), just outside the timeframe studied in this essay but included for its importance.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998). The same author also wrote *Johnny Reb's War: Battlefield and Homefront* (Abilene, TX: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2000), a general study of Confederate disaffection.

<sup>105</sup> Malcolm C. McMillan, *The Disintegration of a Confederate State: Three Governors and Alabama's Wartime Home Front, 1861-1865* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986).

<sup>106</sup> Stanley Lebergott, "Why the South Lost: Commercial Purpose in the Confederacy, 1861-1865," *Journal of American History*, 70 (June 1983): 58-74, and Lee W. Formwalt, "Planters and Cotton Production as a Cause of Confederate Defeat: Evidence from Southwest Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXIV, 2 (Summer 1990): 269-76. The authors emphasize that not only did the quest for profits impede food production, but denied the South the potential military use of large numbers of slaves by keeping them on the plantations.

<sup>107</sup> Most recently, Mark A. Weitz, *A Higher Duty: Desertion Among Georgia Troops During the Civil War* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), who links desertion to geographic proximity of the soldiers' homes. Different Confederate desertion patterns have been described in such earlier works as Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (Gloucester, MA: American Historical Association, 1928, new intro. by William Blair, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), and Bessie Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). More work is needed in field, particularly for North Carolina (with the greatest number of recorded desertions), Tennessee and Virginia (two of the most populous and exposed states).

<sup>108</sup> E.g., Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), Peter F. Stevens, *Rebels in Blue: The Story of Keith and Malinda Blalock* (Dallas, TX: Taylor, 2000), and Michael K. Honey, "The War Within the Confederacy: White Unionists of North Carolina," *Prologue*, XVIII, 2 (Summer 1986): 75-93. A collection of conference papers relating to this topic has just been published, edited by John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

<sup>109</sup> See the discussion in the first essay of Carl N. Degler, *Place Over Time: The Continuity of Southern Distinctiveness* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 1-25.

<sup>110</sup> For the strongest statement of this view, see Gary Gallagher, *The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave Off Defeat* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997). See also Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Why the Confederacy Lost* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), which focuses on military factors, and Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism:*

*Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

<sup>111</sup> Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians 1861-1866* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), and *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

<sup>112</sup> In this regard James E. Sefton's *The United States Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), needs reexamination; for a valuable new collection of essays on one dimension of the problem see Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, eds., *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999).

<sup>113</sup> John C. Inscoe and Gordon McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and W. Todd Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

<sup>114</sup> Recent additions to "Mosbyana" include: Kevin H. Siepel, *Rebel: The Life and Times of John Singleton Mosby* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), the first modern treatment based on extensive primary research; Jeffry D. Wert, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), which focuses on the war; and James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), a more complete biography. In the Virginia Regimental Series noted earlier, Hugh C. Green and Horace Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Battalion, Mosby's Command* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1993), recounts the unit's actions and includes a detailed roster.

<sup>115</sup> Recent additions include: Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), a comprehensive treatment; Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), the best study of Quantrill's band, and Albert Castel and Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), a portrait of a Quantrill compatriot.

<sup>116</sup> These conflicts are chronicled in: Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson, eds., *The Civil War in Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Kentucky Press, 1997); Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); and Sean Michael O'Brien, *Mountain Partisans: Guerrilla Warfare in the Southern Appalachians, 1861-1865* (Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 1999).

<sup>117</sup> The best overview of the subject is Daniel E. Sutherland, ed., *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Home Front* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), and the same author's review of pertinent literature, "Sideshow No Longer: A Historiographical Review of the Guerrilla War," *Civil War History*, XLVI, 1 (March 2000): 5-23; the disruption of the North Carolina tidewater community of Washington County is described in Wayne K. Durrill, *War of Another Kind: A Southern Community in the Great Rebellion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) [see also the sources cited in footnote 1, above]; conditions in Texas are described in James Marten, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), David Pickering and Judy Falls, *Brush Men and Vigilantes: Civil War Dissent in Texas* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), Rodman L. Underwood, *Death on the Nueces: German Texans Treue der Union* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 2000), and McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze, op cit*.

<sup>118</sup> E.g., George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War As a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Drew Gilpin Faust's 1990 essay "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," in her compilation *Southern Stories: Slaveholders in Peace and War* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 113-40; and Amy E. Murrell, "Of Necessity and Public Benefit: Southern Families and Their Appeals for Protection," in Catherine Clinton, ed., *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>119</sup> Martin H. Greenberg and Charles G. Waugh, eds., intro. by Edna Greene Medford, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and the Civil War*, 2 vols. (Nashville, TN: Cumberland House, 2000).

<sup>120</sup> Some pertinent documentation is found in Berlin et al., *Black Military Experience*, 733ff. For a provocative article that examines the role of Union veterans (black and white) in postwar Chattanooga, see C. Stuart McGehee, "Military Origins of the New South: The Army of the Cumberland and Chattanooga's Freeman," *Civil War History*, XXXIV, 4 (December 1988): 323-42.

<sup>121</sup> E.g., Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in*

*Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 232 ff. for a study at the state level, and Richard Rollins, ed., *Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies*, Vol. XI of the *Journal of Confederate History Series* (Murfreesboro, TN: Southern Heritage Press, 1994) for a more general study. Very instructive is the already cited study by Hollandsworth, *Louisiana Native Guards*, which examines the first African-American unit organized in the Confederacy but whose only combat employment occurred as a Union regiment.

<sup>122</sup> The standard work thus far remains Robert F. Durden, *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972; in his preface to the paperback reissue in 2000, Durden summarizes the most recent literature to illustrate the lack of any consensus on this subject. See also the pointed comments in Freehling, *South vs the South*, 188-96.

<sup>123</sup> Here it is necessary to build on the research done for the antebellum period by John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels On the Plantation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), and the documentation published in Ira Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867 Selected from the Holdings of the National Archives, Series I, The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor, Vols. I-II (The Lower South and the Upper South)* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990 and 1993). Some excellent work has been done at the state level (e.g., Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 70-72, ); see also William Dusingbee, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 409, who notes that several hundred slaves fled the huge rice plantations along the South Carolina coast to U.S. Navy vessels as early as May-June 1862.

<sup>124</sup> Fragmentary data on mortality among military laborers and in contraband camps can be found in Berlin et al., *Wartime Genesis*, 150-52, 280-81, 347-48, 370-71, 597. Examples of executions of recaptured runaways are noted in Dusingbee, *Dark Days*, 303-04; Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 78-79 and 219-20; and Robert Tracy McKenzie, *One South or Many: Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era Tennessee* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127-28.

<sup>125</sup> See, e.g., Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 170-72, 177-79.

<sup>126</sup> See David Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out: Civil War Slave Resistance in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley," *Alabama Review*, 52, 2 (April 1999): 83-104.

<sup>127</sup> A start here has been made by Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), which now must be extended to the Deep South. Hadden notes examples of Confederate troops employed on wartime slave patrols (pp. 184-85).

<sup>128</sup> E.g., Mohr, *Threshold of Freedom*, *op cit*, and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, *op cit*.

<sup>129</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol XXVII, Pt. II, 305-25.

<sup>130</sup> On the general state of Confederate records, see Dallas Irvine's two articles, "The Fate of Confederate Archives," *American Historical Review*, XLIV, 4 (July 1939): 823-41, and "The Archive Office of the War Department: Repository of Captured Confederate Archives, 1865-1881," *Military Affairs*, X, 1 (Spring 1946): 93-111.

<sup>131</sup> See Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), and the recorded exchanges on 481-882 and 531-33. These in no way detract from the extraordinary value of Alexander's notes; cf. Alexander's *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, new intro. by Gary W. Gallagher (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993).

<sup>132</sup> Weighley, *Great Civil War*, 452.

<sup>133</sup> Quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 339.

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# *Union and Confederate Biography: Where Do We Stand?*

*John F. Marszalek and Craig L. Symonds*

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Nineteenth century American intellectual Ralph Waldo Emerson once claimed that "There is properly no history; only biography."<sup>1</sup> What he meant, presumably, is that history is largely the collection of a nearly infinite number of biographies. Just as Georges Seurat and the pointillist tried to assert that a painting is merely the pattern formed by a nearly-infinite number of dots of pure color, Emerson suggests that the tapestry of history is essentially a similarly infinite number of individual lives.

Such an assertion today would no doubt provoke an argument at any gathering of twenty first century professional historians, many of whom insist that forces — economic, cultural, or political — are the engines of history, and that individuals are merely their vehicles. Indeed, within the historical profession, biography is sometimes seen as a wayward step-child. Some historians decry the popularity of biography and even insist that it is not "real" history. Despite the skepticism of critics, however, a biographer is concerned with the issues that concern all historians: accuracy, honesty, clarity, fairness, and above all, answering the central question of all historical investigation: to determine what meaning there is in the past. In the case of a biographer, the search for the answer to that central question is focused on the life of a particular individual.

Civil War biography is a boom industry. According to the most popular on-line book store, there are some 163 books currently available on Ulysses S. Grant, 227 on Robert E. Lee, and no fewer than 869 on Abraham Lincoln.<sup>2</sup> Even the most obscure Civil War general now claims at least one biographer, with books appearing on colonels and captains, and even the occasional private who happened to leave behind a particularly useful trove of letters. Though this outpouring of volumes is no threat to the even larger outpouring of biographies concerning movie or television stars, it is thriving.

This is no new phenomenon. Ever since the end of the American Civil War in 1865, there has been a continuous outpouring of writing about those who participated in it. During the war, the participants themselves penned millions of letters to relatives and friends and kept diaries besides, virtually writing while they fought. The more famous of these individuals later published their memoirs or wrote essays that appeared in the major magazines and journals of the post-war years. The famous veterans organizations, The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and the United Confederate

Veterans (UCV), sponsored a variety of histories and biographies; other veterans organizations printed more of the same.<sup>3</sup> Early on, therefore, there existed an enormous amount of biographical literature on the American Civil War, and this phenomenon has continued to the present day. Both professional historians and amateur writers continue to produce a steady variety of books and essays.

Historians of American history have come to view Civil War military leaders as bigger than life, and frequently view the conflict through their eyes. They see them as the driving forces of the events in which they participated. Rather than conclude that historical *forces* drove these individuals to act as they did, many Civil War biographers assert that the commanding generals and politicians whose lives they study determined the outcome of battles and the impact of domestic conflict, and therefore determined the outcome of the war itself.

## *The Art of Biography*

Writing a good biography is no easy task. Meryle Secrest, a biographer of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, said, when paraphrasing the novelist Somerset Maugham: "There are three rules for writing biography, but, unfortunately, no one knows what they are."<sup>4</sup> Yet biographers know what they *want* to do. They have to explain what their subject did; why he or she did it, and then (and here is the rub), why he or she *really* did it. This is dangerous ground, of course, because the biographer must, of necessity, speculate. As novelist Carol Shields observed, "Biography is the least exact of sciences. So much of a man's life is lived inside his own head that it is impossible [for the biographer] to encompass a personality."<sup>5</sup>

Even a Civil War biographer who has a multitude of sources, a plethora of letters and private diaries, cannot be sure if such sources fully disclose the inner person. Even with such sources, so much is missing: the expression in the subject's voice (even what the voice sounds like), or the concerned (or carefree) look in the eyes. And there is always the possibility that the subject is lying to himself. No matter what an historical figure may write in private letters or a diary, might there not be some inner anxiety that he or she is unable or unwilling to admit? Are there unspoken anxieties being suppressed? On the one hand, if the biographer tries to

fill in the gaps, to speculate about motive, then that historian is in danger of entering what Carol Shields calls "the whorish field of biographical fiction."<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, if the biographer does not attempt to come to grips with what the subject of her study really felt and believed, the result is often a dry-as-dust chronicle of events which provides a few facts but little insight to either the subject or the age in which he or she lived.

What is a biographer to do? With apologies to Meryle Secrist, perhaps there are a few "rules" for biographers after all: First, of course, a biographer must do his best to produce a book that is objective, one that is based on extensive research in the best primary sources available; second, he must show how his subject's life fit into the society and culture of the time and place, to place his subject in context; third, he must make a serious attempt to delve into the individual's private self to demonstrate not only what he did, but who he was. And finally, he must make the final product accessible by producing a work that is well written and a pleasure to read. Even if all these "rules" are observed and obeyed, there is no guarantee of success, for a biography—even a successful biography—can offer only a single window on the individual under study or the age in which he or she lived. Like all historians, biographers must have the humility to acknowledge that they can only approximate the past, and that is the best we will ever be able to do.

Many 19<sup>th</sup> century Civil War biographers and biographies failed to achieve the standard suggested above. Though engagingly written, many early Civil War biographies were not always based on a wide variety of primary sources, and their insight into the individual and the period was often flawed by a lack of objectivity. Modern Civil War biographies, as a rule, fulfill the requirements of thorough research and perspective, and they at least aim at objectivity, though they sometimes fall short in the area of providing felicitous prose. As a whole, however, the state of Civil War biography in 2001 is as high as it has ever been.

### Union Biography

So many books have been written about Abraham Lincoln in the past decade, that a survey of Lincoln literature deserves an essay of its own, and can only be hinted at here. David Herbert Donald's *Lincoln* (1995) is the best biography of that important president, but Doris Kearns Goodwin is writing another, and Michael Burlingame is preparing a multi-volume study of his own. Likewise, recent books on U.S. Grant have been in the news. *Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph Over Adversity 1822-1865* (2000), the first volume of Brooks D. Simpson's projected two-volume work on Grant, praises the general's military career through the end of

the war, and Jean Edward Smith's *Grant* (2001) makes a case that he has been underrated in his role as president as well. Both books are more favorable toward Grant (and more nuanced) than William McFeely's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Grant, A Biography* (1981). In recent years, scholars have also written new biographies on George McClellan, John Pope, Winfield Scott, and Philip Sheridan. Less well-known figures such as Nathaniel Banks, Frank Blair, Don Carlos Buell, Ambrose Burnside, Winfield Scott Hancock, and John C. Fremont have also received important recent attention, while books on Joshua Chamberlain, one of the heroes of the *Gettysburg* motion picture, and George Armstrong Custer, of Last Stand fame, are a veritable cottage industry.<sup>7</sup>

Surprisingly, a number of major Civil War Union military leaders have not received biographical treatment in recent years: George H. Thomas, Joseph Hooker, Ben Butler, O. O. Howard, John A. Logan, George G. Meade, James B. McPherson, William S. Rosecrans, John M. Schofield, and Henry W. Halleck. In some cases such as McPherson, Halleck, Hooker, Meade, and Thomas, there are no modern biographies because of problems with sources, while in other cases such as Butler, Howard, Logan, Rosecrans, and Schofield, older biographies exist that no one has seen fit to replace.<sup>8</sup> However, Stephen Sears is researching Hooker, John Hubbell is interested in doing a book on McPherson, and John Marszalek is presently preparing a biography of Halleck.

Certainly the most controversial of the Union Generals was William T. Sherman, and an insight into the biographical work on him helps demonstrate the role of biography in understanding the Civil War and considering its shifting perception over the years. During the war itself, Confederates viewed Sherman as an unfeeling brute. When he marched through Georgia and the Carolinas, Confederates accused him of making war on defenseless women and children for no other reason than the cowardly one of brutalizing civilians and avoiding soldiers. Conversely, his own men and the Union hierarchy anointed him as one of the saviors of the Union, his soldiers particularly appreciative of his unwillingness, except at Kennesaw Mountain during the Atlanta campaign, to throw them carelessly into battle. There it was, right at the beginning: Sherman the military brute vs. Sherman the military hero.

In 1875, Sherman completed his memoirs, and a number of Union and Confederate contemporaries reacted with fury at some of his conclusions about them. A Washington reporter, Henry V. Boynton, wrote a harsh critique of the memoirs which he revealingly entitled *Sherman's Historical Raid, The Memoirs in Light of the Record* (1875). Sherman's brother-in-law, Charles W. Moulton, responded quickly with a book-long defense of his relative, but the damage had been done. Sherman



had enemies on both sides of the blue and gray line. But, he also continued to have many supporters, too, including the many northerners and southerners who every four years wanted him to run for president.

When Sherman died in 1891, a spate of favorable biographies of varying quality appeared about him, and Prussian general Helmuth von Moltke, to cite one of the many world leaders who praised him, said Sherman "stood brilliantly to the front as a strategist."<sup>9</sup> By this time, however, the Lost Cause image of the Civil War was already entrenched in the United States. Robert E. Lee was well on his way to becoming a national hero, with Sherman as the corresponding villain. In this view, the saintly Lee was the symbol of the South and its cause, while the allegedly brutish Sherman correspondingly symbolized the allegedly evil North.

It was not until 1929 and 1932 that two favorable books appeared which, until recently, dominated the field of Sherman biography. British military officer Basil H. Liddell Hart's *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* described Sherman as a leading military theorist, the greatest Civil War general, whose far-seeing insight of "indirect" warfare was tragically ignored during World War I with resulting unnecessary carnage. Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* favorably evaluated what he saw as Sherman's brilliant contribution to the Union war effort and his intriguing personality and allegedly prophetic vision besides.

Despite these very favorable views, to most Americans Sherman remained the brutish destroyer of Lost Cause fame, especially after the Margaret Mitchell book and the motion picture, *Gone With the Wind*, appeared in the late 1930s. The famous motion picture's scene of Atlanta in flames linked Sherman with fiery vandalism in a way no written page could easily dispute (even though it was the Confederate torching of the city on their withdrawal that was being portrayed on the screen).

James M. Merrill's *William Tecumseh Sherman* (1971) was the first full scale Sherman biography after Hart and Lewis, and it had the advantage of recently promulgated personal Sherman manuscripts. It painted a favorable picture of the general, but provided little insight into his personality and thus had little influence on the general's historical reputation. In 1973, John B. Walter's unrevised 1947 doctoral dissertation entitled *Merchant of Terror: General Sherman and Total War* only added to the totally negative view. Charles E. Vetter, in *Sherman, Merchant of Terror, Advocate of Peace* (1992), attempted to write a sociological response to Walters and the anti-Sherman view in general, but his failure to use primary sources and his unwillingness to delve deeply into Sherman's personality limited the book's effectiveness.

It was not until the 1990s that the debate took a decidedly more scholarly turn. Charles Royster, *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall*

*Jackson, and the Americans* (1991) argues that to understand Sherman one must understand that Civil War destruction was a phenomenon coming out of the American people as a whole, not simply the invention of any one person. The book by one of the authors of this essay, *Sherman, A Soldier's Passion for Order* (1993), does not gloss over Sherman's destructive warfare, but attempts to show the reasons behind it. John F. Marszalek argues that Sherman was no callous brute; he destroyed property to avoid having to kill southerners, who he considered friends because of his life among them in the pre-war years. His destruction was purposeful, to end the war as quickly as possible with the least loss of human life. Michael Fellman, in his *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William T. Sherman* (1995), sees a pathological strain in Sherman's psyche, the result of the suppressed anger and rage that allegedly constantly churned inside him and frequently exploded against everyone he came in contact with. According to Fellman, Sherman was, indeed, a psychological wreck.

Albert Castel, while not accepting Fellman's questionable psycho-history conclusions, has himself been more than highly critical of Sherman in a variety of books, essays, and reviews. In his *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (1992), for example, Castel argues that Sherman allowed the Confederates to fight longer than they should have been able to fight because he was not tactically conclusive. In other words, Sherman did not have a killer instinct to finish off the enemy army.

Most recently, Stanley P. Hirshon, in *The White Tecumseh: A Biography of General William T. Sherman* (1997), a book that promises more than it delivers, takes a very favorable view of the general. He castigates Fellman's condemnation, disagrees with Castel's criticism, and, while not agreeing with Marszalek's basic thesis, finds this author's evaluation of Sherman more compatible to his than any other.

Perhaps the extent of the disagreement over Sherman can best be seen in two dueling articles in the March 1994 issue of *Civil War History*. The essays' theses are clear in their titles: Albert Castel's "Prevaricating Through Georgia: Sherman's *Memoirs* As a Source on the Atlanta Campaign," and John Marszalek's "Sherman Called It the Way He Saw It." Castel labels Sherman a liar, while Marszalek sees him doing what any memoirist does: presenting his side of the story.

Despite the demise of the Lost Cause perspective among most professional historians, therefore, modern Sherman historiography continues to have a familiar Lost Cause ring to it. Critics of Sherman castigate him as an unappealing psychologically-flawed incompetent who did more harm than good in a variety of ways. Sympathetic historians draw a picture of an intriguing individual of deep ability, appealing charm, and wide influence. Critics see Sherman in an almost totally



negative light; supporters do not see him in a totally positive light, but they do believe that he played a crucial role in the war's outcome.

This continued disagreement derives in large part from the continuing debate about the meaning of the Civil War itself. Sherman critics believe his destructive war did little to end the conflict and only created sectional problems for later generations. Those on the other side see Sherman's destructive activities as helping to break the South's will and thus bring the war to a swifter conclusion. They find modern sectional criticism of him and his methods to be based on something other than fact. By today's perspective, as in yesterday's orthodoxy, Sherman is still viewed either as a brute or as a military hero.

### *Confederate Biography*

Such is not the case in Confederate biography — the villains of Confederate historiography are charged with incompetence rather than brutality. Americans seem to be fascinated with the losing side in the war. Partly this is a regional phenomenon; southerners like to read books about southern heroes, and for many there is a psychic fulfillment in reading about the "glory days" of the southern Confederacy's Lost Cause. But northerners, too, find the story of Confederate leaders intriguing. Perhaps there is something poignant about the struggle of an underdog fighting for a doomed cause. Whatever the reason, there have been as many or even more biographies of Confederate leaders published in the last decade as of Union figures.

In particular, the publication of new works on major Confederate military leaders is a going concern. Robert E. Lee, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, Nathan Bedford Forrest, George Pickett, and J.E.B. Stuart in particular have all attracted recent biographers. James I. Robertson's massive (950 page) volume of Jackson is particularly notable. Admiring in tone and comprehensive in its coverage, it is hard to imagine that a future biographer will find more information about Jackson, but it is equally certain that future biographers will continue to re-visit Jackson's life in search of new answers to the enigma that was Stonewall and the world he inhabited.<sup>10</sup>

Less heroic figures have also attracted recent attention. James Longstreet has drawn the interest of publishers and scholars in part, perhaps, because of the revival of interest in his role at Gettysburg, an issue prompted by the popularity of Michael Shaara's *The Killer Angels* and the movie *Gettysburg*, which is based on that novel. Nearly as controversial, Braxton Bragg, Richard S. Ewell, and Joseph E. Johnston have all attracted recent biographers.<sup>11</sup> And some long-overlooked Confederate leaders have also been profiled in recent works, including Patrick Cleburne, Jubal Early,

Robert Hoke, John Singleton Mosby, John C. Pemberton, and Earl Van Dorn.<sup>12</sup> But a number of existing works on important Confederate figures are now more than 30 years old and are therefore likely prospects for a reconsideration. These include P.G.T. Beauregard, Simon B. Buckner, Wade Hampton, D. H. Hill, Albert Sidney Johnston, Leonidas Polk, and Edmund Kirby Smith.

Just as a consideration of Union biography must begin with a consideration of the historical place of Abraham Lincoln, an assessment of Confederate biography must begin with a consideration of Jefferson Davis. Indeed, the historiography of the Confederate president is nearly as complex as the man himself. At war's end, in 1865, he was treated as a villain, even a war criminal, by his conquerors. He was the only political figure in the Confederacy who was held by the Union as a prisoner — held for over two years — before government lawyers determined that they had no case that would stand up in either a court of law or the court of public opinion, and released him. Northern animus might have been expected. But Davis was pilloried by the South, too. Unwilling to accept the notion that responsibility for defeat should fall on their brave soldiers, or their heroic generals, many southerners preferred to put the blame on Davis.

The initial spokesman for this point of view was Edward A. Pollard, wartime editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, who made Jefferson Davis, the scapegoat for southern defeat, and by implication, all the South's troubles during Reconstruction. Davis, Pollard insisted, meddled too much in the strategy of the war, involved himself in petty pedantic details, held interminable and unprofitable cabinet meetings, and conducted the war in a way that effectively betrayed the South's values. He portrayed Davis as "the weakest of men," "a man who cried easily" (a characteristic not admired in the manly culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century South), and worst of all, a failure as a military strategist. "Mr. Davis, as a military commander or adviser," Pollard wrote, "was weak, fanciful, to excess, and much too vain to keep his own counsels." In the end, he wrote, "the unfortunate vanity of President Davis completely betrayed him."<sup>13</sup>

The tide quickly began to turn for Davis's historical reputation after Reconstruction. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the South began to construct for itself a self-justifying, and indeed, self-defining mythology in which all its citizens had been brave heroes for a noble cause — a cause that, in this new construct, had nothing to do with slavery, but was instead a defense of constitutional rights. Within this new paradigm, Davis began to appear more often as a martyr for the lost cause than the author of its defeat. This transformation began while Davis was still imprisoned in Fortress Monroe. A book entitled *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, purportedly written by his physician, but actually the work of New York

journalist Charles G. Halpine, portrayed Davis as a martyr for his people, bearing the burden of the North's vindictiveness. Davis's widow Varina published a two-volume biography-cum-memoir in 1890 that built on this view.<sup>14</sup> And in 1928, when southern officials dedicated the gigantic monument at Stone Mountain, Davis had been entirely transformed from Confederate goat to Confederate hero. By now he embodied — even personified — the suffering of the South, and his martyrdom had come to represent the martyrdom of the South. By mid-century when the first serious biography of him appeared — a three-volume work by Hudson Strode published between 1955 and 1964 — he had become, as the subtitle of Strode's final volume proclaims, "The Tragic Hero."<sup>15</sup>

So what was he? Meddling author of defeat, or stalwart martyr of a noble cause? Recent scholars suggest that he was both, and neither. Ten years ago, William C. Davis, published a massive, 800-page, work on Jefferson Davis (who is no relation) that was the first serious, full-scale life of the Confederate President to appear in half a century. The Jefferson Davis of this work is neither hero nor villain, but rather a talented and dedicated man who occupied a job he had not sought, did not particularly want, and for which he was (in William Davis's words) "temperamentally disqualified." William Davis concludes that the assignment may well have been more than any man could handle effectively, but it was certainly more than Jefferson Davis could handle. And yet in spite of that, William Davis concludes that most of Jefferson Davis's major decisions were sound. The biographer thinks that the President should have been more assertive — and sooner — with difficult and recalcitrant generals like Joe Johnston; but he also thinks that the Confederate president was too assertive — and too often — elsewhere. Nevertheless, on the whole, William Davis concludes that it is hard to conceive how another man could have done better. His is a balanced book, judicious and thoughtful. The subject of the book is a complex amalgam of micro-managing meddler and tragic hero. If not quite a ringing endorsement, it offers at least qualified admiration.<sup>16</sup>

Given the comprehensiveness of William Davis's book, it is a little surprising that another 800-page tome appeared less than a decade later. William Cooper's new biography of Davis (published in 2000) is titled, interestingly, *Jefferson Davis, American*. Like William Davis's book, it is also a full-life treatment, with the pre-war material comprising almost exactly half the book. A key difference between these two biographies is that while William Davis adopts the role of an objective spectator, observing Davis and assessing him, Cooper is more inclined to get inside his subject's head in order to present Davis's own world view, and the result is that Cooper's Davis is a somewhat more sympathetic character. Cooper relies as much on what Davis said as

what he did, and he also has a somewhat greater tendency to take him at his word.

Both biographers tell us that among the values that Jefferson Davis admired most were loyalty and steadfastness. It may seem odd that a man whom history has labeled a "rebel" personally enshrined loyalty as a central virtue. But Davis, Cooper tells us, was loyal to his philosophy of government. When Lincoln's government abandoned that philosophy, Davis remained loyal to it and thus chose secession. He had a clear vision of what the Constitution meant, and he clung to that vision not only throughout the war, but throughout his life. He never wavered, never asked for a pardon, never recanted. If some might see such behavior as stubbornness, there is little doubt that Jefferson Davis himself saw it as the only true path of honor. If Davis was sometimes less than decisive as a commander-in-chief, Cooper notes that he "did not... establish war policy in a vacuum. He was a public figure acting on a public stage," and as such he had to take political as well as strategic factors into consideration. On the other hand, Cooper does admit that in choosing generals, "The president permitted his perception of commitment [to the cause] to influence his judgment about effectiveness."<sup>17</sup>

Cooper's new book is the most favorable of recent scholarly assessments of Jefferson Davis. But the turn-of-the-century view of Davis as the martyr of a victimized South is still alive and well within other segments of the Civil War community. Those who find much to disparage in an activist central government, see much to admire in Jefferson Davis's forthright advocacy of State Rights. Thus there is sometimes an ideological edge in works praising Davis for his consistent and unyielding battle against Federal "tyranny." One representative example of this view is Felicity Allen's new biography entitled *Jefferson Davis: Unconquerable Heart* (2000), published almost simultaneously with the Cooper book. In it, Margaret Mitchell's South still lives: the slaves are happy and loyal, and Davis's Brierfield plantation in particular is a paternalistic paradise. Davis himself is a Christian warrior whose faith in God sustained him through the ordeal of Civil War and defeat. What is surprising about this book is not its familiar "moonlight and magnolias" image of the South, or even Davis's heroic role as martyr, but that it was published by a university press rather than a trade press.<sup>18</sup>

In short, the contemporary view of Jefferson Davis's performance as Confederate president has come a long way from the scathing indictment of Edward Pollard. Scholarly biographers note that Davis worked hard, that he paid attention to detail (sometimes too much), that he was devoted to the cause, and that he never, never, never, gave up. That determination, or steadfastness if you prefer, is precisely the character trait most admired

by the champions of the Lost Cause.

Biographers have treated Robert E. Lee somewhat better. If postwar writers made Davis their scapegoat, they made Lee their savior. A "Lee cult" emerged in the 1870s, using the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, *Century* magazine, and *Confederate Veteran* to promote an image of Lee that was positively reverent in tone. As Thomas Connelly pointed out in a controversial work published in 1977, southerners used Lee "as a balm to soothe defeat."<sup>19</sup>

By the turn of the century (as Davis himself was being transformed from scapegoat to martyr), Lee's champions made him the symbol of all that was admirable about the Old South. He came to personify an era before the industrialization of modern society, when courteousness and honor were the dominant values — an era, that (as Margaret Mitchell would proclaim) was now (and by implication, sadly) "gone with the wind." It was thus Lee's person and character, more than his deeds in war, that mattered. His sterling character, by implication, reflected and somehow justified the southern war for independence. A 1906 biographer made it clear that his purpose in telling Lee's story was "to vindicate the cause of the South."<sup>20</sup>

The benchmark of any consideration of Lee's historiography, of course, is the four-volume hagiographic epic written by Douglas Southall Freeman in the 1930s. Fully consistent with the well-established tradition of Lee as hero, Freeman's Lee is a near saint: in his personal life, his political life, and his professional life. He was a man without a flaw. Though modern historians (in particular Emory Thomas) have been successful in humanizing Lee and making him more three-dimensional, there have been relatively few attempts to overturn Freeman's general conclusion. That is why those few who *have* attempted to do so have become lightning rods for Lee's many passionate defenders.<sup>21</sup>

The first to make the attempt was Thomas Connelly, who in an extended essay entitled *The Marble Man* (1977) tried to come to grips with the Lee cult. It is an unusual book: fully two thirds of it is a survey of Lee historiography, but then in a lengthy "Epilogue," Connelly delves into Lee's personality, suggesting that, far from being the calm stoic so commonly portrayed, Lee may have suffered from a number of internal conflicts and disappointments. According to Connelly, Lee was "an unfulfilled person" whose highest value was "self denial" and who suffered an almost constant "mood of depression." His aggressiveness in battle, Connelly suggests, may have been "symptoms of a repressed personality."<sup>22</sup>

Lee's defenders counterattacked at once. It was not so much Connelly's contention that Virginia's advocates had made Lee a cult figure — that was hard to disprove — it was the implication that Lee was a basket case of

suppressed psychological idiosyncracies that infuriated them.

Worse was to come. In 1991 (the same year that William Davis published his biography of Jefferson Davis), lawyer and Civil War scholar Alan Nolan, who had previously authored a prize-winning book on the Iron Brigade, published a book entitled *Lee Considered* (1991). In it, he directly and explicitly challenged Freeman's model patriot and soldier. In particular he made four assertions: (1) that despite Freeman's claims to the contrary, Lee was not an opponent of slavery; (2) that Lee foreswore his oath to the Union when he resigned his commission to fight against the country he had served for forty years; (3) that Lee's penchant for the offensive unnecessarily risked his soldiers, and finally (4) that Lee continued to fight long after it ought to have been clear that the Civil War was not winnable, and as a result was responsible for hundreds of thousands of unnecessary deaths.

For the first three of these claims, Nolan constructed a good case. But it was the last charge, that Lee was guilty of murder for refusing to suggest a negotiated peace sometime in the fall of 1863, that drew the fury of the many Civil War enthusiasts who are Lee admirers. Ironically, Nolan's criticism here is that Lee showed too much of the kind of steadfastness that Davis's biographers see as his greatest virtue. To Nolan, instead of a virtue, this unwillingness to quit was a flaw. Only in hindsight, Lee's supporters insisted, was it apparent that the South was going to lose the war after 1863, or even 1864. Besides, it is never a general's duty to call upon his government to quit when his strategic circumstances appear insurmountable. This goes against not merely the 19<sup>th</sup> century soldier's code of values, but against every soldier's sense of duty.

Lee's many fans found Nolan's Lee not only unconvincing, but offensive. And much the same reaction has characterized the popular response to Michael Fellman's book, published in 2000, which is entitled *The Making of Robert E. Lee*. In effect, Fellman picks up the challenge laid down by Thomas Connelly a quarter century ago to assess Lee as a personality rather than as a soldier. As he did in assessing Sherman, Fellman targets the inner man in his book on Lee. He does not talk much about Lee's accomplishments, but focuses instead on Lee's psyche. In particular, he finds hints in Lee's letters to his children that suggest, he says, a deeply troubled man who felt abandoned by his father and who clung to the values of his society (including the army) to battle his anxieties.

In short, then, for all the agreement about what Lee did, there is less certainty about who he was. Douglas Southall Freeman and Shelby Foote, two of the most popular and influential writers on Civil War history, insist that Lee was an uncomplicated man whose entire personality and value system is evident in his simple

Christian soul and his dedication to duty. Others, including Connelly, Nolan, and Fellman, describe Lee as "an unfathomable enigma" whose quiet demeanor has resisted "the picklocks of biographers."<sup>23</sup>

Robert E. Lee remains the Confederacy's most idolized figure, and a national hero as well. This is evident not only in recent admiring summaries of Lee's qualities as a leader from such scholars as Charles Roland, Gary Gallagher, and others,<sup>24</sup> but also, and significantly, in books that present Lee as a model for the modern businessman. Typical of this genre is a book entitled *Robert E. Lee on Leadership* (published last year) which is subtitled "Executive Lessons in Character, Courage and Vision." Another such book called *The Genius of Robert E. Lee* is scheduled for publication later this year. A pre-publication testimonial claims that the author "compares the many challenges Lee faced in his world with comparable incidents in the corporate world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century."<sup>25</sup> In 130 years, then, Lee has been transformed from southern saint, to tortured soul, to corporate executive.

And so, the debate continues. But critics and admirers of these Civil War leaders agree on one central issue. Whatever their particular strengths or weaknesses, whatever private demons drove them, Sherman, Davis, and Lee were all individuals whose actions influenced the Civil War. They were not individuals who were at the mercy of historical forces; they were actors who, for good or ill, decided the way history was going to develop. It was Sherman who marched to the sea and was either a vicious brute or a purposeful destroyer; Jefferson Davis was either steadfast or stubborn, but his decisions affected the direction and quite likely the duration of the war; Robert E. Lee was either a Christian saint or a bundle of psychological insecurities, but the decision to invade the North — twice — was largely his. Their biographers may disagree about their character and personality, but they agree that these men, and others, affected the course of history. Perhaps, this is what Ralph Waldo Emerson really meant when he said, many years ago: "There is properly no history; only biography."

## NOTES

1. *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (1980), p. 207:24.
2. These numbers come from a February, 2001 viewing of Amazon.com on the World Wide Web.
3. The Grant and the Sherman memoirs, available in numerous editions, are the most famous of these autobiographies. The *Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, edited by John Y. Simon, are the most complete publication of a Civil War general's correspondence. *Scribner's Magazine*, in the 1880s, published a large number of articles by the war's participants. These were later brought together and published as C.C. Buel and Robert U. Johnson, eds. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (1888). A large number of other magazines, such as *North American Review* and *Century*, also published such articles. *The National Tribune*, the newspaper of the Grand Army of the Republic, *Confederate Veteran*, the publication of the United Confederate Veterans, and *War Papers and Personal Reminiscences of The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* are examples of such publications.
4. Meryle Secrest's quotation appears in Steven Weinberg, "Biography: Telling the Untold Story," in Sylvia K. Burack, ed. *The Writer's Handbook* (1994), 308.
5. Carol Shields, making reference to remarks by Leon Edel, the biographer of Henry James, in *Small Ceremonies* (1976), 54.
6. *Ibid.*, 55.
7. Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (1989); Peter Cozzens and Robert I. Girardi, eds. *The Military Memoirs of General John Pope* (1998) and Peter Cozzens, *General Pope, A Life for the Nation* (2000); John S.D. Eisenhower, *Agent of*

*Destiny: the Life and Times of General Winfield Scott* (1999) and Timothy D. Johnson, *Winfield Scott: The Quest for Military Glory* (1998); Paul A. Hutton *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (1985) and Roy Morris, *Sheridan: The Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan* (1992); James G. Hollandsworth, *Pretense of Glory: The Life of General Nathaniel P. Banks* (1998); William E. Parrish, *Frank Blair: Lincoln's Conservative* (1998); Stephen D. Engles, *Don Carlos Buell: Most Promising of All* (1999); William Marvel, *Burnside* (1991); David M. Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life* (1998); Andrew Rolle, *John Charles Fremont: Character as Destiny* (1991). In 1999 alone, three books were published on Chamberlain: Edward G. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain, the Soldier and the Man*; Mark Perry, *Conceived in Liberty: Joshua Chamberlain, William Oates, and the American Civil War*; and John J. Pullen, *Joshua Chamberlain: A Hero's Life and Legacy*. The number of books published on Custer in 1998 to 2001 alone are an amazing twenty five.

8. Freeman Cleaves, *Rock of Chickamauga, The Life of George H. Thomas* (1948); Walter H. Herbert, *Fighting Joe Hooker* (1944); Hans Trefousse, *Ben Butler, the South Called him Beast!* (1957) and Richard S. West, *Lincoln's Scapegoat General, A Life of Benjamin F. Butler, 1818-1893* (1965); Allan Nevins, *Fremont, The West's Greatest Adventurer* (1928); John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch, Oliver Otis Howard* (1964) and William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (1968); James P. Jones, *Black Jack: John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era* (1967) and John A. Logan: *Stalwart Republican from Illinois* (1982); Freeman Cleaves, *Meade of Gettysburg* (1960); Elizabeth J. Whaley, *Forgotten Hero: General James B. McPherson, the Biography of a Civil War General* (1955); William M. Lamers, *The Edge of Glory: A Biography of General William S. Rosecrans, U.S.A.* (1961); James L. McDonough, *Schofield, Union General in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1972); Stephen E. Ambrose, *Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff* (1962).

9. Quoted in Marszalek, *Sherman, A Soldier's Passion for Order*, 495.

10. James I. Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, The Soldier, The Legend* (1997).

11. The creation of Braxton Bragg's two-volume biography is a story in itself. Grady McWhiney finished the first volume in 1969 and, apparently disgusted with his subject, gave up the project. Twenty years later, the task was taken up by Judith Halleck who wrote the second volume. The two volumes were re-printed together as *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* by the University of Alabama Press in 1991. See also Donald C. Pfanz, *Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life* (1998); Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (1992); and Steven H. Newton, *Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond* (1998).

12. Craig L. Symonds, *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War* (1997); Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of Jubal Early* (1992); Daniel Barefoot, *General Robert E. Hoke: Lee's Modest Warrior* (1996); James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of John Singleton Mosby* (1999); Michael Ballard, *Pemberton: A Biography* (1991); Arthur B. Carter, *The Tarnished Cavalier: Major General Earl Van Dorn, C.S.A.* (1999). Gary Gallagher is working on a new life of Jubal Early which is likely to become the definitive work.

13. Edward Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis* (1869). The quotations are from Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (1886, 1994), 581-2. Davis might have tried to defend himself from such charges in his own memoirs, but instead he devoted himself almost entirely to a tortured Constitutional defense of secession. See Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols. (1881).

14. Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America*, 2 vols. (1890).

15. Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis: Tragic Hero: The Last Twenty-Five Years, 1864-1889* (1964).

16. William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (1991). The subtitle of this book suggests its organization: Part One (The Man) covers Davis's pre-war years in about 300 pages; Part Two (The Hour) discusses the war years.

17. William J. Cooper, *Jefferson Davis, American* (2000), 360, 403.

18. An even more explicit example of ideology informing biography is a book by James R. and Walter D. Kennedy published in 1998 entitled *Was Jefferson Davis Right?* The authors' answer, unsurprisingly, is yes!

19. Thomas Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (1977), 38.

20. Henry Shepherd, *The Life of Robert Edward Lee* (1906).

21. Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (1934); Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee, A Biography* (1995). Thomas delves a bit into psychoanalysis, but not to the extent that Fellman does.

22. Connelly, 205.

23. Freeman, op. cit.; Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative* (1958-1974); T. Harry Williams, "Freeman: Historian of the Civil War, An Appraisal," *Journal of Southern History* (February 1955), 21:93; Bruce Catton, *This Hallowed Ground: The Story of the Union Side of the Civil War* (1956). The line about the "picklocks of biographers" is from the epic poem *John Brown's Body* by Stephen Vincent Benet.

24. See Charles Roland, *Reflections on Lee: An Historian's Assessment* (1995); Gary Gallagher, *Lee the Soldier* (1996); and John M. Taylor, *Duty Faithfully Performed: Robert E. Lee and his Critics* (1999). Interestingly, Roland begins his book with a line that others have used to describe Jefferson Davis: "Robert E. Lee is America's great tragic hero." (P. 1)

25. H. W. Crocker III and H. W. Crocker, *Robert E. Lee on Leadership* (2000); and Al Kaltman, *The Genius of Robert E. Lee* (2001).

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# Exploding the Myth: American Civil War Novels at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Ursula Baumann

In 1997, Grove Atlantic Press published Charles Frazier's *Cold Mountain*, a novel about a shell-shocked soldier on his way home from the battlefields. It immediately hit the bestseller lists and after a few months plans to make the book into a film under the direction of Anthony Minghella (*The English Patient*) were already well on their way. What surprised critics about this success was not simply that *Cold Mountain* was a first novel, written by a previously unknown teacher and short story writer. Equally remarkable was the fact that a Civil War novel attracted so many readers.<sup>1</sup> As few contemporary Civil War novels make the bestseller lists (and most of the time with good reason), many people are not aware that the Civil War is still present in fiction. In fact, one is still "tempted to count" the products of this industry "by the shelf foot."<sup>2</sup> On reflection, this is not so very surprising after all, given Americans' ongoing fascination with one of their history's "most pivotal events."<sup>3</sup> The popularity of non-fiction books on the Civil War, the number of reenactment groups and high attendance at battlefield sites are manifestations of this fascination. Moreover, the "mass production"<sup>4</sup> of Civil War fiction has a long tradition; since the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to today roughly 1,500 Civil War novels have been published.<sup>5</sup> The number remains vague because despite its impressive scope, this subgenre of the historical novel has not yet been sufficiently researched. Until recently, only a handful of studies were devoted exclusively to Civil War fiction.<sup>6</sup> Only since the early 1990s have these texts come into focus in literary studies, which is certainly a result of a more favorable attitude towards popular fiction among scholars. These more recent studies, however, all have their thematic emphasis on the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the critical chapter on 20<sup>th</sup> century Civil War fiction remains to be written.<sup>7</sup>

Impressive numbers alone do not justify a closer look at Civil War fiction, though. Rather, it is the war's power as a cultural symbol that makes a study of Civil War novels worthwhile. The most rewarding approach to this neglected field of historical and literary studies seems to ask what versions of the war are told in those novels, and thus, how they interpret the past — in short, how fiction takes part in the cultural discourse on this crucial event in American history. After a short outline of the tradition of the Civil War novel, this paper will explore how the Civil War is perceived in a selection of late 20th century texts.

## *Versions of the Civil War: the Story of the Civil War Novel*

Literary treatment of secession and Civil War dates back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, to a time before the actual war had even broken out. One of the earliest American Civil War novels is William Jenk's *Memoir of the Northern Kingdom*, published in 1808. In this text, a group of New Englanders secedes from the young American nation to establish the republic of Illinois. Other parahistorical narratives from before 1861 foretell the scenario of southern secession and fighting in Virginia with uncanny accuracy. Nathaniel Tucker's *The Partisan Leader* (1836), was so convincing that it was republished during the fighting in 1862. A slight fictional alteration in Tucker's text, however, is that here, it is the Confederacy that wins the war.<sup>8</sup>

Most novels written during the war very radically took sides for the respective sections and can justifiably be labeled as campaign literature intended to bolster the fighting morale of both soldiers and civilians. Northern as well as southern texts praised the virtues of their soldiers and everyone else participating in the war,<sup>9</sup> like Louisa May Alcott's lady nurses in her *Hospital Sketches*.

The novels by John William De Forest and John Esten Cooke typify northern and southern perspectives immediately after the war.<sup>10</sup> Novels by northern authors showed an eagerness for reconciliation between the two sides, portraying misled Confederates like Miss Ravenel being converted to the Union. Southern texts continued to defend the cause and the superiority of southern virtues, probably reflecting a psychological need to come to terms with the Confederate defeat. Eventually, southern fiction conceded that the rebellious states' restoration to the Union had been the proper outcome, not least due to economic considerations: after all, southern writers depended on both northern publishing houses and audiences. However, they remained sympathetic to the "rebels" motivation for fighting. This included a sentimental depiction of the antebellum South as an idealized society of gallantry and grace, as in the novels by Thomas Nelson Page. Here, slavery appears as a benign, paternal system that protected the allegedly inferior African American population.<sup>11</sup> This southern interpretation was successful on the national book market. In northern fiction from the 1860s, the institution of slavery was still condemned as barbarous and inhumane, even if very few novels had the life and



plight of African Americans as their main focus<sup>12</sup>. But by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the southern representation of the happy plantation family network had become the dominant interpretation in popular culture across the nation. This remarkable turn reflects the contemporary situation: in the politics of the time, the realization of national unity superseded issues of racial equality.<sup>13</sup> For the fictional interpretation of the war this meant that both sides appeared as moral victors. The protagonist in John Fox's novel *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* (1903) expresses this prevailing attitude when he claims: "...every man, on both sides, was right — who did his duty."<sup>14</sup>

The reinterpretation of slavery in fiction is one example of how the war has continually been redefined in the cultural memory. But the fictional versions of the conflict do not only shed light on contemporary political and cultural issues. They also reflect the meanings that have been attributed to the war. Texts from novelists like Thomas Nelson Page perceive the war as a tragic mistake that caused the decline of a superior society.<sup>15</sup> Forty years later, Margaret Mitchell also praised Southern virtues but did not look back on the lost cause. In her *Gone with the Wind*, the war might put an end to a more noble and refined world, but the novels' main focus is on how the protagonists survive the catastrophe and make the best of their situation. Even if the author herself was certainly a southern patriot, in her novel the war comes across as a chance for a new start, an opportunity for the South to show its "gumption."<sup>16</sup> The characters in William Faulkner's novels, on the other hand, are haunted by feelings of guilt and the humiliation of defeat. In Faulkner's texts, the war is perceived as a trauma that will forever cause the South to look back.<sup>17</sup>

The 1960s brought back issues to the Civil War novel that had been at stake during the war itself: Against the competing background of centennial celebrations and the civil rights movement, issues of racial equality and states' rights returned with new force to public discourse, and thus, to fiction. It is not surprising, then, that William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* has been characterized as "neo-abolitionist" in its focus on the horrors of slavery.<sup>18</sup>

#### *Civil War Fiction in the 1980s and 1990s*

Before looking at the cultural implications of late 20<sup>th</sup> century Civil War fiction one might ask: What does a Civil War novel at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century look like? As in former decades, a "prototype" Civil War novel, with "typical" theme and plotline does not exist. Civil War fiction has always taken diverse literary forms, ranging from battle stories and juvenile adventure fiction to sentimental romances. The only discernible link between Thomas Nelson Page's *Meh Lady* (1893), Ellen Glasgow's *The Battle-Ground* (1902), and William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), or between Tom Wicker's *Unto this Hour* (1984) and Leanne Grayson's

*Rebel Wind* (1993) is really that the plots of all these novels revolve around the historical event of the Civil War, even if only in the shape of a haunting memory. Also *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) has been classified as a Civil War novel by some scholars, because it outlines the weaknesses of antebellum southern society and thus implicitly shows the reasons for its decline.<sup>19</sup>

As far as story types are concerned, the landscape of Civil War fiction has proven to be rather stable. In their narrative forms, Civil War novels have remained quite a traditional genre; issues such as the fictionality of history that have characterized postmodernist discourse have left most of the texts untouched. Neither in its narrative structure nor in its style has this subdivision of the historical novel proven to be very experimental.<sup>20</sup>

Remarkably, only a small number of novels written by African American authors have been characterized as Civil War fiction. Again, this can be attributed to a lack of research as black Civil War fiction has long been neglected in literary studies.<sup>21</sup> But perhaps it is time to develop new criteria for "Civil War" novels. For obvious reasons, slavery and emancipation are central issues in novels by African American authors, while the war itself, with depictions of battles and the home front and replete with historical detail, remains more central to white cultural memory. The essential experience of the Civil War for African Americans is slavery, so a rethinking of definitions might indeed be called for. Young and Limon venture in this direction by classifying Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) as a Civil War novel.<sup>22</sup>

The texts I have chosen for closer scrutiny could be characterized as "domestic" Civil War fiction.<sup>23</sup> They depict the war in the field and at the home front and thus focus on how this crucial moment in American history changed both individual lives and American society. One of them is Charles Frazier's already mentioned novel *Cold Mountain* (1997).<sup>24</sup> Kaye Gibbons is another young southern writer. In her *On the Occasion of My Last Afternoon* (1998)<sup>25</sup>, the protagonist, who has lived through the war, tells about her life in retrospect. The same structure applies to Allan Gurganus' *Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All* (1989)<sup>26</sup>, although its main character remembers the war in quite a different way. Rita Mae Brown, known as a feminist writer from the South, presents us with a cross-dressing woman soldier in *High Hearts* (1986).<sup>27</sup> Finally, the paper will consider John Jakes's Civil War trilogy (*North and South*, 1982, *Love and War*, 1984, *Heaven and Hell*, 1988)<sup>28</sup> which was widely popular in its TV-series version.

#### *The Cultural Discourse on the Civil War and Fictional Trends at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

The Civil War has been continually redefined and reinterpreted in the course of its fictionalization. In their different versions of the war, the novels also represent

how this historical conflict has been reconstructed on other levels of popular culture and within the historical academe. Here are some thoughts on how novels of the past 20 years reflect the issues that seem to have been central to contemporary cultural discourse on the Civil War.

In general, most of the novels focus on common soldiers rather than on military leaders. This has long been a tradition in Civil War fiction, if one thinks of Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) or Shelby Foote's *Shiloh* (1952). However, the frequency with which this perspective is used and the detail in which soldiers' lives are depicted down to what they ate and what kind of diseases they contracted<sup>29</sup> certainly reflects the more recent social and cultural studies approaches within Civil War historiography.<sup>30</sup>

We also hear a lot about the political motivations of military operations. Deep distrust of politicians pervades many contemporary Civil War novels, which might be due to a general disillusionment with government in the wake of Watergate and other affairs. While the aura of most of the famous generals remains intact, politicians usually appear to be one corrupt, dishonest and unscrupulous lot — with maybe the exception of Lincoln. Rarely do political measures seem to consider the welfare of the country or strategy of the war; most of the time they instead serve the personal interests of the people in power. It is not the hesitant and moderate members of the military who are perceived to be responsible for the outbreak of actual war, but rather radical politicians: The protagonist's father in *On the Occasion of my Last Afternoon*, already in the 1850s is said to have "grandiose intentions of going to Richmond and converting peace-lovers and compromisers to 'throw off the shackles of invidious Federals by organizing a militia of power and purpose not seen since the day of Julius Caesar.'" (130)

*Novels of the 1980s and 1990s: Negotiating the Myth*

Although the great text of the Civil War in American cultural memory is continually being modified, certain images remain. Literary conventions like the theme of "the divided kinsmen," or the stock figure of "the evil plantation overseer" (who ironically is often a northerner<sup>31</sup>), keep recurring in Civil War fiction. A look at how some of these stereotypes have been dealt with, how they have been negotiated in texts from the past 20 years, reveals some interesting insights.

The first literary convention to be looked at in more detail is that of the "southern lady." With the exception, perhaps, of battle narratives, there is scarcely a novel that has not incorporated her into its plot in some way. In the fictional tradition of the war and the antebellum South, she has been the head of a big plantation, soft and gentle but at the same time strong and efficient in the face of hardship, and always true to the cause. Melanie of *Gone with the Wind* is a perfect example.

In novels from the past twenty years, this convention of the southern belle has partly been affirmed, and partly challenged.

Jakes', Gibbons', and, to some extent, Brown's novels incorporate a lot of conventional traits of the southern lady. Madeline, Orry Main's sweetheart in *North and South*, is beautiful and refined, a perfect hostess, and of impeccable character. (After all, although she is in love with Orry she refuses to betray her tyrannical husband — because she believes in the institution of marriage.) Similar to Scarlett O'Hara's mother, she becomes the angel of the plantation, caring for the sorrows and illnesses of the slaves. The protagonist's mother in Kaye Gibbons' novel is also characterized as "quality," as a graceful and elegant lady. Although she is eventually psychologically crushed by her insensitive husband, she shows strength and angelic endurance by never losing her temper and by protecting her children from their father's cruelty. As products of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, these female characters clearly reflect the spirit of the women's rights movement. They are everything but defenders of the southern cause. In contrast to their stubborn husbands, they have serious moral reservations about slavery even before the war breaks out. During and after the war, they support their servants' desire to be free, for example by teaching them to read and write. (Note that in this way, the hierarchical relationship between white and black does not change!) As far as their assessment of contemporary politics and the proceedings of the war are concerned, the women are not only well informed, but usually wiser and more realistic than most male protagonists: the ladies never really believe that the South stands a chance.<sup>32</sup>

The texts by Charles Frazier and Rita Mae Brown offer two refreshingly alternative roles for the southern lady. Ada Monroe from Charleston, the heroine of *Cold Mountain*, is portrayed as utterly helpless and completely unable to sustain herself on her mountain farm after her father has died and the (white) servants have left her. "She wondered how a human being could be raised more impractically for the demands of an exposed life." (27) Salvation comes in the shape of an uneducated but immensely efficient country girl. The implication is that being brought up as a lady precludes one from knowing about the practical side of life — which incidentally caters to another stereotype, that of the decadent low country. Brown's main protagonist, Geneva, has left the path of ladyhood entirely by actively taking part in the war as a cross-dressed soldier. She originally joins up just to be near her husband but soon shows more soldierly qualities than many men. When she is found out by her commander he does not send her back: "Best soldier I've got. I'm not sure I could do without her." (386)

Gurganus' *Confederate Widow* is the one novel that challenges the convention of the southern lady in the fullest sense. Their refinement and social standing seem

to have made the two leading ladies of Falls, North Carolina, lose their grasp on real life. Winona Smythe, whose 12-year-old son has volunteered to join the Confederate army, anxiously inquires if he will be able to take his canary into the field, "for company." (4) Her peer Lady Marsden, we learn, "had been encouraged to act batty-brained. She played piano like a pro, lived in a church-sized cupola-bedroom lined with white silk damask. Poor woman thought the North was nothing but icebergs." (5) Neither of them understands the war, and they are utterly surprised when their slaves turn against them. When Union soldiers approach the house in order to set fire to it, Lady Marsden's greatest concern is her hairdo. (257) By offering this hilarious, and at the same time bitter, caricature of the southern lady, Gurganus' novel exposes the literary convention itself; the text obviously embraces the tradition and at the same time subverts it.

Another convention in the Civil War tradition that I would like to consider here is the "loyal slave," or, to be more precise, the chief female house servant a la "Mammy." This motherly, protective, and above all loyal figure has particularly been part of idealizing representations of the antebellum South — a device meant to "prove" that slavery couldn't have been so bad after all. In novels of the postmodern era, she is still there. It is quite astonishing how little the stereotype is challenged, in spite of obvious attempts to condemn slavery and to do justice to African American protagonists. In the novels by Gibbons and Brown the house servants appear not at all intellectually or otherwise inferior to their masters and mistresses, and accordingly, they don't behave devotedly. Similar to the ladies of the plantations, they have distinct opinions on politics and the war. Gibbons' Clarice and Brown's Sin-Sin are accepted as equal members of the (white) families. Clarice from *On the Occasion of my Last Afternoon* is said to be "the only woman [Father] would allow [...] to tell him how to manage an affair." (10) Brown's Sin-Sin and her mistress are "friends of the heart." (296) In both novels, the two black women control the plantation households, which would fall apart without them. But this is exactly where things start getting problematic. The house slaves' strong position within the white families is not an expression of their independence or of their individual personalities. On the contrary, this representation rather reminds of the stereotypical "Mammy"-type of earlier Civil War fiction: The women do not seem to desire to have their own families, nor do they have plans or dreams of their own. They seem to be happy with their role as the protective black mother of all. Gibbons' main protagonist Emma says of her servant: "She taught me, as she did everyone else, to live [...] With her, I had become a woman." (240) Of course, Clarice and Sin-Sin resent the system of slavery and are happy about the outcome of the war. But: "Her

[Clarice's] mission was not to change history but to help both white and black prevail over the circumstances of living in that place, the South, in our time." (232) So much sympathy and forgiveness towards their former masters on the part of the slaves is difficult to believe. The representations of the house slaves as equal or even superior members of the white family affirms the notion of slavery as a big family network and is thus not so very far away from the apologetic rhetoric of the myth of the old South.

Gurganus' novel, again, saves the writers' guild. Lady Marsden's personal servant, Castalia, also acts protectively and shows a sense of responsibility for her helpless mistress when she coaxes the confused woman out of her burning house. But here, the matter is more complex: torn between hate and mercy, the slave saves her owner's life not out of loyalty but in spite of hating her, inspired by a feeling of "terrible and unexpected pity." (272) She leaves the ruined plantation as soon as she is free and starts running her own life, with a home, a family, and plans for various projects.<sup>33</sup> She will later work for her former mistress' son and will develop a motherly attitude towards his wife Lucy, the protagonist in the novel. But however close the ties to the white family are, they do not conceal the fact that she is forever traumatized by the experience of slavery. She accuses her former mistress: "You know what might be you [sic] worst deed yet? Ain't the gravy boat you lashed me for. Ain't even what you-all done to Momma. Maybe you biggest crime is: how you took me out the story of myself! You stole Castalia's true life-tale" (604). Her characterization and her position within the narrative make it clear that she is determined no longer to allow herself to be defined by anyone else, let alone a white person.

In summary, one can say that while all of the texts examined above seem eager to explode cultural myths about the Civil War, they only partly succeed. Although they clearly reflect a postmodern awareness of issues such as gender, race, and violence, being a part of late 20<sup>th</sup> century cultural discourse, they still partly affirm stereotypical notions especially on African Americans, even if on a quite subtle level. Thus, if any conclusion can be drawn from such a small sample of texts, it is: Civil War fiction at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century shows that the interpretation of this conflict in cultural memory is still problematic — maybe the war keeps being redefined for the very reason that some issues central to American life have not yet been satisfactorily solved. This much is certain: In fictions from the 1980s and 1990s, as in all Civil War literature before then, the conflict that has also been called America's "great national family drama"<sup>34</sup> remains a potent cultural symbol in the definition of American history.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> John C. Inscoe, "Appalachian Odysseus. Love, War and Bestsellerdom in the Blue Ridge," *Appalachian Journal* 25:3 (1998): 330; Jeff Giles, "Gold Mountain," *Newsweek.com* 28 July 1997 <[http://newsweek.com/nw-srv/issue/04\\_97b/printed/us/bk0104.html](http://newsweek.com/nw-srv/issue/04_97b/printed/us/bk0104.html)>; Paul Brownfield, "A Surprise Literary Hit — Even to the Author," *L.A. Times* 27 July 1997: E1.

<sup>2</sup> Robert A. Lively, *Fiction Fights the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957) 21.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (New York & London: Collier-MacMillan, 1962) 18.

<sup>4</sup> Lively, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Accounts of the number of Civil War novels published vary considerably. Albert J. Menendez, *Civil War Novels. An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1986) includes about 1,000 books in his bibliography; Wolfgang Hochbruck, "Beyond Crane and Mitchell: The American Civil War in Fiction," *Krieg und Literatur* 2 (1996): 5-9, considers this number too low for 1986, besides making an estimate of 10-20 novels having been published each year since, thus arriving at about 1,500 in 1996. Then again, already in 1962 Richard Harwell, "Gone with Miss Ravenel's Courage, or, Bugles Blow So Red: a Note on the Civil War Novel," *New England Quarterly* 35 (1962): 253-62, estimated the number of Civil War novels to be "somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000," but without accounting for his sources.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Daniel Aaron, *The Unwritten War. American Writers and the Civil War* (London: Oxford UP, 1973); Lively; Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore. Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford UP, 1966). Apart from these monographs, there used to be just a small number of articles and dissertations on Civil War fiction until the 1990s. More recent studies include Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture. A Reusable Past* (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War. Popular Literature of the North and South 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: U of NC Press, 2001); Wolfgang Hochbruck, "Die Reproduktion des amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs zwischen Veteranen-Erinnerung und Kulturindustrie," Unpublished study, 2001; David Madden & Peggy Bach (eds.), *Classics of Civil War Fiction* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991); Elizabeth Young, *Disarming the Nation. Women's Writing and the American Civil War* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Exceptions are Hochbruck (1996); Ruth Nestvold, "The Civil War in Popular Fiction: Gone With the Wind and After," *Krieg und Literatur* 2 (1996): 47-60.

<sup>8</sup> Harwell 254.

<sup>9</sup> Lively 46-47.

<sup>10</sup> e.g. John Esten Cooke, *Surry of Eagle's Nest: Or, The Memoir of a Staff-Officer serving in Virginia* (New York: Bunce & Huntington, 1866); John William De Forest, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (New York: Harper, 1867).

<sup>11</sup> Lively, 60.

<sup>12</sup> e.g. Epes Sargent, *Peculiar: A Tale of the Great Transition* (New York: Carleton, 1864); John Townsend Trowbridge, *Cudjo's Cave* (Boston: J.E. Tilton & Co., 1865).

<sup>13</sup> Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie. The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State UP, 1986) 1; Lively, 48.

<sup>14</sup> John Fox Jr., *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1903) 400.

<sup>15</sup> e.g. Thomas Nelson Page, *Two Little Confederates* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1888); —, *Meh Lady: A Story of the War* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1893).

<sup>16</sup> Mitchell writes about her book: "If the novel has a theme, the theme is that of survival. What makes some people able to come through catastrophes and others, apparently just as able, strong, and brave, go under? [...] What was it that made some of our Southern people able to come through a War, a Reconstruction, and a complete wrecking of the social and economic system? I

don't know. I only know that the survivors used to call that quality 'gumption'. So I wrote about the people who had gumption and the people who didn't," Margaret Mitchell, "Margaret Mitchell," *Gone with the Wind as Book and Film*, Ed. Richard Harwell (Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1983): 38.

<sup>17</sup> c.f. e.g. the protagonist's famous last sentences in William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom* 1936 (New York: Vintage, 1986) 303: Decades after the Civil War the young Southerner Quentin Compson, crushed by his heritage, is asked why he hates the South and passionately claims: "I dont. I dont! I dont hate it! I dont hate it!"

<sup>18</sup> Kirby, 112-132.

<sup>19</sup> Madden & Bach, 10-11.

<sup>20</sup> Exceptions are e.g. Ishmael Reed, *Flight to Canada* (New York: Scribner, 1976); and recently Chris Adrian, *Gob's Grief* (New York: Broadway Books, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Two of the few studies that include African American Civil War fiction are Richard A. Long, ed. and introduction, *Black Writers and the American Civil War* (Secaucus, NJ: The Blue and Grey Press, 1988); Young.

<sup>22</sup> John Limon, *Writing After War. American War Fiction from Realism to Postmodernism* (New York et al.: Oxford UP, 1994) 197-199 and Young 294 argue that *Beloved* is implicitly about the Civil War for the very reason that the war does not feature in the novel: The text denies the event, "minimizes" it (Limon 199) while it is set in the crucial historical time period and focuses on slavery.

<sup>23</sup> The term is borrowed from Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Inadvertent Epic: From Uncle Tom's Cabin to Roots* (New York: Touchstone, 1979) 17. It implies a tradition of "female," "pro-family" values in popular fiction whose power in the construction of a myth of American history has long been underestimated. However, its use in this paper does not follow Fiedler's claims of this kind of fiction being based on an obsession with sex and race.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Frazier, *Cold Mountain* (London: Sceptre) 1997.

<sup>25</sup> Kaye Gibbons, *On the Occasion of my Last Afternoon* (New York: Avon, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Allan Gurganus, *Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All* (New York: Ballantine, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> Rita Mae Brown, *High Hearts* (New York et al.: Bantam, 1986).

<sup>28</sup> John Jakes, *North and South* (New York et al.: Harcourt, 1982); —, *Love and War* (New York et al.: Harcourt, 1984); —, *Heaven and Hell* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1987).

<sup>29</sup> e.g. Frazier 4; Gibbons 174, 247-48.

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Joseph. T. Glatthaar, "The 'New' Civil War History: An Overview," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115:3 (1991): 339-369; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom. The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford UP, 1988); Peter J. Parish, "The Will to Fight and the Will to Write: Some Recent Books on the American Civil War," *Journal of American Studies* 32:2 (1998): 295-305; Richard Slotkin, "What Shall Men Remember? Recent Work on the Civil War," *American Literary History* 3 (1991): 120-135.

<sup>31</sup> The best-known villainous slave drivers from New England appear in Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1852 (New York: Bantam, 1981); Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (London: Macmillan, 1936); and Jakes.

<sup>32</sup> e.g. Jakes 124; Brown 4.

<sup>33</sup> e.g. 244: "Fire gone get here round three o'clock if we to believe what we been told from upriver. And I, for one, do. I ready to try and trust all kinds of things. This house gone be cooked medium to well done by teatime. After that, please call me: Young Miss New York City-bound!"

<sup>34</sup> Ken Burns as quoted in Scott Williams, "Burns gives PBS its Finest Hour in an Epic Series on the Civil War," *The Buffalo News*, September 23 (1990): 3.



# *American Civil War Flags: documents, controversy, and challenges*

## *Harold F. Mailand*

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Physical remnants of the American Civil War in the form of flags continue to provide a rich source of documents, challenges, and controversy to the present day. The very sight of these symbolic objects have inspired poems, tears, patriotism, curiosity, and even outrage over the years. States legislatures have been charged to collect and preserve them. Books have been written that document the activities of regiments that carried the flags into battle. Hand written notes in ink on flags, and obvious cut-away mementos show the extent of devotion these relics have received. Even today the very sight of a flag bearing the St. Andrew's Cross, a.k.a the Southern Cross, or the Confederate battle flag can still polarize the American public. Flying the Confederate flag on a southern statehouse has created an issue during the 2000 presidential campaign. Citizens in other states which have aspects of this symbol in their own state flags are reexamining their history and culture. The Constitutional Amendment issue of burning contemporary flags seems ironic when so many Civil War Flags face a slow death due to a lack of funds for preservation.

In the 19th c. Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton published a stirring poem on the occasion when flags were accepted by the Indiana Legislature. Her charge is still moving and appropriate today:

"Keep them, Keep them, Indiana; Lay them on  
thy proudest shrine; For the dim, the distant future, No  
holier gift is thine.

Thy fair, thy peerless daughters, Wrought those  
stars of gleaming gold, An thy noble sons fought bravely  
Beneath their shadowy fold.

Wreath the cypress with the laurel, Bind each  
worn and faded shred. They are proud, but sad mementos  
Of thy gallant, gallant dead!"

The difference in manufacturing techniques (hand vs. machine), iconographic symbols (standardized vs. personal/ethnic/regional) tell much about a country divided by society, technology, and ideology. Efforts to preserve them over the past 140 years are also interesting, controversial, and challenging. Like writing and rewriting the history of the Civil War, treatments and retreatments of flags provide a source for discovery and discourse. This paper will bring together these points

by looking at flags from several state and local collections. These flags provide fascinating story lines which have come to light in part due to recent events, research, and treatments.

### *National Flags*

On March the 4th, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was to be inaugurated president of the United States. That same morning the provisional government of the Confederate States of America convened in Montgomery, Alabama. A month earlier Mr. William Porcher Miles, of South Carolina, had been appointed Chairman of the Committee on Flag and Seal of the Confederacy. The committee had been charged with the task of selecting a national flag which would express the sovereignty of the Southern States.

As secession moved through the South in the Winter of 1860-1861, many citizens in the South and sympathizers in the north sent ideas for a new flag. Most designs were derivative of the Union flag or too busy to be distinguishable or reproducible. The committee could not come up with a final decision. So that morning, four large cambric models were presented before the full Congress for a final vote. One of the designs was offered by Chairman Miles himself. His flag design consisted of a red ground with a blue St. Andrew's cross which supported white stars representing the slaveholding States. The difficulty of arranging the uneven numbers of stars symmetrically and the resemblance of the cross to "a pair of suspenders" or "braces" may have prejudiced the Congress. The flag which received the blessing of the Congress was "to consist of a red field, with a white space extending horizontally through the center. The union was to be blue with a circle of white stars, corresponding in number with the States in the Confederacy."

Arrangements had been previously made to have a flag-raising ceremony to be held that very afternoon. In a letter of 1872, Chairman Miles states that, "Thanks to fair and nimble fingers a flag made of merino was completed within two hours of its adoption." This flag was raised over the capitol at Montgomery by Miss L.C. Tyler, granddaughter of former President, John Tyler. The Congress later voted ninety dollars to Alexander B. Clitherall to pay for the making of the first official Confederate flag.

This flag design known as the "Stars and Bars" and

also the "First National Flag," would see official use until its replacement in 1863. A controversy would grow for nearly a half a century over who designed the first flag of the Confederacy. Two men, Nicola Marschall, a Prussian artist who lived in Montgomery, Alabama and Orren Randolph Smith of North Carolina both claimed to have submitted the winning design. A letter discovered later in the 20th c. and dated March 2, 1861 gives credence to Mr. Marschall's claim.

Despite the initial sentimental attachment to the old flag of the United States dissatisfaction grew with the First National Flag. Citizens of the Confederacy began to see "the old gridiron" as a symbol of oppression and imperialistic aggression. The similarity between the "Stars and Bars" and "Stars and Stripes" could not be overlooked. Two years of debates culminated on May 1, 1863 when the Confederate Congress mandated that the saltier, or Saint Andrew's Cross, which had been adopted by the army in 1861 as a battle flag, should be used as the canton or union, but surrounded by a white ground. The Second National Flag, also known as the "stainless banner," again proved to be an unfortunate choice. When the flag was unfurled in calm weather it could be mistaken for a flag of truce. To diminish the appearance of a flag of surrender Congress adopted the Third National Flag on March 4, 1865. The "stainless banner" was changed by adding a red vertical bar to its fly edge. By this time few cared about a new national flag and few of these flags were made before General Robert E. Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865.

Prior to Secession, the national flag of the United States of America contained 33 stars on a blue field with thirteen red and white alternating stripes. On July 4, 1861 Kansas received recognition as the 34th star in the Union's Stars and Stripes. By then there was an increase in regional hatred which produced sentiment for removing one star for each state that had seceded. Union extremists made unauthorized flags with only 23 stars. Others wanted to reduce the number of stars and stripes to conform to their notions of state loyalties, while others wanted to show the division in a combined flag. President Lincoln received all of these proposals with a firm "no," and wanted no tinkering with the Stars and Stripes. According to his view the seceding states still belonged in the Union and the national flag should and would remain unchanged. However, several things did change over the next four years. Personal expression, expediency in manufacturing and expanding Statehood would be seen in the Union flag.

In 1861 the Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, called for each infantry unit to carry two silk flags: a national flag and a regimental flag, measuring six feet square. At this time there was no set pattern for the placement of the stars in the blue field and flag makers chose the pattern that most suited their needs. The differences in size, proportions, and star patterns are keys to dating and attribution and is a long study in

itself. Regulations called for the national flag to have embroidered stars in the field and name and number of the regiment on the center stripe. The difficulty to find suitable embroiderers led the quartermasters to substitute silver and gold paint for the stars and inscriptions. Because both the silver thread and paint tended to tarnish to an unsightly black it was substituted for white embroidery thread or gold paint. White cotton muslin would also be used for the stars. On July 4th, 1863 West Virginia was admitted to the Union and the 35th star was authorized. Nevada was admitted in 1864 but no star was authorized until after the war was over. The technologically advanced Northern States took full advantage of the sewing machine developed prior to the Civil War. Sewing machines were used by the Quartermaster Depot in Philadelphia as early as 1851. Many flags in the North were the result of a combination of hand and machine sewing techniques, while the South relied on the tradition of hand sewing.

With bad weather, dust, smoke from weapons, and the early similarity of uniforms, the national flags were important to distinguish friend from foe. Likewise, the individual unit flags served important tactical functions. The first years of the war were fought according to the rigid discipline of linear deployment, which demanded precise alignment of men. Hence, the flag was often the soldiers' only reference as to where they should be.

#### *State, Regimental, and Ethnic Flags*

Between the American Revolution and the secession movement most States retired any major use of official State flags and displayed only the Union flag. As secession swept through the South, various state and local banners were created to symbolize the "independence" movement. By the end of 1861 each State of the Confederacy had enacted legislation to adopt an official State Flag. Two exceptions to this were the States of Arkansas and Missouri.

During the first great land battle at Manassas (Bull Run) fought on July 21, 1861, commanders were unable at times to distinguish their troops from those of the enemy. At this time there were no distinct and standardized uniforms and the "Stars and Bars" of the Confederacy appeared similar to the "Stars and Stripes" of the Union, particularly when hanging limp on a staff. To remedy this confusion General Joseph E. Johnston ordered the troops to fly their State flags, but only Virginia was able to accomplish this. General P.G.T. Beauregard wanted to remedy the flag problem for future engagements and contacted Chairman Miles to have the Confederate flag changed. Miles suggested that the Army adopt a distinctive "battle flag" of its own, and resubmitted his own design that was rejected in March by Congress. The Generals Beauregard and Johnston liked the new design. In his *Narrative of Military Operations*, Johnston claims he modified it by making the shape square instead of oblong.

The silk for the new battle flags was dress material donated by the ladies of Virginia. In the diary of Constance Cary Harrison of Richmond, she notes that in the autumn of 1861 she and her two cousins were entrusted with the making of the first three battle flags of the Confederacy. "They were jaunty squares of scarlet crossed with dark blue edged with white, the cross bearing stars to indicate the number of the seceded States. We set our best stitches upon them, edged them with golden fringes, and, when they were finished, dispatched one to Johnston, another to Beauregard, and the third to Earl Van Dorn, then commanding infantry at Manassas. The banners were received with all possible enthusiasm; we were toasted, feted, and cheered abundantly. After two years, when Van Dorn had been killed in Tennessee, mine came back to me, tattered and storm-stained from long and honorable service in the field."

This flag design, with its blue saltier (or cross) on a red field, won immediate acclaim throughout the South. By 1862, the heavy campaigning of the army was hard on the silk flags, requiring a new issue to be made. These replacement battle flags were made of high quality English wool bunting. Subsequent issues of battle flags would be made of wool bunting along with changes in the number of stars and the color in the borders.

Battle flags in the South record the complexity of military organization, regional identification and civilian involvement. In 1862 General William J. Hardee organized the Army of Tennessee and adapted a design created by General Buckner. Buckner was in command of a division of the Army of Central Kentucky in November of 1861 and was determined that his regiments could be easily identifiable in the field. He devised a "flag which has no artistic taste about it, but which could not be mistaken" for other standards. The "Hardee" version, also referred to as a "silver moon" was a blue or green field with a white border and a central white disk. This disk would vary in shape from round to oval, or a square with rounded corners. Regiments would often paint their unit designation on the white disk and their battle honors on the field or the border.

In the Union, a flag was an essential tool for uniformity, identifying and locating units. It also served an emotional need, and they were physical objects that represented the status, activity, and the spirit of the regiment. Each regiment was authorized to carry two flags. Along with the national colors, or the "stars and stripes; the second was usually a state flag or, if there was no state flag such as with Indiana, a Regimental Color. The Regimental flag is generally blue, and ornamented with fringe and bears the regiment's title, battle honors, badge and/or coat of arms of the United States. The arms consists of a bald eagle holding an olive branch in one talon and a bundle of arrows in the other and a scroll with the motto "E Pluribus Unum" in

its beak; a shield with red and white stripes may be on the eagle's breast or beneath the talons.

Union flags were generally supplied through depots located in New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. However, local resources were also in evidence. Most regiments were mustered in at major cities or at state capitols. The patriotic fervor for providing suitable flags can be heard in the following newspaper articles.

The *Indianapolis Journal* of August 31st, 1861 records: "On last Friday, Captain W. D. Johnson, of Edinburg, and his gallant company, received some glorious gifts from the hands of the ladies of Edinburg and vicinity. The delegation brought an excellent basket dinner, and after the soldiers had partaken of the sumptuous repast, the presentation ceremony took place. The ladies gave the company a flag that the Prince of Wales might be glad to march under. Speeches were made upon the occasion. The Rev. James Snoddy made an excellent speech in behalf of the ladies. It was replied to by Judge Coburn and E. H. Barry in behalf of the Company. The flag, which cost about \$65.00, was fabricated by the fair hands of the Patriotic ladies of Edinburg. It was received with three long, loud and hearty cheers."

Pride, artistic expression and merchandising opportunities can be seen with this newspaper entry from the same paper dated January 21, 1864 with the caption Handsome Present: "The patriotic Commissioners of Clinton County gave an order to Mr. Baldwin of the Fancy Bazaar, in this city, some weeks ago, for Flags for the 86th and 10th Indiana Volunteers. The order has been filled, and most elegantly, too. We never set eyes on more beautiful flags. Each regiment has a Battle and Regimental Banner of superb silk and exquisite workmanship. The artist, Glessing, lettered and ornamented the banners in his own unapproachable style. The 86th contains, besides the usual illuminations, the names of its battles, "Perryville," Stone River," "Chickamauga," and "Mission Ridge"; and the 10th those of "Mill Springs," "Perryville," "Chickamauga," and "Mission Ridge." These banners will please the boys, and will infuse renewed vigor for the coming campaigns. Those for the 10th have gone forward, but those for the 86th are yet at Baldwin's, where they will remain on exhibition for several days."

Of the two million men who served the Union, 500,000 were of foreign birth, mostly German and Irish. The average Union soldier was 25 years old, with brown hair, blue eyes, and a light complexion, stood 5'8 1/4" tall, and weighed 143 1/2 pounds. This could be a fair description of my Grandmother's uncle, Private Frederick W. Franz. Born in Whitlag, Germany he agreed to volunteer for the 89th Indiana Regiment Infantry on August 28, 1862 as long as he could be mustered in with his brother. In *A Brief History of the 89th Indiana Volunteers* it is recorded that in November, 1864 his regiment camped "on a piece of

open ground, exposed to the most violent winds, in extraordinarily cold, snowy weather, destitute of good clothing, many of the men being almost naked, from their long and excessive march." He died at Marine Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri on December 29, 1864 of pneumonia, at the age of 25 years and 22 days. His body was brought back by his family and buried in the cemetery at St. Peter's Lutheran Church, in the Fuelling Settlement, near Fort Wayne, IN, marked with a limestone gravestone carved in German.

Some units, especially ethnic regiments, chose to fly a flag unique to their unit which violated army regulations: Constantine Grebner in his 1897 history of the 9th Ohio Infantry Regiment reported, "On May 10 (1861) a number of men from Cincinnati, on behalf of Cincinnati's German women, had come to give us a flag {the regimental colors}. Thirteen gold stars rode in a field of blue silk above a pennant inscribed, on one side, 'To Cincinnati's first German regiment,' and on the other, 'Fight bravely for Freedom and Justice.' The colors were the result of one-day's effort by the Misses Elise Arnold and Karoline Greslin. With words of pure patriotism, Dr. Bauer handed the colors to the colonel (McCook), who expressed regret that he could not say thank-you in German but accepted them for the regiment and pledged his sincere intent that they be carried ever forward to victory and to German honor. Sergeant Fitz, named standardbearer then and there, received the beautiful colors with appropriate dignity. The rite closed with a parade to additional pleasures at Wagner's Tavern in Milford. There, not to mince words, people let themselves go: with music, singing, speeches, and beer."

Likewise in New York thirty-four merchants commissioned Tiffany's to produce silk national and Irish (green) flags for three regiments. At a cost of two thousand dollars, these six flags were among the finest examples of presentation flags produced during the war. The colors of the New York 63rd Irish Brigade never led the regiments in battle but served on the home front to commemorate their regiments at patriotic and military dinners, meeting, rallies, and parades.

Western States such as Indiana generally bought flags from local and regional makers. Sometimes the state governments were erratic in providing flags. The following letter from Lt. Col. M. Baker, of the 74th Indiana Infantry Volunteers on November 14, 1863 to Governor O.P. Morton of Indiana makes a clear call for flags and the hope that they will be preserved: "I wish to call your attention to the fact that this Regt. [74th] has never had a flag since it has been in the service, except the "National Colors" which were presented to us at Ft. Wayne, Ind., by the ladies of that city. We have made repeated requisitions for a National and Regimental Flag but have never able to get either. This flag we have is much worn, and if you can furnish us with new ones bearing the inscription of the late battle

in Georgia, I should like to send this one to you to be preserved. It is but proper that his old flag baptized in the hottest fire of that terrible engagement should be preserved as a remembrance of the gallantry of a regiment almost one-half of whose numbers fell dead or wounded in defending it in the face of overwhelming odds."

As the war came to a close in Virginia, it was the cherished saltier, or Southern Cross, that the regimental color-bearers carried to the end. It was these flags that General Robert E. Lee's troops surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse. On April 12, 1865 survivors of the Army of Northern Virginia furled 71 unit flags and laid them on stacks. "They tenderly fold their flags, battle-worn and torn, bloodstained, heart-holding colors, and lay them down; some frenziedly rushing from the ranks... pressing them to their lips with burning tears. And only the flag of the Union greets the sky!"

Confederate flags that were never captured or surrendered were returned to their respective capitols or makers. Many captured and surrendered Confederate flags were sent to the War Department in Washington, D.C. In 1868 they were identified and cataloged. Between 1874 and 1882 they were displayed, and after that they were placed in storage. Despite repeated requests they were kept in the North until February 28, 1905, when a joint resolution of Congress authorized the secretary of war, William H. Taft, to begin returning captured flags to the former Confederate states.

Meanwhile, in the North there were more joyful celebrations. On July 4, 1866 thousands of civil war soldiers responded to an invitation to come to Indianapolis and march once more under their war-worn regimental banners in a parade, and formally deliver them to the custody and keeping of the State. The presentation of the flags to Governor Morton was made by Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace, later to be known for authoring the American Classic, *Ben Hur*. "The Soldiers' Association of the State have had it in mind to signalize in some manner, the happy conclusion of the recent civil war. This they have thought to accomplish by a ceremonious return of the colors with which their respective commands were entrusted; and not without a dash of poetry, they have chosen this as a proper day for the celebration. For them, therefore, and for the great body of comrades, present and absent, whom they represent, I have the honor to give you back their flags, with the request that measures be taken by the next General Assembly to preserve them immemorially. In that day what a treasure will this collection of flags be to our successors! And what pilgrimages there will be to see the tattered, shot-torn, blood-stained fragments which streamed so often with more than a rainbow's beauty through the vanished clouds of the dreadful storm!"

A mere 14 years after the close of the civil war the usefulness of flags to the military was being debated. In a *New York Times* article of April 7, 1879 brings



attention to the fact that the State of Indiana has no distinct flag of its own. "The want of a flag is a defect which hardly needs remedying now, as a belief seems to be springing up that for war purposes they are in many way highly objectionable, and in this country the employment of them as regimental colors is about the only use to which State flags are put. Military officers in England have lately pointed out that regimental colors in a battle are apt to be sources of great loss, and are of no appreciable amount of service. It is easy to be enthusiastic in crying "Rally round the flag!" or "Stand by the flag, boys! but in actual service the men of a regiment in modern forms of warfare are greatly scattered, and the flags have not only to be protected by a strong color-guard, who are thus taken from active employment, but they form the most conspicuous mark for the rifleman of the enemy to aim at. Their value is now purely sentimental, and may have been largely overestimated, while the trouble and loss they occasion can be demonstrated without much difficulty. In former day, when armies fought in close order, the flags were unquestionably of great worth as rallying-points for the soldiers, but improvements in the methods of killing have done away with many of the customs of past generations, and it may be that battle-flags will soon have to take their place among things obsolete."

In spite of this shift in usefulness, the veneration of these Battle Flags continued. When the Indiana battle flags were formally presented to the State and deposited in the State House it was the understanding that they should not be removed from state custody. But there were frequent requests by regimental reunions and soldiers' meetings to have their old flags for use in parades. However, this practice was found to be unwise due to their fragile state and damage was evident with the most careful of handling. Besides it was reported in the *Indianapolis Star* "that the old soldier was liable to yield to the temptation to cut off a piece of his old flag for a souvenir when opportunity offered."

In a special session in 1908, the General Assembly of Indiana passed an act providing for the appointment of an Indiana Battle Flag Commission. This commission was charged with the duty of reinforcing and encasing all regimental flags carried by Indiana Regiments. The commission collected correspondence from other states and visited several states in order to determine the best method of accomplishing their goals. They were able to learn from the mistakes of others. Where attempts had been made by states to preserve similar flags, they found that the materials used were not durable than the original flags, and they concluded that the reinforcement would crumble in about 30 years leaving the flags too delicate to handle. They also found that none of the states employed airtight cases. Major McCormick, the youngest member of the commission, went east and visited flag factories and capitols, where he gained much information. He soon realized, that the Indiana Battle

Flag Commission had tackled no small job. Sentiment made it necessary to preserve every thread of the old banners.

The commission directed Major McCormick to proceed with the organization of a "Betsy Ross Brigade." Mrs. McCormick and Mrs. Lydia Swift started by unfurling the tattered and bullet-pierced flag of the 49th. "They worked on steadily for three days, catching up tattered threads here, working around a bullet hole there, replacing a piece of shattered fringe on the border and drawing together long separated strands of silk. These disciples of Betsy Ross did not skip a stitch. Slowly, steadily, the old banner of the 49th began to assume a new and happier tone. Not a thread was removed, not one particle of the fringe was lost or changed. The old flag was neatly tacked on the regulation wool bunting and long life for it was assured...."

The Commission was gratified at the compliments they received, not only from people of many states of this Union, but also representatives and officials of foreign countries, the universal expression being that the State of Indiana was leading the whole world in the matter of caring for her flags.

In 1912, the sealed cases were placed in the Indiana Hall of Flags located on the 4th floor of the Indiana Statehouse. Here they stayed until 1947 when they were moved to the lower level of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. This monument was begun in 1887 and was designed by the German Architect, Bruno Schmitz who is also known in Germany for the Kaiser Wilhelm I Denkmal at Porta Westfalica. Many people today can still remember going down into this monument in the center of Indianapolis and looking at this collection and hearing the large metal framed cases being slammed back and forth. The flags stayed there until the late 1980s when they were removed to allow extensive renovation of the monument. Today the collection is stored in a room of the Indiana World War Memorial and except for a few examples "cannot be seen unless by an act of God or by the governor."

During the 20th century there were waves of efforts to preserve war flags throughout the nation. On October 7, 1913 Amelia Fowler (1862-1923) received Patent No. 1075206 for her method of preserving flags. This method consists of sewing the flag to a linen backing using silk thread and a netting stitch. In 1914, she treated the "Star Spangled Banner" with ten women working for eight weeks. Later this technique was adapted by Katherine Fowler Richey (1889-1949) and by 1944 she claimed to have treated over 5,000 flags. This technique later evolves to using a sewing machine and zig-zag and buttonhole stitches with dyed silk net, or silk organza.

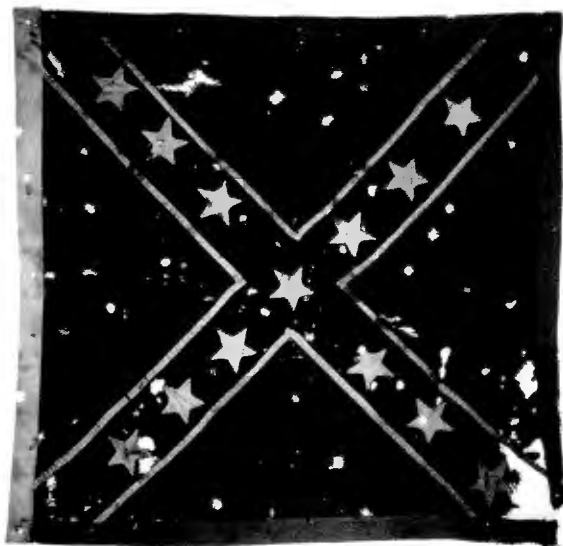
As new materials became available on the market they were drafted for patriotic duties for the sake of flag preservation. These treatments are themselves a historic reservoir of 20th c. materials, resourcefulness, and

technology. They include machine stitching with monofilament thread, and the use of adhesives such as, polyvinyl alcohol (PVA), cellulose acetate, and epoxy, which as they age cross-link become hard, brittle and often irreversible.

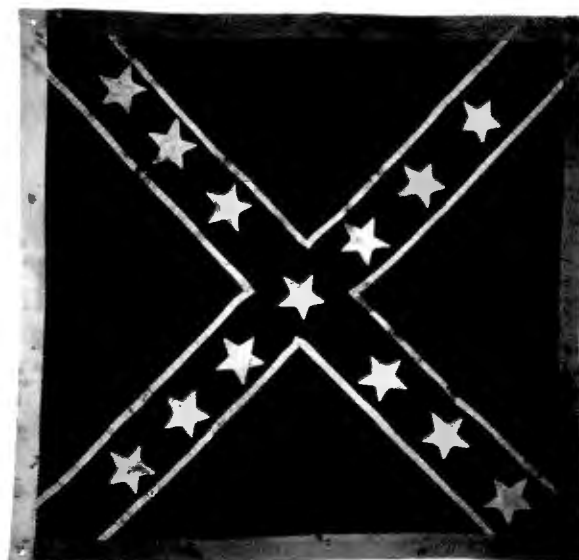
Modern textile conservation treatments since the 1970s embraces the "principle of reversibility and minimum intervention" as stated in the Code of Ethics and Standards of Practice by the American Institute for Conservation (AIC). Application of these concepts to flags can, as I maintain, be reduced to the four "S's": stitch, stick, shelve, and smash. "Stitching" is the predominant method of stabilizing historic cotton and wool textile objects, but stitching into degraded 19th c. silk is considered invasive and can create perforations which lead to further breakdown of the fibers. "Sticking" is regaining advocates especially with adhesives which have proven to be stable over time, but many still have an ingrained bias against such dramatic measures. "Shelving" is the preferred approach when conservators and owners do not want to do anything to arrest the deterioration other than to provide a safe resting place for the flags. "Smashing" is favored by those who believe this satisfies the mandate of minimum intervention and immobilization by laying a flag on a pillow of resilient inert padding and covering the flag with a semi-transparent fabric or net, and compressing this sandwich with glass or acrylic. The last two measures require major amounts of space which most historic sites do not have for exhibition and storage.

Hence, original documents often have to be moved out of site-specific spaces to remote off-site locations. With the costs associated with the task of treating Civil War flags it behooves the guardians of such irreplaceable documents to consider carefully the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.

The 18 flags in the Arkansas collection contain seven of the major designs used by the Southern States. The flags reflect a State with its own sense of origin and autonomy. The diversity of the flag styles in Arkansas, part of the Western theater, is perhaps not only a testimony to artistic and patriotic expressions but also a result of the decentralized military structure in the West, disrupted networks of supply, and the absence of a central quartermaster. Because this is a relative small collection they have sought individual treatments for each flag. Last conserved in 1976, the battle flags underwent a \$138,000. conservation effort. In 2000 and 2001 Textile Conservation Services (TCS) in Indianapolis, Indiana conducted thorough examination, documentation, cleaning, and treatment procedures. TCS not only stabilized the physical structure of the flags, but also incorporated underlayments that visually and esthetically compensated the areas of loss. They are exhibited in walnut frames with ultraviolet shielding acrylic, and when not on display will be stored flat in custom built cases. They were re-inaugurated in the Old State House Museum in Little Rock, Arkansas on May 11th 2001.



Confederate flag before conservation  
*Harold Mailand*



Confederate flag after conservation.  
*Harold Mailand*

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# *Military Justice Makes Rattling Good History: Ethnicity & the Role of the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery*

*Kathryn Lerch*

Civil War research does indeed make for “rattling good” history. This certainly has been the case with my on-going research on the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery, a three-year regiment posted to Baltimore from August 1862 until May 1864. This regiment did more than just garrison the forts in and around Baltimore, a commercially important major city. They also guarded and escorted prisoners and manned the big guns at Fort McHenry and Fort Federal Hill. In addition to the usual regimental duties, the field and line officers also presided over a remarkable number of courts-martial, military commissions, and courts of inquiry.

What prompted me to detour from the task of editing a history of western New York regiment into military justice? As with all historians, we are always in search of a good story... and are compelled to document certain information with footnotes. Thus a footnote for a short comment written home by an officer started it all: “This morning the Judge Advocate brought in seven more cases to grind out & all of them Spies. It will probably take about a week.”<sup>1</sup>

The mention of spy cases naturally intrigued me, just as it must have those back home in 1862. Surely with a little detective work, I would be able to identify these cases from the original court indices from the Bureau of Military Justice in the National Archives as well as from the Turner-Baker papers in the Office of the Judge Advocate.<sup>2</sup> Much to my surprise, the ensuing investigation evolved into a very complex, yet extremely fascinating subject involving military justice in the crucial border state of Maryland. This study opened a whole new area for research in which some court testimonies were gripping, while others very touching and poignant. The initial research quickly expanded because the trial indices showed that there were certainly more than just seven spy cases attributed to Eighth’s field officers. During the tenure of the Eighth in Maryland (August 1862 to mid-May 1864), hundreds of general courts martial and military commissions were convened in Baltimore and/or at Ft. McHenry by general order of the commander of the Middle Military Department or the War Department.

In order to determine more accurately the number and range of cases, all cases naming an officer of the Eighth as President of the Court were entered into a database, including each case’s unique double letter and number designation, the name of the accused, date of the trial, and name of the president of the court. Each

uniquely numbered case could pertain to one or more individuals who were scheduled to come before the court. As each file was opened, it quickly became evident that more than one individual could be tried by the same court; eventually a total of 362 out of 400-some cases which convened in Baltimore have been linked to one or more commissioned officer from the Eighth New York. Thus, it can be concluded that this regiment played a significant role in the military tribunals in Maryland, where the army had become the arm for the prosecution, conviction, and sometimes execution of citizens and soldiers during the war.

The next step was to request and review all of these trial papers located in the National Archives’ Record Group 153. By combining information found on the original indices and by reviewing individual records, it was possible to more accurately complete the database.

By sorting the database, it was then possible to determine that eighty-seven percent of the cases were for general courts martial brought against federal soldiers, while thirteen percent were either designated as military commissions or general courts martial cases which involved citizens, rebels and spies. Those cases which involved troops dealt with men in all the Union regiments under the jurisdiction of the Middle Military Department (headquartered in Baltimore), including the Fifth and Eighth New York Heavy Artillery regiments, the Veteran Reserve Corps, and assorted Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and Pennsylvania units. The smaller percentage of cases involved Confederates, citizens of Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.

What about the quality of justice dispensed? If one officer showed his frustration at having to “grind out” more cases, could the Eighth New York provide fair judgments following the military code of law towards such an extensive and disparate group of individuals? Similarly, were the judge advocates and other members of the court from the regiment consistent in their findings and did they assess appropriate penalties to fit the crimes? How significant a role (if any) did ethnicity play in defining the makeup of the regiment, the assessment of charges and in the trial outcomes?

Charges could be presented at a variety of levels, and depending on severity, could remain at the lower regimental level, or be brought before a higher order general court martial. Officers in the Eighth New York worked at both levels.

No matter what level, though, administering justice



involved proving charges and assigning a penalty. The most common types of charges against federal troops concerned soldiers who were charged with being AWOL (Absent Without Official Leave) or desertion, being drunk while on guard duty, or sleeping at their posts in an inebriated state. Then there were others who got drunk and felt no compunction about assaulting superior officers or other men. The Eighth had to deal with an enormous number of these mundane cases. Consequently, the officers trying them reflected the tedium in their letters home. They seldom mentioned individuals and then only if the case was dramatic and the penalty great. Frequently, the regiment had to contend with its own internal regimental court martial. Often with a heavy case load, it became expedient to act less formally in order to save time, and minor infractions were presented to the colonel commanding, and the penalties then approved by a superior officer commanding the brigade. For the most common offense of being drunk and disorderly, the penalized soldier was required to carry a thirty-pound knapsack for two hours at a quick march. It was hoped that this type of punishment would deter repeat offenders and bring order to regimental life. In most cases it did. It was the higher level courts, though, that one finds particularly interesting trial records and testimonies. More significantly, by reading these courtroom testimonies, especially those with appended written defenses and exhibits, one comes away with a wealth of information about the lives and times of the individuals. These transcripts include witnesses' and defendants' testimony, replies of the court, and occasionally appeals to President Lincoln, and Lincoln's responses. Especially serendipitous was the discovery of at least eight instances of Lincoln's comments and signatures, which were appended to some of the original case files under appeal.

There are some particularly interesting cases<sup>3</sup> which illustrate the wide spectrum of charges and findings: first there is Capt. Andrew F. Laypole, an accused Confederate spy and murderer, who was later executed. His notoriety was so great that his obituary was carried in many national newspapers in May 1864 even in *Die Westliche Post* in St. Louis. Others included Capt. William Gordon, also an accused spy, who wrote in code. Other cases were directed against Maryland citizens such as John Heard, editor of the *Frederick Herald*, who became a political prisoner; Samuel Sterret of Baltimore, who had been accused of blockade running and plotting raids against clipper ships in California and Hawaii; or another "blockade runner" for whom one could be more sympathetic Thomas Darnell, who had crossed the forbidden military zone in order to procure funds and supplies for his destitute wife and children. He was turned in by a suspicious Baltimore

neighbor, Octavious Diffenderfer.

Although these cases are particularly interesting, they represent only a small portion of the total and were not originally considered in relation to the issue of ethnicity. If one is to also consider the question of ethnicity and its role in determining its influence on military justice, one has to first determine the ethnic composition of the regiment itself.

All but one of the Eighth's officers were born in New York and descended from settlers that migrated westward from New England across New York State in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They naturally represented the more highly educated and were usually the more affluent members of their respective communities. The commander of the regiment, Col. Peter A. Porter, for example, was educated at both Harvard and in Heidelberg, Germany. He descended from illustrious pioneers located in Niagara Falls and was also a very wealthy property owner there. Yet, Col. Porter commanded a regiment that reflected the larger ethnic diversity of four western New York counties, which had become even more ethnically diverse with the building of the Erie Canal and its expansion westward from Albany to Buffalo in the 1820s. The need for laborers drew large numbers of Irish and Canadian workers to the state. In the mid-nineteenth century Irish and German immigration increased as well as a result of potato famines in Europe in the late 1840s, and civil upheaval with the revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

The military records for the 2,500 plus men who enlisted, show that slightly more than sixty-one percent were New Yorkers by birth, and twenty-eight percent were foreigners.<sup>4</sup> Of these foreigners, the Germans and Irish represented eight percent each, while the balance of foreigners came from other European countries.

Since western New York was agricultural, it is not surprising that the most common occupations listed by recruits included farmers (1,353), laborers (197), carpenters (80), clerks (66), or blacksmiths (63).<sup>5</sup> The Irish, who represented one of the two largest proportions of foreign born in the regiment (eight percent of total), were more closely tied to agriculture than the Germans. The Germans (also eight percent), on the other hand, participated in a more diverse spectrum of occupations, often reflecting their apprenticeship system of training. The majority of Irish and Germans who settled in western New York worked as day laborers or farmer laborers, few having sufficient money to buy farm land. Thus, a smaller proportion of those engaged in farming were foreign born (only twenty-two percent), whereas a higher percentage of foreigners worked as laborers (fifty-six percent). Thus, the composition of the Eighth New York regiment was also an accurate reflection of its home communities. And those in command (mostly descendants of English Protestants) had to deal with this diverse camp population day-in and day-out. Although

the officers were already accustomed to dealing with different socio-economic classes back in western New York State and within the regiment, would their "pro-English-Protestant" composition adversely affect their judgments in matters of the courts?

Just as there was ethnic diversity in the Eighth, would this also be true for those being tried? Related to this, could ethnicity influence the types of charges levied? Were verdicts biased in favor of one specific group or another?

The first challenge, though, is determining ethnicity of those charged. Since only *one* of my earlier studies involved a soldier of obvious German ancestry, would it be possible to identify other Germans? What about the Irish, or other foreigners? Were there any German-American civilians charged as political prisoners or spies? Were there any German rebels?

One must determine the accused individual's ethnicity and the means to this end are highly imperfect. First, surnames of the accused may or may not indicate a particular ethnicity, and this may even be misleading. One of the accused, for example, Jacob Shetz, was born and raised in Pennsylvania. He was not a German "just off the boat," though he may still have spoken German at home.

Other resources may be more helpful in providing birthplace information, though. These include the regiment's descriptive books, or the individual's military and pension records. Finally, post-war Federal census records can also be especially useful since records of 1870 and later will mention the individual's, as well as parents' birthplaces.

In order to determine relatively quickly the probable ethnicity of individuals being tried, the database was sorted according to surnames, and then by using military records for Federal soldiers, and census records for citizens, it was possible to positively identify some Germans who had "just gotten off the boat." What were some of these Germans like?

There was Christopher Schultz, in the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery.<sup>6</sup> He was accused of sleeping on his post, but was excused because of his old age. He

received ten days' confinement at hard labor and lost two months' pay.

George Smede (or Smeade), from the Eighth New York, had also been tried in a regimental court martial. But when he was tried again at a general court martial, he did not get off quite as easily.<sup>7</sup> Smede was tried for assaulting a guard in the guardhouse with a brick. As a punishment, the left side of his head was shaved and he had to wear a ball and chain on his ankle. Plus, as punishment for being AWOL, he suffered a year's confinement at hard labor and loss of pay at nearby Fort Carroll in Baltimore's harbor.

Another example is Prussian-born Jacob Enderson, who was also in the Eighth New York.<sup>8</sup> Enderson had enlisted late in the war in 1863 from Orleans County, New York. He was taller than most at 6' 3/4", so he must have been an intimidating figure. He received the stiffest sentence of any German-American soldier five years' incarceration for assault which he committed "in concert with others" against another soldier. His sentence could not be carried out, though, since he escaped and was never caught.

Occasionally one is able to create a sense of personality to go with a name. One such individual is a German-born private, who went by the alias 'Charles Graf.'<sup>9</sup> Graf, who was a musician with the Second U.S. Artillery (regular army), was charged on three separate occasions of forging passes, and he also absented himself from his unit after orders.<sup>10</sup> One of his German cohorts, Max Feldman also forged a pass, but he must have learned his lesson.<sup>11</sup> Graf, on the other hand, had to serve out a series of short sentences. Graf's trial papers proved to be rather ordinary, whereas his military papers were very interesting and rewarding. I presume he must have been rather creative, because he assumed the last name of 'Graf,' German for 'count,' when he came to America. His choice was no coincidence. Although his original surname is not known, he was born in 1834 in Hanover to an aristocratic father, but non-aristocratic mother. According to an autobiographical letter found in his pension records, one learns that he was the son of a "titled noble" whose

name "would have been on the church records." Unfortunately, "the union between his father and mother was never solemnized, owing to objection from his father's strong aristocratic parents." He supposedly received a title and name, but he did not have the financial means to support himself. Fortunately, he was sent to the best schools by his maternal grandfather and was able to become an apprentice and later a clerk in a drug business.

NN1537	Nacker, Jacob	10 Md	04/1864	desertion
NN1668	Hartstein, Joseph	10 Md	04/1864	desertion immediately after receiving bounty; suffered from deformity of feet
LL1605	Altamus, A. E.	10 Md	05/1863	drunk attack on superior
LL0334	Ester, Henry	111 PA	03/1863	desertion
LL0614	Spotts, Jacob	128 PA	05/1863	disorderly & riotous against superiors
LL0631	Zaegler, Henry	138 PA	05/1863	conduct prejudicial: desertion
MM0335	Ostrom, George E.	151 NY	02/1863	disobedience: refused to go on guard duty
LL1312	Kehler, William	2d US Arty	01/1864	conduct prejudicial: absence on parade
LL0268	Feldmann, Max	2d US Arty	04/1863	forged pass
LL0628	Graf, Charles	2d US Arty	05/1863	forged pass
NN1878	Graf, Charles	2d US Arty	05/1864	forged pass & absented self
LL2077	Graf, Charles	2d US Arty	04/1864	forged pass, absent from retreat until midnight
NN1833	Kramer, Peter	3 PA Arty	04/1864	desertion while on pass & failed to ret (fnd in Philadelphia)

Sample Cases Against German-Americans

What prompted him to leave Germany? Graf remarks he was no longer willing to suffer the "annoyance & remarks" connected with his birth and he said "good bye to Germany." As soon as he arrived in America, he dropped his title and name, which he considered "both hateful to him" and assumed the name 'Charles Graf' under which he enlisted in the regular U.S. Army in 1861.

I continued to follow Graf's story through other sections of his pension papers. When he arrived in America, he first worked as a clerk in New York City, until he enlisted in the regular U.S. infantry in January 1861. Afterwards he reenlisted in the Second U.S. Artillery as a musician, and was posted to Baltimore. He finished his term of enlistment in 1866 and was discharged at San Francisco, California. From there he moved to the Sierra, where he engaged at various times in mining and ranching. In 1905, when he applied for his pension, he refused to submit his baptismal record, because after the space of intervening years, it was still painful for him to share "any details relating to his parents" because they were "very painful for him." His last known address was in Yuba County in 1905, when he was 71 years old. Graf's date and place of death are not known.

While studying the Germans, I also could not help noticing differences in the types and frequency of charges between the Germans and the other large ethnic group, the Irish. Obviously differences in their social behavior determined the types of charges brought against them. It is possible to conclude that although the Germans were rarely accused of being drunk (unlike the Irish), they were involved more often in fights and charged with disorderly conduct or assault.

It is intriguing, though, that Germans were charged with being AWOL twice as often as the Irish, and slightly more often than non-foreign born soldiers.<sup>12</sup> One reason for desertion may have been best expressed by one German, Frederick von Versen, who wrote in a letter home to Germany, that "he was *not* satisfied with the caliber of training and discipline in one regiment, so he deserted that one and joined the 8<sup>th</sup> [New York]."<sup>13</sup> He stated adamantly, "he had no intention of *not* fulfilling his obligation to serve." Surprisingly, Von Versen was not court-martialed. He served out the war, and became an American citizen; he worked in commerce in Baltimore, married, and raised a family, then moved back to Berlin, Germany where he worked in the American Consulate. The Irish, on the other hand, were charged with drunkenness 8:1 compared to the Germans. But the number of Irish deserting or going AWOL was half that of the Germans perhaps they were too inebriated!

No matter what ethnicity, though, soldiers who saw no end to their misery in camp might desert or go AWOL, only to be caught and charged further increasing

their enmity against military life. Sadly, the number of assault charges for both groups was comparable.

The smaller percentage of cases as mentioned earlier involved citizens and those with pro-Southern elements. The War Department also brought charges against civilians, Confederate officers, rebels and spies and assigned them an inconsistent variety of labels: 'citizen-spy,' 'political prisoner,' or 'Confederate-spy.' As a result, distinctions between the charges easily became blurred, and this made the job of the court more difficult.

In surveying the list of citizens or rebels, one sees virtually no ethnic Germans. Geography and the history of settlement patterns in the regions controlled by the Confederate States almost ensured this to be the case. The majority of those charged were mostly of English or Scotch-Irish stock. If German-American citizens *were* charged, it was usually for blockade running. The border-state location of Baltimore and the city's higher proportion of Germans, contributed logically to this trend. The Judge Advocate General, L. C. Turner, for example, was eager to put certain Jewish merchants in Baltimore out of business and he prosecuted eagerly all those who were engaged in profitable blockade running.

The only identifiable German-American citizen tried by the Eighth New York was Henry Pappenberger. He was a 73-year-old gentleman from Maryland, who was charged with murder. His case was particularly unfortunate because he languished in prison not because of the seriousness of the purported crime, but because his case file was lost! Fortunately, common sense prevailed and when no evidence could be established to prove the charge, he was released. Just to be sure of his loyalty, though, he was required at the time of his release to pledge his oath to support the Union. A similar pattern of English-Irish is found in those charged as rebels and spies. The Confederate Army prisoners included men with names such as 'Carroll,' 'McCarty,' and 'Wilkinson,' or the infamous 'Laypole,' who was executed by the Eighth, but *no* Germans.

Finally, in comparing verdicts and assessed penalties, cases can be categorized by type and then sorted according to severity of sentence. I found that verdicts and judgments against Germans were indistinguishable from those of other ethnic groups.

I specifically looked at the punishment for Charles Graf compared to other soldiers. Charges for desertion and going AWOL, for example, were consistent. Considering all 362 cases, the verdicts and judgments were consistent, especially with the less severe cases. Time in prison was moderated consistent with the vagaries of each case. Whereas poor conduct might result in two to six months' confinement, the courts awarded a much stiffer penalty if a soldier threatened or assaulted another. The courts took special circumstances into consideration. On the other hand, all Confederates charged as spies were indeed found guilty, and all but

one execution was commuted by Lincoln. Political prisoners were confined to prison for the duration of the war, unless the courts found mitigating circumstances. For the capital crime of murder, the court displayed no flexibility. Nor did Lincoln show compassion for the criminal, only for the civilian victims.<sup>14</sup>

Of the Eighth's cases requiring approval of the Adjutant General, none of the verdicts or sentences were reversed. The Eighth New York and other regiments stationed in Baltimore brought no prejudices of their own but followed established military policies laid out by the War Department and the adjutant general's office. They listened to moderating circumstances in the lesser cases, but showed no mercy toward the highest crimes.

With cases such as those belonging to Graf, Feldman, Enderson, and Smede, one can learn a great deal about the social, political and military issues during the Civil War. The administration of military justice provides a fascinating and fertile field for research, one which has great potential and can ultimately lead researchers in many different and rewarding directions.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Capt. Marshall N. Cook to Irving Cook, January 8, 1863. Collection of Betty Cook, Bergen, New York. See specifically, the second article for the Maryland Historical Society, "Prosecuting Citizens, Rebels & Spies: The 8<sup>th</sup> New York Heavy Artillery in Maryland 1862-1864," (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 94, No. 2, Summer 1999), 133. My earlier article for the Maryland Historical Society, "The 8<sup>th</sup> New York Heavy Artillery in Baltimore, 1862-1864," (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 92, No. 1, Spring 1997), discusses the history of the regiment. The regiment was originally formed as the 129<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry in July 1862 and mustered August 22, 1862 in Lockport, Niagara County with 900+ officers and enlisted men. It was sent via Baltimore, in transit to the war front. The regiment was held, though, in Baltimore for more training where the men trained on the large guns at Fort Federal Hill and Fort McHenry. Perhaps, as a consequence of this, it was re-designated an artillery regiment in December 1862. Since artillery regiments consist of twelve rather than ten companies with 156 men each and additional field officers, with an aggregate of 1,880 men, the regiment remained almost another year and a half in Maryland in order to recruit to the optimal size. By February 1864 there were 1,839 men and if Gen. Grant had not requested replacement troops for his 1864 offensive, the regiment might have remained in Baltimore. The Eighth New York, though, was called to join the Second Corps in the Army of the Potomac on May 15, 1864. During the remaining year and a half, the regiment was decimated at the Battle of Cold Harbor, and then finished as an effective regiment following the disaster of Ream's Station and the siege of Petersburg. The Eighth has the tragic distinction of suffering the second highest percentage of losses of any Union regiment during the Civil War, after the First Maine Heavy Artillery. Compiled service records in the National Archives (Record Group 94) show that eventually a total 2,522 men were enlisted in this regiment during its three year term of service.

<sup>2</sup> See specifically the eight reels of microfilm in the National Archives (NARA), Record Group 153 (hereafter RG 153), series MM1105 for the indices of the Bureau of Military Justice (1809-1894). The Judge Advocate General's papers are in Record Group 94. During the Civil War approximately 80,000 cases were tried

before General Courts Martial. Each court was headed by a president of the court, joined by a judge advocate and eight to thirteen additional members of the court. (See Thomas P. Lowrey, *Don't Shoot that Boy! Abraham Lincoln and Military Justice*, (Savas Publishing Co., 1999), ii, regarding general information and statistics on courts martial.) The majority of cases involved desertions. Other charges included mutiny and violence against officers, murder, rape, larceny, drunkenness, sleeping on duty. Military commissions were more frequently held in areas where civil law had collapsed, or in border states for trials of civilians accused of military crimes (spying or smuggling). Commissions usually had only three officers as a part of the commission. (Lowrey, 183.)

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed discussion of these cases, also see "Prosecuting Citizens...", 140-165.

<sup>4</sup> Individual military records for members of the Eighth New York may be found in the National Archives, Record Group 94 (hereafter RG 94). The percentages were based on data obtained from the Eighth New York courts martial database created by the author.

<sup>5</sup> Figures based on Regimental Roster database created by the author.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Schultz, Fifth New York Heavy Artillery, military and pension records, RG 94, NARA.

<sup>7</sup> George Smede case LL334, RG 153, General Court Martial Record (hereafter GCMR), NARA.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Enderson, case NN1185, RG 153, GCMR, NARA.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Graf, Second U.S. Artillery, military and pension records, RG 94, NARA.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Graf, cases LL628, LL2077 and NN1878, RG 153, GCMR, NARA.

<sup>11</sup> Max Feldman, case LL268, RG 153, GCMR, NARA.

<sup>12</sup> When comparing the percentage of desertion cases brought against different ethnic groups, non-foreign born were 56%, the Irish 36%, whereas the Germans deserted with the greatest frequency with 64%. Figures based on calculations of courts martial database created by the author.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick von Versen, Eighth New York Heavy Artillery, military and pension records, RG 94, NARA.

<sup>14</sup> Capt. Andrew F. Laypole, CSA, was executed May 1864 because he terrorized and murdered citizens in and around his home in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. His crimes were too heinous to be commuted, and he served as an example, since the prisoner for whom the scaffold had originally been intended had escaped. See details of his specific case in "Prosecuting Citizens..."

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# “...to strive for loyalty”: German-Confederate Newspapers, the issue of slavery, and German ideological commitment

Andrea Mehrländer

On the eve of the American Civil War there were roughly 260 German-speaking newspapers circulating the United States, the majority of which had either been established or taken over by forty-eighter journalists.<sup>1</sup> Of the 15 German-speaking newspapers that saw distribution in six Confederate States in 1860 and 1861, only seven continued publication throughout the war.

Of these seven newspapers, the *Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung* were first to fall back under enemy auspices. When New Orleans was captured in April 1862, they became out of reach for Germans residing outside the city limits.<sup>2</sup> In June 1862, a similar fate was shared by the *Anzeiger des Südens*, published in Memphis, and *Die Union*, a Galveston-based newspaper, which closed down in October 1862.<sup>3</sup>

My study, therefore, will focus on the German-Charlestonian publisher Franz Melchers and his *Deutsche Zeitung*, the only German-language newspaper inside the Confederacy that ceased publication, because its editor volunteered for military service, and also the only newspaper that had managed to turn Charleston's Germans into ardent southerners long before the war started. Additionally, I will look at Burghardt Hassel's *Richmonder Anzeiger*, which by July 1862 presented itself as the only German-speaking newspaper of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi River, and thus, gained national importance for the Confederate government.

Already by 1844, the city of Charleston boasted a German-language newspaper, bluntly entitled *The Teuton*, and edited by John A. Wagener, an emigrant from Sievern (Kingdom of Hanover) who had settled in Charleston in 1833. In 1853, when the German community of Charleston had grown to almost 2,000 people, Wagener handed his newspaper over to a 27-year-old emigrant from Cloppenburg by the name of Franz Melchers. Melchers not only re-named the newspaper but also continued publication with increasing success.

By 1854, in contrast to each and every other existing German-speaking newspaper of the South, Franz Melchers' editorials took a distinct and outspoken anti-abolitionist stand:

The issue of slavery is one of the touchiest topics in American foreign and domestic policy. Not only the

well-being, but the entire existence of the South depends on this issue [...] That is for certain: that we will rather openly support slavery, than to give it up.<sup>4</sup>

From the fall of 1854 onwards, Melchers' *Deutsche Zeitung* was the only German-speaking newspaper inside the United States, which wholeheartedly supported slavery.<sup>5</sup> Melchers, a pronounced enemy of Harriet Beecher-Stowe, continuously gave reports on the issue of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska,<sup>6</sup> warned against slave uprisings<sup>7</sup>, wrote about crimes, committed by “the negroes” toward “helpless German girls,” their victims.<sup>8</sup> He admonished his German fellow-citizens to treat their slaves with a rigid hand and to fully obey race segregation with all its visible advantages for both black and white.<sup>9</sup>

Melchers knew, that for white foreign citizens life inside southern civilization could be pleasant and easy-going, as long as they did not in the least question the basic foundations of the system: One of the highest priorities of the *Deutsche Zeitung* was, therefore, to convey the system of slavery and the maintenance of oligarchic structures as integral parts of Southern civilization. Slavery, so Melchers believed, was a blessing to Africa and in the spring of 1857 Charleston's Germans found him reporting extensively on “Our trade with Africa” or publishing a seven-part mini-series on “Uncle Tom's true homeland.”<sup>10</sup> In September 1853, for instance, it was due to Melchers, that the church council of St. Matthew's German-Lutheran Church agreed upon the purchase “of the slave Alick in order to serve the church” and paid no less than \$600.00 for the boy.<sup>11</sup>

Pragmatic insight, careful arrangements with regional conditions as well as the adoption of certain behavioural structures were needed to turn a German immigrant into a pro-slavery Southerner. Thus, Melchers phrased this metamorphosis with the following words:

We do not believe, that immigration will do any kind of damage to the institution of slavery. The stretches of land, largely and solely cultivated through the hands of slaves, are not suitable for whites, who would soon be killed through indigenous illnesses. Very soon, immigrants will agree with the principles favored here, will find themselves tolerating slavery and finally strive to purchase slaves themselves, so that they can set those immigrating after them right about this issue.<sup>12</sup>

In his dissertation, Michael Bell came to the conclusion that in 1850 almost 19 percent of all German-born Charlestonians owned a total of 583 slaves. Thus, there were three times as many German-born slave-owners than in Richmond.<sup>13</sup> Already during the 1840s, John A. Wagener had to confirm, that “many of the storeowners kept themselves colored concubines” — in the absence of marriageable German women, of course.<sup>14</sup> In May 1860, for instance, Henry Bullwinkel had six children of his slave Betty baptized by pastor Müller of St. Matthew’s German-Lutheran Church; the records do not mention a word about the father. In 1858, Theodor Cordes, captain of the “German Hussars,” a renowned militia company, allowed two of his slaves to be married to spouses that were either free or owned by someone else — both weddings were conducted by pastor Müller as well.<sup>15</sup>

Charleston’s Germans had indeed come to terms with slavery; no one viewed them as potential abolitionists.<sup>16</sup> The lion’s share of the positive reaction that was shown to the Germans by their Charlestonian fellow-citizens during the late 1850s, was largely due to the Melchers family, a sideline of the well-known merchant family of Bremen, consisting of three brothers and two sisters. In terms of power and influence, Franz and Alexander, who had both emigrated via Bremerhaven in 1843, were on top of the German hierarchy and had accumulated more offices than any other German emigrant at the time. They each were members of boards of directors of five different German societies in the mid-1850s.

Theodore Melchers, their youngest brother, only occupied a seat in one board of directors. Henry Bischoff,<sup>17</sup> a rice merchant and their brother-in-law, was a plain member of the German Rifle Club. In 1859, however, he had to pay the second-highest amount of taxes laid upon the officers of ethnic German militia companies in Charleston — no less than \$420.50. Melchers’ other brother-in-law, Richard Issertel,<sup>18</sup> worked as a clerk with Browne & Calder and served on three boards of directors within the German community. Thus, it was perfectly clear, that the Melchers’ as publishers had a tight grip on every imaginable aspect of German social life.

If one looks at the six German militia companies<sup>19</sup> that were established up to 1860, one will find that the male members of the Melchers family occupied almost 21 percent of all officers’ positions; in addition, they owned 10 slaves in 1859 — almost 38 percent of all German militia officers were slaveholders, and here, too, the Melchers served as role models. Through his democratic and anti-abolitionist editorials, Melchers not only requested, but demanded a visible kind of patriotism from his fellow Germans.<sup>20</sup> For the non-German Charlestonians, his newspaper served as the mouthpiece of the city’s second largest ethnic minority.

In November 1858, in the wake of nativist agitation, Melchers managed to hire Christoph Ferdinand Volger<sup>21</sup> as editor-in-chief. This young man happened to be the brother-in-law of the legendary Bremen ship captain Heinrich Wieting, who carried more than two thirds of all Germans residing in Charleston on one of his ships between 1839 and 1860. What Melchers and Volger put into writing had the aura of lawfulness to most Germans. As Melchers and the other German officers openly promoted and supported Southern lifestyle and also spiritualized a fanatic kind of patriotism, they helped create an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust that allowed for a symbiotic relationship between native residents and German immigrants.

It was because of this special relationship that the excitement shown by Charleston’s Germans at the outbreak of the war in April 1861 found no match anywhere else in the South: German businessmen, to give only a few examples, planted palmetto trees in front of their stores, they placed commercial ads in English speaking newspapers stressing Southern rights, they volunteered by the hundreds for Confederate military service, they held innumerable commemorative church services, German ladies donated for the “Ladies’ Gunboat Fund” and set up aid societies for soldiers’ families. No one else but Siegling & Sons was first to distribute the musical notes of the “Palmetto State Song” throughout the South. Like all men in his family, Franz Melchers volunteered by December 1860 and went to war as 1st Lieutenant of the German Artillery, Co. B, stationed at Ft. Moultrie and later Ft. Walker.<sup>22</sup> Promoted to captain of his company in 1862, Melchers served until the war ended — well cared for by his Black mess boy Tembrur. The *Deutsche Zeitung* ceased publication in December 1860 and did not print a single issue during the entire war. It was not until 1862, when his family suffered from inflation and financial distress, that Franz Melchers had his printing press, including all German and English types, offered for sale by Wilbur & Sons.<sup>23</sup>

What Melchers had preached in terms of patriotism and loyalty for the South ever since 1853, turned out a complete success and had a direct effect on recruitment: 395 men — a little more than 20 percent of all Germans in Charleston — volunteered for military service in ethnic German companies, thereby following the example that Franz Melchers had set as their ethnic leader.<sup>24</sup> Neither New Orleans, nor Richmond as the Confederate capital could boast a higher percentage of German participation.

The situation in Richmond, however, was entirely different: When Burghardt Hassel’s *Richmonder Anzeiger* became the only German-language newspaper of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi river in July 1862, Richmond’s German community encompassed roughly 1,700 people.

Hassel, the youngest of four brothers and a native of Cassel, had fled to the United States after the failed revolution of 1848. There Hassel worked for two Northern newspapers, until he came to Richmond in 1852 and started to publish the *Richmonder Anzeiger* at age 25 in June 1853.<sup>25</sup> Hassel was fully aware of his newspaper's exposed and prestigious position inside the Confederate States of America, when he wrote in June 1864:

It is in the interest of the Germans of the South that there exists a daily German-language newspaper in the Confederate capital in order to represent them accordingly to the Americans and in order to stand guard that the Germans will receive the amount of respect they are due based on their social standing and their loyal participation and support in this fight for independence.<sup>26</sup>

On September 27, 1862, Burghardt Hassel<sup>27</sup> embarked on a three-week trip through the Confederate States with the official intention to enlarge the circle of his customers, even though the publication of his newspaper was endangered by a chronic shortage of paper and occasionally appeared in smaller-sized pages.<sup>28</sup> When he returned to Richmond, he could boast agents in 26 cities throughout eight Confederate States — a fact that historical scholarship had not unearthed until now and a detail that presents the importance of that newspaper in an entirely different light.

Hassel was not a rich man;<sup>29</sup> it therefore seems to be highly unlikely that Hassel would have undertaken this trip through the South for private business reasons, paying for it out of his own pocket — times were tough, and he had to feed a family with five children and keep his newspaper running.

Thus, it is my hypothesis that Hassel travelled on the orders of the Confederate Government in Richmond — with a twofold purpose: a) to influence his fellow-Germans residing in other parts of the Confederacy through shrewd pro-Southern propaganda; and b) to infiltrate those Germans who happened to be Union inmates in Southern prison camps with pro-Southern agitation. The geographical distribution of Hassel's agents does not only render a detailed picture of how many socially active German Confederate communities were eager to receive a newspaper in their mothertongue, but the close analysis of the selected locations also supports the assumption that Hassel had orders from the Confederate Government to distribute his newspaper among German-born Union prisoners of war.

Had it been on Hassel's mind to cater “German communities” primarily, it would be difficult to understand, why he neglected the nice-sized German communities of Montgomery, Natchez, Greenville,<sup>30</sup>

STATE	CITY	AGENT
Alabama	Cahaba POW	W. Schiller
	Camden	D. W. Block
	Mobile	S. Ellmann
	Montgomery POW	P. Luppenthal
Georgia	Atlanta POW	F. Gootebrook
	Augusta POW	L. A. Lankau
	Columbus POW	F. Reich
	Macon POW	Chr. Jauchstädter
	Savannah POW	Chas. Schwarz
Louisiana	Shreveport POW	R. Seligman
M. u. D. Rail Road	Beaver Meadow	Conrad Kupferjahn
Mississippi	Enterprise	S. C. Theilgaard
	Jackson	H. Spengler
	Quitman	Wm. Beckman
	Vicksburg	L. Bräuning
North Carolina	Charlotte POW	John Vogel
	Goldsbrough	Louis Hummel
	Raleigh POW	Ph. Tiern
	Wilmington POW	Adrian
South Carolina	Charleston POW	Jacob Kruse M. H. Kappelman
	Columbia POW	John Stork
	Walhalla	Rev. A. Angerer
Tennessee	Chattanooga	F. Graß
Virginia	Fredericksburg	Henry Miller
	Petersburg POW	L. Lindenberg
	Richmond POW	B. Hassel
8 Confederate States	26 cities	27 agents

Geographical Distribution of Burghardt Hassel's  
*Richmonder Anzeiger*, 1862 - 1865

and Little Rock, which had no German-language newspaper and were craving to get one.<sup>31</sup>

Instead, Hassel's newspaper was also meant to make Yankee-Germans cross lines: No less than 16 of the 26 locations, Hassel had selected, were also home to one or more prisoner of war camps.<sup>32</sup> In 1863 and 1864, thousands of German-born Union soldiers populated Confederate prison camps. In May 1864, Mary Chestnut remarked in her diary: “In all these years I have seen no Yankees. All the prisoners well or wounded have been Germans, Scotch regiments, Irish regiments — most German, however.”<sup>33</sup>

From January 1863 onwards, the content of the *Richmonder Anzeiger* was almost exclusively composed of propaganda articles written by an August Wesendonck,<sup>34</sup> reprints of letters from the field, signed by an anonymous German “Southron” of the 12th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, Co. D,<sup>35</sup> and, finally, personalized proclamations aimed explicitly at the Germans in the North:<sup>36</sup>

Germans [...] in the Northern States! Are you blind Hessians, that you don't see, that the last one of your boys will have to bite the grass, if you don't quit fighting this war?<sup>37</sup>

The readers addressed here had to be reached first. There is no definite evidence for the hypothesis that the newspaper had actually been delivered to those POW camps in order to win the Germans over. Why, though, did Hassel deliver his newspaper to Cahaba, the notorious POW camp 10 miles south of Selma, Alabama, and not to Selma itself, which in 1860 had 10 percent foreigners among its citizens and also a lot of Germans who worked in the local industries.<sup>38</sup>

At the same time — in the fall of 1864 — countless Germans were inmates at the Wilmington prison camp in North Carolina. Wilmington, too, was on Hassel's distribution list. In 1893 Marie Elise Bonitz recalled the following incident:

I remember vividly when they told us, there were so many Germans among the freshly captured POWs. [...] at least two thirds of the hundreds of wounded and imprisoned were German. Many could not even speak one word of English; [...] upon my question, why [a German soldier] would be willing to fight for a cause he does not understand, that poor fellow answered, that he and most of the others of the regiment had been lured into the army by the high bounties offered to them right upon arrival of their ship, that they had been transferred to the front immediately and were then thrown into action right away....<sup>39</sup>

It was those people, Hassel wanted to attract for the Confederacy. By mid-1863, overfilling, hunger and scandalous hygienic circumstances were considered daily routine in almost all Southern POW camps. The exchange of prisoners had come to a standstill. In order to escape such indescribable misery in the camps,<sup>40</sup> many of the foreign-born Union soldiers were willing to take the oath and join the Confederate Army. In 1864, Confederate Secretary of War James A. Seddon reacted upon this sentiment by establishing the following recruitment hierarchy:

You are hereby authorized to enlist a Battalion of Infantry from among the foreigners, now prisoners of war [...] In making such enlistments, Irish and French will be preferred, no citizens or nations of the United States, and few if any Germans, should be enlisted [...].<sup>41</sup>

It does become clear that the Confederate Secretary of War was not interested in recruiting “German-born Yankees.” A deep-seated distrust against the “hordes of Northern Hessians” and “abolitionist Goths and Vandals”<sup>42</sup> placed the Germans on the bottom of all desirable ethnic Confederate recruits.<sup>43</sup>

Even though the Germans among the “Galvanized Yankees” may have experienced open rejection, or even hostility, the Confederate government never passed an

official order, not to recruit Germans at all — before they could not get any cannon fodder whatsoever, they rather accepted Germans into their ranks. In October 1864, Mary Boykin Chestnut recalled the following scene:

On this open space, within forty paces of us, a regiment of foreign deserters has camped. They have taken the oath of allegiance to our government and are now being drilled and disciplined into form before sending them to our army. They are mostly German — some Irish, however. Their close proximity keeps me miserable — treacherous once, traitors forever.<sup>44</sup>

On the whole, it may be assumed, that less Germans than Irish or French were “galvanized.” A special role in this project was played by the state of Tennessee: it will never be resolved who was hiding behind the pseudonym “Southron” in Hassel's *Richmonder Anzeiger*, and it is questionable whether that person had actually served in the 12th Tennessee Infantry. According to rumours, however, that circulated already during the war, an extremely high number of German-born Yankees had been recruited into Tennessee regiments.<sup>45</sup>

Another dark spot in this scheme is Hassel's “propagandist” August Wesendonck: his name, too, may have been a pseudonym, in order to pretend a connection with Hugo Wesendonck, a well-known German forty-eighter in the North. While his letters-to-the-editor appeared in the 1861 and 1862 issues of Hassel's newspaper only sporadically,<sup>46</sup> they became the prime editorials in 1863 and 1864. Surprisingly enough, not even Hermann Schuricht, an exquisite connoisseur of the German community of Richmond and a publisher himself, makes mention of Wesendonck in his book on the German element in Virginia. But then again it was none other than Hermann Schuricht who stated in 1899, that in the end of the war, the *Richmonder Anzeiger* was bought by the Confederate government and edited by a German emigrant from the Rhineland by the name of George A. Peple. In 1969, historian Klaus Wust revived Schuricht's statement in his own publication: “George A. Peple was installed as editor under the disguise of ‘G. A. Wallace, Editor and Proprietor’.”<sup>47</sup> This supposedly happened right after Hassel had issued the first ABC-books for German-Confederate schools in November 1864, which he sold for \$2,00 a piece and which got him deeply into debts.<sup>48</sup>

In reality, Georg Adolphus Peple was a Belgian teacher, born at Henry-Chapelle in 1828, who emigrated to the States in 1850 and had settled in Richmond by 1859. He first joined the Confederate Corps of Engineers, but later obtained a professorship at the “Confederate Marine School” and was stationed on board the CSS *Patrick Henry* in Rocketts, Va.<sup>49</sup> From a present-day



perspective, there is only absolute certainty in the fact that between December 12th, 1864, and March 26th, 1865, the *Richmonder Anzeiger* was published by “G. A. Wallace, Proprietor”.<sup>50</sup> A George A. Wallace actually lived in Richmond at the time and was a member of the wealthy firm of William Wallace & Sons, dealers of wine and liquors. None of the newspaper’s issues for April and May 1865 have survived, in June 1865 Burghardt Hassel is mentioned as proprietor again.

There are no archival sources to back up the purchase of the newspaper as stated by Schuricht; why Peple should have used Wallace’s name remains a mystery.<sup>51</sup> Hermann Schuricht, however, is the only reliable source present-day historians can confide in when examining the history of the *Richmonder Anzeiger*. Schuricht was Hassel’s contemporary, his friend, as well as his professional competitor. For Christmas 1864, Hassel published a Christmas poem for his faithful readers and subscribers — ironically, the subtitle said “to our sponsors,” and is thus open to interpretation.

In any case, the Confederate government was aware of the importance of Hassel’s newspaper and had good reason to sponsor Hassel’s trip through the South in 1862. In order not to loose their ethnic German minority ideologically to the Union, the Confederate government presumably reacted the same way as Abraham Lincoln in 1859, when he had bought the *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* of Springfield to secure himself votes for the presidential election of 1860.<sup>52</sup> In the case of the *Richmonder Anzeiger*, however, the intervention of the Confederate government was less successful.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For German newspapers in the North see: Carl F. Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 75, 76, 80. In 1860/61, only six out of the eleven Confederate States had German-language newspapers. Georgia: *Die Locomotiv* (Atlanta, printed until 1860); Louisiana: *Die Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung* and *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung* (New Orleans, La.); South Carolina: *Die Deutsche Zeitung* (Charleston; did not appear between 1861 and 1865 due to Melchers’ military service); Tennessee: *Der Anzeiger des Südens* (Memphis), der *Memphis Demokrat* (suspended in 1861) and *Stimme des Volkes* (Memphis, suspended in 1860); Texas: *Die Union* (Galveston; ceased publication on Oct. 7th, 1862), *Galveston Zeitung* (suspended in 1861), *Der Texas Demokrat* (Houston, suspended in 1866), *Prairie Blume* (La Grange, suspended in 1861), *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* (Neu Braunfels), *Texas Staats-Zeitung* (San Antonio, disappeared in 1861 because of Gustav Schleicher’s military service); Virginia: *Richmonder Anzeiger* (Richmond) and *Virginische Zeitung*, (Richmond, ceased publication in 1861 when Schuricht was mustered into Confederate service). See also: Karl J. R. Arndt, May E. Olson, }plain *The German Language Press of the Americas / Die deutschsprachige Presse der Amerikas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, ≈ 1976), vol. I, 44f, 174ff, 606ff, 611ff, 614ff, 638ff.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the German press of New Orleans, Hartmut Keil of the University of Leipzig just recently gave two papers: Hartmut Keil, “German-Americans and African Americans in Mid-Nineteenth Century America,” unpublished paper presented at the conference *Germany and African Americans: A Comparative Perspective*,

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, November 2, 1998; Hartmut Keil, “Ethnizität und Rasse: Die deutsche Bevölkerung und die Kritik der Sklaverei in der deutschen Presse von New Orleans,” unpublished paper presented at the conference *Gesellschaft und Diplomatie im transatlantischen Kontext*, Stiftung Leucorea, Lutherstadt Wittenberg, October 23, 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Memphis surrendered on June 6, 1862. Between April 1858 and January 1876, Louis Wundermann published the independent weekly *Der Anzeiger des Südens*; no issues of this newspaper, however, survived. When Wundermann’s newspaper fell under northern censorship, the last of the three German-language newspapers that had originally supported secession, was suspended. West of the Mississippi, Ferdinand Lindheimer’s *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* remained the only German-language newspaper of the Confederacy. Since the pro-Confederate stance of the newspaper did not correspond with the loyalty that most Germans felt towards the Union, Lindheimer had a hard time to keep his paper alive during the war. A similar fate was shared by the *Texas Democrat*: Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, “One Hundred Years Neu Braunfelser Zeitung,” *American German Review* 19, 6 (1953), 15 - 16; Arndt, p. 612 and Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Zeitung*, Charleston, October 24, 1854: “Die Sklaverei Frage ist einer der kitzlichsten [sic] Punkte der innern und äußern amerikanischen Politik - Das Gedeihen, ja, die Existenz des Südens hängt davon ab [...] Das ist sicher, daß wir eher zum offenen Sklavenhandel greifen, als Sklaverei aufgeben werde.” See also: “An unsere Leser,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, Charleston, October 5, 1854, or “Baumwolle und Sklaverei,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, Charleston, October 6, 1853.

<sup>5</sup> In his study Wittke came to the conclusion that not a single German-language newspaper ever remotely defended the institution of slavery. In reality, however, already Hassel defended slavery — Melchers, though, not only defended, but truly supported it: Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America*, p.136.

<sup>6</sup> For example: Articles in the *Deutsche Zeitung* on the issue of slavery (April 8, 1856), three articles on Kansas (April 10, 1856), editorial on pro-slavery agitation in Missouri (October 2, 1856).

<sup>7</sup> “Negerverschwörung in Texas,” [Negro conspiracy in Texas] *Deutsche Zeitung*, October 16, 1856.

<sup>8</sup> See: *Deutsche Zeitung*, October 9, 1856; October 23, 1856; January 27, 1857; February, 24, 1857; and March 3, 1857.

<sup>9</sup> For examples see: *Deutsche Zeitung*, October 24, 1854: “Wer ist Sklave?” [Who is a slave?]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, December 23, 1856: “Negerweihnachtsfeier” [Negro Christmas Party]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, April 30, 1857: “Sklave gewinnt Lotterie” [Slave wins lottery]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, August 27, 1857: “Faulheit von freien Farbigen” [On the laziness of free Colored]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, September 3, 1857 “Die Kreuzung der Menschenrasse” [The crossbreeding of human races]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, October 1, 1857 “Nigger Emancipation” [Nigger emancipation]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, January 26, 1858: “Die Neger-Race” [The Negro Race]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, February 16, 1858 “Ungeheuer des Südens” [Beasts of the South]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, May 4, 1858 “Rechte der Neger im Norden” [Negros’ Rights in the North]; *Deutsche Zeitung*, July 22, 1858 “Rückkehr des Sklaven John in die Sklaverei” [The return of John the slave into slavery]; etc.

<sup>10</sup> See *Deutsche Zeitung*, March 12, 1857, and March 19, 1857, or the seven-part-mini-series “Aus den Gebieten der Länder und Völkerkunde - Heinrich Emmerich in Onkel Toms Urheimat” [From the field of geography and ethnology — Henry Emmerich in Uncle Tom’s true homeland] published in May 1857.

<sup>11</sup> Church council members Ostendorff and Ahrens were ordered to conduct the purchase. Minutes of the secretary William. Ufferhardt, September 9, 1853 in: “St. Matthew’s Minutes, 1853,” p. 8., St. Matthew’s Church, Charleston, S.C, Archive.

<sup>12</sup> “Charleston,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, Charleston, March 28, 1854: “Wir glauben nicht, daß durch Einwanderung dem Institut der Sklaverei im Geringsten Abbruch gethan würde. Die großentheils und allein durch Sklavenhände cultivirten Strecken

eignen sich nicht für Weiße, die den dort herrschenden Krankheiten bald unterliegen würden. Dagegen werden die Einwanderer sich bald den hier herrschenden Grundsätzen anschmiegen, die Sklaverei tolerieren und schließlich selber dahin streben Sklaven zu erwerben und die nach ihnen Eingewanderten über diesen Gegenstand zu belehren.”

<sup>13</sup> Until 1860, the number of Charleston's slaves dropped by 29 percent. Accordingly, Charleston's Germans also sold many of their slaves. By 1860, only 8.9 percent of Charleston's German residents were slaveowners with a total of 325 slaves. Michael Bell, “Hurrah für dies süsse, dies sonnige Leben: The Anomaly of Charleston, South Carolina's Antebellum German-Americans,” (Diss. University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1996), p.97f.

<sup>14</sup> Johann A. Wagener, “Die Deutschen von Süd-Carolina: Die Stadt am Meere,” *Der Deutsche Pionier* III (1871), p.154.

<sup>15</sup> These were the children Alice (\*1848), Mary Francis (\*1852), William (\*1855), Ernest (\*1857), and the twins Rosa and Betty (\*1859). Since this entry was the only one of that nature between 1860 and 1866, it may be assumed that Henry Bullwinkel was indeed the biological father of these children: “Register of Baptisms 1860,” p.80, church archive of St. Matthew's Church, Charleston, S.C. As far as the weddings are concerned, see “Register of Marriages 1858,” p.45, church archive of St. Matthew's Church, Charleston, S.C.: 42-year-old Nancy Witfield, owned by Cordes, married 25-year-old Jim Manigold, owned by Tom H. Day, Charleston, on May 13, 1858. On October 14, 1858, Cordes' 25-year-old slave George Washington married 20-year-old Caroline Blach of Charleston.

<sup>16</sup> In his study, Marchio concluded that for the majority of the citizens of South Carolina “[...] their best interest lay with distinctions of race and not religion or nativity.” That included South Carolina's Germans as well: James Marchio, “Nativism in the Old South: Know-Nothingism in Antebellum South Carolina,” *Southern Historian* 8 (1987), 50.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Bischoff (1821-1878), of Heerstedt, was married to Jenny Melchers (died 1892), they had five children: “Melchers Family Records,” courtesy of Julien T. Melchers, Jr., Mt. Pleasant, S.C.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Issertel, of Carlsdorf/Hesse, married Agnes Melchers before 1859. The couple had five children, who later on moved to Louisiana and California: “Melchers Family Records,” courtesy of Julien T. Melchers, Jr., Mt. Pleasant, S.C.

<sup>19</sup> Andrea Mehrländer, “‘...Gott gebe uns bald bessere Zeiten’: Die Deutschen von Charleston, Richmond und New Orleans im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, 1861 - 1865,” (Diss. Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1998), see chart on p. 230. This dissertation is currently undergoing translation and will soon be published by the University of South Carolina Press under the title ‘In Dixie Land I'll Take My Stand’: *The German Communities of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans During the American Civil War, 1861 - 1865*.

<sup>20</sup> Franz Melchers and his brother-in-law Issertel were members of the board of directors of the “Demokratische Frei Männer Verein” [Club of Democratic Free Males].

<sup>21</sup> Georg Christoph Ferdinand Volger, son of the pastor Georg Gottfried Volger (1781 - 1843) and his wife Sophie Hedwig Schröder (1790 - 1870), and older brother of Sophie G. Wieting (1823 - 1848), was born on March 17, 1814, in Meyenburg and died on February 3, 1899, in Burg/Bremen at the age of eighty-four. Volger presumably emigrated on a Wieting ship in the late 1840s (together with his brothers Georg H. B. Volger and Gustav W. Th. Volger?) and started working for Melchers' *Deutsche Zeitung* in 1857. After Volger lost considerable real estate in Charleston, he returned to Germany in 1867, where he died as a bachelor: Family records, courtesy of Johann Christian Bosse, Bremen.

<sup>22</sup> The company belonged to the 1st Regiment of Artillery, 4th Brigade, South Carolina Militia.

<sup>23</sup> “Press and Printing Outfit,” *Daily Courier*, Charleston, December 9, 1862: “Capt. Melchers, the Editor and Proprietor, is and has been in service since the opening of the war, and has been compelled for this cause to suspend issue.” The last antebellum

issue of the newspaper still in existence is dated September 29, 1859.

<sup>24</sup> If the estimate that South Carolina sent roughly 500 German-born soldiers to the front is correct, then almost 17% of South Carolina's Germans served in the Confederate army, whereas only 14.6 percent of native-born South Carolinians took up arms for the cause. Officially, there were ca. 44.000 volunteers from South Carolina. After the war, South Carolina also counted all “over and under age recruits” and, thus, was credited with a total of 71,000 soldiers (= 23.6% of the state's white population). R. H. Woody, “Some Aspects of the Economic Condition of South Carolina after the Civil War,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* VII, 3 (1930), 353.

<sup>25</sup> According to family lore, Hassel worked for the prestigious *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and founded the famous *Baltimore Wecker* in 1850. I found no reference to him in any of the relevant sources, and, thus, do not trust this information: Allen B. Charles, Notes Mss 7:1 H4640:1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>26</sup> *Richmonder Anzeiger*, June 20, 1864: “Die Interessen der Deutschen des Südens verlangen überdies, daß in der Hauptstadt der Conföderation ein tägliches deutsches Blatt bestehe, das dieselben den Amerikanern gegenüber repräsentiert, und das darüber wacht, daß dem deutschen Element die schuldige Achtung zu Theil werde, die ihm vermöge seiner socialen Stellung und seiner thatkräftigen Betheiligung und Unterstützung dieses Befreiungskampfes gebührt.”

<sup>27</sup> Burghardt Hassel, the youngest of four brothers, was born on June 23, 1828, in Kassel (Hesse), emigrated to New York in 1849 and settled in Richmond in 1852/53. On May 2, 1855, Hassel became a naturalized citizen and married Maria Gerhardt (\*Dec. 12, 1837 in Gelnhausen near Darmstadt) in 1857. The couple had five children: Mss 7:1 H 4640:1, Allen B. Charles Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>28</sup> Due to paper shortage, daily appearance of the *Richmonder Anzeiger* was already endangered as early as August 1861; Hassel, however, managed to find enough paper to keep him going for weeks to come: *Richmonder Anzeiger*, August 7, 1861. After Hassel had reduced the size of the paper, the *Richmonder Anzeiger* had to be suspended completely for the first time in April of 1863 — due to paper shortage. In an article on May 2, 1863, Hassel appealed to his readers to collect rags and drop these at the office. Hassel had arranged for a deal with a Richmond paper mill that would accept the rags and trade those in for printing paper. Hassel later started printing on the reverse side of wallpaper.

<sup>29</sup> The Manuscript Census of 1860 did not show any personal property or real estate (National Archives, RG 29, M 653, roll 1353, p. 548). See also: Shelley Rolfe, “Local lore in German,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 28, 1983. Only in 1886 did Hassel move into the so-called “Strecker-Hassel-House” (built in 1844 and once owned by the German apothecary Otto Strecker), located at 1904 Pleasant Street, Union Hill. There Hassel died on September 15, 1912. The house was torn down in 1925: Mary Wingfield Scott, *Old Richmond Neighborhoods* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1950), 52. In March 1859, Carl Rudolph Maximilian Pohle worked as agent for Hassel's newspaper; whether he continued working as an agent until he was mustered into service as of the 1st Virginia Volunteer Infantry on April 21, 1861, remains unknown: *Richmonder Anzeiger*, March 12, 1859. For the announcement that the newspaper will be suspended for three weeks see *Richmonder Anzeiger*, September 27, 1862.

<sup>30</sup> As far as Texan Germans were concerned, it was already difficult by the winter of 1862 to reach them, but by summer 1863 they were totally cut off through the loss of the Mississippi. In Greenville, Mississippi, the German community had gained regional fame through a spectacular Schiller festival — Hassel never visited the place: Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse* (New Orleans: The Author, 1901), 30.

<sup>31</sup> Natchez and Greenville surrendered to the Union late in the summer of 1863, Little Rock in September of 1863 and Montgomery in April 1865.

<sup>32</sup> Larger POW camps existed in only 25 cities of the Confederacy, eight of which were located inside the state of Georgia, which was considered the safest state from a military point of view. Richmond, the Confederate capital, could boast of eight prisoner of war camps inside city limits. “Locations of Principal U.S. and C.S. Military Prisons”, *Civil War* 59 (Dec. 1996), S. 22/23.

<sup>33</sup> Entry from May 8, 1864, Camden, S.C., in: Mary B. Chestnut, *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 600. Bell Irvin Wiley mentions similar feelings among Confederate soldiers who had no German background: Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge/London: Louisiana State University Press, Reprint of the 1943 edition, 1995), 310f.

<sup>34</sup> August Wesendonck first resided in Mechanicsburg, Va., and not in what he called “Cluxi, Va.,” obviously a fictional name. He moved to Richmond in 1865: *Richmonder Anzeiger*, January 15, 1865. The author could not establish any family ties between him and the famous forty-eighter Hugo Wesendonck (\*1817 in Elberfeld), who lived in New York City at the time.

<sup>35</sup> *Richmonder Anzeiger*, January 17, 1863: In this article the “Southron” pointed out, that the 154th Tennessee Vol. Infantry consisted of Germans, Swiss, French, Italiens and Irish.

<sup>36</sup> “An die Deutschen in Maryland und Pennsylvanien!” [To the Germans of Maryland and Pennsylvania!], *Richmonder Anzeiger*, July 17, 1864: The article was signed with “Z. im Namen der Deutschen des S. dens” [Z. on behalf of all Germans in the South]. It was General Samuel Cooper (1798 - 1876), Confederate Adjutant General, who had appealed to foreign citizens inside the Union to cross lines and join the Confederacy (General-Order No. 65): Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge/London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, 61f.)

<sup>37</sup> Here August Wesendonck called upon the “Speichellecker von Fremont und Consorten” [toadies of Fremont and the whole enchilada]: *Richmonder Anzeiger*, December 27, 1862: “Deutsche und Irlönder im Norden! Seid Ihr denn blinde Hessen, daß ihr nicht seht, daß der letzte von Euch ins Gras beißen muß, wenn Ihr diesen Krieg nicht aufgebt?”

<sup>38</sup> The German-born Plattenburg family, for example, owned the premises where the famous saltpetre mines were located. Claude C. Grayson, *Yesterday and Today: Memories of Selma and its people* (New Orleans: Pelican Press, Inc., 1948), 27. In the fall of 1864, Cahaba prison held 2,300 Union POWs — four times as many as designed for — among them, many Germans. “Destined to Live: One Prisoner's Brushes with Disaster,” *Civil War* 59 (Dec. 1996), 28. See also: Richard C. Sheridan, “Production of Saltpetre from Alabama Caves,” *Alabama Review* 33, 1 (Jan. 1980), 25 - 34 and Sheridan, “Saltpetre Production from Nitre Beds in Confederate Alabama,” *Alabama Review* 46, 2 (April 1993), 95 - 103; Richard J. Stockham, “Alabama Iron for the Confederacy; The Selma Works,” *Alabama Review* 21,3 (July 1968), 163 - 172; William N. Still, “Selma and the Confederate States Navy,” *Alabama Review* 15 (Jan. 1962), 19 - 37; Maurice Melton, “The Selma Naval Ordnance Works,” *Civil War Times Illustrated* XIV (Dec. 1975), 18 - 25, 28 - 31; Walter W. Stephens, “The Brooke Guns from Selma,” *Alabama Historical Quarterly* XX (Fall 1958), 462 - 475.

<sup>39</sup> “Ich erinnere mich noch besonders lebhaft, wie uns gesagt wurde, es seien so viele Deutsche unter einem gerade hereingebrachten Trupp Gefangener. [...] Unter Hunderten von Verwundeten und Gefangenen zum Mindesten zwei Drittel Deutsche. Viele konnten kein Wort Englisch sprechen; [...] Auf mein Befragen, warum er [ein deutscher Soldat] denn f. r eine Sache fechte, von der er ja nichts verstönde, sagte der Arme, er und die Meisten in demselben Regiment hötten sogleich nach ihrer Ankunft von Deutschland sich, von der hohen “Bounty” verlockt, anwerben lassen, und seien sogleich nach dem Schauplatz des Krieges versetzt, und kamen sodann auch gleich in's Gefecht ...” in: “Vom sch^nen S. den”, anonymous newspaper clipping,

Wilmington, N.C., May 1893, signed with: “Die S-DL fNDERIN” [“Southern Belle”]. In all likelihood, this report is part of the war memories of Marie Elise Stegner, born in 1845 in Coburg, who was married to Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Bonitz in Goldsboro, N.C., on June 10th, 1862. The article must have appeared in one of the two newspapers that her brother-in-law, Julius A. Bonitz, started publishing in Goldsboro after 1865 (either in *Die Nord-Carolina Staats-Zeitung* or the *S. dliche Post*). In: John Henry William Bonitz Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, #3865, folder 5, vol. 3; Scrapbook with undated newspaper clippings and miscellaneous handwritten entries, label says: FROM MARY E. BONITZ to M. C. BONITZ.

<sup>40</sup> Of the 700,000 POWs on both sides, an estimated 56,000 had died by the end of the war. For exact numbers see: Gary W. Gallagher, “Good Histories of Prisons are Still Missing in Action,” *Civil War* 59 (Dec. 1996), p. 6, and Gary Thomas / Richard Andrew, “Houses of Misery and Hope,” *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>41</sup> Letter of Major John Blair Hoge on behalf of the Confederate Secretary of War, Seddon, to Major Garret Andrews, Richmond, September 24, 1864: RG 109, “Adjutant and Inspector General Office, Letters and Telegrams Sent,” Chapter I, vol. 43, S. 66, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>42</sup> For other examples see: James M. McPherson, *What they fought for 1861 - 1865* (Baton Rouge/London: Louisiana State University), p. 19f. Confederate diplomat A. Dudley Mann used the following expressions: “[...] the bees of the German hive”: Letter No. 98 from A. Dudley Mann, Brussels, July 16, 1864, to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, Richmond, Va. In: OR, Series II, vol. III (1922), p. 1174; “The worse than Hessian mercenaries [...] are, as I understand, principally Germans” in: Letter no. 95 from A. Dudley Mann, Brussels, June 30, 1864, to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, Richmond, Va. In: OR, Series II, vol. III (1922), p. 1157; “Worse specimens of living men were assuredly never seen than those [Germans] who have been recently swarming in the streets of Antwerp. Many of them are the meanest of vagrants, such as were forbidden admission into the United States prior to the war” in: Letter no. 97 from A. Dudley Mann, Brussels, July 7, 1864, to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, Richmond, Va. In: OR, Series II, vol. III (1922), p. 1166.

<sup>43</sup> Two reports shed light on atrocities committed by German-born Yankees: August Conrad, *Schatten und Lichtblicke aus dem Amerikanischen Leben wöohrend des Secessions-Krieges* (Hannover: Th. Schulze's Buchhandlung, 1879), p. 113, 120, 121; Alfred Hoyt Bill, *The beleaguered City: Richmond, 1861 - 1865* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 62, 223, 307.

<sup>44</sup> Entry by Mary Boykin Chestnut, October 30, 1864, Columbia, S.C., in: Mary B. Chestnut, *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*, 661. In October 1864, Colonel Leon von Zinken, a German by birth, not only commanded the 20th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, but was also in charge of the Confederate headquarters in Columbus, Georgia. At that time the Columbus POW camp held hundreds of Union prisoners, including numerous Germans. Again, Columbus, Ga., was on Hassel's distribution list and, surprisingly enough, Colonel v. Zinken received permission from General Bragg to recruit among the German-born Union prisoners in mid-November. In: Compiled Service Records, Leon von Zinken (NA, RG 109, M 320, roll 315).

<sup>45</sup> Obituary by J. N. Rainey, secretary of the “Confederate Historical Association,” Memphis, printed in: “Conrad Nutzell,” *Confederate Veteran* XIII, 2 (Feb. 1905), p. 86/87: The following report was given about Conrad Nutzell (1835 - 1904), a mechanic who had emigrated from Germany in 1853, and served as 1st Lieutenant of the 15th Tennessee Vol. Infantry, Co. I, under Provost Marshal B. Hill in Dalton, Georgia: “With his characteristic zeal, he conceived the idea of converting six hundred Yankee prisoners, all of whom were Germans and unable to speak English, to our cause, and formed them into a regiment which did some gallant fighting in the cause of the South.” These 600 Germans, recruited

in Millen and Andersonville, were placed with the “Army of Tennessee” and ordered to Mississippi. Near Egypt Station, in December 1864, they were taken prisoners of war. As the commanding officer came from the 10th Tennessee Vol. Infantry, the men were identified with that regiment, rather than with the 15th Tennessee. The officer was Colonel Adolphus Heimann, born in Prussia in 1809, who owned a prestigious architect studio in Nashville before the war. See: John G. Frank, „Adolphus Heimann: Architect and Soldier,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* V (1946), 35 - 57. This information came from Charles Shaughnessy, National Archives, September 19, 1996: Mr. Shaughnessy believes that only a tiny minority among the “Galvanized Yankees” were of German descent.

<sup>46</sup> On September 16, 1861, Wesendonck had written to both, Secretary of War Walker as well as President Davis, as he considered it unwise to withdraw militia companies and felt that Fayette county was no more safe. At the time, Wesendonck still resided in Mechanicsburg, Bland County, Va.: NA, RG 109, 5531- 1861 (M 437, roll 10, p. 95/96) and 5565-1861 (M 437, roll 10, p. 178/179).

<sup>47</sup> As a reliable source, Wust quotes Peple’s curriculum vitae as printed in Schuricht’s book. There, however, the name “G. A. Wallace” is not once mentioned. He also refers to an article in the *Richmonder Anzeiger* of June 6, 1863. In the summer of 1996, I was permitted access to the surviving issues of that newspaper, which were then part of the private archive of August Dietz, III., Richmond. The issues of 1863 end with May 30, 1863. It is unclear to me, how Wust could refer to an article of June 1863. Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 222, 282.

<sup>48</sup> The only other German-owned printing company which got engaged with printing Confederate literature or school books was S. H. Goetzel & Co. of Mobile, Alabama (Dauphin St.). In 1863, they printed Sally Rochester Ford’s novel *Raids and Romance of Morgan and his Men* as well as the propaganda pamphlet *The Confederate: By a South Carolinian* (Mobile: S. H. Goetzel & Co., 1863. 102 p.). In 1864, they produced *Chaudron’s Spelling Book* for Alabama schools: *Mobile Daily Tribune*, July 1, 1863, and March 6, 1864; *The Southern Illustrated News* May 30, 1863.

<sup>49</sup> Schuricht describes Peple as someone coming from Rhenish Prussia: Herrmann Schuricht, *The German Element in Virginia*

(Baltimore, 1900), vol. II, 85. In the manuscript census of 1860, Peple himself gave “Belgium” as place of origin (NA, RG 29, M 653, roll 1352, p. 317).

<sup>50</sup> George A. Wallace was one of the sons, and also part-owner, of the Richmond commissioned merchant house of “Wm. Wallace’s Sons”. Nothing could be found about possible links to Richmond’s German community. For Christmas 1864, the *Richmonder Anzeiger* distributed a Christmas poem to all his sponsors [“seine G^nnner”]: courtesy of Dr. Andrea Mehrl^nder, Berlin.

<sup>51</sup> The “Business File” does not show any entry for either “Wallace”, “Peple” or “Hassel” which could prove that the Confederate Government once bought the newspaper. Hassel, though, sold hay and fodder to the Confederate government on August 26, 1864, for a total of \$57,96. In: RG 109, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms (M 346, roll 419), National Archives, Washington.

<sup>52</sup> The *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* of Springfield, edited by Dr. Theodor Canisius, was sold to Abraham Lincoln on May 30, 1859. After his successful election, Lincoln dissolved the contract and gave the newspaper back to Canisius. The latter went bankrupt in March 1861, but was appointed American consul to Vienna by Lincoln in August 1861, see A. E. Zucker, “Dr. Theodore Canisius, Friend of Lincoln,” *American-German Review* 16, 3 (1950), 13 - 15, 38; Reinhard H. Luthin, “Lincoln Appeals to German American Voters,” *American-German Review* 25, 5 (1959), 4 - 6, 15.

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# *The Linguistic Legacy of the Civil War: How the Civil War changed American English*

Gregory Weeks

Not only in terms of loss of life and human suffering did the U.S. Civil War have an impact on traditional American life but also in the linguistic realm. The Civil War changed forever the way Americans spoke English. The war not only gave us "Johnny Reb" and "Billy Yank"<sup>1</sup> but also popularized the terms "Ironclad" and "rifled" barrels and shot.

The Civil War was also the first truly modern industrial war with modern weapons including steam-powered ships and the forerunners of the machine gun, the Williams' Gun and the Gatling Gun.

This article will trace these and other well-known expressions as well as some lesser known sayings and vocabulary to show how the Civil War is still with us today in everyday American speech. The linguistic legacy of the Civil War will be examined in three major categories: military terms; jokes, anecdotes, nicknames, expressions and sayings; and names for the war and battle names.

## *Military Terms*

Being a war of firsts, the Civil War gave rise to many new terms. For example, the word "draft" which had existed since the eighteenth century for military conscription, but the term "draftee" first appeared during the U.S. Civil War in the Confederacy (1862) and in the Union shortly thereafter (1863).<sup>2</sup>

The Civil War also gave new meaning to the word "Yankee." Of course, the term "Yankee" refers to a New Englander and the common expression "Yankee ingenuity" is well-known, but it was during the Civil War period that "Yankee" first began to be used as a derogatory term. The term has existed at least since the American War for Independence, having its origins in the song "Yankee Doodle Dandy," but going further back, one finds that the word "Yankee" most likely originates from the Dutch Janke, a diminutive of the name Jan or John and was used to denote a Dutch settler and eventually a New Englander. The word "Yank," as in "Billy Yank" was used as early as the American Revolution and by World War I, the term "Yank" was applied to Americans in general. In the South, the term "Dutch," which has a close relationship to Yankee, was used to first to refer to foreigners in the antebellum period and then to refer to Northerners since they were considered foreigners after the outbreak of the War. This said, however, some places in the South, the spelling of "Yankee" is different than in the North. In at least one case in North Carolina, I saw it spelled Y-A-N-K-I-E and when I asked why it was

spelled this way, I received two typically Southern answers. First, because it rhymes with "hankie" and the Yankees were going to be sad when they lost the war, and second, the Union was trying to "yankie" our land away. It is not clear how much faith can be put in either of these explanations, but it shows how ingenious people can be when coming up with explanations for misspellings.

An example of how the Yankees were regarded in the South can be heard in the words of a popular Southern song written after the First Battle of Manassas (or Bull Run if you prefer) when many Southerners felt that the war would be "over by Christmas." Its lines went as follows:

I come from old Manassas with a pocket full of fun—  
I killed forty Yankees with a single-barrelled gun;  
It don't make a niff-a-stiffence to neither you or I  
Big Yankee, little Yankee, all run or die.<sup>3</sup>

A similar term associated with the North was "Doodle" as in Yankee Doodle. A Confederate Civil War period song protested the constant shortage of guns on the Southern side and contained the following stanza:

Want a weapon? Why capture one!  
Every Doodle has got a gun.  
Belt and bayonet, bright and new.  
Kill a Doodle, and capture two!<sup>4</sup>

Another term heavily associated with World War I is "doughboy," referring to an American infantryman, but the term originated in the American Civil War. Various interpretations say that the word referred to the large globular brass buttons on the Union uniforms. This interpretation is based on the common word "doughboy" for a globular dumpling. A second interpretation holds that Confederate infantrymen cleaned their white belts with a dough made of pipe clay which became soggy when it rained.<sup>5</sup>

The use of the word "pup tent" for a portable tent also began during the Civil War. At first, the tent was called a "dog tent," referring to its small size being more suitable for a young dog than for a grown man.<sup>6</sup> Two other common Civil War military terms that are still regularly used today are "red tape" (as in to cut through red tape) and "shoddy." The first term arose from the use of red tape to bind U.S. Government ledgers and cutting through these red bindings served as a metaphor for eliminating bureaucracy.

Similarly, "shoddy" comes from the U.S. Government use of old rags (or shoddy) to make the cloth for woolen

1861 Union uniforms. The quality of these uniforms was so low that "shoddy" came to be used as a general term for poor quality.<sup>7</sup>

Even more surprising, a word considered the most Southern of words, namely "Dixie," actually most likely has its origins in New York City. Although some maintain that it has its origins in the Mason-Dixon line, a more plausible explanation is that the term originated shortly before the outbreak of hostilities and traces its roots to a play from the year 1850 that featured a black character named Dixie and later popularized by Northern minstrel shown Daniel Decatur Emmet's 1859 song "Dixie's Land." According to historian Darryl Lyman, Dixie was a common name for black characters in minstrel shows, and Emmet said he often used the term "Dixie's land" to refer to the "black (slave's) land." The term has survived and appears in such terms as Dixiecrat, coined for Southern Democrats who left the national party in 1948 because they opposed President Harry S. Truman's civil rights platform.<sup>8</sup>

One should also not fail to forget the famous Generals Hooker and Burnside known for the associations with their names, Hooker having often frequented bordellos according to legend and Burnside because of his sideburns, which up until this time were known as mutton chops. Of course, to defend Hooker, one must mention that the term hooker for a prostitute was in use before the war. In an amusing twist, a ladies' crocheting society in Washington, D.C. bore the name "Hooker's Hookers."<sup>9</sup>

The use of French military terminology both during and after the war also needs to be mentioned here. "Chasseur" (sha-SOOR) or "light infantryman." The word actually means "chaser" or "hunter" in French. The uniforms of the 14th Brooklyn, a regiment whose official designation was actually the 84th New York Volunteers, were made in the chasseur style with straight red trousers, white leggings, a blue blouse and a red cap, trimmed in blue. The regiment bore the nickname "The Red Legged Devils."<sup>10</sup>

Another French term "chevaux-de-frise" (shuh-VOH-duh-FREEZ), which literally translates into Frisian horses, referred to a portable defensive barrier created by the Frisians in the 1600s. A chevaux-de-frise is usually constructed using a length of timber or iron with a length of six to nine feet and is studded with long, pointed spikes. The use of the chevaux-de-frise was made obsolete by the invention of barbed wire.<sup>11</sup>

Other French terms in use during the War included banquette, parapet, aiguillette, caponniere, epaulette (better known as shoulder tabs to most Americans), glacis, zoave, Minié ball, and palisade.

Naval terms also experienced a heyday during the war. The word "Ironclad," mentioned above, began to be used early in the 1800s, but did not come into common use until mid-century. On March 9, 1862,

two ironclad vessels, the Union *Monitor* and the Confederate *Merrimac*, fought to a draw, marking the death knell of wooden ships. The ironclad's resistance to cannon fire allowed Union Flag Officer David Farragut to capture New Orleans and two years later to sail into Mobile Bay, heedless of shore batteries and mines which at the time were called torpedoes. When warned about the mines, Farragut allegedly uttered his famous words, "Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead!" Soon afterwards, he was promoted to Admiral, the first American to be so honored. Incidentally, flag officer was the only naval rank above captain from 1850 to 1862 when the ranks Commodore and Rear Admiral were created. These were followed in 1864 by Vice Admiral. Although Full Admiral was not adopted until after the war, it was often applied to Farragut before he was officially promoted.

In addition to all of these Navy terms, following, President Lincoln's announcement of a blockade of the South in 1861, the term "blockade runner" came into wide use. The blockade prevented the south from shipping its valuable cotton to overseas markets.<sup>12</sup>

*Other Sayings and Expressions Arising from the War:*

Following the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, the actor John Wilkes Booth jumped from the President's box onto the stage at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C., fracturing his leg. Despite his injury Booth managed to make it out of Washington and had his leg set by a doctor named Samuel A. Mudd. Mudd, of course, did not know that Booth had murdered the president, but after it became known, Booth was treated as a traitor, giving rise to the saying "Your name is Mudd." What is also not generally known is that television journalist Roger Mudd is a descendant of Dr. Mudd.

Another unforgettable 19th century slang term which played an important role in the incident at Ford's Theater was "sockdolager" (sok-DOL-uh-jur), which would probably have forgotten if it had not been a line in an average 19th century stage comedy called "Our American Cousin." This comedy, it turns out, was the play that Abraham Lincoln was watching when he was assassinated. The fatal shot fired by John Wilkes Booth rang out as actor Harry Hawks spoke the line "Well, I guess I know enough to turn you inside out, old gal...you sockdolagizing old man trap!" The derivation of the term is obscure, but it is likely based on sock (to hit) combined with doxology (meaning "to finish" in the slang sense).<sup>13</sup>

A similar term and a favorite Civil War word is "skedaddle," meaning to run or to flee. The use of this word goes back to the 1820s and probably traces its roots to the Greek *skedannunai*.<sup>14</sup>

The Civil War also produced a plethora of nicknames for generals and statesmen. To name just a few, there were "Stonewall" Jackson, "Fighting" Joe Hooker, and "Honest" Abe.<sup>15</sup> General George McClellan was known as "Little Mac" and "The Young Napoleon," General

Edwin V. Sumner, a man with a booming voice, was called "The Bull of the Woods," Brigadier General William H. French was known both as "Old Winkey" and "Old Binky," General Henry Halleck was called "Old Brains" and General Alpheus S. Williams was referred to simply as "Pop" by his troops. Some nicknames had interesting explanations. General George Armstrong Custer was known simply as "Cinnamon" because of the Cinammon-smelling hair oil he used. The derivations of many of these nicknames, as some may know, were actually based on misunderstandings. In Hooker's case, his nickname did not come from his bold or aggressive tactics. During General McClellan's 1862 campaign drive towards Richmond, a dispatch from an Associated Press correspondent reached the *New York Courier and Enquirer* just as the paper was going to press. The dispatch started with the words "Fighting—Joe Hooker," in reference to the earlier exploits of Hooker's corps. The typesetter, however, took the first line as a headline without the dash and the name stuck after publication. Hooker himself did not like the name and said "It sounds like Fighting Fool," and "People will think I am a highwayman or bandit."<sup>16</sup>

The Civil War also gave rise to quotations which the people in question never said. The most prominent statement is that attributed to Lincoln: "I wish some of you would tell me the brand of whiskey that Grant drinks. I would like to send a barrel of it to every one of my other generals." Lincoln reportedly said this to a political delegation that complained to him about Grant's drinking. Lincoln, however, denied ever having made the statement with the addendum, "That would have been very good if I had said it," and later "No, I didn't happen to say it, but it's a good story, a hardy perennial. I've traced that story as far back as George II and General Wolfe. When certain persons complained to George that Wolfe was mad, George said, 'I wish he'd bite some of the others!'"<sup>17</sup>

Of course, when speaking of language, one has to burst other bubbles as well. Lincoln's famous letter to Mrs. Bixby, "the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle," which certainly sounds like Lincoln, was not written by the great statesman himself but by his secretary John Hay. As was the case with most letters he sent to strangers, Lincoln relied on Hay to compose the letter. Hay himself later later claimed that he had written the letter, and it truly appears that he formulated it himself.<sup>18</sup>

The letter, which read in part "I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save." Worse yet, according to War Department statistics, only two Bixby sons were killed. One deserted, one was honorably discharged and the last was captured

and as a turncoat became a Confederate.<sup>19</sup> By the way, the term for such a turncoat during the war was a "galvanized" Yankee.

The word "bum" also has its origins in the War. "To bum" at the time of the Civil War meant "to forage" and a "bummer" was someone who went foraging instead of doing his soldiering. It was first recorded in 1856 and probably traces its origins to the German word "bummler" from the 1830s, meaning a lazy, good for nothing, deadbeat or sponger. To bum in the sense of to loaf or wander about is traced to 1863, although "on the bum" and "to bum a ride" did not come into use until the end of the 19th Century and "to have a bum trip" first appeared in the 20th century. The verb "to go through" (to plunder) also has its origins in the war and has been traced to 1861.<sup>20</sup>

The saying "Vote yourself a farm," not often heard today, refers to the Republican Party's promise to give land in the West to anyone who would settle it.<sup>21</sup> Unlike many campaign promises, this one was kept, through passage of the Homestead Act of 1862. Following the end of the War, this Act persuaded many Southerners to leave the devastated South and head West, taking their linguistic heritage with them. The passage of the Homestead Act in turn led to the use of the word "grubstake" (1863).<sup>22</sup>

The saying "Don't Swap Horses in the Middle of the Stream" was first used by the Republicans to persuade voters to re-elect Abraham Lincoln in 1864.<sup>23</sup>

Older Southerners may also use "Yankee Shot" for navel or belly button, if you prefer, of course referring to the gunshot wounds that many Southerners suffered in the war's battles.

The verb "to frazzle" was first used in 1865 (General John B. Gordon to General Robert E. Lee).<sup>24</sup> Further, the words case and casket for burials first appeared during the war in 1863 newspaper articles.<sup>25</sup>

Financial terms such as "slush fund" also trace their origins to the war period (1864). The word currency also dates to the Civil War period and was considered slang at this time. Cash had many nicknames during this period including "stamps," "soap" and "shinplaster."<sup>26</sup> In fact, the need for fighting men may not have been as great as the need for money. The first Federal Income Tax (1861) came into being during the War but was later rescinded. The introduction of the Income Tax gave rise to a new job title which still exists today, that of revenue agent, much to the chagrin of many Americans. The general progressive income tax that we know today was passed in 1914 to finance the United States' participation in World War I. Also, the motto "In God We Trust" which appears on American coins to the present day dates to 1864. It was first authorized by Congress in that year for use on the two-cent coin. God was also used by Union troops in another manner as well. As the Northerners were fighting in the heat and

humidity of the mosquito-infested Southern swamps, they referred to the North as "God's country," a phrase still used today for any especially beautiful area of one's home region.<sup>27</sup>

Words describing medical maladies are also prevalent in Civil War American English. One only has to think of the various terms for diarrhea such as the "Virginia Quickstep" or "Tennessee Quickstep," the "trots" or the "two step." Lice, in general were referred to as "bodyguards."

It is also important to note that shortened forms of many words, a process known among linguists as clipping, came into use during the war.<sup>28</sup> A prominent example of this is the use of the word "photo" for "photograph" (1863). In reference to Civil War photography, one should also note that the popular phrase "Not on your tintype" (meaning certainly not) derives from the word "tintype," a photograph taken as a positive on a thin plate of tin, a process first patented in the mid-1850s.<sup>29</sup>

New references to food and drink were also not uncommon during the War. For example, language describing drinking and liquor was very colorful during the Civil War. Whiskey was often referred to as "turpentine." With regard to food, the word "chow" (1856) predates the war by at least five years, but first became common usage through its wartime military use. Specially preserved rations became known as "canned" goods or "desecrated" vegetables and for dehydrated food, the term "bricks" was also commonly used, perhaps with good reason.<sup>30</sup>

The word "tycoon" also has its roots in American English at the time of the Civil War as well. "Tycoon" originally meant a top leader and comes from the Japanese *taikun*, meaning "great ruler" or "military leader." During the Civil War, the term was applied to both President Abraham Lincoln (The White House Tycoon) and General Robert E. Lee by people close to them. Tycoon in the sense of a business leader or magnate came into use following the war.<sup>31</sup>

"I'm from Missouri" probably has Southern origins as well. During the course of the Civil War, a Northern officer came upon a Confederate troop formation commanded by a Missourian. The Northern officer demanded that the Confederates surrender, saying he had a superior force, but the Confederate commander replied that he did not believe the Northerner's boast and added the now famous expression "I'm from Missouri. You'll have to show me." Of course, as you all know, Missouri is known as the Show Me state. In any case, Dr. Walter B. Stevens recorded this attribution of the phrase in his *A Colonial History of Missouri*, published in 1921.<sup>32</sup>

Let's not forget North Carolina either. The name "tarheel" as in North Carolina tarheels comes from the Civil War as well. In the course of a battle, the North

Carolinians stuck to their positions so well that they became known as "tarheels."

#### *Names for the War and Battle Names*

Probably no war in history has as many different names for battles or for the war itself than does the U.S. Civil War. Some common names for the War are listed below:

The War of Northern Aggression  
The War of Southern Rebellion  
The War Between the States  
The War  
The Uncivil War  
The Late Friction  
The Schism  
The Late Ruction  
The War of Southern Independence  
The Second War of Independence  
The Second American Revolution  
The War for States Rights  
The War of the North and the South  
The War for Southern Freedom  
Mr. Lincoln's War  
The War for Constitutional Liberty  
The War for Southern Rights  
The Yankee Invasion  
The War for Separation  
The War to Suppress Yankee Arrogance  
The Lost Cause<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, the South and the North have different names for important battles. The North's Bull Run, for example, is known in the South as the Battle of Manassas and Antietam in the North is known as Sharpsburg in the South. The Battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, is known as the Battle of Stone River in the North. This difference arises from the fact that the North generally named the battles after the closest river, creek or other landmark, while the South chose the nearest town. In fact, to this day, the variation of battle names in the United States continues, which has led some to postulate that the war has never ended.

Even the causes of the War have linguistic origins, according to some. One pervasive old joke has it that "The War to Suppress Yankee Arrogance" arose out of a dialectical difference. In the joke, three high ranking Northern generals stormed into a Washington, D.C., bar and demanded "We want a bottle right away!" A Southern spy, overhearing the statement, rushed to General P.G.T. Beauregard and reported that the Union generals wanted a bottle right away. The Southern gentleman Beauregard obliged, leaving the evening's quadrille in Montgomery and heading to Charleston where he gave the Yankees the bottle (or battle) of Fort Sumter, beginning the shooting war.<sup>34</sup>

#### *The Linguistic Legacy of the Civil War and Conclusions*

The term "howdy" for "How do you do?" was first



recorded in 1840, but became associated with the West as Civil War veterans moved into that region of the country, as in "Howdy, partner." And the Reconstruction period also gave us many new words such as "Carpet Bagger" and "Copperhead."

It is also worth noting here that the term "New South" is not a modern invention. It was used in the reconstruction period by Southern publicists and boosters of industrial development as a shorthand expression for modernization and economic expansion.<sup>35</sup>

The expression "Waving the bloody shirt" is also from the reconstruction period and refers to the Republican tactic which reminded Northern voters that the South was made up predominantly of Democrats and that many Northern members of the Democratic Party had been at best lukewarm about resisting secession. The term came into use after Congressman Benjamin F. Butler displayed to his colleagues the bloodstained shirt of a Northerner who had been flogged in Mississippi. The bloody shirt was used for decades as a way of diverting attention from politically embarrassing contemporary issues. A classic speech in this vein was given by Robert G. Ingersoll in the campaign of 1880: "Every man that lowered our flag was a Democrat. Every man that bred bloodhounds was a Democrat. Every preacher that said that slavery was a divine institution was a Democrat. Every wound borne by you Union soldiers is a souvenir of a Democrat."<sup>36</sup>

In this regard, we should also not forget the contributions of Civil War veterans to American literature—from the stories of Ambrose Bierce to the memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant—and notable literary works about the Civil War such as Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* and the prize-winning *Confederates in the Attic*.

The sheer number of publications relating to the war, the re-enactment societies, and the web sites devoted to the war (The Civil War Research Center has over ten pages of links devoted to the War) show its influence on American Culture.<sup>37</sup>

What has remained of the war in Standard American English is sometimes difficult to pinpoint, but there can be little doubt that the War is still present in our everyday speech when one considers the words and phrases I have just mentioned above.

What is most important to remember about words and phrases that continue to be used from the Civil War period in modern American English is that they arose out of various regional speech patterns and dialects. Despite the strong regional character of military units in the Civil War, soldiers came into contact with both comrades and enemies from regions other than their own and many regional expressions thus came into wide common usage.

Education figured significantly in the spread of Civil War terms. Increased literacy and the prevalence of daily

newspapers combined to speed the transmission of new terms. In this sense, the Civil War may not only be the first "modern" industrial war in terms of military developments but also in the sense of being the first war covered extensively by the press (All one needs to say here is *Harper's Weekly*.)

Americans today having grown up in the age of 24-hour radio and television broadcasting tend to forget the strongly regional nature of American speech at the time of the Civil War. There was no truly standardized American English until the advent of television following the end of the Second World War and it was this national broadcasting which brought the regional terms from the Civil War period mentioned in this article into national usage. Now, thanks to broadcasting, all Americans share and enjoy the colorful linguistic legacy of this period.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Paul Dickson, *War Slang*, 26.
- <sup>2</sup> Christine Ammer, "Fighting Words: Terms from Military History," *Military History Quarterly*, Summer 1999.
- <sup>3</sup> Dickson, 26.
- <sup>4</sup> Dickson, 8.
- <sup>5</sup> Ammer, *MHQ* and Lyman, 57-58.
- <sup>6</sup> Ammer, *Fighting Words*, 201; and Dickson, 8.
- <sup>7</sup> Tom Fasulo, *Civil War Terms*. Internet Discussion List courtesy of Wolfgang Hochbruck, University of Stuttgart.
- <sup>8</sup> Ammer, *MHQ*, Summer 1999.
- <sup>9</sup> Telephone conversation with Paul Norman, U.S. Park Service, January 2000.
- <sup>10</sup> Robert D. Quigley, *Civil War Spoken Here*, 27.
- <sup>11</sup> Quigley, 27.
- <sup>12</sup> Ammer, *MHQ*, Summer 1999.
- <sup>13</sup> Quigley, 147.
- <sup>14</sup> Lyman, 141.
- <sup>15</sup> H.L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 187. Lincoln was also called the Ape. Others in the Whitehouse secretariat called him the Tycoon. See also Dickson, 14.
- <sup>16</sup> *American Heritage*, 43.
- <sup>17</sup> *American Heritage*, 43.
- <sup>18</sup> Burlingame (ed.), *John Hay's Letters*, Appendix I, pp.195-221. My special thanks to the author for providing me with a copy of his essay. See Burlingame (ed.), *At Lincoln's Side - John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 2000).
- <sup>19</sup> Shenkman, 87.
- <sup>20</sup> Mencken, 192. See also Dickson, 8.
- <sup>21</sup> *American Heritage*, 5.
- <sup>22</sup> Mencken, 202.
- <sup>23</sup> *American Heritage*, 5.
- <sup>24</sup> Mencken, 202.
- <sup>25</sup> Lyman, 37.
- <sup>26</sup> Dickson, 8.
- <sup>27</sup> Christine Ammer, "Fighting Words: Terms from Military History," *Military History Quarterly*, Summer 1999.
- <sup>28</sup> Mencken, 203.
- <sup>29</sup> Lyman, 170.
- <sup>30</sup> Lyman, 28.
- <sup>31</sup> Lyman, 172.
- <sup>32</sup> Hendrickson, 108.
- <sup>33</sup> Hendrickson, 95-96.
- <sup>34</sup> Hendrickson, 96.
- <sup>35</sup> *American Heritage*, 29.
- <sup>36</sup> *American Heritage*, 14.
- <sup>37</sup> Author's research on the internet, November 2000.

# Teaching Resources

## *To What Extent Did The Civil War Affect Civil Liberties?*

*Kathryn Lerch*

“Ours is a case of rebellion — in fact a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion...” — Lincoln

In 1861, with the survival of the United States in jeopardy, Abraham Lincoln — the Great Emancipator and champion of human freedom — responded to the national threat by suspending the writ of habeas corpus, ordering martial law and arresting and detaining thousands of American citizens. Lincoln’s decision reveals in stark terms a conflict inherent in the practice of American democracy, that is the inevitable clash between the demands of a successful war effort and the compelling need to protect civil liberties.<sup>1</sup>

Students will be able to:

- use and define relevant vocabulary: writ of habeas corpus, civil liberties, war powers, martial law, and arbitrary arrest
- analyze and interpret documents A - C
- analyze the relationship between war and its effect on civil liberties
- write a persuasive essay dealing with war and its effect on civil liberties

Activities:

A. Reading and Analyzing

1) In preparation, review (if necessary) pertinent sections of the Constitution.

2) Read and analyze document A: (proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus.) Review pertinent vocabulary.

3) Read and analyze document B: (General Order for the Provost Guard in Baltimore).

4) Optional hands-on primary source documents C: (court martial record folders).

B. Selection of questions for critical thinking and discussion based on documents A, B and C:

- 1) In what ways does war limit civil liberties?
- 2) Is it ever proper for the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus? Support your answers.
- 3) Must Americans give up their civil liberties during time of war? If so, why?
- 4) Did Lincoln’s war policy establish precedents for future military conflicts? (e.g. WWI and the free speech

issue, WWII and Japanese-American internment, Vietnam & the Pentagon Papers controversy).

5) How did Lincoln’s policies attack civil liberties during the Civil War? How did Lincoln protect and expand vital civil liberties?

6) Was Lincoln a Dictator or a President? Justify your answer.

Document A: Writ of Habeas Corpus

This document is suitable for large or small group discussions. It may be given out also as a homework assignment. This document also lends itself to being read aloud. After a close reading, write the questions below on the board or on a transparency, for additional class discussion.

Questions:

- 1) What is meant by a draft?
- 2) What does it mean to ‘aid and abet’ the enemy?
- 3) What is the difference between a court martial and a military commission? [members of the military are tried before a court martial, citizens (also including spies and Confederate soldiers) are tried before a military commission.]

4) Lincoln refers to the 87<sup>th</sup> year since independence. How did he refer to years in the Gettysburg Address? Does this mean the same thing?

### DOCUMENT A

Proclamation Suspending the Writ of Habeas Corpus<sup>2</sup>

September 24, 1862

By the President of the United States of America:  
A Proclamation

Whereas, it has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers but also portions of the militia of the States by draft in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary process of law from hindering this measure from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection;

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Now, therefore, be it ordered, first, that during the existing insurrection and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all Rebels and Insurgents, their aiders and abettors within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to Rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law and liable to trial and punishment by Courts Martial or Military Commission:

Second. That the Writ of Habeas Corpus is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement by any military authority or by the sentence of any Courts Martial or Military Commission.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the 87<sup>th</sup>.

By the President: Abraham Lincoln  
William H. Seward, Secretary of State

### Document B: Provost Guard & Oath

This document is suitable for large or small group discussions. It may be given out also as a homework assignment. This document also lends itself to being read aloud. After a close reading, write the questions below on the board or on a transparency, for additional class discussion.

#### Questions:

1) Why might this order be necessary in Maryland? In what other states might this type of order be used? [Maryland was a crucial border state and it protected the "back door to Washington" from the rebel armies].

2) Who might get in trouble in the city of Baltimore? [Persons hanging about a polling place at time of election on November 4, 1863].

3) What is meant by an oath of allegiance? What might happen if you do not give this oath? [If arrested, one could remain under arrest for the duration of the war].

4) How are the General Order's Oath and the contemporary Pledge of Allegiance comparable? How are they different?

### DOCUMENT B

General Order No. 53, 8<sup>th</sup> Army Corps<sup>3</sup>  
HEAD-QUARTERS,  
Middle Department, 8<sup>th</sup> Army Corps,  
Baltimore, Md., October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1863

### General Orders

#### No. 53

It is known that there are many evil disposed persons, now at large in the State of Maryland, who have been engaged in rebellion against the lawful Government, or have given aid and comfort or encouragement to others so engaged, or who do not recognize their allegiance to the United States, and who may avail themselves of the indulgence of the authority which tolerates their presence to embarrass the approaching election, or, through it, to foist enemies of the United States into power. It is therefore ordered:

I. That all Provost Marshals and other Military Officers do arrest all persons found at, or hanging about, or approaching any poll or place of election on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1863, and report such arrest to these Head-Quarters.

II. That all Provost Marshals and other Military Officers commanding Maryland, shall support the Judges of Election on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1863, in requiring an oath of allegiance to the United States, as the test of citizenship of any one whose vote may be challenged on the ground that he is not loyal or does not admit his allegiance to the United States, which oath shall be in the following form and terms:

I do solemnly swear that I will support, protect and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; that I hereby pledge my allegiance, faith and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution, or law, of any State Convention, or State Legislature, to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will at all times yield a hearty and willing obedience to the said Constitution and Government, and will not, either directly or indirectly, do any act in hostility to the same, either by taking up arms against them, or aiding, abetting, or countenancing those in arms against them; that, without permission from the lawful authorities, I will have no communication, direct or indirect, with the States in insurrection against the United States; and that I will in all things deport myself as a good and loyal citizen of the United States. This I do in good faith, with full determination, pledge, and purpose to keep this, my sworn obligation and without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever.

III. Provost Marshals and other Military Officers are directed to report to these Head-Quarters any Judge of an election who shall refuse his aid in carrying out this order, or who, on challenge of a vote being made on the ground of disloyalty or hostility to the Government, shall refuse to require the oath of allegiance from such voter.

By Order of Major General Schenck:  
WM. H. CHESEBROUGH  
Lt. Col. And Ass't Adj't General.

## To What Extent Did The Civil War Affect Civil Liberties?

Official:

W. M. ESTE Maj. And Aide-de-Camp.

Primary Source Document C: Military Commission Results<sup>4</sup>

This enrichment activity is suitable for large or small group work; teacher should elicit responses, then write them on board or transparency. Students could make a list of characters involved, commenting on perhaps ethnic background, military rank, etc.

Questions:

Without giving students any clues first, ask them to consider these questions: Why are there so many signatures on these papers? In what order are messages written on the papers? What were the purposes for the slips of paper? What significant information can be gained from these two scraps of paper? Who was involved? What was the charge? What was the result of the trial? What was the final outcome for this prisoner?

Creative Writing Assignment: Write a fictitious letter from one of these prisoners to a loved one at home using information gleaned only from this document.

### Additional Materials

Internet Resource: To provide more advanced students (or even Advanced Placement students) with additional information regarding citizens and civil liberties refer to the following internet article: "The Provost-Marshall and the Citizen",

<http://civilwarhome.com/ProvostMarshal.htm>, (July 1999).

Resource for Civil War newspapers: For more contemporary and personal accounts relating to civil liberties, consult Civil War-era newspapers on microfilm or on the internet. To obtain information on suppression of the press, consult the following chapter 'President Lincoln, the Civil War, and the Bill of Rights' by Frank L. Klement, in Charles M. Hubbard, Thomas R. Turner, and Steven K. Rogstad, eds. *The Many Faces of Lincoln: Selected Articles from the Lincoln Herald*, (Mahomet, IL.: Mayhaven Publishing, 1997), pp. 323-337. A search for Civil War newspapers may also be made on the internet, or newspapers may be viewed on microfilm at selected local libraries.

### Bibliographic Essay

Recommended Primary Sources:

For a confederate point of view see John A. Marshall, *The American Bastille: A History of Illegal Arrests & Imprisonments during the Civil War*. (1869). For more detailed information see copies of correspondence and operations compiled after the Civil War by U. S. War

Department: *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 127 vols., index and atlas, (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1880-1901). This rather unwieldy, but useful reference tool, is also popularly known as the OR. These volumes are located usually in university libraries or may now be accessed on CD-Rom (available from the Guild Press in Indianapolis, IN).

To locate investigations into actions of individual citizens by Army Judge Advocate Levi C. Turner and Provost Marshal and Special Agent Lafayette C. Baker see the index and case files created by them which are available on microfilm at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Additionally an eight-roll index to courts martial and military commissions is also available at the archives and can be consulted to locate charges and court martial testimony on individual cases. Information on executions may be found on the following microfilm (which may be ordered on loan from the National Archives): *Proceedings of U.S. Courts-martial and Military Commissions of Union Soldiers Executed by U.S. Military Authorities, 1861-1866*, Records of the Adjutant General's Office... Record Group 94, (Washington: 1988).

### Secondary Sources:

For additional discussion of provost-marshal responsibilities see Robert I. Alotta, *Stop the Evil: A Civil War History of Desertion and Murder*, (San Rafael, CA.: Presidio Press, 1978). For source materials consult the convenient text by Andrew Delbanco, ed., *The Portable Lincoln*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1992). An excellent resource for a large majority of Lincoln's correspondence can also be found in the volumes dealing with the war years: Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press. 1953.) 8 volumes and index.

For analysis of the role of, and problems facing civil liberties, see the following works: 1) James M. McPherson's *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), in particular chapter three, pp. 43-64. 2) Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), and 3) William H. Rehnquist's *All the Laws but One*, (New York: Knopf, 1998). Also, for a discussion of the role of executive power, see the article by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt" in Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Lincoln, the War President*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 158-159. For the original resource on the constitutional basis for suspension of writ of habeas corpus, see James G. Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, Rev. ed. 1964). A source useful for discussion of martial law and the use of military courts in Missouri is Walter B. Stevens'



A Reporter's Lincoln, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), especially pp. 238-244. Articles from the Lincoln Herald in *The Many Faces of Lincoln*, (Mahomet, IL.: Mayhaven Publishing, 1997) add yet more details to the life of Lincoln. See in particular the article by Frank L. Klement, "President Lincoln, the Civil War, and the Bill of Rights," pp. 321-342. Finally, to review some sources for opposition to Lincoln's war policies, see James A. Rawley, *Abraham Lincoln and A Nation Worth Fighting For*, (Wheeling, IL.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1996).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See review of book by William H. Rehnquist: *All the Laws but One*, (New York: Knopf, 1998), <http://www.ashbrook.org/books/rehnquist.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Source: Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), vol. V, pp. 436-437.

<sup>3</sup> Document was found in Record Group 110, Provost Marshal Office Reports & Papers: Relating to Fraudulent Activities in various Districts of several states, Box 2 D-F, National Archives.

<sup>4</sup> The following documents from the National Archives were a part of the trial records of citizens during the Civil War. Record Group 153, Cases MM1056 and NN1234

## *Civics Education in Central Europe*

*David Jervis*

The American Embassy in Germany has sponsored a Civics Education Fellow at the Center for U.S. Studies (ZUSAS) in Lutherstadt Witten/berg since 1997. The position was created following an October 1997 meeting between Mark Dillen, Cultural Attaché at the embassy, ZUSAS staff, and civics education professionals and educators from eastern and central Europe. All supported the creation of a Civics Education Fellow and its integration into the work of the Center for U.S. Studies.<sup>1</sup> The first Fellow, Dr. Andrea Noel, served from June 1998 until June 1999. The second, Dr. Linda Raeder, served from October 1999 until September 2000. I began in September 2000 and expect to remain in the position until July 2002. Prior to coming to Europe I taught Political Science for more than 14 years at Washburn University (Kansas). I also had many opportunities to work with international students, having taught in Croatia and South Africa and working in international education offices at both Washburn and the State University of New York at Oneonta before coming to Germany.

While the embassy sponsored the Civics Education position at ZUSAS, it gave little guidance about the Fellow's activities. This, along with the varied meanings of "civics education," allowed the Fellows to employ different approaches. Andrea Noel concentrated on establishing relationships and working with civics education professionals in eastern and central Europe. Linda Raeder organized a number of academic conferences for teachers. These seminars examined topics such as "American Liberal Democracy—What is it?", "Fundamentals of a Market Economy," and "Civil Society in Germany, Europe, and the USA."<sup>2</sup> I chose to work directly with teachers and students at the secondary school and university level. This was a practical decision, in part, because of my teaching experience and work with international students in the United States. That decision was also made for substantive reasons, because schools "bear a special and historic responsibility for

the development of civic competence through both formal and informal means."<sup>3</sup> What, then, is "civic competence"? The U.S. Department of Education has identified three components: 1) civic knowledge, including knowledge of the foundations of the American political system, the relationships between the United States and other countries, and the roles of citizens in American democracy; 2) intellectual and participatory skills such as identifying, explaining and evaluating problems, and taking and defending positions; and 3) civic dispositions such as assuming the responsibilities of a citizen, becoming an independent member of society, respecting individual worth and the dignity of others.<sup>4</sup> The first of these has to be modified in the German case, of course, but in the United States, Germany, and elsewhere, "[t]o be well educated means not only to have knowledge about government and society, but also to possess the skills and civic dispositions necessary for effective participation."<sup>5</sup>

These skills and dispositions are not wide-spread among youth in the former East Germany. Continuing and worsening violence against foreigners is the most obvious indicator. Far right extremist, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic offenses increased by 59% from 1999 to 2000, rising to the highest level since World War II. There were more than 550 attacks on foreigners in 2000, compared with 397 in 1999.<sup>6</sup> While a problem throughout Germany, this is especially a problem in the new German states, where youth have less contact with and sympathy for foreigners. Over 93% of males and 90% of females in the former east have little or no contact with foreigners.<sup>7</sup> More than 27% of eastern youth express hostility to foreigners (compared with less than 25% in the west), and the percentage expressing hostility does not decrease with age as it does in the west. Almost 70% of youth in the eastern Länder (states) believe the share of foreigners in Germany is "too high."<sup>8</sup> The irony is that there are far fewer foreigners living in the former East Germany than in the former West Germany.

Among the new German states (outside Berlin), Brandenburg has the highest percentage of foreigners, yet foreigners constituted only 2.4% of its population in 1996. By comparison, foreigners comprised more than 16% of the population in Hamburg.<sup>9</sup>

Youth throughout the new German states are also less interested in politics than their counterparts in the former West Germany. Barely 26% of 15–17-year-olds claimed to be interested in politics according to a 1999 poll; while the percentage does increase with age, fewer than 40% of 22–24 year olds expressed an interest in politics compared with 54% of their western peers. Moreover, political interest in the east has been declining in recent years: 50% of 15–24 year olds claimed to be interested in politics in 1996 while only 35% did so in 1999.<sup>10</sup>

There is even less interest in politics in Saxony Anhalt, the state where Lutherstadt Wittenberg is located and where I did most of my work. There, only 12.6% of 18–25-year-olds claimed to be “strongly interested” in politics in an August 2000 study, while 15% claimed they were “generally not” interested in politics and another 26.2% claimed to have little interest.<sup>11</sup> One cause may be dissatisfaction with the performance of government: 21% said they said they were dissatisfied with the government in Magdeburg, the state capital, and an additional 58.7% were only partially satisfied. More than one-third of respondents do not trust the state government or the Landtag.<sup>12</sup> Yet few have taken any initiative to try to change or improve government. Fewer than 15% of youths have contacted their representative in Magdeburg, perhaps because they do not expect to be listened to. Asked what would happen if they sent a letter to their representative, 10.7% believed he/she would pay no attention to it while almost 85% believed the letter would be read and then be thrown out.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Promoting Civics Education*

German public and private institutions have developed a number of programs to deal with these problems, so the U.S. embassy's Civics Education Fellow is merely one part of a much larger effort. The national government established a Center for Civic Education (*Politische Bildung*) in 1951 to promote civic awareness in the former West Germany and continues to function. Many Länder in the former East Germany have established centers for civic education. These serve as information resources for civics education topics, organize conferences, and produce books and video materials.

The schools have also adapted curricula to incorporate civics education goals. The curriculum for Gymnasien (secondary schools for academically talented students) students in Saxony Anhalt, for instance, identifies a number of civics education topics, including democracy, society, law, and international

relations. Among the main points in the democracy theme are the sources of public opinion, the forms of democratic government, and the promise and reality of state and local governments. The international relations theme, to cite one other example, considers security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, problems of European integration, environmental protection as an international assignment, and one world for all.<sup>14</sup>

Most of my work was devoted to working with students and teachers at Gymnasien in Saxony Anhalt. I visited classes at 14 Gymnasien, hosted several classes at the Center for U.S. Studies in Lutherstadt Wittenberg, and conducted seven teacher training sessions. In each of these settings I tried to promote civics education knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Given my training in Political Science, promoting civic knowledge was the easiest of these goals to achieve. I tried to convey a lot of information about the United States when speaking with teachers or students and, more relevant for a civics education program in Germany, to compare American politics with politics in Germany and Europe. Frequently discussed topics included the 2000 presidential election, controversial issues in American politics, including gun control, prayer in schools, and capital punishment, and the American educational system. Several of the teacher training sessions examined these issues in greater detail. Others dealt with economic contacts between the United States and Saxony Anhalt, techniques to promote tolerance, and educating democratic citizens.

The notion of civics education skills might be simplified to finding information, analyzing information, and developing the ability and willingness to articulate one's opinion. I tried to identify sources of information about the United States and to serve as a resource myself. I also emphasized Internet work. My handouts at teacher training seminars always included a list of Internet resources, and most who came to the Center for U.S. Studies—teachers and students—devoted part of their visit to Internet work. To help students develop and articulate their own opinions, I typically spoke only briefly in my class visits. The remainder of the class was devoted to soliciting student opinions about the issues I had discussed and to getting students to debate each other. Another way to encourage people to develop and articulate their opinions is to give them the opportunity to brainstorm on given topics. I tried to organize my “Educating Democratic Citizens” teacher training seminar in this way. I began the seminar with the question “What is a democratic citizen?” and asked teachers to respond. With students, I often asked that they put themselves in the shoes of Americans to see if they could understand why, for example, Americans favor capital punishment or allow such widespread ownership of guns, and then asked them to compare and contrast German opinion on such issues.

I found that promoting civics dispositions was the

most difficult component of civics education to advance, because the aim is to shape the way people think. This is one reason why I sponsored the "World of Difference" teacher training seminar. This program, developed by the Anti-Defamation League and conducted in Germany by the Center for Applied Political Research (*Centrum fuer angewandte Politikforschung*), uses games and projects to help participants recognize their biases, explore the value of diversity, and fight prejudice. My personal efforts to promote civics dispositions were limited. One thing I tried to do was to behave in classes as a good democratic citizen behaves toward his peers: always introducing myself using my first name, implying that the students and I were equal; always soliciting the opinions of students, trying to imply that their opinions were of value; and asking students to respect the opinions of their peers, even if they disagreed with them. Little of the substance of my presentations concerned civics dispositions—which cannot be taught, after all—but I did speak to several classes about efforts to promote reconciliation and mutual tolerance in South Africa.

While most of my work was with Gymnasien students and teachers, I also devoted some time to working with university students. This allowed me to extend my civics education work beyond eastern Germany, as I lectured at universities in Slovenia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic as well as eastern Germany. I also had the opportunity to teach a week long seminar, "Crises in American Foreign Policy Since 1945," at the Center for U.S. Studies. That seminar was truly international, with students from Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, Germany, Syria, and the U.S. My work with university students primarily advanced the goal of civic knowledge. However, all of my university visits included discussions about educational opportunities in the United States, finding money to attend U.S. universities, and legal requirements on international students there. I viewed this as a way to advance the civics dispositions goal of civics education, as the best way to learn about and understand other people is to live and work with them.

#### *Assessment and Prescriptions*

A number of concerns arose as I reflected on my first year as Civics Education Fellow. One was uncertainty whether I was having an impact. This is a concern for all teachers, of course, but it was compounded in this case by the fact that I typically met with students and teachers for only one or two classes. A second concern was whether the content of my presentations and seminars addressed civics education issues adequately. Because I was usually invited to English classes — where American society and culture is taught — the subject matter of most of my formal presentations was an American-based topic. That would certainly advance the civics education agenda in the United States, but I wonder about the extent it advanced

the civics agenda in Germany. I did try to connect American topics with German or European topics, e.g., asking students to compare/contrast the structure of American government with Germany's or relating the historical development of the American federal system with the European Union's development. Nonetheless, I wonder if I gave too much emphasis to "things American" and not enough to "things German" or "things European." I also wonder if I placed too much emphasis on civics knowledge and not enough on civics skills and dispositions.

I hope to deal with these issues in 2001-2. I plan to spend more time with fewer groups, allowing me to have a greater impact. For instance, I will be teaching a semester-long course at the Free University of Berlin and mini-courses at two universities in the Czech Republic—Charles University, Prague and Masaryk University, Brno. To spend more time with teachers, I will be participating in a year-long teacher training program for a group of about ten Sekondarschule (schools for students with more limited academic abilities) English teachers.

I will also initiate programs to spend more time with smaller groups of students and to focus on German and European themes. One will be to host a two or three day Model United Nations program at the Center for U.S. Studies. Interested students will be assigned countries to represent, gather information on that country and selected international issues, and then come to the Center for U.S. Studies to interact with students from other Gymnasien who have been doing the same thing. Such a program should bring many benefits to participants. The students will learn more about another country and come to understand its perspective on world affairs, they will have to find information about their assigned country and its policies. Additionally, they will have to put themselves in the shoes of another as they represented their country, they will have to develop and articulate their opinions, and finally, they will have to bargain with representatives of other countries and learn to compromise.

A way to consider specifically German topics is to focus on the 2002 federal election. This will be the first national election in which students in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> year will be able to vote, and I hope to initiate programs to help them prepare. For instance, students might be asked to examine the positions of the major German parties on issues of interest and to compare, contrast, and evaluate those positions. Another option might be to ask students to determine the opinions of their peers on the issues of the day, forcing them to take the initiative, to discover that their peers may have different opinions, and different priorities.

#### *Conclusion*

Much work remains to be done before many youths in the former East Germany possess the requisite

knowledge, skills, and attitudes of democratic citizenship. However, the many German institutions involved in this work and the success of West Germany in the years after World War II give reason for optimism that this work will succeed.

### Civics Education Resources

#### *General Information*

Center for Civic Education: [www.civiced.org](http://www.civiced.org)  
Civnet:  
<http://civnet.org/index.htm>  
Southern Poverty Law Center:  
[www.splcenter.org](http://www.splcenter.org)  
Anti Defamation League  
[www.adl.org](http://www.adl.org)  
Center for Applied Politics  
[www.cap.uni-muenchen.de/index/html](http://www.cap.uni-muenchen.de/index/html)  
Bundeszentral fuer politische Bildung  
[www.bpd.de/](http://www.bpd.de/)  
Politische Bildung Online  
[www.politische-bildung.de](http://www.politische-bildung.de)

#### *State (Land) Centers for Civic Education*

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern [www.mv-regierung.de/lpd](http://www.mv-regierung.de/lpd)  
Saxony Anhalt  
[www.lpd.sachsen-anhalt.de/inhalt/fr\\_aufgaben.htm](http://www.lpd.sachsen-anhalt.de/inhalt/fr_aufgaben.htm)  
Thuringia  
[www.thuringen.de/de/lzt](http://www.thuringen.de/de/lzt)  
Brandenburg  
[www.brandenburg.de/netpol](http://www.brandenburg.de/netpol)

#### *Information about the German Government*

Bundesregierung:  
[www.bundesregierung.de](http://www.bundesregierung.de)  
Federal President:  
[www.bundespraesident.de/portal.html](http://www.bundespraesident.de/portal.html)  
Bundestag:  
[www.bundestag.de](http://www.bundestag.de)  
Bundesrat:  
[www.bundesrat.de/](http://www.bundesrat.de/)

#### *Political Parties*

Social Democrats:  
[www.spd.de](http://www.spd.de)  
Christian Democrats:  
[www.cdu.de/](http://www.cdu.de/)  
Greens:  
[www.gruene.de/](http://www.gruene.de/)  
Free Democrats:  
[www.fdp.de/portal](http://www.fdp.de/portal)  
Party of Democratic Socialism:  
[www.pds-online.de](http://www.pds-online.de)

#### *Information About International Organizations*

United Nations:  
[www.un.org/](http://www.un.org/)  
European Union:  
[www.europa.eu.int](http://www.europa.eu.int)  
OSCE  
[www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org)  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization:  
[www.nato.int/](http://www.nato.int/)

#### *Information About Countries of the World*

CIA World Factbook  
[www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook](http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook)

Embassies in Washington  
[www.embassy.org](http://www.embassy.org)  
Newspapers of the world  
[www.actualid.com](http://www.actualid.com)

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Andrea Noel, "Final Report of the Civics Education Fellow at ZUSAS," May 20, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid; Linda C. Raeder, "The Civics Education Fellow at ZUSAS: Final Report," September 11, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> National Center for Education Statistics, *NAEP Civics Report Card for the Nation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1999), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *NAEP Civics Report Card for the Nation*, pp. 3-5. For additional details see Shirley H. Engle and Anna S. Ochoa, *Education for Democratic Citizenship* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988) and David T. Sehr, *Education for Public Democracy* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Victor Homola, "Germany: Rightists on Rise," *New York Times* (February 8, 2001); "Germany: Far Right Crimes Jumped by 59%," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (March 3, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Fischer, Yvonne Fritzsche, Werner Fuchs-Heinritz, and Richard Muenchmeier, *Jugend 2000* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000) p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 264,300.

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard Boll and Everhardt Holtmann, *Buerger und Parlament im Jahr 2000* (Magdeburg: Landes-zentrale fuer Politische Bildung Sachsen Anhalt, 2000), p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 55, 59.

<sup>14</sup> *Rahmenrichtlinien Gymnasium/Fachgymnasium Sozialkunde* (Magdeburg: Kultusministerium Sachsen Anhalt, 1999), pp. 25-41.

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# Book Reviews

Jeffrey W. Helsing, *Johnson's War/ Johnson's Great Society: The Guns and Butter Trap*, Westport, CT.: Praeger, ISBN 0-275-96449-3.

By the time Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not seek his party's nomination for re-election in order to concentrate on advancing peace overtures in 1968, the Vietnam War had indelibly stained his reputation. A president who had seemed destined to stand alongside his hero, Franklin Roosevelt, as one of America's great reforming presidents had become a pariah, taunted on campuses across the country by the chant: "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

No historian would dispute that Johnson moved into what proved to be the quagmire of Vietnam because he was determined that South Vietnam must not fall to communism and that he did so with the minimum of public debate because he believed this would enable him to protect his domestic agenda. In other words, he believed that he could have both "guns and butter." Like others before him, Jeffrey Helsing believes that Johnson was tragically boxed in by his political calculations of what the American people wanted. The President believed that they wanted his "Great Society," particularly if he could persuade them that the economy would allow it, which he did in 1964-65. He also believed that they wanted him to stop the expansion of Communism, particularly if this, too, could be assured by relatively cheap,

painless, and measured means. Thus, the President pursued the war via small incremental steps. If he had visibly "failed to contain Communism," he would be vulnerable to the kind of conservative reaction that had fueled McCarthyism and destroyed Harry Truman's hopes of a "Fair Deal."

What Helsing details is how the simultaneous escalation of the war and implementation of Great Society initiatives in 1966 overheated the U.S. economy, creating inflationary pressures that intensified the spiraling decline of Johnson's public credibility. With no effective budgetary controls over defense spending, the Johnson White House was blind to the likely economic effects of military escalation. With no real forum for a full-scale debate on the war, economic advisors could not provide informed advice, and American public opinion was not readied for the true costs of war. By 1967, military escalation and the soaring costs of the war inevitably provided conservative Congressional opponents with a rationale for cutbacks in domestic programs and correspondingly appalled liberal domestic critics such as Martin Luther King Jr.

Finding Johnson guilty of willful deception and a refusal to make hard choices, Helsing forthrightly condemns him: "As president, Johnson

failed the nation as a leader, failed on his own terms, losing the war and his Great Society" (256). However, his assertion that an extensive public debate would not only have promoted public support and preserved Johnson's reputation, but also, he implies, avoided defeat in Vietnam, economic overheating, and the evisceration of the Great Society programs is simply wishful thinking. The larger political context suggests that early public debate on Vietnam (1964-65) would have been dominated by the hawks of both parties and that this would have jeopardized the enormous liberal legislative program that Johnson pressed through Congress in that period. The Great Society would have been aborted rather than stunted, and America would have remained even more of a society of guns and moved even less towards justice for all.

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Jacqueline Bobo, ed. *Black Feminist Criticism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. 0-631-22239-1

To a world replete with essay collections and anthologies of criticism, Jacqueline Bobo offers an unusually useful assortment of work by scholars

and artists who have made signal contributions to feminist cultural criticism. Many will consider it pleasure, as much as convenience, to

own a book enriched with probing work by Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Ruby Dee and Julie Dash. Yet Bobo's book will make its greatest impact

in graduate (and, by way of selections, to undergraduate) classes, with special interest for students of cultural and expressive theory across a range of media including film and photography, textile art and drama, spoken-word poetry and cookbooks, and music of diverse kinds.

While celebrating African American women artists in a plethora of ways, *Black Feminist Criticism* departs from the tradition of over-emphasizing literary and thematic criticism. Bobo does include work by a literary historian, Deborah E. McDowell. Yet the focus of this collection is on criticism with a purposefully theoretical bias which brings to light shared strategies rather than the sine qua non of any one discipline. Few will have read every

piece collected here, since Bobo draws from academic journals and essay-collections, but also *Negro Digest*, *Sage*, *ArtForum* and *Ms. Magazine*. Representative of Bobo's wide interests is the last section of her collection, on material culture, since these essays pose her book's fiercest challenge to the notion that African American women's art is a subset of an imagined American/feminine mainstream. Bobo's selections for this part of *Black Feminist Criticism* could be used to introduce African American studies in a way that is the opposite of ghettoizing. Alternately or not these essays can be enjoyed with a cup of herb tea by a scholar whose spirit seeks renewal in informed tribute.

Impressive, too, is Bobo's

commitment to providing a sense of foremothers in the field. Essays go back, for instance, as far as an article first published in 1966, and include a piece co-written by Arna Bontemps. Equally important, Bobo makes plain her/our debt to Barbara Christian, by including two of Christian's most influential essays and dedicating *Black Feminist Criticism* to her memory. Perhaps a few more essays could have discussed black women artists who worked in the long, long years before Lorraine Hansberry was young, gifted and black. Yet Bobo's collection is a book to which all can turn to be edified and inspired.

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Robert A. Burchell (compiler), *World Bibliographical Series, Vol. 16: United States of America*, rev. ed. Oxford, Santa Barbara, and Denver: CLIO Press/ABC-CLIO, 2000. ISBN 1-85109-164-5, \$116.00.

This series, primarily designed for English speakers, will cover every country in the world plus principal regions and cities. To date, 227 volumes are published, each containing annotated entries within a uniform format. The compiler of this edition, Bob Burchell, taught at University of Manchester (1965-1996), becoming Professor of American Studies and director of the Eccles Centre for American Studies at the British Library in 1991. The overwhelming majority of the 1,826 citations are to works published since 1990, but entries date to 1951. Individual annotations (10-60 words) are grouped within 38 categories supplemented by separate comprehensive indexes of authors, titles, and subjects. A representative entry is #197: *Battle cry of freedom: the American Civil War*. James M. McPherson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. 904 pp., bibliog. The titles appear with their original American or British English spellings; annotations are in British English.

Because Burchell's research emphasized collections in the British Library, British editions of works rather than American are cited, for example, #910, Allen and Polmar's *Codename Downfall: the secret plan to invade Japan* (London: Headline, 1996) was published in the United States by Simon and Schuster (New York, 1995).

By European standards, the United States has a short history but is studied widely for its successes, failures, turbulent history, constitutional principles, and governmental structures (p.xiii). This premise conditioned Burchell's selection of 1,826 entries from thousands of potential sources. He begins with general works on the country and people (34 citations), geography (a mere 18 entries), 15 tourism and travel guides, the same number of travelers' accounts, but only five references on flora and fauna. The section on history has 195 citations in nine categories, covering general works to "the age of anxieties"

(1974-date). The Civil War/Reconstruction (1860-1877), and Second-World War/post-war ascendancy (1941-1974) have, respectively, 34 and 31 entries. Biographical materials (88 citations), demographics and ethnic groups (119), religion and philosophy (79), gender (49), and social issues (35) are well represented; languages and dialects have only five entries. Politics (62 references), constitution and law (68), foreign relations (88) and the military (68) are adequately documented. Economics contains 30 citations, while banking and commerce, industry, agriculture, transport, and employment and labour have 48 collectively. Environment, education, science and technology, and literature each contain 24-34 citations, culture and the arts have 113 references in seven categories, and there are 38 entries on customs/folklore, 16 on food/drink, and 38 on "sports and recreations." Libraries, galleries, and museums (23 entries), publishing (12), mass media

(80, including URLs for 20 newspapers), professional periodicals (193), encyclopedias and reference works (110), and bibliographies (24) complete his compilation.

The series volumes are significant reference sources for scholars, students, librarians, visitors, and for

anyone interested in a country's geography, history, demography, social and political characteristics, economics, culture and the arts, publishing, and mass media. Burchell's volume is no exception — there is a good balance of topics and entries. The coverage is current but

the topics of ecology, geography, prehistory/archaeology, and economics are represented inadequately.

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***American Sexual Histories*, Edited by Elizabeth Reis. Massachusetts & Oxford:  
Blackwell Publishers, 2001.**

*American Sexual Histories* is designed primarily with undergraduates in mind. A series of analyses, ranging from a consideration of bestiality in seventeenth-century America to an examination of the evolution of transsexualism in the twentieth century, explores the constant shift in moral and cultural values which accompanies interpretation of sexual mores and the laws which apply to sexual attitudes. While this would imply discrete categorisation of sexual proclivity according to a seamless chronology, as Elizabeth Reis states in her introduction, it would be a mistake "to see the history of sexuality simply as a steady progression from a harsh, rigidly enforced puritanical regime of yesteryear to a liberal, enlightened, free and tolerant milieu of today."

*American Sexual Histories* is clearly structured to encourage students to discover the diverse methodologies that lie behind historical scholarship. Each chapter provides a concise introduction to the main essay. The primary texts which have provided the source for the essay are also introduced by a short summary which prompts the reader to consider particular elements of the documents that underpin the analysis of the preceding essay. For example, in a chapter titled "Hysteria," Elizabeth Lunbeck examines one of the many ways in which culture constructs sexual "norms," through a consideration of the psychiatric evaluation of the female "hysteric" by male psychiatrists at the Boston

Psychopathic Hospital in the early twentieth century. The introduction to Lunbeck's essay ends with a question: "Psychiatrists may have thought they were pulling female desire out of the dark, repressive Victorian age, but how do you think they may have merely substituted one oppressive sexual ethos for another?" Similarly, the introduction to the primary documents, a case study conducted by L.E. Emerson, asks the reader to consider how both "Miss A's" telling of her own story and Emerson's analysis constructs "the paradigm of the hysterical woman?" Suggestions for further reading are listed at the end of each chapter.

Throughout, the emphasis is on the rhetoric of persecution, paranoia and punishment which surrounds medical and legal documentation, prompting the negative (at times ambivalent or contradictory) terms surrounding sexuality and sexual behaviour which have, from the earliest available written examples, positioned the 'deviant' against the sexual 'norm.' As Elizabeth Reis suggests, however, 'by studying the supposedly abnormal, we learn how the shifting boundaries of normality have been differentiated, maintained and policed.' *American Sexual Histories* provides the reader with thought-provoking and insightful analyses of the way in which material, historical, political and cultural circumstances have shaped contemporary ideas about and attitudes to sex. Reis points out that constrictions of space have meant that more

contemporary debates surrounding pornography and the impact of the Internet on attitudes to sex are absent. However, this book provides the student with many of the sexual histories which have influenced American ideologies (the questions frequently hinting at possible alternative analyses), and rigorous examples of ways in which current cultural attitudes to sexual mores can be assessed and interpreted.

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***Achtundvierziger/Forty-Eighters: Die deutsche Revolution von 1848/49, die Vereinigten Staaten und der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg*, hrsg. Wolfgang Hochbruck, Ulrich Bachteler, Henning Zimmermann (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2000), 148 S. ISBN 3-89691-491-X.**

*Achtundvierziger/Forty-Eighters* is a compilation of eight essays presented in a 1998/1999 lecture series at the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Zentrum, James-F.-Byrnes-Institut e. V.* Stuttgart, sponsored by the American Studies Department of the University of Stuttgart and the Civil War Round Table Stuttgart. The compilers deserve credit for bringing together a group of authors who not only come from various fields of expertise (literature, history, cultural studies) but also present a rare mixture of both young and established scholars. Stefan Heym, well-known GDR novelist and critic, wrote the preface, shrewdly entitled with "The forgotten Revolution", and thereby linking the past with Germany's immediate present.

Divided into three parts, part one covers the revolutionary spirit, flooding through Europe in 1848 and its reception in the United States. While Timothy M. Roberts scrutinizes American diplomatic reactions exemplified by envoys Richard Rush (Paris/France), Andrew Jackson Donelson (Berlin & Frankfurt/Prussia), and A. Dudley Mann (on a secret mission to Hungary via Vienna), Bruce Levine analyses the American antebellum job market that German revolutionaries of 1848 found themselves confronted with upon their arrival in the United States. He looks more closely at the criticism expressed by Carl Schurz and a couple of less known immigrants, whose letters were published in *News from the Land of Freedom*, edited by Helbich, Kamphoefner and Sommer. Finally, Hans Grote concentrates on Giuseppe Mazzini, one of the most widely read mentors of the revolution of 1848, and his idea of *Giovine Italia* in the United States.

Part two assesses "Exiles and Emigrants" by juxtaposing Northern and Southern immigrants: Ansgar

Reiß carefully pictures the political work of Gustav and Amalie Struve in New York, including Struve's military career as Captain with the 8<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteer Infantry, while Werner Steger gives a somewhat biased portrait of the post-1848 German community of Richmond, Virginia. Steger argues that the news of the revolution of 1848 was extremely well received by both the Richmond German community as well as the locals (p.89). The only existing German-speaking primary source on the life of the German community in Richmond at the time, however, says the opposite. The Erfurt-born shoemaker John Lange had emigrated to Richmond in 1837 and looked at his fellow-countrymen who poured into the city 11 years later with great suspicion: "[...] Many [revolutionaries] came also to America and to Richmond [...] They became Republicans and [...] made themselves very unpopular and soon the situation became unpleasant."<sup>1</sup>

By 1850, Richmond counted ca. 750 German-born citizens, of whom 30 owned a total of 81 slaves. These numbers, of course, do not include those Germans who also engaged in the business of slave-hiring.<sup>2</sup> I am, therefore, arguing that most Germans had established themselves by 1848/1850, totally embracing Southern traditions and the system of slavery, and they felt endangered and frightened by the socialistic ideas the revolutionaries brought to their newly adopted home. To most German immigrants there was no visible difference between German liberal ideals of 1848 and pro-slavery American democracy. In June 1858, for example, the *Richmonder Unabhängiger Turnverein* split from the *Social-Demokratischen Turnverein*. The *Unabhängige Turnverein* announced it would stay away from

any kind of political involvement. President Friedrich Holle, who wholeheartedly embraced the ideals of 1848, had no problem with also being a slaveowner. Steger does not mention the schism (p.93/94). Instead, he quotes Joseph Hierholzer, president of the *Demokratische Club*, but forgets to point out that Hierholzer, too, not only owned, but also hired slaves. Nativist agitation mistook Hierholzer for Carl Steinmetz, who happened to be the most socialist forty-eighter, who ever resided in antebellum Richmond. In fact, Steinmetz became so dangerous for the established German circles that the Germans themselves chased him out of the city.<sup>3</sup>

Part three focuses on German forty-eighters during the American Civil War. Steven Rowan renders the role of the German revolutionaries in Missouri in 1861. Martin Öfele examines German-speaking revolutionaries and their relationship with the United States Colored Troops, not solving the question, though, whether German-born USCT officers only did the job that white American officers did not want to do. Wolfgang Hochbruck describes the "Second fight for freedom and democracy" by comparing the European events of 1848 to what happened in the United States in 1861.

Even though the publication will not widely be noticed, since all the papers were translated into German when submitted for publication, it is the first good book on the role of German forty-eighters on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line published in a long time. For scholarly reference, footnotes would have been appreciated, rather than selected cited works in the end of each article. What makes up for this, however, is an outstanding www-address, linking the internet user with an annotated



bibliography on the engagement of forty-eighters in the Civil War: <http://www.gtg1848.de/bibl.html>

# Notes

<sup>1</sup> Johann G. Lange (1809-1892), "Der Veraenderte Nahme oder Der Schuster In der alten und Neuen Welt: Dreisich Jahre in Europa und Dreisich Jahre in Amerika," unpublished manuscript, translated into English by Ida S. Windmueller in 1991, p. 152 - 153. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> The personal property tax records of Richmond, Va., for 1850 and 1860 render it extremely difficult to link hired slaves with

either original owners or their temporary owners. If the hirings did not stay inside the house of their temporary master at the time when the tax was collected, they did not show in the records at all.

<sup>3</sup> For details see: Andrea Mehrländer, "... Gott gebe uns bald bessere Zeiten": Die Deutschen von Charleston, Richmond und New Orleans im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, 1861 - 1865," (Diss., Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1998). This dissertation is currently undergoing translation for publication with the University of South Carolina Press.

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## Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America. Marianne S. Wokeck. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Since the United States is a nation of immigrants, the plethora of works on immigration is not surprising. What is surprising, however, is how deadly dull to read most of these works are. What is also somewhat interesting is the majority of works of this nature focus on how immigrants adapted to living in the United States, how they built communities of their own, how they, often-times, founded societies to aid newer arrivals from their homelands. It is refreshing to see a new work that focuses on the other side of the immigration process. Such a work is *Trade in Strangers*.

Marianne Wokeck examines German immigration to the United States during the eighteenth century, exploring why Germans left their home areas. Wokeck, it should be noted, concentrates predominately on Rhineland Germans. While most of the immigration of Germans during the eighteenth century was across the Atlantic, Wokeck notes that much immigration also occurred in the other direction; Russia, and other eastern European countries were targets of German immigration. The reasons for immigration were severalfold. As the author points out, immigration experienced an upswing during times of economic difficulty in Germany. Germans also immigrated due to religious

persecution or, interestingly, young German men immigrated more often when new laws forcing many into the military came into play. These "push" factors combined with the "pull" factors such as possibilities of land or work to encourage more and more Germans to migrate.

The real heart of Wokeck's work is to be found in Chapter 3, "Trade in Migrants." It is in this chapter that the author's thesis is strengthened and evidence presented. While the migration of English, Scots and the occasional Irishman in the years up to around 1720 was a haphazard affair, the migration of Germans in the middle years of the eighteenth century became, increasingly, a business affair. The actual transport of migrants to the Americas became more efficient due to the use of techniques developed in the slave trade as well as the development of networks in both the Americas and German to facilitate migration. This efficient, commercial model, developed through the migration of Germans, became the model for Irish migration in the late 1700s and, says Wokeck, all further, future waves of immigration. This is an astounding thesis with implications on the wider spectrum of immigration history in the United States. Wokeck supports her thesis very well, with a multitude of archival-based material.

After the middle chapter, the rest of the story is almost a letdown. Chapter Four examines how the Germans adapted to life in their new homeland. While the story is certainly an interesting one, it is one that has been told many times in the past. The same is true of Chapter Five, which examines Irish migration at the close of the eighteenth century. However, in this work, the Irish story is developed with Wokeck's thesis firmly in mind.

Generally, this work is an excellent choice for both scholarly and students of migration or the colonial period of American history. While the depth might be too much for lower-level students and courses, it could be almost a necessity for upper-division and, certainly, graduate-level seminars.

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