Feature Article

Wisconsin in the Civil War



The Color Guard of the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry, July 1862. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

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Wisconsin in the Civil War

By Michael Telzrow, Russell Horton, Kevin Hampton, Wisconsin Veterans Museum/Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs

Graphic Design by Lynn Lemanski Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau

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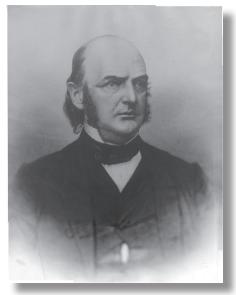
The Eve of the War

W isconsin's Civil War story began before Lincoln's proclamation of war against the Confederacy in April 1861. The war followed a long road to war that began years before the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Southern reliance on large-scale plantation agriculture, dependent upon slave labor, contrasted with the North's growing industrial capabilities and small-scale farm economy. A bitterly divisive sectional controversy emerged from the question of whether slavery ought to be expanded into the new United States territories west of the Mississippi. In Wisconsin, tensions caused by the slavery issue led to a political realignment. During this period of realignment, a fresh wave of new European immigrants, mostly Germans and Norwegians, flocked to the state in increasing numbers. Traditionally aligned with the Democratic Party, these immigrants and others began to seek a new party that embraced free-soil and antislavery ideals. Many native-born Yankees, former residents of the northeastern states, also felt drawn to the antislavery movement.

On the national political scene, the passage of the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act set the stage for the establishment of a new antislavery political party. Written by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the Kansas-Nebraska Act as initially drafted mirrored the concept of popular sovereignty as established in the Compromise of 1850 that called for, among other things, the addition of new territories in the southwest to be organized without restrictions on slavery. In other words, the inhabitants of newly organized territories would be granted discretion over the issue of slavery. Douglas hoped to carry this concept forward in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but Southern legislators protested and argued for a revision that would nullify the heart of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, earlier legislation that restricted slavery to territories and states below latitude 36° 30'. Douglas ultimately conceded to the Southerners, and after five months of bitter debate the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed on May 30, 1854, angering free-soil advocates in the North who opposed the expansion of slavery into new territories. As a direct result of the controversial legislation, the Whig Party was essentially torn apart. Coalitions of Free Soilers and antislavery Whigs began to meet in midwestern states like Wisconsin and Michigan and later in other Northern states, to forge a new party made up of both free-soil advocates, some Northern Whig Party members, nativists, and staunch abolitionists. The new political coalition went by many different names at first, but it was in Ripon, Wisconsin, at an anti-Nebraska rally on February 28, 1854, where it received the name "Republican." Several other state organizations, including Michigan, adopted the name and by 1855 it was nationally known as the Republican Party. With the Whig Party dead, some former Northern Whigs, like Abraham Lincoln, joined the Republican Party.

In Wisconsin, the arrest of a fugitive slave named Joshua Glover near Racine set off a constitutional crisis that illustrated the state's commitment to the antislavery movement. Abolitionist forces led by the editor of the *Milwaukee Free*

Democrat, Sherman Booth, urged residents to demonstrate against the seizure of Glover. In response, several thousand people assembled at Milwaukee's courthouse in protest. Undeterred by the legality of the seizure under the authority of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the restless crowd broke Glover out of jail and spirited him away to Waukesha. Booth was subsequently arrested and the federal government brought him to trial. The Wisconsin Supreme Court intervened and took the bold step of ruling the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional – the only state high court to do so. In 1859, the court's ruling was unanimously overturned by the United States Supreme Court, but by then the state's political battle lines



Alexander W. Randall was the governor of Wisconsin at the beginning of the Civil War. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

had been clearly drawn.

Lincoln's election in 1860 caused 11 slave-holding states to secede from the Union. South Carolina was first in December 1860, followed quickly by Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama in January 1861. Tennessee was the last Southern state to secede in June 1861, but by that time South Carolina had already fired upon Fort Sumter and the war was on. Few were surprised that it had come to this. The slavery question had dogged the nation for decades, and the election of a Republican pro-Union, antislavery president finally moved the Southern states to secede. Wisconsin Governor Alexander W. Randall, a staunch Republican, recognized that the situation was growing ever more tenuous as early as January 1861, and he asserted the attitude of his administration in an annual message in which

he likened Southern secession to treason, while characterizing it as a threat to the "hopes of civilization and Christianity...." In the same message he advised the residents of the state to expect to be asked to "respond to a call...for men and means to maintain the integrity of the Union." Randall doubtless sensed that a contribution of men and material would far exceed the state's current capacity to provide a request for military support from the president.

Following the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln asked for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service to put down the rebellion. The new president broke down his request to the state level, asking for a specific number of troops from each state still in the Union. Wisconsin's quota came to one regiment composed of 10 companies, each company numbering 95 men and three officers. A typical regiment was generally considered to have up to 1,000 men, although they rarely numbered that in the field. Not to be outdone by his Northern counterparts, Governor Randall moved quickly to commit the Badger State to answer Lincoln's call for troops to support the Union cause, issuing a proclamation on April 16,

Glossary

Brigade. Typically consisted of four to six regiments commanded by a brigadier general but sometimes by a senior colonel.

Company. Usually numbered between 50 and 100 men commanded by a Captain. Companies were assigned alphabetical designations from A to K, with the letter J being omitted.

Corps. Typically contained two to four divisions. Each corps was designated by a Roman numeral, i.e., I, II, IV, etc.

Division. The second-largest unit in the field army numbering approximately 12,000 at full strength. In actuality, attrition reduced those numbers by 40 to 50 percent by 1863. Union divisions were usually commanded by brigadiers or major generals. Confederate divisions were often numerically superior to Union divisions.

Muster. A gathering of troops for any number of purposes, e.g., recruitment, inspection. To "muster in" refers to the initial gathering of troops as a formal recruited body. To "muster out" refers to the final act of disbanding an organized body of troops.

Militia. In its broadest sense refers to the entire able-bodied manpower of a state on paper. In the 19th century this largely imaginary category was often referred to as the "enrolled militia." The term "volunteer militia" refers to companies of men who actually provided for their own uniforms, drilled frequently, or at least on occasion, and endeavored to become a disciplined military entity. The volunteer militia were sometimes provided arms by the state through the federal government.

Regiment. Typically consisted of 10 companies and at full strength numbered nearly 1,000 men. Attrition almost always reduced that number and regiments rarely maintained full strength.

1861, exhorting all Wisconsin residents to support the war effort. He wrote, "All good citizens, everywhere, must join in making common cause against a common enemy."

A relatively new addition to the Union, Wisconsin had achieved statehood only 12 years before Randall's proclamation. During its first year as an organized territory in 1836, Wisconsin claimed a population of 11,683 non-Indian residents. It was a sparsely populated frontier society attached by communities along Lake Michigan and in some southern portions of the state. Anchored by the state's oldest and most populous cities, Green Bay and Milwaukee, respectively, Wisconsin was poised on the precipice of a wave of immigration. Ushered in by German political and social discontent and an exodus from New York and the New England states, Wisconsin's population soared between 1846 and 1860. Immigrants from below the border, attracted to the lead mines of the southwestern portion of the state, joined the Germans and the Yankees. Others followed, including the Dutch, the Irish, and those from Scandinavian countries. Wisconsin claimed a population of 775,881 on the eve of the war. Of that number, 407,449 were male of which a third were foreign-born – half of that number from German states, many

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Governor Randall's April 16, 1861, proclamation calling upon residents to support the war. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

in the wake of the failed revolutions of 1848. These were the men that Randall would call upon to uphold the Union and strike at the heart of the Confederacy: farmers, machinists, craftsman, and professionals, foreignborn and native, all united under one cause

A Call to Arms

n 1860, America's peacetime Larmy numbered about 16,000 soldiers, most of them scattered among 79 isolated posts that stretched over 2,000 frontier miles west of the Mississippi River. There was no national plan for rapid mobilization, and without a well-organized general staff, any coordination would have to start from scratch. The Navy was similarly unprepared for war. Only 12 of its 42

ships were available for combat duty. To make matters worse, 313 regular United States Army officers resigned and offered their services to the Confederacy. Out of necessity, the U.S. government turned to the individual states for support. It was perhaps wishful thinking to expect an aging and obsolete militia system to provide the necessary manpower, but that is precisely what happened.

As was customary of the period, Wisconsin employed the time-honored militia model that provided for the "common defense" of communities in the years before the rise of a standing army in the United States. Once a defensive necessity, the mandatory militia system had largely outlived its role as a frontier bulwark against hostile native populations and foreign incursions. Local volunteer militia companies, where they still existed, were mere vestigial remnants

of the old system that formerly required the participation of all able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 45. Although some volunteer units were well-trained and properly equipped, most functioned more effectively as the guardians of 19th century ideals of masculinity and civic duty rather than as battle-ready military units. American men maintained a link to their forefathers through the external practices of martial rituals such as public military drills and evening military balls. For many, the image of the citizen soldier standing shoulder-to-shoulder at Concord or New Orleans symbolized the cherished ideals of an independent America. Militia service also served to further the assimilation of recent immigrants who were looking for an entry into American culture.

Despite the shortcomings of the volunteer militia system, Wisconsin did make an effort to maintain an enrolled militia and volunteer militia force. By 1859, there were about 55 independent companies throughout the state; the enrolled



John C. Starkweather, Captain of the Milwaukee Light Guard, later Colonel of the 1st Wisconsin Voluntary Infantry Regiment. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

system consisting of every able-bodied male had fallen into inactivity in most areas with the exception of Milwaukee. As befitting the state's largest city, Milwaukee boasted the highest number of independent militia units, many of which were organized among the professional ranks of the city or along ethnic lines, principally German. Independent companies, or volunteer militia, were men who supplied uniforms at their own expense, drilled on their own time, and endeavored to be a disciplined military body. The Milwaukee Light Guard, organized in 1855, was the most prominent unit. Its captain, John C. Starkweather, was later made colonel of the 1st Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment at the outbreak of the war.

Milwaukee companies functioned as a battalion. The rest of the state militia companies were organized as independent companies. At the time of Governor Randall's annual address of 1861, total militia strength stood at just 1,993 men scattered among the 55 companies. Randall's anticipation of President Lincoln's call for troops drove him to urge the legislature to prepare for war by passing laws that would enable Wisconsin to better organize its volunteer militias. On April 13, 1861, the legislature passed a series of bills that authorized the organization of one regiment of infantry. By the time President Lincoln's request for troops was received on April 15, 1861, Wisconsin was well on its way to answering the call.

As expected, the Wisconsin volunteer militias provided some of the earliest troops for service to the state, although taken as a whole militia units failed to

provide the majority of troops requested. Of the 55 companies of independent militia, eight joined in the first volunteer regiment, but less than half of the 55 were willing to serve in the time of crisis. Still, within the first 12 months of the war, Wisconsin provided more than the federal government's requested quota.

Governor Randall, faced with the unenviable task of turning away volunteers, selected 10 companies to form the 1st Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment. The first company accepted, the Madison Guard, was joined by another Madison company (the Governor's Guard), four Milwaukee companies (the Light Guard, Union Rifles, Black Yagers, and Riflemen), the Beloit City Guard, the Fond du Lac Badgers, the Horicon Guards, and the Park City Greys from Kenosha. The methods the state used to solicit service, the ways that men entered the state's forces, and the feelings the men had about joining the military changed considerably throughout the war.

Against the wishes of Washington, Randall approved raising additional regiments from the hundreds of remaining eager volunteers. Ten days after the fall of Fort Sumter, Wisconsin had formed another full regiment with several more organizing. By the end of 1861, when the War Department ordered Wisconsin to stop raising troops, more than 14,000 Wisconsin volunteers had been organized into 13 infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, and a company of sharpshooters. Early in the war, then, the State had no need to solicit military service from its residents beyond Randall's initial call.

From the perspective of the volunteers, desire to preserve the Union, to punish the secessionists, and to experience adventure led to their intense spirit. The community-based militia companies added the benefit of joining and serving alongside friends and often relatives. Wisconsin's first 13 infantry regiments were composed of companies that reflected the close-knit nature of the groups. They carried names like the Lemonweir Minute Men, the Grant County Patriots, the Neenah Rifles, and the West Bend Union Guards. While the units lost those colorful names when they were assigned a letter and became a company in a Wisconsin infantry regiment, the men maintained their community pride and ties.

These themes are exemplified in the story of Alexander Wilson. Born in Pennsylvania in 1840, the youngest of seven children, Wilson moved west prior to the Civil War and settled in Dalton, Green Lake County, Wisconsin. Soon after Governor Randall's call to arms, Wilson joined the local militia company, which had begun training along with a group from a nearby town. In a July 6, 1861, letter to a cousin, Wilson wrote, "We have got up a company here for the purpose of training in order to be ready if we are needed in the present emergencies." He added, "The name of our company is the Plow Boy Guard. We are in the town of Dalton and the other company is in the town of Green Lake called the Green Lake Tigers."

More than two months later, Wilson officially joined the war effort. On October 5, he wrote from Camp Fremont in Ripon, "On the 30 of September I signed the roll making of myself a member of the first regiment of Wisconsin Cavalry." Indeed, Wilson had become part of Company E, 1st Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment. He made his reason for stepping up very clear: "I have made up my mind that the Secessionists are going too far and I want to get amongst them." He later added, "There will be some rip and cut when we get among the traitors." Wilson mustered into federal service on October 31, 1861, at Camp Harvey in Kenosha. He died of disease on January 9, 1864, in Tennessee.

The spirit of adventure that came with war drew its share of underage soldiers as well. Most of the youngest soldiers from Wisconsin enlisted with their fathers and served as drummer boys or aides. However, many 16- and 17-year-olds wanted to fight and volunteered as infantrymen. Some lied about their age, others received the permission of their parents or hoped that the patriotic fever sweeping the state would enable them to enlist without special permission.



A young Charles O. Hansen attempted to enlist in the 17th Wisconsin Infantry. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Charles O. Hansen displayed remarkable tenacity in his effort to join the Union forces. Born in Norway around 1845. Hansen's family immigrated to the United States prior to the Civil War and settled in Green County, Wisconsin, where the patriarch Rasmus found work as a cabinetmaker. In February 1862, a 16-year-old Hansen volunteered for service and enlisted into Company H, 17th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. According to muster records, he stood five feet seven and had auburn hair and blue eves that must have shone with his anticipation to take part in the war. However, he did not remain a member of the company long – he most likely joined against the wishes of his family, and they successfully negotiated his release from service due to his age.

Undeterred, Hansen waited until July 1863, when he was 18 and, while in Oberlin, Ohio, enlisted in Company C, 86th Ohio Infantry Regiment, a sixmonth unit. After completing his term of service defending the State of Ohio

against a feared Confederate invasion, Hansen returned to Wisconsin and, as a 19-year-old, enlisted into Company B, 18th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, eventually joining the regiment in the Carolinas at the end of the war. Although unable to enlist early in the war, Hansen maintained the spirit of volunteerism that characterized the beginning of the conflict and served honorably with two different units.

Wisconsin was able to meet President Lincoln's first calls for troops with hundreds of volunteers to spare, but subsequent calls proved more difficult to meet. The spirit of excitement, adventure, and volunteerism among the residents dampened in 1862 as it became clear that the war would not be brief and bloodless. The federal government came to realize it needed more – many more – men to continue to execute the war in the face of rising casualties. This led to several changes that greatly affected the way Wisconsin men joined the military during the Civil War.



Governor Edward Saloman, Wisconsin's eighth governor. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Wisconsin still received a quota of men to raise for each call from Washington, but starting in 1862 the threat of a draft loomed over states unable to meet their mark. Broken down to the county level, these calls revealed areas of the state that contained large pockets of antiwar sentiment. To avoid a draft, which was incredibly unpopular with the public and seemed likely to cause civil unrest, both federal and state governments took steps to encourage volunteer enlistments. The federal government began offering one month's pay in advance upon enlistment. Governor Edward Salomon, Wisconsin's third wartime governor, further encouraged the counties in danger of not meeting their quotas to offer an additional \$50 enlistment bonus. These measures proved effective, and by September 1862. Wisconsin had raised 14 additional regiments, exceeding its quota of 12,000

men from President Lincoln's call in July.

While George Haw, a 26-year-old pharmacist from Boscobel, considered joining the war effort in the summer of 1862, his future wife, Annie Henry, wrote him a letter advising him of his options and telling him her preference. "No doubt it would be better for you to enlist than to be drafted. But if you should be drafted, could you not get a substitute? This is all that consoles me in regard to my brother. You may think me selfish, and I do not know but I am in this case, yet I am willing to sacrifice everything, only the life of you and my brother." Two days after receiving Annie's letter, Haw accepted a commission as 1st Lieutenant in Company B, 33rd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. He served almost two years before resigning his commission due to medical issues.

As the war progressed, President Lincoln made additional calls. In August 1862, he asked Wisconsin for another 12,000 men and stipulated that they be raised within two weeks. Rather than asking for a three-year enlistment, however, President Lincoln wanted only a nine-month commitment, a concession made to encourage volunteers. Governor Salomon succeeded in extending the deadline, but by the end of October it became clear that several counties wouldn't meet their quotas. In November 1862, Governor Salomon ordered a draft to commence in those counties.

The fears of government officials came to pass when riots broke out in Brown, Ozaukee, and Washington Counties. The 28th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, still training at Camp Washburn in Milwaukee, was sent to Port Washington in Ozaukee County to restore order, arrest the instigators of the riot, and round up the drafted men who failed to report for duty. The 30th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, stationed at Camp Randall in Madison, dispatched a company to Green Bay and several more to West Bend in Washington County to perform the same function.

Benjamin Briggs, a 24-yearold farmer from New Richmond. St. Croix County, who stood five feet ten and had blue eves and black hair, volunteered for service in Company A, 30th Wisconsin Infantry on August 11, 1862. He was among the detail sent to Green Bay to enforce the draft. and he described it in a letter to a friend written in November 1862. "We came here to put down a riot and get the drafted men. We got one hundred of them and had them here two weeks. We sent them to Milwaukee yesterday. Our bovs. the



Recruiting officers in Madison take a break from their work. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

most of them are hunting up the rest. They started after them this morning." Briggs served out the entire war with the 30th Wisconsin, mustering out in September 1865.

The year 1863 began with a new set of laws governing the draft: the Enrollment Act was passed by Congress in March. This legislation provided Wisconsin men with several interesting choices. They could voluntarily enlist to help their county meet its quota, and likely benefit from some sort of enlistment bonus. They could also test their luck and take a chance that their names wouldn't be selected in the draft. If they were drafted, they forfeited any enlistment bonus. However, even if they were drafted, they retained options. In 1863, a drafted man could pay \$300 to essentially "buy" his way out of service. He also could furnish a substitute to serve in his stead; substitutes were generally paid a fee to offer this service.

Some men felt obligated to enlist both for a bonus and to support their families through a steady soldier's pay they could send home. This plan was not always

reliable because pay was delayed at times, as Jackson Hicks, a 21-year-old married farmer from Walworth County who served in Company I, 28th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, touched upon in a letter to his brother Fred in January 1863: "You know that men that enlisted in the last call are men that have families...and those families the most of them depend on government money for subsistence, and by the government not paying the soldiers, their families have to suffer for the want of clothes and provisions." Hicks endured the delayed pay, serving with the 28th Wisconsin until the end of the war. He mustered out in August 1865.

The first call for troops under the Enrollment Act came in July 1863. The federal government offered a \$302 bounty to volunteers in hopes of boosting enlistment and avoiding a draft, yet to no avail in some counties. Over 30 percent of those drafted in Wisconsin hired a substitute or paid to avoid service. Many Wisconsin men struggled with this choice as is revealed in a letter written by Achsah Reynolds, a Beloit woman, to her brother: "But I almost forgot to tell you that Beloit is free from another draft. I have had the blues for the last few weeks expecting Asa would enlist, for he said that he would wait till the last day and if our quota was not full he should enlist for he would not be drafted. But I do not



Envelope proclaiming Wisconsin's support of the Union. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

think that six months will pass before another call is made, but we are clear for this time."

As the war continued, the federal government continued to make more calls for soldiers. Wisconsin met its quota for an early 1864 call for men but failed to meet its mark in the fall of that year. Many counties began offering sizeable bonuses, in addition to the federal bounty, to men who would help them meet their quotas, regardless of where they really lived. This led to some men leaving their home counties to enlist in another county offering a larger bonus. Desperate for men, the federal government began denying the ability to pay \$300 to avoid service, which caused the price of substitutes to skyrocket.

Another tactic used to attract volunteers was reducing the term of enlistment. While the state's very first unit, the 1st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, signed on for three months' service, most men thereafter committed to three years' service. This changed beginning with the 37th and 38th Wisconsin Infantry Regiments recruited in early 1864. The men in those two regiments were a mix of one-, two-, and three-year enlistments. The next three regiments from Wisconsin signed on for only 100 days of service, and the remainder of Wisconsin's 53 infantry regiments signed on for one year of service.

In addition to men enlisting for the first time, soldiers coming to the end of their terms of service could choose to muster out and return home, or reenlist for another term. Many men, tired of war and eager to see their families again, help with the farm or business, and return to a normal life, mustered out. Others, though they may have struggled with the decision, reenlisted. In a February 1865 letter to his wife, Frances, Charles Goodrich described his thought process and reservations about reenlisting. A 33-year-old farmer from Oakland, Wisconsin, Goodrich enlisted as a private in Company I, 1st Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment in 1861 but earned a promotion to sergeant major of the regiment in 1864. His reasoning, although it relates to reenlisting, is similar to that of many men who debated enlisting:

My talk about returning to the service is not just to try your feelings. Dear Frankie, I am not so cruel. God knows that there is no man living who prizes home and its comforts higher than I do, or who loves his wife, his child and relations better. It would be impossible for me to express the joy I should feel if this war were ended! But the war is not ended, and I am continually asking myself questions like the following: Can I stay at home while my comrades are fighting in the field? Can I give up a struggle which I determined in the commencement to see through? If I stay at home, what kind of men will be my associates? Who stay at home, such times as these when the country needs the services of every true patriot? Could I hold up my head and look a soldier in the face?

The rest of his letter expressed concern that his wife was struggling to manage the farm and care for their young son without him. He fervently hoped that the war would end before he was forced to make a decision to reenlist. His hope was not fulfilled. Though by March 1865, a Union victory must have seemed certain enough that Goodrich decided to forego reenlistment and return home. He mustered out on March 8, 1865, roughly one month before Robert E. Lee's surrender, and returned to his family and farm as a proud veteran.

While Wisconsin is generally credited with approximately 91,000 Civil War veterans, the figure includes reenlistments and counts some men twice. Roughly 80,000 individual Wisconsin men served in the Civil War. By the time the war ended in 1865, Wisconsin had supplied 53 regiments of infantry, four cavalry units, and 13 artillery batteries, along with a company of U.S. sharpshooters.

Ethnic Regiments

The spirit of volunteerism in Wisconsin early in the war led many men to join the Union Army alongside their neighbors who were of the same ethnic background. This contributed to the formation of ethnic regiments and companies, as well as strong ethnic concentrations within companies.

Germans

Almost one million Germans immigrated to the United States between 1845 and 1855. Thousands of those immigrants came to Wisconsin, many



Charles Wickesberg served in the 26th Wisconsin Infantry, one of two predominately German regiments from Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

settling in Milwaukee or buying farmland in the southeastern part of the state. While Germans were scattered among every Wisconsin regiment individually or in small groups, they also could be found in several large concentrations. For example, Company D, 1st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, was known as the Black Yagers (an Anglicization of the German word jaeger, meaning "hunter") and Company C, 5th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, carried the name Milwaukee German Turners.

In the fall of 1861, prominent German leaders around the state set out to raise an entire regiment of German immigrants and succeeded. The 9th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, sometimes referred to as the 1st German Regiment, consisted almost entirely of German immigrants or the children of German immigrants. They began training at Camp Holton in Milwaukee, but soon renamed it Camp Sigel in

honor of prominent German-American General Franz Sigel. Commanded by Colonel Frederick Salomon, the brother of future Governor Edward Salomon, the 9th Wisconsin deployed to Kansas in January 1862 and spent the remainder of the war fighting skirmishes in Missouri and Arkansas.

Wisconsin produced a second full German regiment – the 26th Wisconsin Infantry – soon thereafter. General Franz Sigel had asked Governor Salomon to raise another German regiment and as a result, the 26th Wisconsin was also known as the Sigel Regiment. They formed in the fall of 1862, and trained, appropriately, at Camp Sigel in Milwaukee. Deployed to the eastern theater, the Siegel Regiment saw their first action at Chancellorsville and were routed badly, gaining an unfair reputation for retreating too quickly. The men took the slight very seriously and spent the rest of the war trying to redeem their name. Charles Wickesberg, who immigrated to Sheboygan County with his family in 1848, served in Company H and wrote letters in German home to his family that described his displeasure with newspaper accounts of the 26th Wisconsin's lack of fortitude. The regiment went on to see heavy fighting at Gettysburg, at Lookout Mountain, and on Sherman's March to the Sea, displaying bravery and resilience at every turn.

Norwegians

With companies named St. Olaf's Rifles, the Norway Bear Hunters, Odin's Rifles, and the Scandinavian Mountaineers, it is clear why the 15th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment was known as the Scandinavian Regiment. Recruited from among the Norwegians, the Danes, and the Swedes living in the state, it is believed to have been the only all-Scandinavian regiment in the Union Army. The 15th Wisconsin trained during the spring of 1862 at Camp Randall under Colonel Hans Heg, a prominent Norwegian immigrant who had recently been elected state prison commissioner. Heg had personally recruited the men of the 15th with an appeal to their patriotic duty: "Scandinavians! Let us understand the situation, our duty and our responsibility. Shall the future ask, where were the Scandinavians when the Fatherland was saved?"

The men of the 15th passed through Chicago on their way to the western theater and received a special flag from a local Norwegian organization that combined traditional American and Norwegian symbols and carried the motto *For Gud Og Vort Land* (For God and Our Country). They went on to participate in the battles of Perryville, Stone's River, Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge, as well as the Atlanta Campaign. A statue of Heg, who was killed at Chickamauga, which was erected outside the northeast entrance of the Wisconsin capitol, immortalizes the service of the 15th.

Irish

Wisconsin's Irish population was less than half that of the state's German population. Like the Germans, Irish immigrants enlisted in Wisconsin units individually or in small groups from the start of the war. In late 1861, John Doran, a prominent Irish lawyer in Milwaukee, received a commission from Governor Randall and began recruiting an Irish regiment in Wisconsin. Due to several factors, including a smaller population from which to draw, he was unable to fill a full regiment with Wisconsin Irish. For example, Company G was filled with soldiers of French descent, and Company K had a large number of Oneida and Menominee among its ranks. However, the 17th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment did contain a large number of Irish with companies named the Mulligan Guard, the Corcoran Guards, and the Peep O'Day Boys, and they became known as the Irish Regiment. Company B carried a green flag covered in various Irish symbols and sayings.



This company guidon was presented to Company B, 17th Wisconsin Infantry by the people of Kenosha. The colors, symbols, and words reflect the Irish heritage of the unit. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Mustered into service on March 15, 1862, the men were toasted by Governor Randall at a St. Patrick's Day dinner at the capitol two days later. After training at Camp Randall, the 17th Wisconsin deployed to the western theater, taking part in the Siege of Corinth in May 1862 and the Battle of Corinth in October 1862. At the latter engagement, Wisconsin's Irish Regiment made a daring bayonet charge to repel the advancing Confederate forces. The men, shouting a Gaelic battle cry *Faugh a ballagh* (Clear the way), succeeded in pushing back the attack and allowed other Union forces to regroup. The 17th Wisconsin went on to take part in the Vicksburg Campaign, Sherman's March to the Sea, and the Carolina Campaign and marched in the Grand Review in Washington, DC before returning to Wisconsin.

A company from Oconto, named the Oconto Irish Guards, arrived at Camp Randall too late to join the 17th Wisconsin. They became the 11th Battery, Wisconsin Light Artillery, and through chance were attached to an Irish infantry regiment from Illinois that was stationed at Camp Douglas in Chicago. There, though they remained predominantly Wisconsin soldiers, they were rebranded Battery L, 1st Illinois Light Artillery. Deployed to the eastern theater, they spent the majority of their service in West Virginia and at Harper's Ferry.

Native Americans

At the time of the Civil War, an estimated 9,000 Native Americans were living in Wisconsin. They comprised seven nations, or tribes, including the Menominee, Oneida, Stockbridge-Munsee, Brothertown, Ho Chunk, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. Within a month of his 1861 call for troops, Governor Randall received a letter offering 200 Menominee men for service. Because the federal government considered Native Americans, along with African Americans, to be "colored troops," Randall declined the offer. In spite of this, dozens of Wisconsin Native Americans managed to join the Union armies, individually or in small groups. In 1863, as the number of white volunteers dropped and states began instituting drafts to meet their quotas of soldiers, the federal government lifted its ban on "colored troops," which allowed Wisconsin to begin recruiting among Native Americans. Hundreds enlisted, with two notable concentrations forming.

Company K, 37th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, had the largest number of Native Americans in a single company, with more than 40 Menominee

among its ranks. Men like James Ahshetahyash, Jerome Kahtotah, and Jacob Pequachnahrien saw heavy fighting in the siege of Petersburg and participated in the infamous Battle of the Crater. Numerous Archiquets, Danforths, Doxators, Hills, and Powlas can be found among 50 Oneida in Companies F and G, 14th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. They took part in the Atlanta Campaign before seeing additional action in Tennessee. Arkansas, and Alabama. All told, an estimated 500-600 Wisconsin Native Americans served in the Civil War - an impressive number for an ethnic group of men who were largely noncitizens and therefore not subject to the draft.



The Menominee soldiers in Co. K, 37th Wisconsin Infantry followed this national flag into the Crater at Petersburg, Virginia, on July 30, 1864. They suffered heavy casualties, and the many holes and tears on the flag attest to the intensity of the Confederate fire they faced. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

African Americans

While records credit most of Company F, 29th U.S. Colored Troops to Wisconsin, in reality a majority of the men had never set foot in the Badger State. Wisconsin recruiters, seeking substitutes to help meet quotas, offered attractive bounties to African Americans from Illinois and Missouri and succeeded in raising a company of men. Nevertheless, there were actual Wisconsin residents within the 29th U.S. Colored Troops, including Alfred Carroll, a 20-year-old paper hanger born in Milwaukee, and Alfred Weaver, an escaped slave from North Carolina who was working as a carpenter in Vernon County when the war began. These men took part in the Petersburg Campaign, including the Battle of the Crater, as well as the Appomattox Campaign.

Arming the Troops

he State supplied soldiers with weapons and accoutrements from the federal government, but the respective militia members privately selected and purchased uniforms. As far as uniforms were concerned, there was



Wisconsin's first state-issued uniforms were grey, the traditional color for militias. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

very little uniformity across militia units; they were free to choose uniform styles as they saw fit, and this resulted in an array of colors and styles. The Milwaukee Light Guard, the state's most active militia unit, wore a dress uniform consisting of a double-breasted coatee, faced and piped in white, and topped with a bearskin hat. Others, like the Racine Zouave Cadets, made an attempt to copy the Algerian-inspired French military uniforms that were the sartorial rage among many eastern United States militia units. Only after the state quartermaster issued uniforms to the first volunteers at the outset of the war was uniformity achieved. Grav was the traditional color of state militias in the United States, and so it was natural that Wisconsin's quartermaster initially selected that color for the state-issued uniforms. In the summer of 1861, the state provided grav frock coats

or short gray jackets to the first eight infantry regiments. This proved disastrous for the 2nd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry at the First Battle of Bull Run, when it was mistaken for a Confederate unit and fired upon by the 79th New York Infantry Regiment. On September 2, 1861, the problem was addressed when Governor Randall received a letter from U.S. Army Headquarters, ordering Wisconsin soldiers be outfitted in dark blue wool uniforms. Still, the transition from gray to blue for the first eight regiments was not complete until the end of 1861, when the 8th infantry regiment was the last to receive its initial issue of blue uniforms.

Wisconsin did not maintain an extensive armory system as nearly all of the arms were in the hands of volunteer militia companies, and in any case the numbers of small arms were low. The state-issued arms were a mixture of U.S. rifled muskets, flintlock conversions, nonrifled smoothbore muskets, and an array of poor quality foreign imports. Only when the state units became federalized did the quality of arms improve.

Training and Deployment

war, transforming the eager volunteers into soldiers and transporting them to the various theaters of combat proved challenging at times. The farmers, carpenters, and other laborers who joined the military were used to

making their own hours and answering to themselves. They had to learn to obey an officer's orders instantly, including when to rise, when to eat, and when to go to sleep, and to become familiar with the terminology and tactics of mid-19th century warfare. This task was made much more difficult by the fact that very few officers had any experience in these matters. Numerous accounts tell of officers staying awake late at night to pour over manuals and prepare for the next day's drills.

While Camp Randall in Madison is the most well-known Civil War training camp in the state, Wisconsin boasted a dozen other camps in several cities. Some of these sites trained a single regiment before closing, while others trained thousands of men. Some were named after prominent national figures, others after local governors or officers. Some held the same name throughout the war while others changed names when a new regiment arrived. Regardless of location or name, these camps served as the forges that produced Wisconsin's 80,000 men of iron during the Civil War.

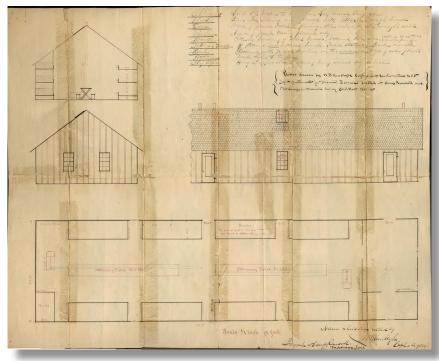


Old Camp Randall, Madison, Wisconsin. Watercolor by John Gaddis. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Training camps located throughout the state included the following: Camp Barstow (Janesville), Camp Bragg (Oshkosh), Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien), Camp Fremont (Ripon), Camp Hamilton (Fond du Lac), Camp Harvey (Kenosha), Camp Holton (Milwaukee), Camp Randall (Madison), Camp Reno (Milwaukee), Camp Salomon (La Crosse), Camps Scott and Sigel (Milwaukee), Camp Tredway (Janesville), Camp Trowbridge (Milwaukee), Camp Utley (Racine), Camp Washburn (Milwaukee), and Camp Wood (Fond du Lac).

The first 10 companies accepted by Randall after his initial call for troops trained at Camp Scott in Milwaukee, located in the vicinity of the Marquette University campus. An anonymous Wisconsin soldier, writing home in May 1861, described the camp as follows: "Our company has 13 tents, six on each side of Fairchild street, with the captain's tent at the head of the street. The mess room,

which has been built for our accommodation, is 56 x 90 feet, with kitchen attached. Mssrs. Rice and Andrews, of the Newhall House, furnish us with meals, at 39 cents per man a day. The building will accommodate half of the regiment at a time. We are allowed to form ourselves into squads of six, and each squad has a tent, spade, pickaxe, hatchet, mess pans, etc. The tents are numbered, and the names of the squad put on; so you will have no difficulty finding us."



Blueprints of barracks used at Camp Randall reveal details of training soldiers' living conditions. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

The men found that camp life was not without its dangers. While most accounts point to George Drake of Company A as the first Wisconsin soldier to die in the Civil War at the Battle of Falling Waters on July 2, 1861, the distinction actually belongs to John H. Munroe. A 27-year-old farmer from Wauwatosa who enlisted with Company C, Munroe drowned while bathing in a river on June 3, 1861, while the regiment was still training at Camp Scott. Many more men would die from accidents and illness while still training in their home state over the next four years.

At times, the first duty of the new soldiers was to physically prepare the camp. William Noble, a 25-year-old Manitowoc resident who served in Company K, 21st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, wrote in his diary about his company's arrival in Oshkosh to begin training. The men arrived on August 27, 1862, and rested at the camp grounds. The next day, they were examined by a doctor -17 men were "thrown out" – and those remaining began digging outhouse vaults and clearing

the grounds. On August 29, the men drilled in the morning, after which Noble, a carpenter by trade, and six others were detailed to begin building 16-by-56 foot barracks. They finished roofing them on August 30 and 31, and the rest of the regiment arrived on September 1 to the newly created Camp Bragg. Noble and his fellow soldiers did not get to enjoy the fruits of their labor for long -10 days later they boarded trains for Cincinnati and service in Kentucky, Tennessee, and ultimately Sherman's March to the Sea. Noble, who transferred to the Veterans Reserve Corps in February 1864, mustered out of service on June 29, 1865.

James Sullivan, an 18-year-old farmer from Wonewoc who served in Company K, 6th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, described a typical day of training at Camp Randall:

Daylight reveille and roll call; and immediately one hour's company drill: then 15 minutes for preparation, then fall in and march to breakfast; 'sick call' 'fatigue call' which meant clean up the company quarters and street. 'Guard mount' which of course took only those detailed: then two and a half hour's company and squad drill: dinner. At one o'clock fall in and have three hours' battalion drill; supper; dress parade. Tattoo and roll call at 9 o'clock, taps 15 minutes later

Most of the drilling that Sullivan referenced consisted of teaching the men to march in a line and perform various maneuvers while marching in a line. Wounded at South Mountain and



Union troops organized in Wisconsin. Plaque located at Camp Randall, Madison. (Sarah Girkin)

Gettysburg, Sullivan saw the war to its conclusion, mustering out in July 1865.

Residents of nearby towns often visited camps to see the men drilling. Chauncey Cook, a 21-year-old farmer from Gilmantown who was training at Camp Salomon with the 25th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, wrote in a September 1862 letter to his family, "to see a thousand soldiers on regimental drill or parade is what visitors call a splendid sight. Hundreds of people in La Crosse come out to see us every evening. There was about five hundred visitors here last night to see us on dress parade." Cook survived the war, and he mustered out in May 1865.

When not drilling or sleeping, soldiers found various activities to fill their time. Alexander Wilson of the 1st Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment listed his extracurricular activities at Camp Fremont in Ripon in a letter to his cousin: "boxing, wrestling, running footraces, jumping, playing ball, reading, and talking, and sometimes running around the town." The men also took advantage of passes into town when possible to frequent local businesses, attend church services, or visit family and friends.

Training and deployment were inextricably linked, though the experiences of Wisconsin soldiers in these areas varied greatly. Ideally, soldiers received a full basic training before deploying. At times, however, men were needed on the battlefield and deployment interrupted training, which would resume upon arriving on location. On rare occasions, very little training occurred before a regiment deployed, with the expectation that the men would receive sufficient drill in the field.

Deployments in the first year of the war were full of pomp and circumstance. Departing soldiers were treated to speeches, parades, and cheering throngs, often at each stop on the way to their destination. James Northup, a 23-year-old farmer from Lodi, described the reception received by the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment on their way from Wisconsin to Pennsylvania in a June 1861 letter: "Such crowds of people I never saw before. All along the line from Madison to Chicago we were greeted with cheers and waving of handkerchiefs by the people, which



2nd Wisconsin Infantry national colors sewn by Mrs. R.C. Powers and presented to the men within hours of their deployment. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

is proof that the good wishes of all are with us in maintaining the government." He went on to write about a "grand reception" the men received in Cleveland. complete with refreshments served by "some of the fairest Ladies you ever saw," and how crowds gathered at every train station in Ohio to cheer on the men. Northup was wounded and taken prisoner during the Battle of the Wilderness, but survived to be mustered out in September 1864

Early in the war, the presentation of the colors, or flags, to a regiment often occurred before deployment and could involve speeches and crowds. The 2nd

Wisconsin Infantry Regiment contracted with a Madison woman, Mrs. R. C. Powers, to make their national colors. For just under \$40, Powers cut and sewed together the silk flag and gilded on the stars and the regiment's name on both sides of the flag in roughly three weeks. However, she completed her work within hours of the 2nd Wisconsin's deployment, not leaving enough time for a formal presentation before the men boarded their trains.

Deployment did not always proceed safely or smoothly. The 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry, which trained at Camp Barstow in Janesville over the winter of 1861-62, boarded trains to deploy to St. Louis on March 26. As the train neared Chicago, the axle on one of the cars broke, causing four cars to derail. Twelve members of the 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry were killed in the accident and 20 more were wounded. The 17th Wisconsin Infantry trained at Camp Randall and received orders to deploy to St. Louis in March 1862. Because there had been a delay in paying the men, many refused to board the trains and some even took to the street, armed, to show their displeasure. Their insubordination went so far that Governor Louis P. Harvey called for Union troops from Chicago to help restore order and get all of

the men on the train.

As the months and years passed, the pomp and circumstance of deployment lessened and men were moved to the front as quickly and efficiently as possible. Deployment took Wisconsin's Civil War soldiers to forts, camps, and stations all around the country, not always for battle. Regardless of their duties upon arrival, the training they received, both in state and in the field. went a long way toward preparing them for what lay ahead.



Unidentified duo from the 17th Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

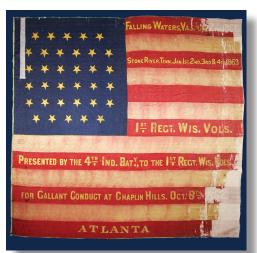
Combat – On Wisconsin!

nion General William T. Sherman was said to have once remarked that one Wisconsin regiment was "equal to an ordinary brigade." Sherman was well acquainted with Wisconsin troops. At the brigade level, he commanded Badgers in both eastern and western theater engagements. Whether it was simply martial hyperbole, his sentiments certainly spoke to the tenacity and skill that came to define the fighting spirit of Wisconsin's military forces. Wisconsin troops took part in almost every major engagement, and hundreds of smaller engagements, and fought with distinction in every Southern state except Florida. From west of the Mississippi to the east coast, the "Badger Boys" engaged the Confederates in hundreds of battles and skirmishes. Like most soldiers, they never thought that they were making history. By the end of the war in 1865,

Wisconsin's Union soldiers crushed secession, ended slavery, and ushered in a new national concept of equality.

The first days of the war were marked by uncertainty as the untested troops, many of them 90-day volunteers, left their training sites for the theaters of battle. Most expected a short war. Any thoughts of a prolonged conflict were dismissed, replaced by a brand of bravado uninformed by past experience. Their fantasies of a swift victory evaporated quickly after their first encounter with the enemy. For the men of the 1st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, their baptism of fire began at Falling Waters, Virginia, where they engaged a small Confederate force under the overall command of General Joseph E. Johnston. The July 2 battle was a short affair, lasting only 45 minutes, but when it was over Union troops held the field and Wisconsin had suffered its first battlefield casualties of the war. George Drake, of Company A, was killed on the battlefield, and William M. Graham of Company B, later died of wounds received in battle. Many more would follow.

A skirmish on July 18, 1861, just days before the first major battle of the war, took the life of Myron Gardner, Company B, 2nd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. His company, known as the La Crosse Light Guards, was attached to a brigade commanded by Colonel William T. Sherman, under the divisional command of Brigadier General Daniel Tyler. In the days before the First Battle of Bull Run, Tyler had been ordered by Union Commanding General Irvin McDowell to locate the Confederate forces but to avoid bringing on a general engagement. Tyler's division subsequently encountered elements of General James Longstreet's brigade along the Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford. Although ordered to avoid a general engagement, Tyler faced the guns of the 3rd Company of the Washington Artillery, the venerable militia unit of New Orleans, Louisiana, with a



This flag was presented to the 1st Wisconsin Infantry as a gift from the 4th Indiana Battery for having saved the battery at the Battle of Perryville. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

pedigree dating back to 1838. A lively artillery duel ensued and Tyler ordered the men of the 1st Massachusetts forward. After driving back a few Confederate skirmishers, they encountered Colonel Longstreet's Virginians and the artillery duel quickly escalated into a spirited skirmish. Wisconsin troops were ordered into the line of battle, and after quickly arriving at the scene, the men of Company B found themselves opposite the Confederate battery. While the men of the 2nd Wisconsin stood in formation, a shot from one of the Washington Artillery's six-pound rifled cannons struck a tree, glanced off the ground, and took off Myron Gardner's right leg just above the knee. Gardner did not survive the horrific wound. The projectile that killed him was sent to Wisconsin and is now part of the permanent collection of the Wisconsin Veterans Museum in Madison.

The actions at Falling Waters and Blackburn's Ford were but a preview of the horrors of war that were to grip the country for the next four years. Wisconsin troops would see action in almost all of the major battles and play a decisive role in several.

The Eastern Theater

fter their baptism of fire at the battle of Blackburn's Ford, the 2nd Wisconsin, along with the rest of the Brigade under the command of Colonel Sherman, prepared for a larger engagement as the army concentrated along the banks of Bull Run. On Sunday, July 21, 1861, Sherman's Brigade advanced into the fray at the First Battle of Bull Run. Brigaded with the 13th, 69th, and 79th New York Infantry Regiments, the 2nd Wisconsin was the only Wisconsin unit to take part in this first major infantry battle of the war. Still wearing their state-issued gray uniforms, the 2nd Wisconsin advanced up Henry House Hill and engaged the Confederate forces commanded by Colonel Thomas J. Jackson. Ordered to move forward alone, without the support of the other regiments on the flanks, the Wisconsin men crested the hill and advanced. After exchanging fire with Jackson's forces and realizing the untenable nature of their exposed position, the men of the 2nd Wisconsin began falling back. As they did so, the men of the 79th New York, who had remained at the bottom of the hill, fired into the ranks of the 2nd Wisconsin, confusing them for the enemy because of their gray uniforms.

In an official report of the action of July 21, 1861, Col. William T. Sherman wrote:

This regiment ascended to the brow of the hill steadily, received the severe fire of the enemy, returned it with spirit, and advanced delivering its fire. This regiment is uniformed in gray cloth, almost identical with that of the great bulk of the secession army, and when the regiment fell into confusion and retreated toward the road there was a universal cry that they were being fired on by our men. The regiment rallied again, passed the brow of the hill a second time, but was again repulsed in disorder.

Though the regiment rallied and advanced a second time, the battle was lost by the end of the day and the retreat of the Union army turned into a rout. During the retreat, the 2nd Wisconsin became disorganized with small groups of soldiers making their own way back toward Washington. At one point, the regiment's national colors nearly fell into the hands of the enemy but were saved by Private Robert S. Stephenson, two regimental band members, and a handful of others who rallied to the colors. For this act, Stephenson was promoted to the color guard and would remain in that honored position until the early fall of 1862.

After the First Battle of Bull Run, the army reorganized on the outskirts of Washington. In the shadow of the humiliating defeat, the 2nd Wisconsin, along with the rest of the army, entered a period of renovation. New units arrived to bolster the ranks, including the 6th and 7th Wisconsin Infantry Regiments. The

2nd joined the 6th and 7th Wisconsin to form a brigade under the command of General Rufus King of Milwaukee. General King had hoped to have the 5th Wisconsin in his command and thus have an entirely Wisconsin brigade, but he was sent the 19th Indiana instead. Though the Indiana men were no Wisconsinites, they were western men. In fact General King's brigade was the only brigade in the entire army made completely of volunteers from western states. This was a unique identity in the Army of the Potomac, which was comprised of mostly troops from eastern states like New York or Pennsylvania. The western composition of the brigade would not be the only thing that made this particular unit unique: their physical appearance would mold that identity as well.

As the fall of 1861 progressed, it became clear that the Wisconsin men were in desperate need of new uniforms. In the early weeks of October, they finally exchanged their gray frock coats for the more suitable blue uniform of the Union army. "We have a full blue suit, a fine black hat nicely trimmed with bugle and plate and ostrich feathers," wrote one excited soldier from the 2nd Wisconsin, "and you can only distinguish our boys from the regulars by their [our] good looks!"

Waiting for the Storm

That winter and early spring were spent drilling in camp and enduring the monotony of winter quarters. Finally, in the spring of 1862, the armies were on the move again. General King's western brigade was sent to occupy the town of Fredericksburg while the main force of the Army of the Potomac, including the 5th Wisconsin, moved farther south to threaten Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign.

In May, General King was promoted to command of the division and General John Gibbon took command of the brigade. General Gibbon recognized the unique nature of the western brigade in the eastern theater. He instilled an esprit de corps through a strict regimen of drilling and reinforced its unique identity by requiring all the regiments of the brigade to wear the tall black 1858 army hats that the 2nd Wisconsin had been issued the previous October. General Gibbon also introduced the practice of wearing white canvas leggings. With this new uniform, the brigade soon became known as the "Black Hat Brigade."

In the summer of 1862, the 3rd Wisconsin engaged in the Shenandoah Valley and the 5th Wisconsin engaged in the Peninsula Campaign; the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Wisconsin still had not seen any combat together. Having spent most of its service up to that point in camps outside of Washington and Fredericksburg, the Black Hat Brigade had suffered casualties only because of illness and disease, a result of the doldrums of garrison duty. August 1862 brought a change in the daily routine: the war crept closer, and the men of General Gibbon's brigade were put in motion to join the main body of the army.

Shiloh

While Wisconsin's regiments in Virginia fought hard but labored under the indecisive leadership of Army of the Potomac Commander, General George B. McClellan, the western theater regiments fared slightly better in the first two

years of the war. Ulysses S. Grant's stunning successes at Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, respectively, ensured that Nashville would fall, and with it came control of a critical rail and transport center. On February 23, 1862, Confederate forces evacuated Nashville and retreated to Corinth, a small but important rail junction in northern Mississippi. It was there that Confederate General Albert Johnston's command linked up with General P. G. T. Beauregard. Hoping to catch General Grant's men sleeping, General Johnston proposed a daring surprise attack upon Union forces camped about 18 miles away near Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River. At this location, General Grant patiently waited for General Don Carlos Buell's five divisions of the Army of the Ohio to arrive from Savannah, Tennessee. General Johnston's goal was to turn the Union Army's left flank, thereby cutting them off from a base of supplies and an escape route on the Tennessee River. Among those Union forces near Shiloh Church were two inexperienced Wisconsin regiments – the 16th and 18th Infantry Regiments.

It took General Johnston's green troops three days to cover the trek between Corinth and the Union position in front of Pittsburg Landing. The advantage of surprise seemed to have been lost. The Confederates carelessly engaged Union cavalry pickets near Sherman's division, and made quite a racket getting into position. Unbelievably, neither Grant nor Sherman believed that an attack was imminent. During the early hours of the morning of April 6, 1862, Sherman's division, along with the divisions of Prentiss. McLernand and Hurlbut, were just rising and preparing breakfast when the main body of Confederates emerged from the heavily wooded terrain and met reconnaissance elements of Colonel Everett Peabody's 25th Missouri regiment. The sound of sustained firing prompted the order to "beat the long roll' and assemble for battle, but for many the order came too late. More than 40,000 Confederates easily pushed aside Peabody's pickets and drove back the Union divisions of Generals



Thomas Reynolds, 16th Wisconsin Infantry, was among the first to engage Confederate troops at Shiloh. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Prentiss, Sherman, W. H. L. Wallace, Hurlbut and McLernand. Among the first Union units engaged were the 16th and 18th Wisconsin Infantry regiments, of the 6th Division, commanded by Brigadier General Benjamin M. Prentiss. Their respective positions were far out in front of the main Union body when the attack began.

For the men of the 16th Wisconsin, it was their first fight but they displayed a steadiness under fire that belied their inexperience. They fought stubbornly for three hours, giving ground grudgingly until they were forced to leave their position in the line of battle, and to fall back on their camp. Both sides suffered appalling casualties. The colonel of the 16th Wisconsin, Benjamin Allen, had two horses shot from underneath him during the grueling action. Lieutenant Colonel Cassius Fairchild, brother of Lucius Fairchild, colonel of the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment and future Wisconsin governor, received a wound to his hip that would eventually lead to his death in 1868. The 16th Wisconsin was relieved at about 11:00 a.m. and replenished its ammunition, reformed ranks, and went back into the line of battle.



Levi Annis, 14th Wisconsin Infantry, saw action on the second day of Shiloh. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

mid-afternoon, By Brigadier General Prentiss had rallied enough troops from the scattered Union forces to a position in the center of the Union line along a road that became known as the Hornet's Nest. Among the beleaguered troops were men separated from their regiments. The Confederates repeatedly fired at close range. The perfect storm of lead tore holes in the Union ranks, but Prentiss's men held on at a terrific cost. While directing attacks on Prentiss's position. Confederate General Johnston was mortally wounded by a rifle shot that severed an artery in his right leg. Overall command then fell to Beauregard who

launched multiple assaults upon the Hornet's Nest. Had he concentrated on the Union left flank instead of investing all of his energy on the Hornet's Nest, he may have carried the day. Only after the Confederates brought up more than 50 cannons and poured volley after volley at close range into Union lines, did more than 2,000 Union soldiers surrender, including some Wisconsin troops.

Prentiss's men, however, had purchased time for Grant. The first brigade of General Buell's Army of the Ohio had arrived late in the afternoon to reinforce Grant at Pittsburg Landing. On April 7, at 6:00 a.m., Buell's forces launched an attack upon Beauregard's tired forces. Among Buell's attacking regiments were the men of the 14th Wisconsin under the command of Colonel David E. Wood. Organized in November 1861, the 14th Wisconsin had just recently arrived in St. Louis before moving up the Tennessee River. Beauregard immediately counterattacked, but the Confederates were driven back with heavy losses. Another Confederate counterattack halted the Union advance but by then it was clear that the Union had the numerical advantage, and Beauregard ordered a withdrawal to Corinth. The next day, Union troops under the command of Generals Sherman and Wood pursued the retreating Confederates, unsuccessfully engaging General

Nathan B. Forrest's men at Fallen Timbers. The weary Union troops disengaged and returned to Pittsburg Landing.

While generally considered a near miss for the Union, the battle did much to contribute to the reputation of General Ulysses S. Grant. Beauregard had been sent reeling back to Corinth, and Grant's troops held the field. Although Grant had allowed his army to be surprised on April 6, his handling of the affair, once it commenced, resulted in a tactical victory for the North, something that had been lacking in the eastern theater. Undeterred by calls for his resignation, President Lincoln refused to withdraw his support for Grant, remarking, "I can't spare this man. He fights."

Despite their inexperience, Wisconsin troops had per-



Unidentified 18th Wisconsin Infantry soldier: (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

formed admirably under fire. The 16th and 18th Regiments were badly used up after the first day and were not actively engaged during Grant's assaults of April 7. The 16th had lost a number of its company grade officers to wounds or death, and although it was moved into line on April 7, it saw no real action. The 18th Regiment had lost at least 174 men, who were missing from the fight at the Hornet's Nest, and they were in no position to render effective service on the following day. A few weeks after the battle, Elijah Forsyth of Company C, 18th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he gave some indication of the devastation: "I was in the fight both days our. Reg[iment] was all cut to pieces the first day. Counting what was taken prisoners & killed

& what is sick out of 960 men we have 76 men able for duty." Replenished by recruits, the 18th Wisconsin would serve for the duration of the war.

The 14th Wisconsin Infantry, although arriving too late to take part in the action on the first day of the battle, played a role in Grant's counterassault of April 7. The 14th Wisconsin arrived at Pittsburg landing just after 11:00 p.m. on April 6, and camped for the night, having missed the initial Confederate attack. The next morning it moved into position opposite a Confederate artillery emplacement



The shell that killed Myron Gardner, Company B, 2nd Wisconsin Infantry, at Blackburn's Ford. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

located on a bit of elevated ground with deep ravines to its front. After being driven back from their position by a determined Confederate infantry charge, the raw recruits of the 14th rallied and were ordered to take the Confederate battery. Crossing a clear field, the resolute Badgers charged up the hill and overran the rebels. During the melee, Lieutenant George Stalev of the 14th Wisconsin dis-

abled one of the Confederate cannon tubes of William L. Harper's Mississippi Battery by driving a priming wire into the vent and snapping it off. Possession of the gun was brief as Confederate infantry positioned to the rear of the battery moved forward to pour "a storm of lead" upon the 14th. Under galling fire, the 14th fell back to within 330 yards of their original position. The Badgers, however, were not to be denied. It took two more assaults upon the position, but in the end the men of the 14th drove the Confederates from the field. Staley's cannon, a New Orleans-made six-pounder, was recovered and, despite a false claim of ownership from an Ohio regiment, it was sent to Madison as a war trophy.

Shiloh was a bloody affair and a harbinger of things to come for the nation and Wisconsin. The losses were tremendous and exceeded those of all previous American wars. It would be the bloodiest day up until the Battle of Antietam just five months later. Union losses totaled more than 13,000 soldiers. The Confederates lost over 10,000 including their most promising general officer, Albert Sidney Johnston. Colonel Woods's 14th Wisconsin reported 25 killed in action, or died from wounds, with 79 wounded or missing. The two Wisconsin regiments engaged on the first day suffered even greater casualties. The 18th lost 24 killed in action or died from wounds, with another 82 wounded, and 174 taken prisoner in the Hornet's Nest, along with more than 2,000 others from the division of General Prentiss. The 16th suffered the highest casualties of all the Wisconsin units engaged, with 77 killed in action and 149 listed as wounded.

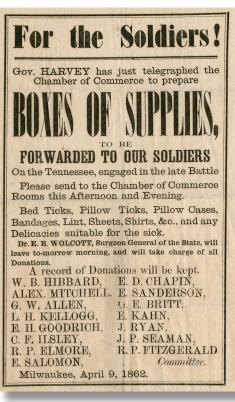
To say Shiloh was a bloody battle would be an understatement. Writing home to his wife and children on April 13, 1862, Calvin Morley of Company C, 18th Regiment, wrote of the carnage:

I suppose you get the account of the battle, and I will not attempt a description of it. It is an awful sight to see the ground covered with dead and dying – mangled in all shapes – some with an arm off, some with severed heads and others with both legs cut off! In one place I saw five rebels killed with a cannon ball. I saw many of them with broken limbs, left to linger out a few days of pain and die for want of medical aid. Our heavy Belgian balls smash the bones so that amputation is the only remedy.

Morley's account is an accurate description of a Civil War battlefield after a major engagement. It would be repeated many times over during the next three years.

When news of the battle reached Madison, the residents of the city were shocked at the level of casualties suffered by Wisconsin troops. Recognizing the need for assistance, Governor Harvey moved to assemble supplies and aid for the wounded Wisconsin soldiers scattered among a number of hospitals. Almost immediately the residents of Wisconsin responded to the governor's call. By April 10, a party consisting of Harvey, Surgeon General Wolcott with eight assistants, and Milwaukee's General E. H. Broadhead left Madison bound for the south. After picking up supplies in Chicago. including over 150 cars of supplies from Madison, Milwaukee, Beloit, Janesville, and Clinton, Harvey and his contingent made their way to Mound City, Illinois, their first stop, where they encountered about 30 Wisconsin soldiers in hospital.

There the party rendered comfort and aid to the wounded and repeated these actions at hospitals



Governor Louis Harvey drowned while delivering supplies to Wisconsin's wounded at Shiloh. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

and depots between Paducah, Kentucky, and Savannah, Tennessee. At Savannah, where they encountered over 200 Wisconsin soldiers, Harvey and his comrades were overcome by the sufferings of the men but did their best to provide aid. Nearing the completion of their mission on April 19, Harvey and his contingent found themselves at Pittsburg Landing aboard the steamer *Dunleith*, awaiting the arrival of steamer *Minnehaha* for transport downriver. Sometime after 10:00 p.m., the *Minnehaha* came alongside the *Dunleith*, making contact with her and causing Governor Harvey to lose his footing and fall into the river. Despite attempts



Louis P. Harvey, Wisconsin's seventh governor, drowned at Pittsburg Landing. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

to save him, his body was swept down the river. His death by drowning shocked the state. Wisconsin's beloved governor had given his life in service of others, and the loss of Harvey on top of the casualties at Shiloh was almost too much to bear.

Lieutenant Governor Salomon assumed the duties of governor and immediately issued a proclamation calling for 30 days of mourning. Harvey's body was recovered on April 27, more than 60 miles downstream from Pittsburg Landing. Through a rather tortuous turn of events, which included disinterment from a temporary grave, the body of the 41 year-old governor arrived in Madison aboard a train car of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway. After the appropriate state honors, Governor Harvey was laid to rest at Madison's Forest Hill Cemetery.

Union efforts in the western theater for the remainder of 1862 were a mixed bag

of remarkable successes, indecisive tactical engagements, and missed opportunities. Victories at Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove, Arkansas, cleared the Confederates out of Missouri. A combined navy-army effort under the command of Union General John Pope and Admiral Hull Foote compelled the Confederate garrison at Island No. 10 to capitulate, thereby opening a way down the Mississippi River. At the same time, Admiral David G. Farragut had achieved a stunning naval victory at New Orleans, delivering the city to the Union on April 27, 1862. Farragut wasted no time in sending seven ships up the Mississippi to take Baton Rouge, Louisiana's capital city. Natchez fell without resistance, and Memphis surrendered in June 1862 after a brief naval battle. The Confederates still controlled a portion of the Mississippi from Port Hudson to Vicksburg, but the Union effectively controlled the rest of the river.

Despite these successes, the Union Army in the west, as a whole, failed to follow Grant's earlier accomplishments and its naval victories on the Mississippi. Following the Battle of Shiloh, General Henry W. Halleck removed Grant from command and assigned him to a wing commander position. Rumors of alcoholism plagued Grant's reputation, and many attributed his failure to anticipate the Confederate attack at Shiloh to drinking. It was not true, but Halleck found it a convenient, if not public, reason to remove Grant. Halleck subsequently took field command of his enormous army, but mismanaged the whole affair. Instead of concentrating his forces after capturing Corinth, he dispersed them. In June 1862, a combined Union naval and land force failed to take Vicksburg, adding to a string of failures.

Baptism of Fire in the East

Thile Wisconsin troops in the west waited for the next great offensive, their eastern brethren were on the cusp of a major campaign which would provide plenty of chances to prove their combat effectiveness. On the evening of August 28, 1862, as the Wisconsin men of Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade marched along the Virginia road from Gainesville to Centreville, they neared the battlefield of Bull Run, where the 2nd Wisconsin had seen combat for the first time more than a year earlier. As the troops moved along the pike, they were suddenly fired upon by a battery of Confederate artillery.

Assuming the battery to be a small horse artillery unit meant only to harass the troops on the move, Gibbon ordered forward the 2nd Wisconsin to capture the battery. As the 2nd Wisconsin crested the ridge the battery was stationed on, they witnessed an entire Confederate division emerge from the woods and advance on their position. Confederate General



General John Gibbon, commander of the Black Hat Brigade. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's entire corps had been lying in wait as the Union army marched past. It was not until this moment, when Jackson observed a lone Union brigade marching along the pike fairly separated from the other brigades of its division, that he ordered an attack. As the realization of the size of the force in front of them set in, Gibbon ordered his other regiments forward to aid the 2nd Wisconsin. Meeting stiffer resistance than initially anticipated, Jackson ordered more of his troops forward as well. With the casualties mounting, and neither side willing to budge, only the vanishing daylight brought the toe-to-toe battle to an end. The casualties were staggering. Of the roughly 1,800 men in Gibbon's command who engaged, nearly 800 were killed or wounded by the end of the two-hour fight. Colonel Edgar O'Connor of the 2nd Wisconsin had been killed in action, and Lieutenant Colonel Lucius Fairchild took over command. The other three regimental commanders in Gibbon's brigade were wounded and taken out of action. The Battle of Gainesville, the contemporary name known today more commonly as the Battle of Brawner's Farm, cost the brigade dearly. No longer were they untested "green" soldiers unscathed by battle. These men had stood their ground against the veterans of Stonewall Jackson and held their own for over two hours. They had proved their worth in battle and were willing to do it again. Philander Wright of Company C, 2nd Wisconsin, was wounded in the battle and wrote home of how he had changed from the innocent youth who volunteered to fight almost a year and a half earlier and that he was even more resolved to continue the fight:

But I have changed. Lie upon the battlefield bleeding – see your faithful line grow thinner and thinner & your best friends weltering in their own blood – see them, unharmed cowards straggle to the rear – and the few firm brave ones in front, outnumbered & over-powered – beaten & forced back – all for the want of help that might & should be had – then lie on the field a prisoner and think not of home, but tax your soul to conjure a Curse on Cowards!!!!

Sergeant Philander B. Wright, Color Sergeant, Company C, 2nd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, wore this hat as he led the charge of the Iron Brigade on the morning of July 1, 1863 outside the town of Gettysburg, PA. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

The Birth of the Iron Brigade

in the late summer and early fall of 1862, General John Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade of western men earned the more famous moniker, "The Iron Brigade of the West," over the course of three weeks. The brigade's first true baptism of fire on the evening of August 28 at the Battle of Gainesville progressed to a rearguard action on August 30 at the Second Battle of Bull Run. The evening of September 14 saw a determined assault at the Battle of South Mountain. The brigade's trials culminated

at dawn on September 17, in a bloody cornfield, at the Battle of Antietam. The brigade paid for their distinguished nom de guerre at a heavy price.

Gibbon's newly christened Iron Brigade was tasked with the Army of the Potomac's initial assault against General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia along the banks of Antietam Creek in Maryland. Considered, to this day, to be the bloodiest day in American history, the Battle of Antietam cost nearly 25,000 casualties in a single day. That morning, Gibbon's brigade was ordered forward, with the 2nd and 6th Wisconsin advancing through a cornfield. As they emerged from the corn, the Confederates greeted them with a hail of gunfire. Major Rufus R. Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin described the chaotic scene: "As we appeared at the edge of the corn a long line of men in butternut and gray rose up from the ground. Simultaneously, the hostile battle lines opened a tremendous fire upon each other. Men I cannot say fell; they were knocked out of the ranks by dozens."

With the momentum of the attack, the Badgers pushed the Confederate line into a retreat before fresh reinforcements emerged and counterattacked. With no other option but to fall back, the Wisconsin men retreated through the corn and rallied on the other side to repulse the Confederate advance. In the confusion, Major Dawes rallied his men with the symbol of their home state. "At the bottom of the hill," he later wrote, "I took the blue color of the state of Wisconsin, and waving it, called a rally of Wisconsin men. Two hundred men gathered around



The regimental officers of the 2nd Wisconsin, Iron Brigade, July 1862. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

the flag of the Badger state." The remnants of the brigade rallied, but their casualties were high and they effectively retired from the fight.

The "Bloody Cornfield" changed hands six times over the course of the day. Color Bearer Robert Stephenson, who had been in a field hospital bed that morning, upon hearing the first shots of the battle, sprang from his bed and pushed on to find his regiment. The 2nd Wisconsin was under heavy fire in the cornfield when he reported to his captain, reputedly saying, "Captain, I am with you to the last," and took the colors, carrying them until he was shot down. After the battle was over, his comrades found his bullet-pierced body lying in a line with the other members of the color guard – all of them killed.

The Iron Brigade had again played an important role in a major battle, but the cost had decimated the ranks of the regiments. An article published in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial* on September 22, 1862, describes the terrible price the men from Wisconsin paid that day:

The last terrible battle has reduced this brigade to a mere skeleton; there being scarcely enough members to form half a regiment, the 2nd Wisconsin, which but a few weeks since, numbered over nine hundred men, can now muster but fifty-nine. This brigade has done some of the hardest and best fighting in the service. It has been justly termed the Iron Brigade of the West.

After those destructive weeks in autumn 1862, the ranks were so depleted that Gibbon requested another regiment be added to the brigade. General McClellan, the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, recognized the brigade's unique identity and promised the next western regiment that became available.



Colonel Benjamin Sweet commanded the 21st Wisconsin at Perryville and was wounded during the fighting. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Perryville

eanwhile in the west, Beauregard's failure at Shiloh and his decision to evacuate Corinth. led Confederate President Jefferson Davis to replace him with Braxton Bragg, a former corps commander and despised martinet, who promptly divided his army into three parts. Leaving 36,000 troops to defend the Mississippi River, Bragg took 30,000 troops with him and linked up with General Edmund Kirby Smith in an effort to thwart Union General Buell's attempt to take Chattanooga. He beat Buell to Chattanooga and went on the offensive with control of Kentucky as his goal. General Smith's command enjoyed early success, capturing Union troops at Richmond, Kentucky. Bragg attempted to draw Buell away from East Tennessee by invading Kentucky with his remaining force. Frankfort, Kentucky, fell to Smith, but the Confederates could not hold the territory, and Buell seemed reluctant to engage Bragg. Even with additional reinforcements, Buell seemed content to merely shadow Bragg's left flank. With the threat of removal hanging over his head, Buell finally moved

to fight Bragg.

Sending two divisions to Frankfort in an effort to confuse Smith and Bragg, Buell moved his main force toward Perryville to confront Bragg's main body of forces. On October 7, 1862, the two forces met. Here the 1st and 21st Wisconsin Infantry Regiments participated as a part of Colonel Starkweather's 28th Brigade, of General Alexander M. McCook's First Corps. The 10th, 15th and 24th were with the brigades of Colonels Harris, Carlin, and Greusel, respectively.

The 1st and 21st regiments of Starkweather's brigade formed on the extreme left of the Union line which would become the hottest section of the battlefield. Starkweather ordered his troops to face the enemy's right flank, placing them on a ridge about 300 yards behind Brigadier General William R. Terrill's untested troops. On the crest of this ridge, he placed his two batteries made up of 12 guns – six each from Indiana and Kentucky.

The Confederates wasted no time in assaulting Terrill's position, sending his green troops of the 123rd Illinois and 125th Ohio regiments reeling back toward Starkweather's position. They simply could not contend with the brigades of Brigadier Generals Daniel S. Donelson and William S. Maney. To make matters worse, the 21st Wisconsin had been placed in an exposed position, unsupported and alone in a cornfield situated in a ravine between the two hills. There they lay on the ground while terrified soldiers of Terrill's brigade ran over them in disorganized retreat. Starkweather's brigade, including the 1st Wisconsin, began to fire into the Confederates from a position behind the cornfield. Caught in a deadly crossfire between friend and foe, members of the 21st began to drop. John H. Otto of the 21st, and a Prussian military veteran, later wrote of the terrible incident, "I saw some of our men fall forward and backward. Now was the moment to fix bayonet and charge. But no order of any kind was given. Then the right of the regiment gave way and ran back."

As the Confederates slammed into the cornfield, the men of the 21st Wisconsin fired two volleys into the advancing rebels, momentarily stopping the advance. It was all for naught, as the Confederates soon unleashed an unmerciful volley of their own at close range. The men broke and ran for the safety of Starkweather's hill. There they found the 1st Wisconsin holding the hill and providing support for the brigade's battery consisting of Indiana and Kentucky units. Remnants of the 21st including companies B and C, stood fast at the guns as well, and awaited the inevitable Confederate assault. John Otto was one of the 21st that remained to fight on the hill; he managed to help man the guns after the artillerymen were killed. Describing the scene in his memoirs, Otto wrote, "when we came to the battery we found it silent and deserted. Most of the artillery men being dead, or wounded."

The 1st Tennessee Regiment pressed the beleaguered Union troops in vicious hand-to-hand fighting. Aided by a Confederate battery that shelled Starkweather's men from the northern end of the battlefield, the Tennesseans eventually forced the Union troops to retire from the ridge. Outnumbered and battered, the men of Starkweather's brigade succeeded in saving six of the twelve cannons as they reformed about 100 yards to the west of their original position; the 1st Wisconsin took refuge behind a stone wall.

Although battered under the onslaught of Brigadier General Maney's 3rd Brigade, the Wisconsin regiments finally held a position of strength, perpendicular to the Benton Road. Despite suffering heavy casualties, the 1st and what was left of the 21st Wisconsin regiments awaited Maney's attack. The fighting continued unabated, with the Confederates assaulting the position four times. But Starkweather's Brigade and what was left of Terrill's held firm.

After five hours of intense fighting, the Confederate advance began to lose steam. Alexander Stewart's brigade to the left of Maney's ran out of ammunition and retired from the field, exposing Maney's left flank. Sensing the opportunity to outflank Maney's brigade, the Union troops moved forward and the 1st Wisconsin counterattacked. The Badgers poured a perfect storm of lead into the

Confederates and forced the Tennesseans to retire to Starkweather's original position. As night began to fall, the battle ended. Starkweather's stubborn defense of the Union left flank saved the day. Had his troops failed to stop Maney's brigade, it would certainly have spelled doom for the Union forces, as the Confederates would have certainly slipped between McCook's 1st Corps and the rest of Buell's Union army. Like Shiloh, the cost in human lives was staggering. Of the nearly 10,000 Union and Confederate soldiers engaged in that section of the battlefield, more than one in every five had been shot.

While the 1st and 21st Wisconsin regiments were engaged on the Union left flank, the 10th Wisconsin found itself to the center right of Starkweather's brigade. Here they stood against the troops of Colonel Thomas M. Jones's Mississippi brigade. Situated atop a hill, the men of the 10th had a clear field of fire over the doomed Mississippians.

"We layed still...and watched our battery throw death into the rebels," wrote Private Frank Phelps of the 10th. "We could see awful gaps in their ranks and then they would close up and march over their comrades, never stopping until they got within 30 rods of us and just as they got on the top of a knowl the colonel called out for us to up and at them and we poured in a deadly fire into them.

Four times the Mississippians charged from the ravine, and four times they were repelled. But the Confederates continued to press. This time it was the fresh brigade of Brigadier General John Calvin Brown, consisting of the 1st and 3rd Florida regiments and the 41st Mississippi. Simultaneous attacks by two other Confederate brigades eventually drove the Union troops, including the 10th Wisconsin, back to a ridge line at the Russell House. There the battered Union line held until nightfall forced an end to the fighting. The 10th Wisconsin recorded that 48 men were killed or died of wounds, and 97 were wounded.

On October 13, Starkweather summed up the battle in a brief report sent to Governor Edward Salomon:

I am making up my official reports, and will send you a copy when finished. The battle was terrible. Our enemy were defeated. We now occupy the position occupied by them, and will undoubtedly move on. Our wounded need attention and assistance. We buried the dead last night on the battle field. They first fought some men that they met at Falling Waters. All glory to Wisconsin troops. All honor to the veteran 1st and 21st.

Confederate General Polk refused to press any advantage he had at Perryville, and Bragg slipped away in the night to join forces with Smith. Outnumbered and low on ammunition and supplies, Bragg elected to withdraw from Kentucky, thus ending the Confederate high-water mark in the western theater. By the end of 1862, the Union had little to show for its efforts except a series of tactically indecisive battles managed by a revolving door of ineffective commanders.

At the Crossroads

s the Civil War entered its midpoint, the North found itself at a crossroads. A tactical stalemate at Antietam in 1862 had allowed President Lincoln to issue his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, but a de-

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cisive blow to the South had eluded the North. The year closed out with a strategic victory at Stones River, Tennessee, but a disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg, and Grant's fizzled offensive at Vicksburg, dampened Northern spirits. Major Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin Infantry summed up the prevailing sentiment perfectly just days after the Union disaster at Fredericksburg in a letter home: "This army seems to be overburdened with second rate men in high positions, from General Burnside down. This winter is, indeed, the Valley Forge of the war."

The fortunes of war changed dramatically in the summer of 1863. For months Ulysses S. Grant and his Union soldiers had labored fruitlessly to capture the largest strategic Confederate river fortress on the Mississippi River. Vicksburg had remained in Confederate hands despite Grant's attempts to take the Southern stronghold in December 1862. Impenetrable terrain and precise maneuvering by the Confederates, particularly their cavalry under the command of Forrest, kept Grant from succeeding. Port Hudson to the south of Vicksburg also remained in Confederate hands, effectively giving the rebels control of the Mississippi between the two cities. The importance of Vicksburg was seen as critical to the defense of the Confederate President Jefferson Davis as "the nail head that held the two halves [of the Confederacy] together."

Undeterred by failure, Grant launched a new campaign in late April 1863. Landing at Bruinsburg downriver from Vicksburg, Grant's forces moved through



Confederate cannon captured by the 14th Wisconsin on the second day of the Battle of Shiloh. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Port Gibson, decisively defeated Confederate forces at Raymond, Mississippi, Champion's Hill, and Big Black Bridge, and engaged Vicksburg from the east. Confederate General John C. Pemberton had ignored Confederate Joseph E. Johnston's directive to move northward to link up with his army, and now he was trapped in Vicksburg, held captive by Grant's reinforced army of 45,000, and cut off from the Mississippi by Union gunboats.

Sensing victory within his grasp, Grant ordered frontal assaults on the Confederate lines on May 19 and May 22. More than eight miles long and anchored by nine forts, the Confederate lines were some of the strongest fortifications of the war. The Confederates cut deep ravines into the land in front of the fortifications, making a frontal assault extremely difficult. Furthermore, the Confederates had cleared much of the land, removing cover from fire that might have concealed Union forces as they amassed for an attack. The 11th Wisconsin Regiment took part in the ill-fated assault of May 22 in which 38 were killed and 69 were wounded. The 14th and 8th Wisconsin also participated in the May 22 assault on the northern end of the Confederate defenses. There the 8th Wisconsin went into battle with "Old Abe," their bald eagle mascot, held aloft with the flags of their color guard. In file formation, the 8th Wisconsin moved down the aptly named Graveyard Road to assault Stockade Redan. Before they reached the Confederate defenses, they were to assemble in a ravine to form a line of battle. They never got the chance as they were subjected to a hail of Confederate fire that led to complete disorder. The attack faltered quickly, and soon the ravine filled with the dead and wounded from the 11th Missouri and 47th Illinois. Captain William B. Britton of the 8th Wisconsin described the slaughter to the Janesville Gazette: "So many men were killed and wounded that the road was up so as to prevent some parts of the brigade from getting through." The fire was so fierce and unrelenting that the color guard could not move beyond the ravine. "Everyone seemed to be seeking a place of safety," wrote Lieutenant John Woodnorth of Company C, years after the war. Any thought of charging across the open field to take Stockade Redan was dismissed. In Woodnorth's words, "They simply stood and took the enemy's fire." Old Abe survived the battle unscathed, shielded from a frontal assault by taking refuge in the ravine. The 14th Wisconsin lost 107 men killed, wounded, or missing.

Both attacks failed miserably, and, wishing to avoid further loss of life, Grant settled in for an extended siege. For 47 days, the Union troops bombarded the city, and Union engineers extended their siege lines, growing closer to Confederate lines in anticipation of Vicksburg's capitulation. Writing to his wife in Lodi, from the camp of the 23rd Wisconsin, Robert Steele of Company H described the scene on May 28: "We are still before the forts, the skirmishers popping away, the cannons thundering away almost deafening us sometimes the smoke so thick it almost chokes us." While Steele endured the uncertainty of existence in the siege trenches, the inhabitants of Vicksburg suffered from want of food and safe shelter. It was only a matter of time before Pemberton would capitulate.

On June 25, Union engineers exploded a mine under the Confederate line but the ensuing Union assault failed to capitalize on the gap. Another mine was planned for July 6, but before it could be detonated, Pemberton surrendered his beleaguered garrison to Grant. Five days later Port Hudson fell to Union forces, essentially severing the Confederacy in two and giving the Union complete control of the Mississippi. Grant's success at Vicksburg was matched by a dramatic change of fortune in the eastern theater.

Gettysburg

The summer of 1863 proved to be the turning point of the Civil War. While Grant was in the process of capturing Vicksburg, Gen-George Meade eral was poised to turn back Robert E. Lee's grand offensive in a small Pennsylvania town called Gettysburg. They could not have known it at the time, but the men of the Iron Brigade would soon take part in perhaps the most important battle of the war. John Hunt, an English

Camp Near the State line Pouryleaning hours Committee may may lean & Setty buy Re Jely 5 1 1863 can spare to write to you to sug that I am have the write to you to say that I am have been marching stady since we started from Builder station at the start of from & to 25 ms a day & sajud mast of the time. Dears side in share when set started, we marched along The eten of starting, we marched atom 25 no first by school now ap. 9. 8 how to get a declars fair to the dimbylances for 3 inning. We have travely through marylan & now bill in Pa fust over the state line, so in have had some chance to get mill Bread butter get it now feel fill to travel with an of Them. (Orders to march right of so I anost step

John Hunt, 7th Wisconsin, had to stop this letter to his wife when he received orders to march to Gettysburg. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

immigrant and member of Company D, 7th Wisconsin, captured the moment in a letter to his wife just before the Iron Brigade went into action on the first day at Gettysburg:

July 1st 1863

Dear Mary,

I snatch a moment which I can spare to write to you to say that I am in good health & spirits. We have been marching very steady since we started from Guilford Station Va at the rate of from 5 to 25 mi a day & it has rained most of the time. I was sick with diarhae when we started. We marched about 25 mi first day which used me up & I had to get a doctor's pass to the Ambulances for 3 days running. We have traveled through Maryland & now lie in Pa just over the state line, so we have had some chance to get milk, Bread, butter, etc & I now feel fit to travel with any of them. (Orders to March right off so I must stop

On the morning of July 1, 1863, the men of the Iron Brigade found themselves marching north into Pennsylvania in pursuit of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Having marched at an early hour, the men could hear the sounds

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of battle coming from a few miles ahead at Gettysburg. The men were rushed forward and sent directly into action.

The brigade's arrival was fortuitous as the Union cavalry line north-west of town was threatened with collapse from overwhelming Confederate forces flanking it. Immediately, the 2nd Wisconsin was sent forward into a wooded lot on McPherson's Ridge. The urgency of the situation was such that Colonel Lucius Fairchild gave the order to load on the run as they charged unsupported into the woods, directly into Confederate General James Archer's brigade.

As the regiment entered the wood and discovered the enemy in their front, they were received by a terrific volley that cut down almost 100 of the 300 men in the regiment. Shortly after the initial volley, the Iron Brigade's corps commander, Major General John Reynolds, commander of all the Union forces on the field, was killed while personally leading the 2nd Wisconsin into battle; Colonel Fair-child was hit in the left arm which would later have to be amputated; and Color Sergeant Philander Wright, bearing the national colors, stepped to the front of the regiment to lead the 2nd Wisconsin forward. As the advance continued, two bullets passed through the crown of Wright's hat, barely missing the top of his head. A few steps further, a third bullet pierced the flagstaff and passed through his side. Despite his wounds, he continued the charge, deeper into the woods. Wright described the scene after the war:

I looked for the guards – not one was there – all shot. I guess, 'sure not a man would lag at such a time!' I know I wondered where one might be. I might have known each had been halted leaving me alone.

Advancing only a few more steps, Wright finally halted when a bullet slammed into his left thigh and another into his arm, knocking him to the ground. The other regiments of the brigade arrived to support the 2nd Wisconsin, and together they drove the enemy back. Soon Archer's Brigade broke and fled, with the Bad-



This 6th Regiment Wisconsin flag was used by Rufus Dawes to rally Wisconsin soldiers at the battle of Antietam. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

gers, Hoosiers, and Wolverines catching many in their flight, including General Archer, the first Confederate general officer to be captured in General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia since Lee took command in 1861. The morning engagement lasted less than an hour. The brigade took up defensive positions in the woods and awaited the Confederate counterattack.

While the 2nd and 7th Wisconsin, 19th Indiana, and 24th Michigan drove Archer's brigade from the field, the 6th Wisconsin had been detached and moved toward an old railroad cut to help secure the other end of the line. Reaching a fence about 100 yards from

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the advancing Confederate line, the regiment opened fire and checked the Confederate advance, who took refuge in the railroad cut. Seeing the situation before him, Lieutenant Colonel Rufus Dawes ordered the 6th Wisconsin, as well as two supporting regiments, to charge the Confederates trapped in the railroad cut. During the ensuing charge, the Confederate's regimental colors were captured by Corporal Asbury Waller, of Company I. Corporal Waller rushed into the midst of the Confederate forces and took the flag from the color bearer's hands. Though severely wounded, Waller kept possession of the flag while continuing to fire as the charge advanced. When Union forces reached the cut, the Confederates surrendered. Though the charge lasted only a few minutes and spanned only 100 yards at most, the 6th Wisconsin lost 160 to death or injury.

Late in the afternoon on July 1, Confederate forces attacked in overwhelming numbers. Completely outnumbered, the Iron Brigade held out for nearly two hours, suffering severely. With the threat of being completely surrounded, the western men finally gave ground after receiving orders to do so. Acting as the rear guard, the men of the 2nd and 7th Wisconsin turned and fired every 50 yards until they reached a defensive barricade which they held as long as they had ammunition. Finally, after the other Union regiments had fled, retreating through the town of Gettysburg, the Iron Brigade, the last Union force still on the field, began their retreat toward the higher ground on the other side of town.

It wasn't until the survivors rallied on Culp's Hill that the remnants of the Iron Brigade realized the price they had paid for their heroic actions. In the 2nd Wisconsin alone, of the 302 men who marched to Gettysburg that morning, only 69 answered roll call that night. The brigade remained on Culp's Hill for the remainder of the battle. Of the 1,885 men that went into battle, 1,153 were casualties by the end.

Gettysburg depleted the ranks of the Iron Brigade even more so than the three weeks of battles in autumn 1862 that earned them their heroic reputation. The brigade would never be the same. Nonwestern units were added to the ranks in order to bring them up to fighting strength. The Iron Brigade's original unique identity – an identity that the Wisconsin soldiers had cherished since the opening days of the war – was lost as a consequence of their heavy casualties.

The 2nd, 6th, and 7th Wisconsin went on to serve in all the maneuvers of the Army of the Potomac during the fall and winter of 1863. With the spring of 1864 came a new commander and a new strategy. General Grant was made overall commander of the Union Forces and ushered in a new style of war that had not been seen before in the eastern theater.

In May 1864, Grant began his Overland Campaign in Virginia, and what remained of the Iron Brigade went with him. At the Battle of the Wilderness on May 5, 1864, the two great armies met again. This time it was in a thickly forested tract of land in central Virginia. The bloody battle ended in a stalemate, but instead of retreating and reforming as all other Union commanders had done before when faced with a tactical setback, Grant disengaged and headed further south toward Richmond. Grant continued this strategy of battle and maneuver for weeks, resulting in nearly 40 continuous days of fighting and culminated with the siege of Petersburg, a major supply center for the Confederate capital of Richmond. At this time, the 2nd Wisconsin's enlistment ended and the regiment was pulled off the line with the majority returning home to Wisconsin.

Mascots

The men of Wisconsin were not the only ones to march off to war. A number of animal mascots also served in the ranks. While Old Abe the war eagle is the most well-known Civil War mascot from Wisconsin, possibly in the nation, many other animals kept Wisconsin soldiers company while they trained and prepared for deployment. Some even deployed with their regiments and would later see battle. They ranged in size from a rooster to a black bear, and while some of their names and fates have been lost to time, they remain an interesting side note to Wisconsin Civil War history.



Old Abe at Vicksburg with the 8th Wisconsin Infantry, 1863. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

A militia company called the Eau Claire Badgers purchased a young bald eaglet on their way to train Camp Randall at and named him Old Abe after President Lincoln. Following the purchase. they changed their company's name to the Eau Claire Eagles and, upon arriving in Madison, their mascot began his rise to fame

by capturing the attention and affection of other soldiers, civilians, and the local press. The men built a shield-shaped perch for the eagle with a post that an "eagle bearer" could hold. They used a leather tether around his leg to keep him from flying away.

The Eau Claire Eagles became Company C, 8th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, and Old Abe became the mascot for the entire unit, which would eventually become known as the Eagle Regiment. They deployed to the western theater and, while passing through St. Louis, some Southern sympathizers taunted Old Abe with calls of "wild goose," "Yankee crow," and "Yankee buzzard." He accompanied the 8th Wisconsin into battle on many occasions, several times breaking free of his tether and becoming the target of Confederate sharpshooters. His presence provided a morale boost for the men of the 8th Wisconsin and Union forces in general, and Confederate General Sterling Price reportedly offered a bounty on the eagle's head. While he lost several feathers to close calls on the battlefield, Old Abe was never seriously wounded.

The men of the 8th Wisconsin decided that Old Abe would not reenlist at the end of his first three-year term, so he returned to Madison and was presented to the State, which provided a caretaker and two-room "apartment" for the famous eagle. Old Abe spent his post-war years attending veterans' events and fundraisers around the country. In 1881, Old Abe grew gravely ill after inhaling smoke from a small fire in the capitol basement. He died March 26, 1881, and his preserved remains were put on display in the capitol. Unfortunately, Old Abe was completely lost when his remains were destroyed in the 1904 capitol fire. His memory lives on as statues and images of him, as well as the 101st Airborne Division's "screaming eagle" insignia that was modeled after Old Abe.

Another eagle, though less famous than Old Abe, served as a mascot for the 49th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, organized in early 1865. The 49th acquired a wild golden eagle during its eight months of service and, after changing his name from Timothy to Phil Sheridan, eventually settled on Andy Johnson. After the war, Andy Johnson lived in the capitol with Old Abe, though his manner was much more untamed. Throughout the years, Andy Johnson and Old Abe engaged in several vicious fights, which ended when Old Abe wounded his counterpart mortally. Andy Johnson died in 1874. His remains were also preserved and displayed in the capitol but lost to fire in 1904.

Harlan Squires, a 16-year-old from Delton, enlisted with his father, Stephen, into Company E, 12th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, in November 1861. Among the things he took to Camp Randall for training was his pet black bear, named Bruin. The men of Company E, and of the 12th Wisconsin as a whole, embraced Bruin as their mascot, built him living quarters and a 12-foot-high post to climb while they trained, and reportedly wrestled with him for fun. When the regiment deployed, they traveled through Chicago and, while marching between railroad depots, Bruin "marched" at the head of the regiment to great fanfare.

The 12th Wisconsin stopped in Weston, Missouri, and then Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, before hearing that they would be sent on an 800-mile expedition to the New Mexico Territory. Fearing that the journey and climate might prove too much for Bruin, they sold him to a local resident for \$17. The men were shaken by this loss, and Corporal Hosea Rood wrote that they hoped that "Bruin would pass into more practical pursuits than his comrades were destined to follow, and become as good a citizen bear as he had been a soldier bear." There is no record of Bruin's fate after leaving the service of the 12th Wisconsin.

Calamity, a black and yellow dog, served as the mascot of the 28th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. In addition to boosting morale and providing companionship, Calamity accompanied men foraging for food. Members of the regiment reported that when they were prohibited from shooting wildlife for fear of alerting the enemy to their presence, Calamity could catch a hog by the ear and hold it until the men could dispatch it by hand. He was remembered at a 1907 reunion of the 28th Wisconsin Infantry, where surviving veterans recalled that he returned to Wisconsin with the unit after the war and lived out his life in Eau Claire.

Other mascots about which less is known include a rooster, a badger, and a raccoon. The 30th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment kept a rooster during its service in the western theater. The men of the 30th so admired their pet rooster that they had a photograph of the rooster taken while in camp near St. Joseph, Missouri in 1864. The 26th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, as befitted a unit from the Badger State, reportedly kept a live badger as a mascot. There is also evidence that, in addition to Bruin the bear, the 12th Wisconsin also kept a raccoon as a mascot. Regardless of their size, these mascots provided comfort, companionship, and diversion for soldiers caught up in a horrible Civil War.



President Abraham Lincoln. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Arming African Americans

s the Union Army moved southward, it attracted runaway slaves and those that had been freed or dislocated by occupying forces. By 1862, thousands were serving the Union as laborers, cooks, and servants. Pejoratively nicknamed "contrabands" by their liberators, fugitive slaves labored for the Union Army and provided important information about the Confederates and their movements. In 1862, Rev. A. C. Berry, chaplain of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, wrote glowingly of the help that fugitive slaves were providing his unit as it moved through the South. "They are always ready to give information, always to be relied on; the only real friends of the Union; and they were always ready to venture life and everything else to serve the Union cause, without fee or compensation, save the hope that something might turn up to give them freedom."

Wisconsin soldiers unfamiliar with the true nature of slavery were often shocked by the application of the "peculiar institution." Jackson Thompson, of the 7th Wisconsin Light Artillery Battery, observed slavery first-hand while serving in Tennessee. Writing home to his future wife Sarah Throne, Thompson noted that even women were not spared the hard life of a field hand:

What shall I say to you that is interesting Sarah? I guess I will have to tell you a little sight I saw the other day. I was on a cotton plantation where there was fifty acres all planted of cotton. There was seventy-five Negros and wenches to work in the field. They worked the wenches in the field just as much as the men.

Some Badgers, like Albert Foster of the 5th Wisconsin Infantry, understood that victory could only be accomplished by the complete destruction of slavery. "The war will last as long as Slavery lasts," he opined. "There will be no War without Slavery, and no Peace with it. God will never permit this war to end until that end is accomplished."

Lincoln's final Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, opened the door for Black men to serve in the Union Army. When given the chance, more

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than 180,000 men of color served in the ranks of the Blue. Free Black men had long served in the ranks of the Navy, but the idea of arming them was a revolutionary action for the United States. While some northern soldiers chafed at the idea of arming former slaves and freedmen, or questioned their fighting ability, Jackson Thompson adopted a somewhat more pragmatic and commonly held view. Writing home to Sarah he seemed unperturbed by the notion of arming former slaves. "There is some talk of arming them and putting them into the field to fight," he wrote. "I think there is the place for them. They will stop a ball just as well as any of us."

As the war dragged on, Wisconsin soldiers became more convinced of the righteousness of their cause as it related to slavery. By 1864, the war had become more than an effort to simply preserve the Union as it previously existed, half free and half slave. "There is one thing about this war that I am taking a great notion to, late days, and that is the emancipation of Slavery," wrote Wesley Riley, 2nd Lieutenant, of the 37th Wisconsin. "I am happy to see how they [are] freeing those poor fellows who have been serving those low minded southerners, I am sure have used them with brutality. But now I think that the back bone of slavery is broken, and mostly all the other principal bones, when it is no more, then can we boast of a truly free country."

The End of Parole

Every man we hold, when released on parole or otherwise, becomes an active soldier against us.—Lt. General Ullyses S. Grant

Inion casualties were comparitively easy to replace either through the draft or through the recruitment of new volunteers. With a population 40 percent smaller than the North, Southern troop strength was more difficult to maintain. By the winter of 1863, it was clear that the complex parole system that had governed the exchange of prisoners since 1862 was merely prolonging the war. The Confederacy also refused to exchange Black soldiers – a proposition that was unacceptable to the North. On April 17, 1864, General Grant ordered that prisoner exchanges cease. The parole system remained suspended until February 1865, when both sides agreed to exchange sick prisoners at a rate of nearly 1,000 per day.

The Confederacy maintained a number of prison camps, but none were as wellknown as Richmond's Libby Prison and Georgia's Andersonville. Once a ship chandlery, Libby Prison housed more than 1,000 Union prisoners, mostly officers, on its second and third floors. Open, barred windows subjected the prisoners to the elements and extremes in temperatures. Overcrowding and frequent food shortages caused high mortality rates.

Andersonville, also known as Camp Sumter, held more than 44,000 prisoners during its 14-month existence. Nearly 13,000 died there. Surrounded by a pine log stockade, prisoners were discouraged from escaping by a post-and-rail fence known as the "deadline." Guards posted in sentry boxes above and along the stockade walls were instructed to shoot any prisoners attempting to cross or reach over the line. A single, slow-moving creek divided the compound and served as both a sewer and water supply for the prisoners.



Corporal James Skeels, captured at the Battle of Varnell's Station. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

At its peak in August 1864, the camp held more than 33,000 prisoners in an area designed to hold no more than 10,000. Deteriorating Southern economic conditions and a scarcity of supplies contributed to the highest prison mortality rates of the war. When the war ended, the prison's commandant, Captain Henry Wirz, was charged with "murder, in violation of the laws of war." He was tried, found guilty, and hanged on November 10, 1865.

Nearly 4,000 Wisconsin soldiers were held prisoner during the Civil War. Most of them were paroled or exchanged prior to April 1863, but many Badgers captured in the last two years of the war suffered for extended periods in Southern prisons as a result of the suspension of the

parole system. Some, like James Walker Skeels and Frank Ingersoll, never came home.

Skeels, a native of New York and resident of Rosendale, enlisted in Company B, 1st Wisconsin Cavalry, in September 1861. His unit saw minor action in Missouri and Arkansas before being transferred into the Army of the Cumberland. His unit took part in the Chattanooga Campaign in September 1863, playing an important role in the Battle of Chickamauga. Skeels was promoted to corporal in March 1864, but two months later he was captured at the Battle of Varnell's Station in Georgia, and held at the Confederate prison in Florence, South Carolina, for nine months. Paroled in February 1865, he was admitted to the Union hospital at Wilmington, North Carolina, in March but he was never heard from again. Twenty-five years after the war, the pain of losing an only son still haunted Martin Skeels, James's father. In an inquiry to former General Starkweather, Martin Skeels wrote, "My son was all the help I had until he enlisted and when I lost him I lost all and have not a child in the world."

A Waupun resident, Frank J. Ingersoll was 21 years old when he enlisted in Company K, 10th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, on September 7, 1861. Listing his occupation as "artist," Ingersoll kept two diaries throughout his service. The 10th Wisconsin trained at Camp Holton in Milwaukee and spent the first year of the war performing guard duty and destroying railroads in Tennessee and Kentucky. They saw their first major action on October 8, 1862, at Perryville. Their involvement in the Battle of Stones River on December 31, 1862, was limited, but Ingersoll described a near miss in his diary entry for that day: "Fighting today. Got a ball through my coat tail and damaged this book as you see."

Ingersoll's luck ran out on September 20, 1863, when he was captured at Chickamauga, Georgia, where the 10th Wisconsin was left exposed and almost captured in its entirety. Initially held at Libby Prison, Ingersoll and his comrades tried to keep themselves in good spirits while waiting for exchange. Any hope of parole was dealt a blow when Ingersoll learned in October 1863 that the U.S. authorities would no longer exchange prisoners. A dejected Ingersoll wrote in his diary, "This afternoon the whole story of Exchange is again exploded. The papers state that our Government desires no exchange during the remainder of the war. No mention is made of paroling." Still, Ingersoll held onto the barest of hopes that something might be done. In November, he plaintively wrote, "There seems to

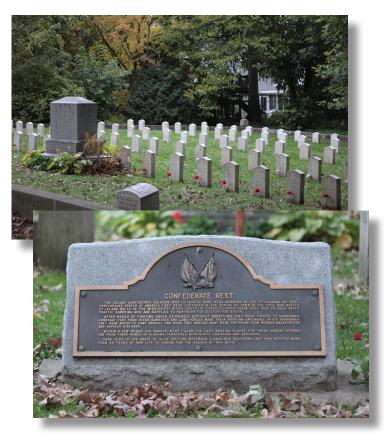


Frank Ingersoll, captured at Chickamauga and held in Libby, Danville, and Andersonville prisons. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

be no prospect of any exchange taking place very soon, and we hear nothing of any parole. Something may be done however before we think of it. We must hope so." But by the end of November, Ingersoll had completely given up hope. "There is all sorts of talk of paroles and exchanges," he wrote, "but we place no confidence in anything we hear."

Ingersoll moved from Libby to Danville before spending almost five months at the infamous Andersonville Prison, which he described in a poem as, "A pen of monstrous size. Such human suffering as we saw, Ne'er greeted mortal eyes." With his hope and health failing, Ingersoll took to recording the deaths of his comrades. His final destination was the Confederate prison in Florence, South Carolina, in October 1864. There, his diary entries became increasingly unfocused as he battled illness and malnutrition. Ingersoll's diary entries came to include poetry mixed with proverbs, detailed cooking recipes, lists of dead fellow prisoners, and the price of food as his health continued to deteriorate. His last entry expressed the wish that should he die a prisoner of war, his diary be sent to his father back home in Wisconsin. Ingersoll died on February 15, 1865, mere weeks before many of the Union soldiers at Florence were finally paroled as a dying Confederacy lost the will and resources to continue to hold prisoners. His regiment, unaware of his fate, listed him as a prisoner of war when it mustered out in October 1865. The last entry in Ingersoll's diary, penned by his comrade Joseph Kolhamer, also of the 10th, simply read "The owner of this Book/Died near Florence SC/Federal Prisoner of War."

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Confederate Rest, Forest Hill Cemetery, Madison, Wisconsin. (Sarah Girkin)

The Tedium of Duty

Tot every Wisconsin soldier fought in epic battles like Shiloh, Antietam, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg. In fact, not every Wisconsin soldier fought in battles at all. Men from the Badger State were sent all over the country to perform a wide array of duties, ranging from guarding vital depots to protecting citizens from threats both real and perceived. Some served on the frontier in places like the Dakota Territory, Colorado, and the Texas border. Others remained in Wisconsin, performing various duties around the state. Still others rarely stayed in one place long, instead spending much of their service moving by foot, rail, and boat to different parts of the country.

There were several Wisconsin regiments that were stationed in their home state after training. The 28th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment remained in the state in November and December 1862 to quell the draft riots in Ozaukee County. The 19th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, which organized in Racine, was called to Camp Randall in Madison for a special duty. A group of over 1,000 Confederate prisoners had been sent there in April 1862, and the 19th Wisconsin was charged

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with guarding them. More than 100 of the prisoners died of disease, and one was shot by Clarence Wicks, a teenage farmer from Crawford County in Company E. Wicks, who later served with Company F, 36th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, would himself die of wounds received in Virginia in July 1864.

The 30th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment had a similar detail, though they remained in the state longer. In November 1862, Company A helped enforce the draft in Green Bay, two companies remained at Camp Randall to guard draft resisters arrested by the 28th Wisconsin in Ozaukee County, and the remainder of the regiment traveled to Milwaukee and Washington Counties to assist with the draft there. Over the course of the next 16 months, various companies of the 30th Wisconsin helped enforce the draft in many areas of the state, including on the shores of Lake Superior and in Lafayette, Dodge, and Ozaukee Counties. During the summer of 1863, a company even traveled to Juneau County in response to an anticipated attack by hostile Native Americans that never materialized.

In the spring of 1864, a number of draftees were assigned to duty at Camp Ran-

dall. They were called the Permanent Party, or Permanent Guard, and although, for administrative purposes, they were assigned to regiments in the field, they remained in Madison for the duration of their service. Later that year, a larger number of drafted men and substitutes were assigned to the 22nd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, though in reality they joined the Permanent Party at Camp Randall.



Remains of an original Camp Randall guard house. (Sarah Girkin)

The draftees were mustered out of service in May 1865, while the substitutes were mustered out the following month.

The pervasive fear of Native American attacks, particularly following the Dakota War of 1862 in Minnesota, led three Wisconsin regiments to duty in western Minnesota and the Dakota Territory. The 25th Wisconsin Infantry, which trained at Camp Salomon in La Crosse, was the first to deploy to the West in September 1862. They remained in Minnesota through December, then returned to Wisconsin for deployment to the South. John Wildermuth, an 18-year-old farmer from Willow, Wisconsin, who served in Company B, wrote to his parents in November 1862 about the improbability of any action in Minnesota: "Indians are scarce. Soldiers are plenty, cavalry, infantry and artillery." Later he added, "We expect to go home in the spring. There is no show for a fight with the Indians." The 30th Wisconsin proceeded even farther west in 1864, going into the Dakota Territory as part of an expedition connected to the fear of further attacks by Native Americans. The 30th remained there until the late fall of 1864. Finally, the 50th

Wisconsin Infantry Regiment deployed to Fort Rice in the Dakota Territory in the spring of 1865 and remained there until June 1866, well after the war ended.

Being so near to Washington, DC, many Wisconsin troops spent time in, or at the very least passed through, Arlington, Virginia. And they were very aware of whose land they tread upon. The Iron Brigade camped at Arlington over the winter of 1861-62, and numerous letters and diaries attest to their knowledge that they were on land, until very recently, owned by Confederate General Robert E. Lee. Isaac Tucker, a 40-year-old doctor from Baraboo who served as a fifer in Company H, 6th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment of the Iron Brigade, made note of an interesting order pertaining to Arlington in a diary entry dated February 2, 1862: "[An] order issued that we cut no more wood on General Lee's Land." In May 1864, Charles Forsyth, a 29-year-old farmer from Clinton, wrote in a letter to his sister, "we are now camped on General Lee's old plantation. It is a very pretty situation."

The two Wisconsin units that were stationed farthest from their home state were likely the 48th Wisconsin Infantry and the 9th Battery Wisconsin Light Artillery. The 48th Wisconsin, organized at Camp Washburn in Milwaukee, deployed to Kansas in the spring of 1865. They remained there through August when, instead of being mustered out, they were ordered to provide escort for trains and mail heading into portions of Iowa, Kansas, and Colorado, areas considered in danger of attack by Native Americans. The 9th Light Artillery trained at Camp Utley in Racine, reached Kansas in March 1862, and immediately prepared to go farther west. Arriving in Denver in June, the battery split, with a section stationed in New Mexico and one in Colorado. The men remained there through April 1864, when they returned to Kansas for further duty.

The 12th Wisconsin Infantry trained at Camp Randall and deployed to Leavenworth, Kansas, in January 1862. Given orders to accompany an expedition into New Mexico, they began marching west. The expedition was cancelled later in the spring, but the 12th Wisconsin continued marching. From Leavenworth to Fort Scott to Lawrence to Fort Riley and back to Leavenworth. A member of Company K wrote in a March 1862 letter from Fort Scott, "We left Leavenworth City on the first of March, and shall probably reach Lawrence about the first of April; thus spending one whole month for nothing besides marching and countermarching, hauling rations, &c., which has cost the Government thousands of dollars for worse than nothing."

The 12th Wisconsin eventually left Kansas by steamer, and went on to participate in the Vicksburg and Atlanta Campaigns, Sherman's March to the Sea, and the Carolina Campaign. During their service, they marched just under 4,000 miles, rode as passengers for 2,500 miles by train, and travelled over 3,000 miles by steamer for a total of 9,500 miles traversed. For this reason, they were often referred to as the "Marching Twelfth."

In the midst of fighting the Civil War, the federal government became concerned when France took control of Mexico. There was some fear that the French would take advantage of a war-weakened United States to consolidate its hold in the Western Hemisphere, a clear violation of the Monroe Doctrine. As the Civil War wound down and came to an end in April 1865, General Ulysses S. Grant sent a significant number of Union forces to Texas to secure the border and,



The 12th Wisconsin Infantry was known as the "Marching 12th", traveling over 9,500 miles. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

allegedly, to provide aid to Mexican revolutionaries fighting against French rule. Many Wisconsin units spent time in Texas in 1865.

Three Wisconsin infantry regiments and two cavalry regiments took a turn in Texas immediately following the end of the war, none seeing any significant action. The 13th Wisconsin arrived at Calhoun County, Texas, in July 1865, and suffered immensely from illness. A contemporary history stated that "many died here who had gone through the whole war without being sick." The 27th Wisconsin spent almost two months in Clarksville, Texas, beginning in June 1865. They were joined there for a short time by the 35th Wisconsin, who moved on from Clarksville to Brownsville, where they stayed through March 1866. The 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment marched over 300 miles from Alexandria, Louisiana, to Hampstead, Texas, in August 1865; they remained there until the end of October before returning to Wisconsin. The 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, originally mustered into service as an infantry regiment, arrived at San Antonio in July 1865 and patrolled various portions of the Rio Grande River through May 1866. Jerry Flint, a 21-year-old farmer from River Falls, who served as a 1st Lieutenant in Company G, wrote his brother in November 1865, "Since I wrote you last we have been marching across the wild uninhabited prairies of Texas....The boys are allowed to cross the [Rio Grande River] at any time and many avail themselves of the opportunity to see Mexico."

The Beginning of the End

hile Grant laid siege to Vicksburg during the summer of 1863, Union forces under the command of Major General William Rosecrans repeatedly outmaneuvered Bragg's Confederates during the summer of 1863. By September, Rosecrans had cornered Bragg in Chattanooga – a critical rail junction in southeastern Tennessee. Through speed and clever deception, Rosecrans forced Bragg's army of 45,000 out of Chattanooga on September 9. Tennessee was now firmly in Union control, but Bragg would soon turn the tables on Rosecrans.

Rosecrans was determined to cut off Bragg's retreat. Splitting his army, he sent his three army corps through three different mountain gaps. This would have been a daring maneuver in any situation, but Rosecrans believed, incorrectly, that he had Bragg on the run. Bragg, however, was in fact concentrating his troops, which included new arrival of two divisions from Johnston in Mississippi and two divisions from Longstreet in Virginia

On September 18, two of Bragg's commanders, General Bushrod Johnson and General Nathen B. Forrest, attempted to move their forces across the Chickamauga Creek at Reed's and Alexander's bridges, with the objective of turning Rosecrans's left flank at Lee and Gordon's Mills. At Reed's bridge, the Confederates under Johnson ran into Colonel Robert Minty's 1st Cavalry Brigade of George Crook's 2nd Cavalry Division. Minty was forced to retreat, but he gave ground slowly, refusing to leave the field until after four in the afternoon. At Alexander's Bridge, the Confederates of William Walker's reserve corps encountered the mounted infantry of John T. Wilder's 1st Brigade of Joseph Reynold's 4th Division armed with Spencer repeating rifles. Wilder's men devastated the attacking Confederates, forcing them to divert downstream to find an uncontested crossing. Bragg's plan to turn the Union left flank had been thwarted, gaining time for Rosecrans to move reinforcements into position.

The Battle of Chickamauga began at dawn on September 19. The fighting was vicious and neither side prevailed. On September 20, the Confederates received a lucky break that would turn the tide of the battle from stalemate to victory for the Confederate forces. Through a series of miscommunications, compounded by poor visibility because of smoke and wooded terrain, Rosecrans ordered Thomas J. Wood's 1st Division of the 21st Corps out of the center of his line to close a supposed gap to his left. In actuality, there was no gap. Just as Wood's division moved from its position, Longstreet's Confederates struck, driving a wedge in the center. Union General Jefferson C. Davis's division to the south of the hole in the Union line was crushed by an overwhelming Confederate onslaught. Among Davis's division were the men of Colonel Hans Heg's brigade and the men of the 15th Wisconsin.

Heg's brigade had been ordered to fill the gap left by Wood's division, but he had little time to move into position before the Confederates attacked. Heg's men repulsed two Confederate charges but could not hold back a Confederate force five times the size of their own division. Heg's regiment broke ranks and ran for the safety of the rear; many were captured by the Confederates. Although the death casualties for the 15th Wisconsin were not particularly high, the cost was great because Colonel Heg was among the 11 killed in action.

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While disaster struck the center right of the Union line, Union troops to the north had successfully repelled several Confederate assaults throughout the morning. There the shattered remnants of the Union's right flank would coalesce with George Thomas's corps, whose units had formed a strong line of defense in

the shape of a horseshoe on higher ground. Among the units making a last stand at Chickamauga were the 1st and 21st Wisconsin Infantry Regiments.

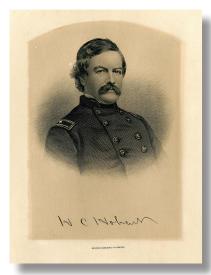
The Badgers and Thomas's corps held the line throughout the day, but after repulsing multiple Confederate assaults they were critically low on ammunition. Sensing disaster, Thomas ordered a general retreat to Rossville. The 1st and 21st Wisconsin regiments were among Absalom Baird's 1st Division of the 14th Corps and the last to leave their section of the Union line, having not received the order to retreat. As the Confederates moved closer, the 1st and 21st found themselves alone. their flanks completely unprotected. John Otto, the veteran of Perryville, described in his post-war memoir the chaotic scene in which the 21st tried to extricate itself from the situation:

Looking in that direction I saw over the brush, the rebel flags advancing not twenty rods away....I shouted to Captain Weisbrod whose Comp. was next to mine [on] the left: "There they come! We must get out [of] here! Company 'D' right oblike! Double quick, March!" Weisbrod ordered his Comp. the same. But Colonel Hobart who usually walked with the head down looking at the ground said: "Boys follow me"! But mine and Weisbrods Comp. were already making good time; others followed and for good half a mile we made the fastest time we ever had made in the army....All thus who followed Col. Hobart...were taken prisoners by the Johnnies and were sent to rebel prison pens where two thirds of them starved to death

Hobart was taken prisoner and sent to Richmond's Libby Prison, where he and



Colonel Hans Heg, killed in battle at Chickamauga. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)



Harrison Hobart, taken prisoner at Chickamauga, was sent to Libby Prison where he and three other officers executed an escape. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

three other officers, including Lieutenant Colonel Theodore S. West of the 24th developed a plan to tunnel their way out. Working at night, and over the course of two months, Hobart's small band of fellow miners successfully dug a tunnel that led underneath an adjacent road, emerging in an old shed. When the time came to make their bid for freedom, Hobart's band informed their fellow prisoners, but warned them not to enter the tunnel more than two at a time. He and West



Arthur McArthur, recipient of the Medal of Honor, led an assault on Missionary Ridge. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

emerged on the other side of the street and simply walked through the city. Aided by African Americans, Hobart traveled 70 miles in three weeks before making it to Union lines. In recognition of Hobart's exploit, the men of the 21st commissioned a presentation sword from the firm of Tiffany & Company and gave it to Hobart in commemoration of his daring escape. Inscribed with a reference to the Greek hero Aristomenes's legendary escape from Caeadas, the sword is now housed in the Wisconsin Veterans Museum.

The 1st and 21st suffered greatly for their steadfast actions in September 1863, but in the end they could claim with just pride the distinction of having made the last stand at Chickamauga. For his heroic defense, Major General George Thomas was thereafter known as "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Rosecrans now retired to Chattanooga where Bragg would keep him bottled up

until mid-October when Grant replaced him with Major General Thomas. Grant quickly reinforced Chattanooga with Sherman's four divisions, established a new supply line, and prepared for a major offensive operation. On November 25, Union forces assaulted Bragg's position on Missionary Ridge. It was here that a young adjutant named Arthur MacArthur from the 24th Wisconsin Voluntary Infantry Division earned the Medal of Honor. Leading an assault at the crest of Missionary Ridge, MacArthur seized the regimental colors from an exhausted color bearer named John Booth, and led the regiment to the crest of the ridge, driving the Confederates from their position in a general retreat. In later years, MacArthur was credited with coining the battle cry, "On, Wisconsin!" In actuality he cried, "24th Wisconsin!"

The victory at Chattanooga, combined with earlier Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, essentially broke the Confederacy. Almost two more years of hard fighting lay ahead, but the Southern fate had been sealed by the string of decisive Union victories. After the battle, both armies settled into winter quarters. On March 3, 1864, President Lincoln appointed Grant lieutenant general in command of all Union forces. He moved to the eastern theater where he would oversee the final campaigns of the war. The "Victor of Vicksburg" relentlessly committed Union forces to battle – often at a high human cost. In the coming months, Northern resolve, coupled with industrial and manpower advantages, would simply overpower an increasingly diminished Southern rebellion.

Making Georgia Howl!

My aim, then, was to whip the rebels, to humble their pride, to follow them to their inmost recesses, and to make them fear and dread us.—William T. Sherman

From the spring of 1864 until the end of the war, Grant managed a costly but devastating campaign of continuous engagement designed to deprive the South of resources. In the western theater, Grant ordered General William T. Sherman to relentlessly move against Confederate Generals Joseph Johnston and John B. Hood in Georgia, urging the Union general "to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can upon their war resources."

Sherman's forces, numbering 100,000 men, began their campaign in northern Georgia. What followed was a scenario in which Sherman's three separate "armies," under Generals McPherson, Scofield, and Thomas, pursued the Confederate Army, now under the command of Joseph Johnston, through the hills and mountains of northern Georgia, with Atlanta as their target. Along the way, there were a series of battles at places such as Resaca, Dallas, and New Hope Church. Sharp action



General William T. Sherman led a relentless campaign through Georgia that included many Wisconsin soldiers. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

followed by a Confederate retreat in the direction of Atlanta characterized the heavy, continuous fighting. Wisconsin troops remained constantly engaged during the summer of 1864. At Marietta, Major Frederick C. Winkler of the 26th Wisconsin recorded a close call in which his hat was pierced by a Confederate bullet. "The bullets flew around and over us thick and fast," he wrote to his wife in Milwaukee. "As soon as I can get another I will send you my hat, to show the narrowness of my escape from a fatal bullet." Winkler's bullet-pierced hat can be found in the Wisconsin Veterans Museum.

By June 27, the Union forces found themselves at the foot of Kennesaw Mountain, within 25 miles of Atlanta. Wishing to protect his supply line to Atlanta, Joseph Johnston set up formidable defenses at the mountain. What followed was a familiar scenario during the Atlanta Campaign. Johnston had done his best to avoid an all-out battle, but Sherman was determined to break through Johnston's lines at Kennesaw. A failed attempt that resulted in 3,000 casualties did not stop



3rd Wisconsin Infantry National colors. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Sherman. He simply outflanked Johnston again, and before long Sherman's men were on Atlanta's doorstep. Sherman was relentless and more bloody battles followed, but on September 2, 1864, the city fell to Sherman's men, opening the way to the sea.

After capturing Atlanta, Sherman's "bummers" (a nickname applied to his men on account of their ability to live off the land) cut a 250-mile swath through the heart of Georgia to Savannah, effectively breaking the back of the Confederacy. In Virginia, Grant sent General Phil Sheridan to

destroy Southern resources in the Shenandoah Valley, while his Army of the Potomac kept Lee bottled up at Petersburg in a nine-month siege.

William F. Goodhue, of Company C, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry, was one of the thousands of Wisconsin soldiers who participated in Sherman's momentous march through the heart of the Confederacy. In November 1864, he described Sherman's Army as an irresistible, unstoppable force:

Sherman has chosen the wisest plan, severed his communications himself and is going south and east. He could not have chosen a better time, for there is plenty for an army to live on anywhere in the South and it will be a good thing for a Veterans army to march through the South and live on its products; there can be no obstructions in our road; Hood cannot reach us, Grant has enough for Lee to do; the Rebs may scrape together a force of thirty, perhaps forty thousand men and these will have to be entrenched in some city on or near the seaboard.

Before leaving Atlanta, Sherman's bummers torched the city. Goodhue recorded the scene: "As we left Atlanta dense clouds of black smoke hung like a pall above it; the city was on fire, it might have resembled the burning of Moscow, all but the weather." While Atlanta burned, Goodhue noted that "the brigade band played a lively air, we marched with quick and lively steps – took our last view of Atlanta... the burial place of so many of our brave men and comrades."

By December 20, 1864, Sherman's men were before Savannah, the oldest city in Georgia and a key Southern port. Living off the land, Sherman's men were in fine shape and eager to take the city. "The army is in excellent condition; I never felt better in my life," opined Goodhue. We will have Savannah before long, are now erecting batteries." The batteries were not needed and Savannah was spared destruction. On December 21, the city surrendered to Union forces.



3rd Wisconsin Infantry and witnessed the burning

of Atlanta. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

The Siege of Petersburg

n order to sustain Grant's _____ grueling campaign, addi-

L tional troops were needed. Among those new troops assigned to the Army of the Potomac were a number of fresh Wisconsin regiments. In order to end the Siege of Petersburg, a mine was dug under the Confederate trenches and then detonated with explosives, creating a massive crater. During the resulting Battle of the Crater on July 30, 1864, Union forces were ordered to surge into the hole in the Confederate line. Lieutenant Solon Pierce of the 38th Wisconsin witnessed the explosion:

Clods of earth weighing near a ton, and cannon, and human forms, and gun-carriages, and small arms, were all distinctly seen shooting upward in that fountain of horror, and fell again in shapeless and pulverized atoms. The explosion fully accomplished what was intended. It demolished the six-gun battery and its garrison of one regiment of South Carolina troops, and acted as the wedge which opened the way to the assault.

The 37th Wisconsin was among the units ordered to attack what was left of the Confederate works. The crater was deep and difficult to traverse, and instead of creating a passage for the Union forces to exploit, it created a bottle neck into which the Union troops rushed. For the men of the 37th Wisconsin, it was a killing ground. Of the 250 men of the 37th Wisconsin who went in, 155 were killed or wounded. Grant called the event "the saddest affair I have witnessed in this

war." After failing to breach the Confederate line, Grant's men settled in for a prolonged siege. Numerous battles were fought in the late summer and fall of 1864 as both sides continued to maneuver in hopes of breaking the stalemate.

While Grant kept Lee in check at Petersburg, Sherman continued his march through the Carolinas, destroying Columbia, South Carolina, along the way. By the spring of 1865, Grant finally achieved what had eluded his predecessors – the near annihilation of Robert E. Lee's forces. After routing the Confederates at Five Forks on April 1, 1865, Grant ordered an assault along the lines at Petersburg, and the city fell on April 2. On Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, the battered remnant of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House. Seventeen days later, Sherman accepted Johnston's surrender near Durham, North Carolina. Wisconsin troops of the 4th Cavalry under the command of Henry Harnden assisted in the capture of Confederate President Jefferson Davis at Irwinville, Georgia, closing the chapter on the Civil War.

Epilogue

In celebration of their triumph over the Southern forces, Union veterans, 200,000 strong, marched through Washington on May 23 and 24, 1865. The 25-mile-long column took two days to pass by the presidential reviewing stand and a multitude of grateful citizens. Charles O. Hansen of the 18th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment recorded in a letter to his brother George his experience marching in the Grand Review:

I borrowed a gun for the occasion, as I was bound to be able to say in after life that I participated in the greatest review ever held in this country. We started at six or seven in the morning, and crossed the river on the Long Bridge, down Maryland Avenue about a mile beyond the Capitol, then marched around two or three blocks to the foot of Pennsylvania Avenue, when we formed our company front and marched in solid phalanx up that thoroughfare amid thousands of people, and for more than a mile we went at quick time, at shouldered arms, bayonets fixed, and when we passed the reviewing stands where were the President, Secretary of War, Gen. Grant and about twenty-five Major Generals, with any number of Brigadier Generals, our arms were so tired we could scarcely hold our guns. Yet it was doubtless a nice thing to look at.

Demobilization of the massive army was completed with remarkable swiftness, and, by June 1866, more than one million men had been mustered out of service. The war was over, and thousands of Union veterans now looked forward to a transition back to civilian life.

A victorious Union did not impose harsh sanctions upon the defeated Confederate nation after the April 1865 surrender. There were no mass trials, executions, or confiscations of property. Instead, the national concepts of federalism and liberty were reinforced. Gone was the antebellum institution of slavery and its archaic socioeconomic culture that prevented the flourishing of free-labor capitalism in the South. Gone too was a pre-war decentralized government, now replaced with a more centralized, expanded Union version that ushered in the personal income tax to pay for the war and the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawing slavery.

Regional differences remained, and a resistant South would later impose Jim

Crow laws for more than a century in an attempt to maintain its cherished, pre-war social conventions; but the abolition of slavery ultimately ushered in a dynamic new nation that would surpass all others in agricultural and industrial pursuits by the end of the nineteenth century.

The Cost of War

mericans on both sides of the conflict went into the war certain that they were right each side sure that opponents would cede victory sooner rather than later. But after four vears of total war, our nation's bloodiest conflict claimed the lives of more than 620,000 Americans. Nearly 300,000 wounded Union soldiers survived the war, as did approxi-475,000 Confedermately ates. Many of the survivors suffered permanent wounds: about 30,000 Union troops and roughly 25,000 Confederates underwent amputations.



General Ulysses S. Grant. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

The human cost was nearly eclipsed by the wreckage of the national infrastructure. This was particularly true in the South where the damage to agriculture, industry, railroads, commerce, and education numbered in the billions of dollars. Cities like Richmond, Atlanta, and Columbia lay in ruins. It would take decades for the South to recover.

About 50 percent of Wisconsin's adult male population participated in the war, over 80,000 men. More than 12,000 died; two-thirds of them perished from disease. Another 15,000 were discharged because of disabilities caused by diseases or wounds. One Wisconsin soldier in every three became a casualty and one in seven did not survive the war.

Wisconsin Women in the Civil War

When Wisconsin's soldiers marched off to war they left behind wives and families to fend for themselves. The majority of women lived in rural communities that owed their survival to agricultural pursuits. In the absence of adult men, women found themselves suddenly in charge of everything from



Cordelia Harvey, widow of Governor Harvey, is depicted in the Governor's Conference Room mural by Hugo Ballin holding an order by President Lincoln for the establishment of three miliary hospitals in Wisconsin. (Sarah Girkin)

planting and harvesting to household financial management. Close communal ties mitigated some of the hardships but neighbors could only provide limited assistance. In some cases, the male relatives and young children provided support, but for many it was the woman of the house that assumed the primary responsibility of ensuring the day-today welfare of the family.

While most Wisconsin women busied themselves with keeping the wolf from the door, many were involved in efforts to supply the troops with necessities not otherwise provided by the state or federal governments. Soldiers' Aid societies and charitable organizations sprung up in communities big and small throughout Wisconsin. Their goals were to support the troops in the field and to provide assistance for returning soldiers, many of whom were left with life altering injuries.

Among the most prominent of these women was Cordelia Harvey, the wife of former Governor Louis Harvey who drowned in the Tennessee River in 1862. After her husband's death.

Governor Edward Salamon appointed her Sanitary Agent for Wisconsin. Immediately, Harvey made it her mission to visit wounded and sick Wisconsin soldiers convalescing in hospitals along the lower Mississippi River. She was appalled by the conditions and was moved to organize the shipment of supplies and personnel to improve the care afforded to Wisconsin's soldiers. Convinced that the men would recover faster in a Northern clime, Harvey petitioned President Lincoln to establish a home for veterans in Madison. Lincoln initially balked at Harvey's request, concerned that convalescing troops returning home might desert. Harvey continued to press and was ultimately rewarded by Lincoln's authorization to establish a hospital in Madison. The hospital was constructed on the west bank of Lake Monona and incorporated the home of former Governor Farwell with its distinctive octagonal architecture. At the end of the war in 1865, the hospital was converted into a home for war orphans until it closed in 1875. Other women looked to relieve the burdens of discharged soldiers with a more permanent solution. Milwaukee's West Side Aid Society, under the umbrella of the Wisconsin Soldiers' Aid Society, led the effort to establish one of the first soldiers' homes in the nation. By late 1863, the Society had identified the pressing need to provide housing for furloughed or discharged soldiers and in the spring of 1864, the Society severed its relationship with the Wisconsin Soldiers' Aid Society and reorganized as the Soldiers' Home at Milwaukee. Led by Lydia Ely Hewitt and Fanny Burling Buttrick, a monumental effort was launched to establish a permanent soldiers' home in Milwaukee.

Support for the project gained statewide attention, largely through the endeavors of the various aid societies run by women. Funds in support of the project came from dances. solicitations and public events. Even small rural communities like Rubicon in Dodge County joined in the effort. In a let-



Governor Farwell's mansion housed Harvey Hospital. It stood at the corner of Spaight and Brearly Streets in Madison. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

ter to her lover stationed in a Wisconsin artillery unit, Sarah Throne wrote, "There is agoing (sic) to be a dance here the 14th of this month [June 1865] for the benefit of the Soldier's Home which is to be built in Milwaukee. Oh how I wish you could be here to attend it, for they are expecting to have a good time". Proceeds from the Soldier's Home Fair held on June 28, 1865 allowed the Society to purchase land at the present day location of 27th Street and Wisconsin Avenue. They enlisted the services of an architect but ultimately turned the project and its assets over to the federal government. The first building was constructed in 1867, additional buildings followed and the campus was noted for its tranquil natural environment. Nearly 150 years later it stands as one of three remaining original post-Civil War soldiers' homes in the country.

Wisconsin's women played a major role in supporting the troops both in the field and when they returned home. They ensured the continued operation of farms and businesses and left a legacy of their service at the Milwaukee Veterans Administration Soldiers Home.

Lincoln: The Last Casualty

n April 14, 1865, the nation suffered another catastrophic loss just five days after Lee's surrender, when pro-Confederate actor, John Wilkes Booth, shot President Lincoln. Lincoln died the next day. The assassination came during a performance at Ford's Theater in Washington, DC. Present in the audience was Spencer Bronson, an Iron Brigade veteran from Columbia County. Like the majority of soldiers, 70 percent of whom voted for Lincoln in 1864, Bronson was shocked and saddened by the assassination. One day after the shooting, Bronson wrote to his sister describing the event:

The rejoicing of our victories has been turned into mourning[.] President Lincoln has been struck down in the midst of his usefulness, the pride of his age, the benefactor of his race, the liberator of a nation & friend of suffering humanity everywhere has been murdered by a demon in human form & all because he was chief magistrate of this nation. I was present & saw this scene enacted & such an act that has no parallel since the days of Roman greatness when Caesar was struck down in the Roman senate by



Iron Brigade veteran Spencer Bronson was present at Ford's Theater when Lincoln was assassinated. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

an idle mob.

Bronson went on to describe the mood of the city in the aftermath of the shooting: "The city is mad with excitement at the act. Three men has been shot dead by soldiers for saying they were glad the President was dead."

The president's death ensured that his vision of peace without penalty would face a challenge from some Republicans who felt less charitably towards the South than Lincoln did. The bitterness that characterized the Reconstruction Era (1865-77) endured long after the assassination of President Lincoln.

The Rise of the Grand Army of the Republic

hen Union veterans returned home from active duty, many of them found few opportunities and little, if any, compensation for service-related injuries. Joining veteran's organizations provided the clout to achieve their

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desired political aims. On April 1, 1866, the first Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) Post was established in Springfield, Illinois. The mission of the new organization was to promote fraternal sentiment among Union veterans, to provide aid to disabled and needy veterans, and to support orphans and widows. By 1867, most Northern states and some Southern states had G.A.R. Posts.

The large number of Civil War Veterans offered a strong base of voters for soldier-politicians to court after the war, and the G.A.R used its close association with the Republican Party to achieve political gains. G.A.R. politicians, like their counterparts in the United Confederate Veterans, promoted wartime experiences and "waved the bloody shirt," a reference to the blood of fallen soldiers, to earn support for their political platforms. In Wisconsin, Lucius Fairchild, who lost an arm at Gettysburg, became the state's first Civil War veteran governor, largely due to support from G.A.R. members. Fairchild, a charter member of the first Wisconsin G.A.R. post, served for three terms during the intensely political period of the Reconstruction Era. In January 1886, he was elected Wisconsin department commander of the G.A.R. and, at the 20th National Encampment at San Francisco in August that year, was elected commander-in-chief.



Colonel Lucius Fairchild, 2nd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, was wearing these articles during the morning of July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg when he received a severe wound that required amputation of his left arm. In order to perform the procedure, the surgeon was forced to cut the vest to facilitate removal from Fairchild's shoulder. The handkerchief is still stained with his blood from that morning. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Politician-soldiers such as Fairchild and Jeremiah Rusk, capitalized on the memories of Civil War animosities to gain and hold political support. Each served three-year terms in the governor's office, and each "waved the bloody shirt" when they felt it was politically necessary. Fairchild, in particular, often reminded audiences that "every rebel, every Copperhead, every draft sneak, every dirty traitor voted with the Democrats, as did every member of the Ku Klux Klan." The "bloody shirt" invective reached its peak in the 1870s, but it was periodically revived throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Maximum membership in the G.A.R. reached 427,981 members the same year that President and ex-Civil War General Benjamin Harrison signed into law the Pension Act of 1890, providing support for all Union veterans. Supported by the Republican Party, the G.A.R dominated the affairs of the Union veterans' community until its decline in the twentieth century.

Wisconsin's Civil War Legacy

Final Army of the Republic members lobbied strongly on behalf of veterans and their families, and they began to turn their attention to providing lasting support through the establishment of soldiers' homes. Soldiers' homes were an expanding social focus after the Civil War to assist soldiers in the transition back to civilian life. In the Midwest, Chicago was identified as a preferred site for a veterans home. However, Milwaukee native Lydia



Governor Jeremiah Rusk, a Civil War veteran, attended numerous veteran reunions with a special "guard" composed of Wisconsin veterans who lost a limb during the Civil War. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

Hewitt proposed a plan to construct a soldiers' home in Milwaukee and founded the Wisconsin Soldiers' Home Association. The association raised funds, and in its first year, 1865, cared for 4,842 soldiers. It also sponsored the 1865 Soldiers' Home Fair which raised \$110,000 to care for veterans and construct a permanent facility. In 1867, the association's funds were turned over to the National Asylum for Disabled Soldiers. Thus, the Wisconsin Soldiers' Home Association became the United States National Soldiers' Home.

The National Home in Milwaukee admitted only veterans, raising concerns among G.A.R. members. Veterans, particularly Dr. Frederick Marden, worried about separating spouses in their "twilight years" and conceived of a facility that admitted veterans, wives, widows, and mothers. Marden developed and promoted the "cottage plan," which allowed veterans and their wives who did not require much care to live together and receive minimal health care.

The idea for such a soldiers' home was proposed at the 1884 G.A.R. Department of Wisconsin Encampment by Henry Fischer, department commander. Work began immediately after approval by the encampment. A committee of five was appointed to look into the feasibility of forming a veterans' home to be maintained by the G.A.R. that would provide for soldiers, wives, and mothers. The committee consisted of Dr. Marden, Albert O. Wright, Benjamin F. Bryant, James Cumberledge, and Joseph H. Marston, all of whom were later appointed to the first Board of Incorporators.

Committee members reported favorably to the G.A.R., and the Grand Army Home for Veterans, the first state home of its kind, was established. The eventual location was selected from the several cities (including Waupaca, Sheboygan, Watertown, Evansville, Berlin, and New Kilbourn) that volunteered their communities. The Incorporators visited each location, and Waupaca was chosen after several votes and long discussions. The Grand Army Home for Veterans is located on what was formerly the Greenwood Park Hotel, three-and-a-half miles from Waupaca on the eastern shore of Rainbow Lake. When the G.A.R. took the land, it consisted of 78 acres, which included a central building, six cottages, and a farmhouse. Originally, the land was a gift from the City of Waupaca. In 1890, the property was conveyed to the state.

Incorporated on March 10, 1887, the Grand Army Home (the name was changed to the Wisconsin Veterans Home in the 1970s) opened to residents on October 1, 1887, while the facility was still undergoing repairs. On August 29, 1888, more than 60,000 attended the official dedication.

Fundraising provided for the purchase of much of the home's furniture. The Woman's Relief Corps, a women's auxiliary to the G.A.R., began fundraising and donated the money for several cottages. Funds were raised through the War Relic exhibition, held from September 7 to October 22, 1888, in Milwaukee with all proceeds benefiting the home. Grand Army of the Republic posts throughout the state independently raised money and donated.

Although the home was controlled by the G.A.R., lobbying began almost immediately for government support. In 1887, the state legislature passed a bill by which the state treasurer paid \$3 for each veteran living at the home. As time passed, however, lobbying became more frequent and aimed to address the longterm needs of the institution. By 1890, the growth of the home had already exceeded the expectations of the Incorporators and the available space. As a result,

the board asked the legislature for \$50,000 for permanent expansion and, in return, the Wisconsin G.A.R. turned over the home's property deed to the state.

The G.A.R. retained control and management and invoked a clause that the land would always be used to house dependent Union soldiers, sailors, and marines, along with their wives and widows. Several different organizations have had control of the Wisconsin Veterans Home. Original control by a board of trustees was changed to a board of managers in 1917. In 1929, control was given to the adjutant general of Wisconsin. In 1945, control was transferred to the Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs.

Today, the home is the state's largest nursing care facility, with 950 employees providing assistance to more than 700 veterans (capacity is 721). Additionally, about 450 volunteers contribute nearly 70,000 hours of service annually by visiting members and organizing activities. Policies have been updated to allow Wisconsin veterans admittance if they served on active duty for at least two years or the full period of their service obligation or served on active duty for at least 90 days, one day of which must be within a wartime period. Spouses of eligible veterans, and parents of those who died while on active duty, may also reside at the home.



Fairchild Hall at the Wisconsin Veterans Home at King, formerly known as the Grand Army Home. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

The Wisconsin Veterans Museum

have guessed the significance of that enactment. The law mandated that state officials establish a memorial hall dedicated to commemorating Wisconsin's role in the Civil War and "any subsequent war." The law

obligated the state to provide space in the state capitol and money for purchasing display equipment to exhibit war relics and to acquire additional artifacts. The state's collection of cherished Civil War battle flags would also be displayed in the memorial facility, and an area was set aside for a meeting room for Civil War veterans who belonged to the G.A.R. The space was designated the G.A.R. Memorial Hall.



Sergeant Onesime Rondeau mounted the National Colors of the 7th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry to this sapling after the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg. As the regiment retired through the town of Gettysburg that afternoon, Sergeant Daniel McDermott, holding the National Colors as a rallying point for his comrades, was hit by canister rounds, wounding McDermott and shattering the flag staff. His comrades placed him on a caisson and he retired through the town still waving the tattered remains of the National Colors and the shattered staff. That night the remaining members of the regiment cut this sapling from their new positions on Culp's Hill and mounted the National Colors to it. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

A destructive fire gutted the capitol in 1904, consuming many of the Civil War relics and historical materials in the G.A.R. Memorial Hall. Legislators authorized the establishment of another memorial space with Chapter 47, Laws of 1909. When the new capitol was completed, the G.A.R. Memorial Hall was dedicated. The Civil War battle flags, which had all been saved from the fire, were installed in the new room on the fourth floor of the Capital along with exhibits of artifacts.

In 1945, legislators assigned control of the G.A.R. Memorial Hall to the newly created Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs, directing the agency to "catalog, restore, conserve, preserve, safeguard, procure additions to the collections, and to display such collections as to make it instructive and attractive to visitors to the State Capitol." In 1955, an attempt to reappropriate the G.A.R. Memorial Hall space for government use and transfer display functions and collections to the Wisconsin Historical Society failed. Two years later, a new law further cemented the Department of Veterans Affairs' tenure on the capitol space by prohibiting alterations of established veterans' memorials.

The American Alliance of Museums (AAM) accredited the museum in 1974, one of the first Wisconsin museums to be awarded that distinction. Attendance figures during the 1970s averaged 80,000 visitors per year, the highest attendance of any Madison museum at that time. Since then, the museum has enjoyed an unbroken record of accreditation. Only about 11 percent of all museums in the United States enjoy AAM accreditation.

The issue of space within the capitol remained an impediment for the museum. In 1979, a well-developed modernization plan was rejected by the legislature. Another attempt began to have the G.A.R. Museum move out of the capitol and was ultimately successful.

Governor Tommy Thompson approved the acquisition of space adjacent to the capitol in late 1989 and construction began in July 1990, after state legislative review and approval by the City of Madison. The building shell was completed in December. Work began on the museum interior and exhibit fixtures in 1991. Twelve thousand square feet were set aside for exhibits, ranging from the Civil War to the Persian Gulf. Its award-winning exhibits prompted the prestigious *Journal of American History* to describe the Wisconsin Veterans Museum as "in all likelihood the most stunning history museum of its size in the United States today."

The veterans museum collections contain Wisconsin's most important military cultural objects, including more than 2,000 Civil War artifacts. Among these artifacts are 200 battle flags issued to Wisconsin's fighting units. The flags form the core of the museum's collection and represent stories of courage and honor from every major Civil War battle. Among the collection are the flags of Wisconsin's Iron Brigade regiments and the flag of the 24th Wisconsin that was carried to the top of Missionary Ridge by Medal of Honor recipient Arthur MacArthur. Personal artifacts include Colonel Lucius Fairchild's uniform vest, stained by the blood of the wound he received at Gettysburg, and the only extant Iron Brigade black hat known to be worn during that pivotal battle. The collections of the veterans museum have expanded significantly in the past decade. Total collections have



G.A.R. Memorial Hall 1903. (Wisconsin Veterans Museum)

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grown by at least 30 percent, including 6,000 objects transferred from the State Historical Society and more than 26,000 three-dimensional objects transferred from the Wisconsin National Guard. The archives, manuscripts and iconographic/photographic collections display more than 1,700 Civil War photographs and more than 1,200 letters and diaries. The veterans museum archives also house more than 5,000 books and periodicals related to military and veterans' history, as well as over 2,000 oral history interviews.

The roots of the Wisconsin Veterans Museum are deeply linked to the desire of Wisconsin's Civil War veterans to preserve the legacy of their accomplishments and the memory of their comrades. After the Civil War, the memory of those who made the ultimate sacrifice lived on in the minds of the survivors of that terrible event. They represented all walks of life and came from every corner of the state, and it was their service to the State of Wisconsin that secured the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery, bringing our nation closer to its cherished ideals of justice and freedom for all. In December 1881, during a stay in Washington, DC, Rufus Dawes, of the 6th Wisconsin Regiment, reflected upon his comrades who were buried at Arlington Cemetery in a letter to his wife:

December 18, 1881

My Dear Wife: I have to-day worshipped at the shrine of the dead. I went over to the Arlington Cemetery... My friends and comrades, poor fellows, who followed my enthusiastic leadership in those days, and followed it to the death which I by a merciful Providence escaped, lie here, twenty-four of them, on the very spot where our winter camp of 1861-1862 was located. I found every grave and stood beside it with uncovered head. I looked over nearly the full 16,000 headboards to find the twenty-four, but they all died alike and I was determined to find all. Poor little Fenton who put his head above the works at Cold Harbor and got a bullet through his temples, and lived three days with his brains out, came to me in memory as fresh as one of my own boys of to-day, and Levi Pearson, one of the three brothers of company 'A,' who died for their country in the Sixth regiment, and Richard Gray, Paul Mulleter, Dennis Kelly, Christ Bundy, all young men, who fell at my side and under my command. For what they died, I fight a little longer. Over their graves I get inspiration to stand for all they won in establishing our government upon freedom, equality, justice, liberty and protection to the humblest.

Special Articles in Prior Blue Books 1970 to 2013

For 1919 to 1933 *Blue Books*: see 1954 *Blue Book*, pp. 177-182. For 1935 to 1962 *Blue Books*: see 1964 *Blue Book*, pp. 227-232. For 1964 to 1968 *Blue Books*: see 2007-2008 *Blue Book*, pp. 192-193.

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Capitol Visitor's Guide

Hours:

Building open daily 8 a.m. - 6 p.m. The Capitol closes at 4 p.m. weekends and holidays.

Information Desk

Located in the rotunda, ground floor.

Tours

Daily Monday - Saturday at 9, 10, and 11 a.m., 1, 2, and 3 p.m.; Sundays at 1, 2, and 3 p.m. A 4 p.m. tour is offered weekdays between Memorial Day and Labor Day. Tours start at the Information Desk in the rotunda and last 45 to 50 minutes. Reservations are required for groups of 10 or more. Call (608) 266-0382 7:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Monday - Friday, or visit the Web site at http:// tours.wisconsin.gov/pub/Reservations.

Observation Deck

6th Floor, accessible from 4th floor via NW or W stairways. Open daily from Memorial Day to Labor Day. There is a small museum devoted to the Capitol at the entrance to the observation deck.

Souvenirs

Available at the Information Desk, include books, postcards, miniatures, and tour videos.

Capitol Police

Room B2 North.

Handicapped Entrances

At Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. (automated), East Washington Avenue, Wisconsin Avenue, and West Washington Avenue.

Parking

3 handicapped spaces at East Washington entrance. Limited parking (meters) on the Capitol Square. Several public ramps are located within two blocks of the Capitol.

> Senate Chamber South wing, 2nd floor; visitors gallery, 3rd floor.

Assembly Chamber West wing, 2nd floor; visitors gallery, 3rd floor.

> Supreme Court Hearing Room East wing, 2nd floor.

Governor's Office & Conference Room East wing, 1st floor.

> Lieutenant Governor's Office East wing, ground floor.

Attorney General's Office East wing, 1st floor.

East wing, 1st nooi.

Legislative Offices

To find a specific office, check one of the Capitol Directories located in the rotunda and on the ground floor of each wing.

Hearings

Information about the time and location of public hearings is posted at the entrance to each legislative chamber.

Hearing Rooms

North Hearing Room, North wing, 2nd floor. Grand Army of the Republic Hall, Room 417 North. Joint Committee on Finance, Room 412 East. Senate Hearing Room, Room 411 South. Additional hearing rooms are located on the 2nd and 3rd floors.

Capitol Facts & Figures Construction Chronology

West wing: 1906 – 1909 East wing: 1908 – 1910 Central portion: 1910 – 1913 South wing: 1909 – 1913 North wing: 1914 – 1917 First meeting of legislature in building: 1909 Dedication: July 8, 1965 Renovation: 1990 – 2001

Statistics

Height of each wing: 61 feet Height of observation deck: 92 feet Height of dome mural: 184 feet, 3 inches Height of dome (to top of statue): 284 feet, 9 inches Length of building from N to S & E to W: 483 feet, 9 inches Floor space: 448,297 square feet Volume: 8,369,665 cubic feet Original cost: \$7,203,826.35 (including grounds, furnishings, and power plant)