



Frederick H. Hackeman CAMP 85

September 2024

Women Soldiers of the Civil War

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By DeAnne Blanton

Disguised as a man (left), Frances Clayton served many months in Missouri artillery and cavalry units. (By courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library)



It is an accepted convention that the Civil War was a man's fight. Images of women during that conflict center on self-sacrificing nurses, romantic spies, or brave ladies maintaining the home front in the absence of their men. The men, of course, marched off to war, lived in germ-ridden camps, engaged in heinous battle, languished in appalling prison camps, and died horribly, yet heroically. This conventional picture of gender roles during the Civil War does not tell the entire story. Men were not the only ones to fight that war. Women bore arms and charged into battle, too. Like the men, there were women who lived in camp, suffered in prisons, and died for

their respective causes. Both the Union and Confederate armies forbade the enlistment of women. Women soldiers of the Civil War therefore assumed masculine names, disguised

In this Issue

Page 1 - Women soldiers in the Civil War

Page 7 - Battle of Antietam

Page 18 - August meeting minutes

Page 19 - Members' Ancestor List

Next Camp Meeting

September 19, 2024 - 6:30 p.m.

Red Brick School House, 63626 Brick Church Rd.,
Cassopolis

Camp Communicator

Sons of the Union Veterans of the Civil War

themselves as men, and hid the fact they were female. Because they passed as men, it is impossible to know with any certainty how many women soldiers served in the Civil War. Estimates place as many as 250 women in the ranks of the Confederate army.(1) Writing in 1888, Mary Livermore of the U.S. Sanitary Commission remembered that:

Some one has stated the number of women soldiers known to the service as little less than four hundred. I cannot vouch for the correctness of this estimate, but I am convinced that a larger number of women disguised themselves and enlisted in the service, for one cause or other, than was dreamed of. Entrenched in secrecy, and regarded as men, they were sometimes revealed as women, by accident or casualty. Some startling histories of these military women were current in the gossip of army life.(2)



F. 1 52 Ohio
Shad Freeman
 Rank, *Co. 4, 52nd Regt. Ohio*
 Complaint, *Sexual incompatibility, Fever Remitt.*
 Admitted *Apr 10, 1862*
 To *No. 11, U. S. A. Gen'l Hosp., Louisville, Ky.*
 Ret'd to duty 18
 Deserted 18
 Disch'd from service *Discharged*, 18
 Sent to G. H. 18
 On furlough 18
 Died 18
 Remarks: *Mary H. Leaberry of Columbus, Ohio, assumed service 16 weeks.*
 Ky. Reg. No. *24*, Ill. No. *286*, Pa. No. *1111*
 (90-20) 10-1-75 *Thom* Capt.

Discharge document for a soldier with “Sexual incompatibility.” (NARA, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780’s—1917, RG 94)

Livermore and the soldiers in the Union army were not the only ones who knew of soldier-women. Ordinary citizens heard of them, too. Mary Owens, discovered to be a woman after she was wounded in the arm, returned to her Pennsylvania home to a warm reception and press coverage. She had served for eighteen months under the alias John Evans.(3)



In the post - Civil War era, the topic of women soldiers continued to arise in both literature and the press. Frank Moore’s Women of the War, published in 1866, devoted an entire chapter to the military heroines of the North. A year later, L. P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan mentioned ladies “who from whatever cause . . . donned the male attire and concealed their sex . . . [who] did not seek to be known as women, but preferred to pass for men.”(4) Loreta Velazquez published her memoirs in 1876. She served the Confederacy as Lt. Harry Buford, a self-financed soldier not officially attached to any regiment.



The existence of soldier-women was no secret during or after the Civil War. The reading public, at least, was well aware that these women rejected Victorian social constraints confining them to the domestic sphere. Their motives were open to speculation, perhaps, but not their actions, as numerous newspaper stories and

obituaries of women soldiers testified.

Most of the articles provided few specific details about the individual woman’s army career. For example, the obituary of Satronia Smith Hunt merely stated she enlisted in an Iowa regiment with her first husband. He died of battle wounds, but she apparently emerged from the war unscathed.(5) An 1896 story about Mary Stevens Jenkins, who died in 1881, tells an equally brief tale. She enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment when still a schoolgirl, remained in the army two years, received several wounds, and was discharged without anyone ever realizing she was female.(6) The press seemed unconcerned about the women’s actual military exploits. Rather, the fascination lay in the simple fact that they had been in the army.



The army itself, however, held no regard for women soldiers, Union or Confederate. Indeed, despite recorded evidence to the contrary, the U.S. Army tried to deny that women played a military role, however small, in the Civil War. On October 21, 1909, Ida Tarbell of The American Magazine wrote to Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, the adjutant general: “I am anxious to know whether your department has any record of the number of women who enlisted and served in the Civil War, or has it any record of any women who were in the service?” She received swift reply from the Records and Pension Office, a division of the Adjutant General’s Office (AGO), under Ainsworth’s signature. The response read in part:

I have the honor to inform you that no official record has been found in the War Department showing specifically that any woman was ever enlisted in the military service of the United States as a member of any organization of the Regular or Volunteer Army at any time during the period of the civil war. It is possible, however, that there may have been a few instances of women having served as soldiers for a short time without their sex having been detected, but no record of such cases is known to exist in the official files.(7)

This response to Ms. Tarbell's request is untrue. One of the duties of the AGO was maintenance of the U.S. Army's archives, and the AGO took good care of the extant records created during that conflict. By 1909 the AGO had also created compiled military service records (CMSR) for the participants of the Civil War, both Union and Confederate, through painstaking copying of names and remarks from official federal documents and captured Confederate records. Two such CMSRs prove the point that the army did have documentation of the service of women soldiers.

The Union CMSR for John Williams of the Seventeenth Missouri Infantry, Company H, shows that the nineteen-year-old soldier enlisted as a private on October 3, 1861, in St. Louis and was mustered into the regiment on the seventh. Later that month, Williams was discharged on the grounds: "proved to be a woman."⁽⁸⁾ The Confederate CMSR for Mrs. S. M. Blaylock, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Infantry, Company F, states:



This lady dressed in men's clothes, Volunteered [sic], received bounty and for two weeks did all the duties of a soldier before she was found out, but her husband being discharged, she disclosed the fact, returned the bounty, and was immediately discharged April 20, 1862.⁽⁹⁾

Sarah Edmonds Seelye served two years in the Second Michigan Infantry as Franklin Thompson (right). In 1886, she received a military pension. (Courtesy of the State Archives of Michigan)

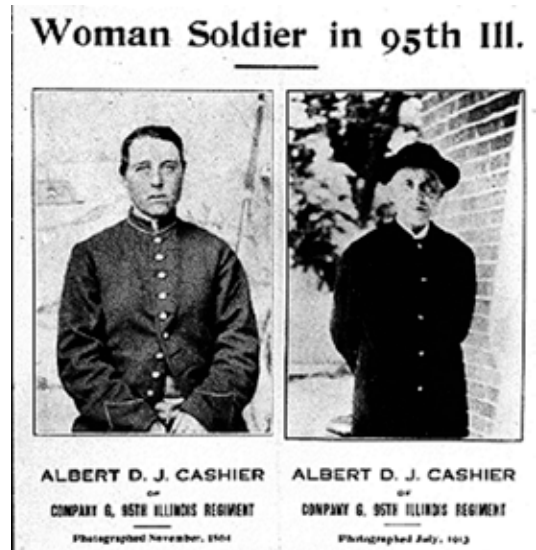


Another woman documented in the records held by the AGO was Mary Scaberry, alias Charles Freeman, Fifty-second Ohio Infantry. Scaberry enlisted as a private in the summer of 1862 at the age of seventeen. On November 7 she was admitted to the General Hospital in Lebanon, Kentucky, suffering from a serious fever. She was transferred to a hospital in Louisville, and on the tenth, hospital personnel discovered "sexual incompatibility [sic]." In other words, the feverish soldier was female. Like John Williams, Scaberry was discharged from Union service.⁽¹⁰⁾

Not all of the women soldiers of the Civil War were discharged so quickly. Some women served for years, like Sarah Emma Edmonds Seelye, and others served the entire war, like Albert D. J. Cashier. These two women are the best known and most fully documented of all the women combatants.

Records from the AGO show that Sarah Edmonds, a Canadian by birth, assumed the alias of Franklin Thompson and enlisted as a private in the Second Michigan Infantry in Detroit on May 25, 1861. Her duties while in the Union army included regimental nurse and mail and despatch carrier. Her regiment participated in the Peninsula campaign and the battles of First Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Antietam. On April 19, 1863, Edmonds deserted because she acquired malaria, and she feared that hospitalization would reveal her gender. In 1867 she married L. H. Seelye, a Canadian mechanic. They raised three children. In 1886 she received a government pension based

upon her military service. A letter from the secretary of war, dated June 30 of that year, acknowledged her as "a female soldier who . . . served as a private . . . rendering faithful service in the ranks." Sarah Edmonds Seelye died September 5, 1898, in Texas.⁽¹¹⁾



Albert D. J. Cashier (Courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library)

AGO records also reveal that on August 3, 1862, a nineteen-year-old Irish immigrant named Albert D. J. Cashier, described as having a light complexion, blue eyes, and auburn hair, enlisted in the Ninety-fifth Illinois Infantry. Cashier served steadily until August 17, 1865, when the regiment was mustered out of the Federal army. Cashier participated in approximately forty battles and skirmishes in those long, hard four years.

After the war, Cashier worked as a laborer, eventually drew a pension, and finally went to live in the Quincy, Illinois, Soldiers' Home. In 1913 a surgeon at the home discovered that Albert D. J. Cashier was a woman. A public disclosure of the finding touched off a storm of sensational newspaper stories, for Cashier had lived her entire adult life as a man. None of Cashier's former comrades-in-arms ever suspected that he was a she. Apparently, neither did the commandant at the Soldiers' Home. She died October 11, 1914, in an insane asylum.⁽¹²⁾ [A deposition from a fellow soldier taken in 1915 revealed that her deception was quite complete.]

Despite the fact that the U.S. Army did not acknowledge or advertise their existence, it is surprising that the women soldiers of the Civil War are not better known today. After all, their existence was known at the time and through the rest of the nineteenth century. Even though some modern writers have considered Seelye and Cashier, the majority of historians who have written about the common soldiers of the war have either ignored women in the ranks or trivialized their experience. While references, usually in passing, are sometimes found, the assumption by many respected Civil War historians is that soldier-women were eccentric and their presence isolated. Textbooks hardly ever mention these women.

The writings of Bell Wiley and Mary Massey are good examples. Wiley wrote at some length of “the gentler sex who disguised themselves and swapped brooms for muskets [who] were able to sustain the deception for amazingly long periods of time.” But he later refers to them, indirectly, as “freaks and distinct types.”(13) Massey erroneously asserted that “probably most of the women soldiers were prostitutes or concubines.”(14) For the most part, modern researchers looking for evidence of soldier-women must rely heavily upon Civil War diaries and late nineteenth-century memoirs.

It is true that the military service of women did not affect the outcome of campaigns or battles. Their service did not alter the course of the war. Compared with the number of men who fought, the women are statistically irrelevant. But the women are significant because they were there and they were not supposed to be. The late nineteenth-century newspaper writers grasped this point. The actions of Civil War soldier-women flew in the face of mid-nineteenth-century society’s characterization of women as frail, subordinate, passive, and not interested in the public realm.

Simply because the woman soldier does not fit the traditional female image, she should not be excluded from, or misinterpreted in, current and future historical writings. While this essay cannot discuss all the soldier-women, their lives and military records, recent chroniclers of the Civil War and women’s history have begun to note the gallantry of women in the ranks during the war.(15) Most important, recent works refrain from stereotyping the women soldiers as prostitutes, mentally ill, homosexual, social misfits, or anything other than what they were: soldiers fighting for their respective governments of their own volition.

It is perhaps hard to imagine how the women soldiers maintained their necessary deception or even how they successfully managed to enlist. It was probably very easy. In assuming the male disguise, women soldiers picked male names. Army recruiters, both Northern and Southern, did not ask for proof of identity. Soldier-women bound their breasts when necessary,

padded the waists of their trousers, and cut their hair short. Loretta Velazquez wore a false mustache, developed a masculine gait, learned to smoke cigars, and padded her uniform coat to make herself look more muscular.

While recruits on both sides of the conflict were theoretically subject to physical examinations, those exams were usually farcical. Most recruiters only looked for visible handicaps, such as deafness, poor eyesight, or lameness. Neither army standardized the medical exams, and those charged with performing them hardly ever ordered recruits to strip. That roughly 750 women enlisted attests to the lax and perfunctory nature of recruitment physical checks.

Once in the ranks, successful soldier-women probably learned to act and talk like men. With their uniforms loose and ill-fitting and with so many underage boys in the ranks, women, especially due to their lack of facial hair, could pass as young men. Also, Victorian men, by and large, were modest by today’s standards. Soldiers slept in their clothes, bathed in their underwear, and went as long as six weeks without changing their underclothes. Many refused to use the odorous and disgusting long, open-trenched latrines of camp. Thus, a woman soldier would not call undue attention to herself if she acted modestly, trekked to the woods to answer the call of nature and attend to other personal matters, or left camp before dawn to privately bathe in a nearby stream.(16)

Militarily, the women soldiers faced few disadvantages. The vast majority of the common soldiers during the Civil War were former civilians who volunteered for service. These amateur citizen soldiers enlisted ignorant of army life. Many privates had never fired a gun before entering the army. The women soldiers learned to be warriors just like the men.

In 1862, at least four women, including Sarah Edmonds Seelye, converged on Antietam, Maryland. With more than 30,000 casualties, September 17 was the single bloodiest day of the Civil War. (NARA, 165-SB-19)

The women soldiers easily concealed their gender in order to fulfill their desire to fight. An unknown number of them, like Cashier, Jenkins, and Hunt, were never revealed as women during their army stint. Of those who were, very few were discovered for acting unsoldierly or stereotypically feminine. Though Sarah Collins of Wisconsin was suspected of being female by the way she put on her shoes, she was atypical.(17)

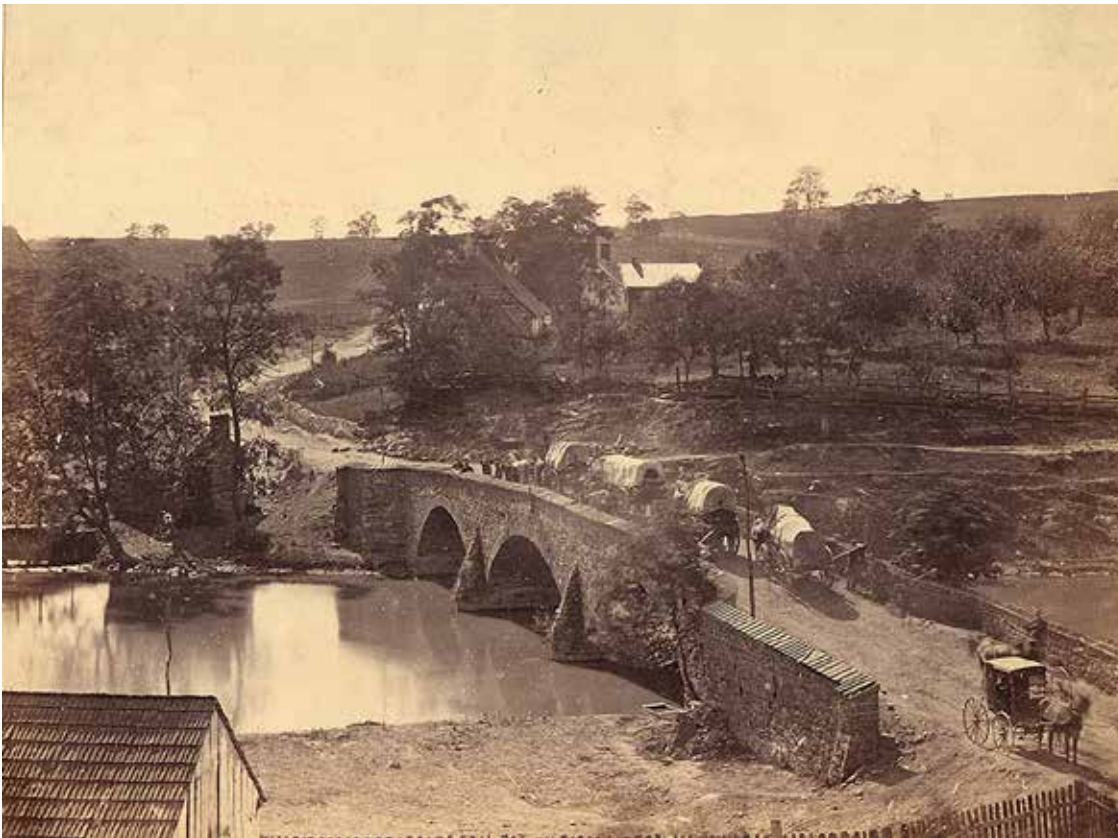
Also unusual were the Union women under Gen. Philip Sheridan’s command, one a teamster and the other a private in a cavalry regiment, who got drunk and fell into a river. The soldiers who rescued the pair made the gender discoveries in the process of resuscitating them.



Officers 2018 - 2019

Camp Commander:
Rex Dillman
SVC: Rex Dillman
JVC: Steven Williams
Secretary :Ray Truhn
Treasurer : Ray Truhn
Council 1: Charles L Pfauth Jr
Council 2: Keith Chapman
Council 3: Charles L Pfauth Sr
Patriotic Instructor:
Ted Chamberlain
Chaplain : Steven Williams
Graves & Memorials:
Rex Dillman
Historian: Rex Dillman
Signals Officer:
Steven Williams
Guide: Jeff Chubb
Guard: Jeff Chubb
Color Bearer: Rex Dillman
JROTC contact: Unassigned

Editor
Steve Williams
sarwilliamssa@gmail.com



Sheridan personally interviewed the two and later described the woman teamster as coarse and the “she-dragoon” as rather prepossessing, even with her unfeminine suntan.(18) He did not state their real names, aliases, or regiments.

For the most part, women were recognized after they had received serious wounds or died. Mary Galloway was wounded in the chest during the Battle of Antietam. Clara Barton, attending to the wound, discovered the gender of the soft-faced “boy” and coaxed her into revealing her true identity and going home after recuperation.(19) One anonymous woman wearing the uniform of a Confederate private was found dead on the Gettysburg battlefield on July 17, 1863, by a burial detail from the Union II Corps.(20) Based on the location of the body, it is likely the Southern woman died participating in Pickett’s charge. In 1934, a gravesight found on the outskirts of Shiloh National Military Park revealed the bones of nine Union soldiers. Further investigation indicated that one of the skeletons, with a minieball by the remains, was female.(21) The identities of these two dead women are lost to posterity.

Some soldiers were revealed as women after getting captured. Frances Hook is a good example. She and her brother, orphans, enlisted together early in the war. She was twenty-two years old, of medium build, with hazel eyes and dark brown hair. Even though her brother was killed in action at Pittsburgh Landing, Hook continued service, probably in an Illinois infantry regiment, under the alias Frank Miller. In early 1864, Confederates captured her near Florence, Alabama; she was shot in the thigh during a battle and left behind with other wounded, who were also captured. While imprisoned in Atlanta, her captors realized her gender. After her exchange at Graysville, Georgia, on February 17, 1864, she was cared for in Union hospitals in Tennessee, then discharged and sent North in June. Having no one to return to, she may have reenlisted in another guise and served the rest of the war. Frances Hook later married, and on March 17, 1908, her daughter

wrote the AGO seeking confirmation of her mother’s military service. AGO clerks searched pertinent records and located documentation.(22)

Other prisoners of war included Madame Collier and Florina Budwin. Collier was a federal soldier from East Tennessee who enjoyed army life until her capture and subsequent imprisonment at Belle Isle, Virginia. She decided to make the most of the difficult situation and continued concealing her gender, hoping for exchange. Another prisoner learned her secret and reported it to Confederate authorities, who sent her North under a flag of truce. Before leaving, Collier indicated that another woman remained incarcerated on the island.(23)

Florina Budwin and her husband enlisted together, served side by side in battle, were captured at the same time by Confederates, and both sent to the infamous Andersonville prison. (The date of their incarceration has not been determined.) Mr. Budwin died there in the stockade, but Mrs. Budwin survived until after her transfer with other prisoners in late 1864 to a prison in Florence, South Carolina. There she was stricken by an unspecified epidemic, and a Southern doctor discovered her identity. Despite immediately receiving better treatment, she died January 25, 1865.(24)



Much of the information available on female Civil War soldiers is found in their obituaries. (NARA, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780’s - 1917, RG 94)

The women soldiers of the Civil War engaged in combat, were wounded and taken prisoner, and were killed in action. They went to war strictly by choice, knowing the risks involved. Their reasons for doing so varied greatly. Some, like Budwin and Hook, wished to be by the sides of their loved ones. Perhaps others viewed war as excitement and travel. Working class and poor women were probably enticed by the bounties and the promise of a regular paycheck. And of course, patriotism was a primary motive. Sarah Edmonds wrote in 1865, “I could only thank God that I was free and could go forward and work, and I was not obliged to stay at home and weep.”(25) Obviously, other soldier-women did not wish to stay at home weeping, either.

Herein lies the importance of the women combatants of the

Civil War: it is not their individual exploits but the fact that they fought. While their service could not significantly alter the course of the war, women soldiers deserve remembrance because their actions display them as uncommon and revolutionary, with a valor at odds with Victorian views of women's proper role. Quite simply, the women in the ranks, both Union and Confederate, refused to stay in their socially mandated place, even if it meant resorting to subterfuge to achieve their goal of being soldiers. They faced not only the guns of the adversary but also the sexual prejudices of their society.

The women soldiers of the Civil War merit recognition in modern American society because they were trailblazers. Women's service in the military is socially accepted today, yet modern women soldiers are still officially barred from direct combat. Since the Persian Gulf war, debate has raged over whether women are fit for combat, and the issue is still unresolved. The women soldiers of the Civil War were capable fighters. From a historical viewpoint, the women combatants of 1861 to 1865 were not just ahead of their time; they were ahead of our time.

DeAnne Blanton is an archivist in the National Archives and Records Administration's Old Military and Civil Branch. She received her M.A. in American history from Wake Forest University.

Notes

1. Lauren Burgess, "'Typical' Soldier May Have Been Red-Blooded American Woman," *The Washington Times*, Oct. 5, 1991.
2. Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War* (1888), pp. 119-120.
3. "Women Soldiering as Men," *New York Sun*, Feb. 10, 1901.
4. L. P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan, *Women's Work in the Civil War* (1867), p. 770.
5. Obituary of Satronia Smith Hunt, unidentified newspaper clipping, envelope re women soldiers, Old Records Division reference file, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereinafter cited as RG 94, NA).
6. "Served by her Lover's Side," *The Evening Star* (Washington, DC), July 7, 1896.
7. Documents numbered 158003, Records and Pension Office file 184934, RG 94, NA.
8. Compiled military service record (CMSR) of John Williams, Seventeenth Missouri Infantry, RG 94, NA.
9. CMSR for Mrs. S.M. Blaylock, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Infantry, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, NA.
10. Carded medical records for Charles Freeman, 52d Ohio Infantry, Mexican and Civil Wars, RG 94, NA.
11. CMSR for Franklin Thompson, Second Michigan Infantry; and Enlisted Branch file 3132 C 1884, both in RG 94, NA.
12. CMSR for Albert D.J. Cashier, Ninety-fifth Illinois Infantry, RG 94, NA; and pension application case file C 2573248, Records of the Veterans Administration, RG 15, NA.
13. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (1951), pp. 337, 339.
14. Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Bonnet Brigades* (1966), p. 84.
15. In the last ten years, articles about Civil War women soldiers have appeared in such diverse publications as *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, *Southern Studies*, and *The Civil War Book Exchange and Collector*. For a discussion of a Revolutionary War woman soldier, see Julia Ward Stickley, "The Records of Deborah Sampson Gannett, Woman Soldier of the Revolution," *Prologue* 4 (1972): 233-241.
16. George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War* (1952), pp. 12-13; Wendy A. King, *Clad in Uniform: Women Soldiers of the Civil War* (1992), pp. 18, 20; and Loreta Janeta Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle* (1876), p. 58.
17. Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, p. 80.



18. Philip Henry Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs* (1904), 1: 254–255.
19. Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Clara Barton, Professional Angel* (1987), p. 99.
20. U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1889), series 1, Vol. 27, part 1, p. 378.
21. Stewart Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Civil War* (1988), p. 14.
22. Document file record card 1502399, RG 94, NA; and “Women Soldiering as Men.”
23. John L. Ransom, *Andersonville Diary* (1881), pp. 20–21.
24. Sifakis, *Who Was Who*, p. 86.
25. S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (1865), pp. 20–21.

Battle of Antietam

The Battle of Antietam, also called the Battle of Sharpsburg, particularly in the Southern United States, took place during the American Civil War on September 17, 1862, between Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia and Union Major General George B. McClellan’s Army of the Potomac near Sharpsburg, Maryland, and Antietam Creek. Part of the Maryland Campaign, it was the first field army–level engagement in the Eastern Theater of the American Civil War to take place on Union soil. It remains the bloodiest day in American history, with a tally of 22,727 dead, wounded, or missing on both sides. Although the Union Army suffered heavier casualties than the Confederates, the battle was a major turning point in the Union’s favor.

After pursuing Confederate General Robert E. Lee into Maryland, Major General George B. McClellan of the Union Army launched attacks against Lee’s army who were in defensive positions behind Antietam Creek. At dawn on September 17, Major General Joseph Hooker’s corps mounted a powerful assault on Lee’s left flank. Attacks and counterattacks swept across Miller’s Cornfield, and fighting swirled around the Dunker Church. Union assaults against the Sunken Road eventually pierced the Confederate center, but the Federal advantage was not followed up. In the afternoon, Union Major General Ambrose Burnside’s corps entered the action, capturing a stone bridge over Antietam Creek and advancing against the Confederate right. At a crucial moment, Confederate Major General A. P. Hill’s division arrived from Harpers Ferry and launched a surprise counterattack, driving back Burnside and ending the battle. Although outnumbered two-to-one, Lee committed his entire force, while McClellan sent in less than three-quarters of his army, enabling Lee to fight the Federals to a standstill. During the night, both armies consolidated their lines. In spite of crippling casualties, Lee continued to skirmish with McClellan throughout September 18, while removing his battered army south of the Potomac River.

McClellan successfully turned Lee’s invasion back, making the battle a strategic Union victory. From a tactical standpoint, the battle was somewhat inconclusive; the Union Army successfully repelled the Confederate invasion but suffered heavier casualties and failed to defeat Lee’s army outright. President Abraham Lincoln, unhappy with McClellan’s general pattern of overcaution

and his failure to pursue the retreating Lee, relieved McClellan of command in November. Nevertheless, the strategic accomplishment was a significant turning point in the war in favor of the Union due in large part to its political ramifications: the battle’s result gave Lincoln the political confidence to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. This effectively discouraged the British and French governments from recognizing the Confederacy, as neither power wished to give the appearance of supporting slavery.

Background

Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia—about 55,000 men—entered the state of Maryland on September 3, following their victory at Second Bull Run on August 30. Emboldened by success, the Confederate leadership intended to take the war into enemy territory. Lee’s invasion of Maryland was intended to run simultaneously with an invasion of Kentucky by the armies of Braxton Bragg and Edmund Kirby Smith. It was also necessary for logistical reasons, as northern Virginia’s farms had been stripped bare of food. Based on events such as the Baltimore riots in the spring of 1861 and the fact that President Lincoln had to pass through the city in disguise en route to his inauguration, Confederate leaders assumed that Maryland would welcome the Confederate forces warmly. They sang the tune “Maryland, My Maryland!” as they marched, but by the fall of 1862 pro-Union sentiment was winning out, especially in the western parts of the state. Civilians generally hid inside their houses as Lee’s army passed through their towns, or watched in cold silence, while the Army of the Potomac was cheered and encouraged. Some Confederate politicians, including President Jefferson Davis, believed that the prospect of foreign recognition would increase if the Confederacy won a military victory on Union soil; such a victory might gain recognition and financial support from the United Kingdom and France, although there is no evidence that Lee thought the Confederacy should base its military plans on this possibility.

While McClellan’s 87,000-man Army of the Potomac was moving to intercept Lee, two Union soldiers (Cpl. Barton W. Mitchell and First Sergeant John M. Bloss[16][17] of the 27th Indiana Volunteer Infantry) discovered a mislaid copy of Lee’s detailed battle plans—Special Order 191—wrapped around three cigars. The order indicated that Lee had divided his army and dispersed portions geographically (to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and Hagerstown, Maryland), thus making each subject to isolation and defeat if

McClellan could move quickly enough. McClellan waited about 18 hours before deciding to take advantage of this intelligence and reposition his forces, thus squandering an opportunity to defeat Lee decisively.

There were two significant engagements in the Maryland campaign prior to the major battle of Antietam: Major General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's capture of Harpers Ferry and McClellan's assault through the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Battle of South Mountain. The former was significant because a large portion of Lee's army was absent from the start of the battle of Antietam, attending to the surrender of the Union garrison; the latter because stout Confederate defenses at two passes through the mountains delayed McClellan's advance enough for Lee to concentrate the remainder of his army at Sharpsburg.

Opposing forces

UNION

Major General George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac, bolstered by units absorbed from John Pope's Army of Virginia, included six infantry corps. The I Corps and XII Corps were units from Pope's force, the II Corps, V Corps, and VI Corps had fought with McClellan and the Army of the Potomac in the Peninsula campaign, and the IX Corps was a newer addition to the Army of the Potomac. The latter corps had seen action in North Carolina and a portion of it had fought with Pope. The VI Corps contingent included a division from the IV Corps. Earlier in the campaign, McClellan had assigned twenty-four new regiments of inexperienced troops to his army to bolster the strength of depleted veteran units. Of these green troops, eighteen regiments, totaling about 15,000 to 16,000 men, accompanied McClellan's army for the march to Antietam. Several thousand more new recruits were added to existing units, so about a quarter of McClellan's army was inexperienced and poorly trained entering the battle. The II, IX, and XII Corps received more of these troops than the other corps.

The I Corps was commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker and contained three divisions. The II Corps was commanded by Major General Edwin Vose Sumner, and contained three divisions. As a whole, the veteran elements of the corps had a reputation as a good fighting unit. The V Corps was commanded by Major General Fitz John Porter. Originally only one division of the corps accompanied McClellan, but a second was later released from the defenses of Washington, D.C. to accompany the Army of the Potomac. A third division of the corps reached McClellan the day of the battle. The VI Corps consisted of two divisions and the IV Corps detachment and was commanded by Major General William B. Franklin. These three divisions were positioned about a four-hour march away from McClellan's main body at the beginning of the battle. The IX Corps contained four divisions and was nominally commanded by Major General Ambrose Burnside, but Burnside temporarily commanded a wing of McClellan's army and active command passed to Major General Jesse Reno until his death at the battle of South Mountain, and then to Brigadier General Jacob D. Cox. The XII Corps was McClellan's smallest corps and contained two divisions. It was commanded by Brigadier General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, who took command only two days before the battle. McClellan's army also contained a cavalry division commanded by Brigadier General Alfred Pleasonton. A 2023 study by the historian D. Scott Hartwig estimates that McClellan had 72,199 men available for combat on September 17, with roughly 14,000 more arriving as reinforcements. Hartwig places I Corps strength at 9,582; II Corps strength at 16,475; V Corps strength at 9,476 with another 7,000 in the third division; 11,862 men in the VI Corps proper with another 7,219 men in the IV Corps detachment; 12,241 in the IX Corps; 8,020 in the XII Corps; and 4,543 in the Cavalry Division. This force was supported by 293 cannons available for duty.

CONFEDERATE

General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was organized into two large infantry wings, commanded by Major Generals James Longstreet and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Longstreet's wing was numerically larger than Jackson's. This arrangement was due to Confederate law not allowing the creation of corps. Longstreet's wing contained five divisions, led by major generals Lafayette McLaws and Richard H. Anderson and brigadier generals David Rumph Jones, John G. Walker, and John Bell Hood. Jackson's wing contained four divisions, commanded by



Meeting Schedule

Our meeting schedule is every month between March through November meeting on the 3rd Thursday of the month except as noted. At 6:30 PM.

Location -

Currently -
Lincoln Twp
Public Library



7th corps Kepi patch

major generals Daniel Harvey (D.H.) Hill and Ambrose Powell (A.P.) Hill, and brigadier generals Alexander R. Lawton and John R. Jones. Lee also had a Cavalry Division commanded by Major General J. E. B. Stuart and a unit of reserve artillery led by Brigadier General William Nelson Pendleton. The assignment of units between the wings of Jackson and Longstreet was flexible; at Antietam the two men commanded sectors of the battlefield and divisions fought under the commander whose geographic area they were fighting in.

The Army of Northern Virginia held morale and leadership advantages over McClellan's army, but was poorly supplied, was operating in enemy territory away from its logistical lines, and was poorer armed. Ammunition supply was made more difficult due to units being armed with mixed types of weapons, and many Confederate soldiers were still armed with smooth-bore weapons of shorter range. Many of the cannons issued to the Confederate artillery were obsolete, while the Union had modern guns. The Confederates had about 246 cannon at Antietam, although the exact number of guns issued to some of the Confederate batteries is not known. Lee's army was weakened by disease, and the historian Joseph T. Glatthaar estimates that about one-third to one-half of Lee's army was absent at Antietam due to straggling. The Confederate strength at Antietam is difficult to determine; Hartwig states that a precise figure is indiscernible, but estimates a strength of about 37,600 men.

Battle

Morning phase Hooker and Hood attack

The battle opened at dawn (about 5:30 a.m.) on September 17 with an attack down the Hagerstown Turnpike by the Union I Corps under Joseph Hooker. Hooker's objective was the plateau on which sat the Dunker Church, a modest whitewashed building belonging to a congregation of German Baptist Brethren. Hooker had approximately 8,600 men, little more than the 7,700 defenders under Stonewall Jackson, and this slight disparity was more than offset by the Confederates' strong defensive positions. Abner Doubleday's division moved on Hooker's right, James Ricketts's moved on the left into the East Woods, and George Meade's Pennsylvania Reserves division deployed in the center and slightly to the rear. Jackson's defense consisted of the divisions under Alexander Lawton and John R. Jones in line from the West Woods, across the Turnpike, and along the southern end of Miller's Cornfield. Four brigades were held in reserve inside the West Woods.

As the first Union men emerged from the North Woods and into the Cornfield, an artillery duel erupted. Confederate fire was from the horse artillery batteries under Jeb Stuart to the west and four batteries under Colonel Stephen D. Lee on the high ground across the pike from the Dunker Church to the south. Union return fire was from nine batteries on the ridge behind the North Woods and twenty 20-pounder Parrott rifles, 2 miles (3 km) east of Antietam Creek. The conflagration caused heavy casualties on both sides and was described by Colonel Lee as "artillery Hell."

Seeing the glint of Confederate bayonets concealed in the Cornfield, Hooker halted his infantry and brought up four batteries of artillery, which fired shell and canister over the heads of the Federal infantry into the field. A battle began, with considerable melee action with rifle butts and bayonets due to short visibility in the corn. Officers rode about cursing and yelling orders no one could hear in the noise. Rifles became hot and fouled from too much firing; the air was filled with a hail of bullets and shells.

Meade's 1st Brigade of Pennsylvanians, under Brigadier General Truman Seymour, began advancing through the East Woods and exchanged fire with Colonel James Walker's brigade of Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina troops. As Walker's men forced Seymour's back, aided by Lee's artillery fire, Ricketts's division entered the Cornfield, also to be torn up by artillery. Brigadier General Abram Duryée's brigade marched directly into volleys from Colonel Marcellus Douglass's Georgia brigade. Enduring heavy fire from a range of 250 yards (230 m) and gaining no advantage because of a lack of reinforcements, Duryée ordered a withdrawal.

On the attack by the Louisiana Tigers at the Cornfield: "... the most deadly fire of the war. Rifles are shot to pieces in the hands of the soldiers, canteens and haversacks are riddled with bullets, the dead and wounded go down in scores."

The reinforcements that Duryée had expected—brigades under Brigadier General George L. Hartsuff and Colonel William A. Christian—had difficulties reaching the scene. Hartsuff was wounded by a shell, and Christian dismounted and fled to the rear in terror. When the men were rallied and advanced into the Cornfield, they met the same artillery and infantry fire as their predecessors. As the superior Union numbers began to tell, the Louisiana "Tiger" Brigade under Harry Hays entered the fray and forced the Union men back to the East Woods. The casualties received by the 12th Massachusetts Infantry, 67%, were the highest of any unit that day. The Tigers were beaten back eventually when the Federals deployed an artillery battery in the Cornfield. Point-blank fire slaughtered the Tigers, who lost 323 of their 500 men.

While the Cornfield remained a bloody stalemate, Federal advances a few hundred yards to the west were more successful. Brigadier General John Gibbon's 4th Brigade of Doubleday's division (recently named the Iron Brigade) began an advance. They were halted by a charge of 1,150 men from Starke's brigade, leveling heavy fire from 30 yards (30 m) away. The Confederate brigade withdrew after being exposed to fierce return fire from the Iron Brigade, and Starke was mortally wounded. The Union advance on the Dunker Church resumed and cut a large gap in Jackson's defensive line, which teetered near collapse. Although the cost was steep, Hooker's corps was making steady progress.

Confederate reinforcements arrived just after 7 a.m. The divisions under McLaws and Richard H. Anderson arrived following a night march from Harpers Ferry. Around 7:15, General Lee moved George T. Anderson's Georgia brigade from

the right flank of the army to aid Jackson. At 7 a.m., Hood's division of 2,300 men advanced through the West Woods and pushed the Union troops back through the Cornfield again. They were aided by three brigades of D.H. Hill's division arriving from the Mumma Farm, southeast of the Cornfield, and by Jubal Early's brigade, pushing through the West Woods from the Nicodemus Farm, where they had been supporting Jeb Stuart's horse artillery. Some officers of the Iron Brigade rallied men around the artillery pieces of Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery, and Gibbon himself saw to it that his previous unit did not lose a single caisson. Hood's men bore the brunt of the fighting, however, and paid a heavy price—60% casualties—but they were able to prevent the defensive line from crumbling and held off the I Corps. When asked by a fellow officer where his division was, Hood replied, "Dead on the field."

Mansfield and Sedgwick

Hooker's men had also paid heavily but without achieving their objectives. After two hours and 2,500 casualties, they were back where they started. The Cornfield, an area about 250 yards (230 m) deep and 400 yards (400 m) wide, was a scene of indescribable destruction. It was estimated that the Cornfield changed hands no fewer than 15 times in the course of the morning.[66] Maj. Rufus Dawes, who assumed command of Iron Brigade's 6th Wisconsin Regiment during the battle, later compared the fighting around the Hagerstown Turnpike with the stone wall at Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania's "Bloody Angle", and the slaughter pen of Cold Harbor, insisting that "the Antietam Turnpike surpassed them all in manifest evidence of slaughter." Hooker was reinforced by the 7,200 infantrymen of Mansfield's XII Corps, which had been held in a loosely defined reserve role.

Half of Mansfield's men were raw recruits, and Mansfield was also inexperienced, having taken command only two days before. Although he was a veteran of 40 years' service, he had never led large numbers of soldiers in combat. Concerned that his men would bolt under fire, he marched them in a formation that was known as "column of companies, closed in mass," a bunched-up formation in which a regiment was arrayed ten ranks deep instead of the normal two. As his men entered the East Woods, they presented an excellent artillery target, "almost as good a target as a barn." Mansfield himself was shot in the chest and died the next day. Alpheus Williams assumed temporary command of the XII Corps.

The new recruits of Mansfield's 1st Division made no progress against Hood's line, which was reinforced by brigades of D. H. Hill's division under Colquitt and McRae. The 2nd Division of the XII Corps, under George Sears Greene, however, broke through McRae's men, who fled under the mistaken belief that they were about to be trapped by a flanking attack. This breach of the line forced Hood and his men, outnumbered, to regroup in the West Woods, where they had started the day.[58] Greene was able to reach the vicinity of Dunker Church, and drove off Stephen Lee's batteries.

Hooker attempted to coordinate the assault, but a Confederate sharpshooter spotted the general and his white horse and shot Hooker through the foot. Command of his I Corps was assigned to Meade by Hooker. Ricketts had seniority over Meade, but McClellan backed Hooker's decision to place Meade in command of the corps. But with Hooker removed from the field, there was no general left with the authority to coordinate the remaining troops on the field.

In an effort to turn the Confederate left flank and relieve the pressure on Mansfield's men, Sumner's II Corps was ordered at 7:20 a.m. to send two divisions into battle. Sedgwick's division of 5,400 men was the first to ford the Antietam, and they entered the East Woods with the intention of turning left and forcing the Confederates south into the assault of Ambrose Burnside's IX Corps. But the plan went awry. They became separated from William H. French's division, and at 9 a.m. Sumner, who was accompanying the division, launched the attack with an unusual battle formation—the three brigades in three long lines, men side-by-side, with only 50 to 70 yards (60 m) separating the lines. They were assaulted first by Confederate artillery and then from three sides by the divisions of Early, Walker, and McLaws, and in less than half an hour Sedgwick's men were forced to retreat in great disorder to their starting point with over 2,200 casualties, including Sedgwick himself, who was taken out of action for several months by a wound. Sumner has been condemned by most historians for his "reckless" attack, his lack of coordination with the I and XII Corps headquarters, losing control of French's division when he accompanied Sedgwick's, failing to perform adequate reconnaissance prior to launching his attack, and selecting the unusual battle formation that was so effectively flanked by the Confederate counterattack. Historian M. V. Armstrong's recent scholarship, however, has determined that Sumner did perform appropriate reconnaissance and his decision to attack where he did was justified by the information available to him.

At around 9:45 a.m., Williams was tasked with reinforcing Sumner, and he sent two XII Corps regiments towards the Hagerstown Turnpike. The two regiments were confronted by the division of John G. Walker, newly arrived from the Confederate right. Walker's men repulsed the two Union regiments, and one of the Confederate brigades, commanded by Colonel Van H. Manning attacked Greene's position near the Dunker Church around 10 a.m. After repulsing Manning's brigade, Greene's soldiers counterattacked into the West Woods. The fighting died down around the Dunker Church, and shifted towards Lee's center. The morning phase ended with casualties on both sides of almost 13,000, including two Union corps commanders.

Midday phase Opening assaults on the Sunken Road

By midday, the action had shifted to the center of the Confederate line. Sumner had accompanied the morning attack of Sedgwick's division, but another of his divisions, under French, lost contact with Sumner and Sedgwick and inexplicably headed south. Eager for an opportunity to see combat, French found skirmishers in his path and ordered his men forward. By this time, Sumner's aide (and son) located French, described the

terrible fighting in the West Woods and relayed an order for him to divert Confederate attention by attacking their center.

French confronted D.H. Hill's division. Hill commanded about 2,500 men, less than half the number under French, and three of his five brigades had been torn up during the morning combat. This sector of Longstreet's line was theoretically the weakest. But Hill's men were in a strong defensive position, atop a gradual ridge, in a sunken road worn down by years of wagon traffic, which formed a natural trench.

French launched a series of brigade-sized assaults against Hill's improvised breastworks at around 9:30 a.m.. The first brigade



to attack, mostly inexperienced troops commanded by Brigadier General Max Weber, was quickly cut down by heavy rifle fire; neither side deployed artillery at this point. The second attack, more raw recruits under Colonel Dwight Morris, was also subjected to heavy fire but managed to beat back a counterattack by the Alabama Brigade of Robert Rodes. The third, under Brigadier General Nathan Kimball, included three veteran regiments, but they also fell to fire from the sunken road. French's division suffered 1,750 casualties (of his 5,700 men) in under an hour.

Reinforcements were arriving on both sides, and by 10:30 a.m. Robert E. Lee sent his final reserve division—some 3,400 men under Major General Richard H. Anderson—to bolster Hill's line and extend it to the right, preparing an attack that would envelop French's left flank. But at the same time, the 4,000 men of Major General Israel B. Richardson's division arrived on French's left. This was the last of Sumner's three divisions, which had been held up in the rear by McClellan as he organized his reserve forces.

Leading off the fourth attack of the day against the sunken road was the Irish Brigade of Brigadier General Thomas F. Meagher. As they advanced with emerald green flags snapping in the breeze, a regimental chaplain, Father William Corby, rode back and forth across the front of the formation shouting words of conditional absolution prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church for those who were about to die. The mostly Irish immigrants lost 540 men to heavy volleys before they were ordered to withdraw.

General Richardson personally dispatched the brigade of Brigadier General John C. Caldwell into battle around noon (after being told that Caldwell was in the rear, behind a haystack), and finally the tide turned. Anderson's Confederate division had been little help to the defenders after

Collapse of the Sunken Road

"We were shooting them like sheep in a pen. If a bullet missed the mark at first it was liable to strike the further bank, angle back, and take them secondarily."

Unknown sergeant 61st New York Infantry[90]

General Anderson was wounded early in the fighting. Other key leaders were lost as well, including George B. Anderson (no relation; Anderson's successor, Colonel Charles C. Tew of the 2nd North Carolina, was killed minutes after assuming command) and Colonel John B. Gordon of the 6th Alabama. The Confederate command structure was becoming disorganized.

Collapse of the Sunken Road

As Caldwell's brigade advanced around the right flank of the Confederates, Colonel Francis C. Barlow led the 61st and 64th New York forward. Barlow and Lieutenant Colonel Nelson Miles saw a weak point in the line and maneuvered their troops into a position that allowed them to pour enfilade fire into the Confederate line, turning it into a deadly trap. In attempting to wheel around to meet this threat, a command from Rodes was misunderstood by Lt. Colonel James N. Lightfoot, who had succeeded Gordon. Lightfoot ordered his men to about-face and march away, an order that all five regiments of the brigade thought applied to them as well. Confederate troops streamed toward Sharpsburg, their line lost. Most of George Anderson's brigade withdrew as well, caught up in the retreat of Richard Anderson's division.

Richardson's men were in hot pursuit when massed artillery hastily assembled by General Longstreet drove them back. A counterattack with 200 men led by D.H. Hill got around the Federal left flank near the sunken road, and although they were driven back by a fierce charge of the 5th New Hampshire, this stemmed the collapse of the center. Reluctantly, Richardson ordered his division to fall back to north of the ridge facing the sunken road. His division lost about 1,000 men. Colonel Barlow was severely wounded, and Richardson mortally wounded. Winfield S. Hancock assumed division command. Although Hancock would have an excellent future reputation as an aggressive division and corps commander, the unexpected change of command sapped the momentum of the Federal advance

The carnage from 9:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on the sunken road gave it the name Bloody Lane, leaving about 5,600 casualties (Union 3,000, Confederate 2,600) along the 800-yard (700 m) road. And yet, a great opportunity presented itself. If this broken sector of the Confederate line were exploited, Lee's army would be divided in half and pos-

sibly defeated. There were ample forces available to do so. There was a reserve of 3,500 cavalry and the 10,300 infantrymen of General Porter's V Corps, waiting near the middle bridge, a mile away. The VI Corps, under Major General William B. Franklin, had just arrived with 12,000 men. The Rebels, under Manning, had made a second assault on the high ground to the left (held by Greene) overlooking the road that temporarily around noon, but Smith's Division of VI Corps recaptured it. Franklin was ready to exploit this breakthrough, but Sumner, the senior corps commander, ordered him not to advance. Franklin appealed to McClellan, who left his headquarters in the rear to hear both arguments but backed Sumner's decision, ordering Franklin and Hancock to hold their positions. McClellan never lost this ground for the remainder of the battle and eventually had amassed 44 guns on it.

Later in the day, the commander of the other reserve unit near the center, the V Corps, Major General Fitz John Porter, heard recommendations from Major General George Sykes, commanding his 2nd Division, that another attack be made in the center, an idea that intrigued McClellan. However, Porter is said to have told McClellan, "Remember, General, I command the last reserve of the last Army of the Republic." McClellan demurred and another opportunity was lost.[98]

Afternoon phase Burnside's Bridge

The action moved to the southern end of the battlefield. McClellan's plan called for Major General Ambrose Burnside and the IX Corps to conduct a diversionary attack in support of Hooker's I Corps, hoping to draw Confederate attention away from the intended main attack in the north. However, Burnside was instructed to wait for explicit orders before launching his attack, and those orders did not reach him until 10 a.m. Burnside was largely passive during preparations for the battle. The IX Corps had a clumsy command structure - Burnside had earlier commanded one wing of the Union army, composed of the I and IX Corps. Despite the I Corps being detached from Burnside's control, he still acted as if he were a wing commander. Orders for the IX Corps went to Burnside, who then passed them on directly to Jacob Cox. Cox had assumed temporary command of the corps after the death of Reno at South Mountain.

Burnside had four divisions (12,500 troops) and 50 guns east of Antietam Creek. Facing him was a force that had been greatly depleted by Lee's movement of units to bolster the Confederate left flank. At dawn, the divisions of Brig. Gens. David R. Jones and John G. Walker stood in defense, but by 10 a.m. all of Walker's men and Colonel George T. Anderson's Georgia brigade had been removed. Jones had only about 3,000 men and 12 guns available to meet Burnside. Four thin brigades guarded the ridges near Sharpsburg, primarily a low plateau known as Cemetery Hill. The remaining 400 men—the 2nd and 20th Georgia regiments, under the command of Brigadier General Robert Toombs, with two artillery batteries—defended Rohrbach's Bridge, a three-span, 125-foot (38 m) stone structure that was the southernmost crossing of the Antietam. It would

"Go and look at [Burnside's Bridge], and tell me if you don't think Burnside and his corps might have executed a hop, skip, and jump and landed on the other side. One thing is certain, they might have waded it that day without getting their waist belts wet in any place."

Confederate staff officer Henry Kyd Douglas[105]

become known to history as Burnside's Bridge because of the notoriety of the coming battle. The bridge was a difficult objective. The main road leading to it was exposed to enemy fire, but a farm lane allowed a more protected approach to around 250 yards (230 m) from the bridge. The bridge was dominated by a steep bluff on the west bank, and trees and an old quarry provided cover for defenders. The Confederates



also strengthened their position with breastworks made from logs and fence rails.

Historians question why Burnside spent so much time at the bridge on Antietam Creek when the creek could have been forded "at a variety of places out of enemy range". The commanding terrain across the sometimes shallow creek made crossing the water a comparatively easy part of a difficult problem. Burnside concentrated his plan instead on storming the bridge while simultaneously crossing a ford McClellan's engineers had identified a half mile (1 km) downstream, but when Burnside's men reached it, they found the banks too high to negotiate. While Colonel George Crook's Ohio brigade prepared to attack the bridge with the support of Brigadier General Samuel Sturgis's division, the rest of the Kanawha Division and Brigadier General Isaac Rodman's division struggled through thick brush trying to locate Snavelly's Ford, 2 miles (3 km) downstream, intending to flank the Confederates.

Crook's assault on the bridge was led by skirmishers from the 11th Connecticut, who were ordered to clear the bridge for the Ohioans to cross and assault the bluff. After receiving punishing fire for 15 minutes, the Connecticut men withdrew with 139 casualties, one-third of their strength, includ-

ing their commander, Colonel Henry W. Kingsbury, who was fatally wounded. Crook's main assault went awry when his unfamiliarity with the terrain caused his men to reach the creek a quarter mile (400 m) upstream from the bridge, where they exchanged volleys with Confederate skirmishers for the next few hours.

While Rodman's division was out of touch, slogging toward Snavelly's Ford, Burnside and Cox directed a second assault at the bridge by one of Sturgis's brigades, led by the 2nd Maryland and 6th New Hampshire. They also fell prey to the Confederate sharpshooters and artillery, and their attack fell apart. By this time it was noon, and McClellan was losing patience. He sent a succession of couriers to motivate Burnside to move forward. He ordered one aide, "Tell him if it costs 10,000 men he must go now." He increased the pressure by sending his inspector general, Colonel Delos B. Sackett, to confront Burnside, who reacted indignantly: "McClellan appears to think I am not trying my best to carry this bridge; you are the third or fourth one who has been to me this morning with similar orders."

The third attempt to take the bridge was at 12:30 p.m. by Sturgis's other brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Edward Ferrero. It was led by the 51st New York and the 51st Pennsylvania, who, with adequate artillery support and a promise that a recently canceled whiskey ration would be restored if they were successful, charged downhill and took up positions on the east bank. Maneuvering a captured light howitzer into position, they fired double canister down the bridge and got within 25 yards (23 m) of the enemy. By 1 p.m., Confederate ammunition was running low, and word reached Toombs that Rodman's men were crossing Snavelly's Ford on their flank. He ordered a withdrawal. His Georgians had cost the Federals more than 500 casualties, giving up fewer than 160 themselves. And they had stalled Burnside's assault on the southern flank for more than three hours.

A. P. Hill arrives

Burnside's assault stalled again on its own. His officers had neglected to transport ammunition across the bridge, which was itself becoming a bottleneck for soldiers, artillery, and wagons. This represented another two-hour delay. General Lee used this time to bolster his right flank. He ordered up every available artillery unit, although he made no attempt to strengthen D.R. Jones's badly outnumbered force with infantry units from the left. Instead, he counted on the arrival of A.P. Hill's Light Division, currently embarked on an exhausting 17 mile (27 km) march from Harpers Ferry. By 2 p.m., Hill's men had reached Boteler's Ford, and Hill was able to confer with the relieved Lee at 2:30, who ordered him to bring up his men to the right of Jones.

The Federals were completely unaware that 3,000 new men would be facing them. Burnside's plan was to move around the weakened Confederate right flank, converge

on Sharpsburg, and cut Lee's army off from Boteler's Ford, their only escape route across the Potomac. At 3 p.m., Burnside left Sturgis's division in reserve on the west bank and moved west with over 8,000 troops (most of them fresh) and 22 guns for close support.

An initial assault led by the 79th New York "Cameron Highlanders" succeeded against Jones's outnumbered division, which was pushed back past Cemetery Hill and to within 200 yards (200 m) of Sharpsburg. Farther to the Union left, Rodman's division advanced toward Harpers Ferry Road. Its lead brigade, under Colonel Harrison Fairchild, containing several colorful Zouaves of the 9th New York, commanded by Colonel Rush Hawkins, came under heavy shellfire from a dozen enemy guns mounted on a ridge to their front, but they kept pushing forward. There was panic in the streets of Sharpsburg, clogged with retreating Confederates. Of the five brigades in Jones's division, only Toombs's brigade was still intact, but he had only 700 men.

A. P. Hill's division arrived at 3:30 p.m. Hill divided his column, with two brigades moving southeast to guard his flank and the other three, about 2,000 men, moving to the right of Toombs's brigade and preparing for a counterattack. At 3:40 p.m., Brigadier General Maxcy Gregg's brigade of South Carolinians attacked the 16th Connecticut on Rodman's left flank in the cornfield of farmer John Otto. The Connecticut men had been in service for only three weeks, and their line disintegrated with 185 casualties. The 4th Rhode Island came up on the right, but they had poor visibility amid the high stalks of corn, and they were disoriented because many of the Confederates were wearing Union uniforms captured at Harpers Ferry. They also broke and ran, leaving the 8th Connecticut far out in advance and isolated. They were enveloped and driven down the hills toward Antietam Creek. A counterattack by regiments from the Kanawha Division fell short.

The IX Corps had suffered casualties of about 20% but still possessed twice the number of Confederates confronting them. Unnerved by the collapse of his flank, Burnside ordered his men all the way back to the west bank of the Antietam, where he urgently requested more men and guns. McClellan was able to provide just one battery. He said, "I can do nothing more. I have no infantry." In fact, however, McClellan had two fresh corps in reserve, Porter's V and Franklin's VI, but he was too cautious, concerned he was greatly outnumbered and that a massive counterstrike by Lee was imminent. Burnside's men spent the rest of the day guarding the bridge they had suffered so much to capture

Aftermath Casualties

The battle was over by 5:30 p.m. On the morning of September 18, Lee's army prepared to defend against a Federal assault that never came. After an improvised truce for both sides to recover and exchange their wounded, Lee's forces began withdrawing across the Potomac that evening to return to Virginia. Losses from the battle were heavy on both sides. The Union had 12,410 casualties with 2,108 dead. Confederate casualties were 10,316 with 1,547 dead. This represented 25% of the Federal force and 31% of the Confederates. Overall, both sides lost a combined total of 22,727 casualties in a single day, almost the same amount as the number of losses that had shocked the nation at the 2-day Battle of Shiloh

five months earlier.

Several generals died as a result of the battle, including major generals Joseph K. Mansfield and Israel B. Richardson and Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman on the Union side, and brigadier generals Lawrence O. Branch and William E. Starke on the Confederate side. Confederate Brigadier General George B. Anderson was shot in the ankle during the defense of the Bloody Lane. He survived the battle but died later in October after an amputation. Six generals on each side were wounded. All were brigadiers except Union Major General Hooker and Confederate Major General Richard H. Anderson

Antietam saw the most casualties for a single-day battle during the war, and has been described as the bloodiest day in all of American history. The battle ranks in the top ten in terms of total casualties in American Civil War battles. One source has the battle ranked fifth, falling behind Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Chancellorsville, and Spotsylvania Court House. Another source ranks Antietam eighth with the additional battles of the Wilderness, Shiloh, and Stones River ranked higher. Among those assisting the undersupplied army surgeons during (and after) the battle was Clara Barton, who brought a wagonload of medical supplies to the battlefield. She later founded the American Red Cross disaster relief organization.

Reactions and significance

President Lincoln was disappointed in McClellan's performance. He believed that McClellan's overly cautious and poorly coordinated actions in the field had forced the battle to a draw rather than a crippling Confederate defeat. The president was even more astonished that from September 17 to October 26, despite repeated entreaties from the War Department and the president himself, McClellan declined to pursue Lee across the Potomac, citing shortages of equipment and the fear of overextending his forces. General-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck wrote in his official report, "The long inactivity of so large an army in the face of a defeated foe, and during the most favorable season for rapid movements and a vigorous campaign, was a matter of great disappointment and regret." [133] Lincoln relieved McClellan of his command of the Army of the Potomac on November 5, effectively ending the general's military career. He was replaced on November 9 by General Burnside.

Casualties were comparable on both sides, although Lee lost a higher percentage of his army. Lee withdrew from the battlefield first, the technical definition of the tactical loser in a Civil War battle. However, in a strategic sense, despite being a tactical draw, Antietam is considered a turning point of the war and a victory for the Union because it ended Lee's strategic campaign (his first invasion of Union territory). American historian James M. McPherson summed up the importance of the Battle of Antietam in his book, Crossroads of Freedom:

No other campaign and battle in the war had such momentous, multiple consequences as Antietam. In July 1863 the dual Union triumphs at Gettysburg and Vicksburg struck another blow that blunted a renewed Confederate offensive in the East and cut off the western third of the Confederacy from the rest. In September 1864 Sherman's capture of Atlanta electrified the North and set the stage for the final drive to Union victory. These also were pivotal moments. But they would never have happened if the triple Confederate offensives in Mississippi, Kentucky, and most of all Maryland had not been defeated in the fall of 1862. The results of Antietam also allowed President Lincoln to issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, which gave Confederate states until January 1, 1863, to end their rebellion or else lose their slaves. Although Lincoln had intended to do so earlier, Secretary of State William H. Seward, at a cabinet meeting, advised him to wait until the Union won a significant victory so as to avoid the perception that it was issued out of desperation.

The Union victory and Lincoln's proclamation played a considerable role in dissuading the governments of France and Britain from recognizing the Confederacy; some suspected they were planning to do so in the aftermath of another Union defeat. When emancipation was linked to the progress of the war, neither government had the political will to oppose the United States, since it linked support of the Confederacy to support for slavery. Both countries had already abolished slavery, and neither the French public nor the British would have tolerated their respective governments militarily supporting a foreign state actively fighting to preserve slavery.



The SVR roots date back to 1881 with the "Cadet Corps" of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) – the largest Union Veterans organization which formed in 1866 after the Civil War. The members of the GAR encouraged the formation of their sons as the SUVCW in 1881. These units eventually became known as the Sons of Veterans Reserve, when the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War moved toward a more patriotic and educational organization in design.

Many of the Sons of Union Veterans Camps (local organizations) formed reserve military units which volunteered their services during the Spanish – American War, World War I, and with the National Guard. Just prior to World War I, over 5,000 men wore the blue uniform of the SVR. As late as the 1930's, several states regarded their local SVR units as a military training component. Since World War II, the SVR has evolved into a ceremonial and commemorative organization. In 1962, the National Military Department was created by the SUVCW and consolidated the SVR units under national regulations and command. Since 1962, there have been five SUVCW Brothers that have held the SVR rank of Brigadier General and have had the honor to serve as the Commanding Officer of the SVR.

Camp Training Aids

As located on the Department of Michigan web site. It is recommended that Camp members visit these URLs and familiarize themselves with the information contained within these documents.

Handbook of Instruction for the Department Patriotic Instructor
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/Department%20PI%20Handbook.pdf>

Handbook of Instruction for the Camp Patriotic Instructor
Missing link

Handbook of Instruction for the Civil War Memorials Officer
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/Michigan%20CWM%20Handbook.pdf>

Department Membership Initiative
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/DeptMemInitiative.pdf>

Department of Michigan Member Recruitment & Retention Report
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/Dept%20of%20Michigan%20Member%20Recruitment%20&%20Retention.pdf>

National Chaplain's Handbook
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/Dept%20of%20Michigan%20Member%20Recruitment%20&%20Retention.pdf>

Recommended Education & Additional Department Officer Duties
<https://www.suvcwmi.org/hq/Department%20Orders/Series%202017-18/Recommended%20Ed%20&%20Add%20Dept%20Officer%20Duties.pdf>



Donations to **SUVCW**

Can you write off donations to a 501 C 3?

Contributions to civic leagues or other section 501(c)(3) organizations generally are deductible as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes. They may be deductible as trade or business expenses, if ordinary and necessary in the conduct of the taxpayer's business.

Department of Michigan Officers

Commander -	Steven S Martin, PCC
Senior VC -	David Kimble, PCC
Junior VC -	Todd Cordill,
Members of the Council -	Robert R. Payne, PDC Nathan L. Smith, PDC David Smith PDC
Secretary -	Dick Denney,CC
Treasurer -	Bruce S.A. Gosling
Chief of Staff	James B. Pahl, PCinC
Counselor -	James B. Pahl, PCinC
Chaplain -	Rev. Charles Buckhahn, PCC
Patriotic Instructor -	Terry McKinch PDC
Color Bearer -	Edgar J. Dowd, PCC
Signals Officer -	Robert R. Payne, PDC
Editor, "Michigan's Messenger" -	David Smith, PDC
Historian -	Gary L. Gibson, PDC
Guide -	Leonard Sheaffer CC
Guard -	Lloyd Lamphere Sr PCC
Graves Registration Officer-	Charles Worley PDC
GAR Records Officer-	Gary L. Gibson, PDC
Civil War Memorials Officer-	Leonard Sheaffer CC
Eagle Scout Coordinator -	Lloyd Lamphere Sr PCC
Camp-At-Large Coordinator -	L. Dean Lamphere, Jr., PDC
Camp Organizer	David Smith, Pdc
Military Affairs Officer -	Edgar J. Dowd, PCC
Aide de Camp	L. Dean Lamphere, Jr., PDC
Ceremonies and Rituals Officer	L. Dean Lamphere, Jr., PDC

The purpose of this newsletter is to inform the members of **Frederick H. Hackeman Camp 85** of activities and events related to the mission of the SUVCW and its interests.

If you wish to place a civil war article or SUVCW item please submit to the Editor at sarwilliamssa@gmail.com

The Editor reserves the right to censor and/or edit all material submitted for publication to the Camp Communicator newsletter without notice to the submitter.

Camp Website

Be sure and visit our Camp Website at <http://www.suvewmi.org/camps/camp85.php>.

Sutler Links

Link to list of vendors for any items to fill out your uniform and re-enactor accessories.

<http://www.fighting69th.org/sutler.html>

<http://www.ccsutlery.com/>

<http://www.crescentcitysutler.com/index.html>

<http://www.regtdm.com/>

<http://www.cjdaley.com/research.htm>

<http://www.fcsutler.com/>

<https://www.militaryuniformsupply.com/civil-war-reenactment-clothing-gear>

MICHIGAN'S MESSENGER

is a quarterly publication of and for the membership of the Department of Michigan, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.

Ancestor Biographies Needed

Whatever you may have on your ancestor's life story submit for inclusion of future issues. It can be short or long as it takes to tell us about your ancestor's life, i.e., what he did before the war, where he served, and if he survived, what he did after the war - farmer, merchant, politician, etc. And if your family history has a photograph submit that, too.

National Officers

Commander-in-Chief Peter J. Hritsko, Jr., PDC CinC@suvew.org
Senior Vice CinC Kevin Martin, PDC SVCinC@suvew.org
Junior Vice CinC Kevin P. Tucker PDC JVCinC@suvew.org
National Secretary Daniel Murray, PDC secretary@suvew.org
National Treasurer D. Michael Beard, PDC treasurer@suvew.org
National Quartermaster Robert Welch, PDC qm@suvew.org

Council of Administration

Council of Admin (24) Joseph S. Hall, Jr., PDC CofA4@suvew.org
Council of Admin (24) Shane Milburn, PDC CofA2@suvew.org
Council of Admin (26) Rodrick Fraser Jr CofA6@suvew.org
Council of Admin (25) Robert Payne, PDC CofA3@suvew.org
Council of Admin (25) Chris P. Workman, PDC CofA5@suvew.org
Council of Admin (Outgoing CinC) Bruce D. Frail PCinC CofA1@suvew.org

Non-voting

Banner Editor James B. Pahl, PCinC banner@suvew.org
National Signals Officer Tim McCoy signalsofficer@suvew.org

Upcoming Events

National

Stay tuned for information about the 2025 National Encampment being hosted by TBA

Department

Nothing listed as yet

Camp

- **September 19, 2024** Camp meeting
- **October 17, 2024** Camp meeting **Officer nominations**
- **November 21, 2024** Camp meeting **Officer Elections/Installations**

SVR Dates to Note

September 14 - [Time to be confirmed] Two part ceremony - A) Placement of NSDU grave marker at Col. Stocktons' grave - GAR Grave service, firing salute and playing of taps; B) at the Stockton Center (Col. Stockton's home) no firing, placement of tributes and providing greetings. Luncheon will be provided following the ceremonies.

21 September 2024: Participation with the Daughters of the Union at a plaque laying ceremony at Glenwood Cemetery and the Stockton House with lunch provided following the service. I need and NCO or Officer other than myself and Lt. Payne to lead this service. Please let me know if you can support this detail.

September 30 - Make your attendance decision on Bentonville 160!

October 5 - [Time to be confirmed] Headstone dedication in Allegan, Michigan with the Brothers of Camp No. 20.

October 17 - [Time and location to be confirmed] Received request from Tom Schmidt from the Dept. of Indiana for any Brothers who are willing and able to participate in a headstone dedication looking for rifles to fill out the honor guard detail. If you can help let me know so we can get you details to assist Tom in Indiana. Tom has fallen in with us many times for dedication in the southern end of the state.

Gettysburg 14 - 18 November 2024, if you are interested in going and needing seat in van and lodging please confirm by July 1, 2024. \$150 deposit to be paid to Dean Lamphere mail to 1062 Four Seasons Blvd. Aurora, IL 60504

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AMERICAN CORNER

Americana Corner was created to remind Americans of our nation's wonderful past. We would like to assist other organizations that are focused on telling the incredible story of America from its founding era through its first century as a nation. To that end, we have established the Preserving America Grant Program.

Request for funding must be a **minimum** of \$5,000 but may not exceed \$10,000. Amount awarded may differ from amount requested.

Discussion of this opportunity at the August meeting was left with the suggestion that we collectively brainstorm ideas for some project to recognize Civil War veterans from Berrien and Cassopolis counties. To that ring your thoughts to the September meeting for further discussion and hopefully an option or two to go forward.

Fredrick H. Hackeman, CAMP 85, Dept. of Michigan, SUVCW
MINUTES OF MEETING DATE: __15 August 2024

MEMBERS PRESENT (X)

- (X) DARREN BETTINGER(internt news letr)
 - () THEADORE J. CHAMBERLAIN (Patr Instr)
 - (X) KEITH CHAPMAN (Camp Conl)
 - () STEVEN J. CHAPMAN (Member)
 - (X) JEFFERY L. CHUBB (Guide / Guard)
 - (X) REX DILLMAN (Comdr,Histrn,Colr Br)
 - () RODNEY S. KRIEGER (Member)
 - () GLEN PALEN (Member)
 - (X) CHARLES L. PFAUTH JR.(Camp Consular)
 - (X) CHARLES L. PFAUTH S(SrVCmdr,CpConl)
 - (X) RAY L. TRUHN (Sec., Tres.)
 - () MATHEW WILLIAMS (Member)
 - (X) STEVEN WILLIAMS.(Jr.V Cmdr, EmlNewLtr)
- Guests: __ (candidate)

Call to order - time: 6:32 PM by Commander Rex Dillman
Location: Lincoln Twp. Library, 2099 W. John Beers Rd., Stevensville, Mi. 49127

Patriotic Instructor - station color (Red) by Jeff Chubb
Senior Vice Commander - station color (White) by Chuck Pfauth
Junior Vice Commander - station color (Blue) by Steve Williams
Chaplin Prayer by Steve Williams
Treasury Report: \$ Received:
Spent: -0-Ending balance: \$ 633.49

Minutes:

1. Meeting opened in regular form including Prayer and Pledge.
2. Commander Rex advised members to check with their tax advisor about writing off personal Camp expenses such as gas, milage, food, hotel, when on Camp business.
3. Commander Rex told of picking up a Cvil War display with case from Old Berrien Springs Court House.
4. Lincoln Twp. Library where Camp 85 holds it's monthly meetings will close 15 Sep. 2024 for renovation. Estimated closure time is 12 weeks. Discussed new meeting locations. See Item 5
5. ***September 19th meeting will be held at Red Brick School House, 63626 Brick Church Rd., Cassopolis, MI. 6:30. Only small chairs at the school, Bring your own chair
***October meeting will be held the 13th at 9:30 AM when we (Camp 85) are set up at the Historic Newton Home/Museum Festival, 20689 Marcellus Hwy., Decatur, MI. 49045. Festival time is 12 noon to 5 PM.
6. Discussion on whether new Camp Officers must be installed by Department Official in person or if new officers can be considered installed by notifying Department Secretary of their name and position. Jr. Vice Commander Steve Williams will contact Department for information.
7. Darren Bettinger will take over duties of Graves Registration Officer from Rex Dillman as of 15 August 2024.
8. Steve Williams passed out a "take home and read" information sheet from the organization "American Corner" concerning their Preserving America Grant Program. Information includes data on the American Corner organization and their Grant Recipient, Grant Request and Grant Award criteria. To be discussed at a later date after everyone has had a chance to read through the material.
9. Keep Brothers Glen and Rodney in your thoughts and Prayers.
Camp 85 meeting closed - time: 7:53 PM.

*** SEE ITEM 5 FOR NEXT 2 MEETING TIMES AND LOCATONS ***

We are always looking for content suggestions, comments, Book Reports, Family Civil War stories, advice.

Send your contributions to the Editor at sarwilliamssa@gmail.com

Member Ancestors

Compiled from current and past member information.

Red Text indicates publication of a biography in the *Camp Communicator*

Current Members		Ancestor		Unit
Darren	Bettinger	Brewer	James M	Pvt, Co. A 78th OH Vol Inf
Theodore J	Chamberlain	Chamberlain	Jeremiah M	Pvt, Co B 176 th OH Vol Inf
Keith Alan	Chapman	Stillman	Samuel	Pvt, Co B 94 th IL Inf
Steven	Chapman	Stillman	Samuel	Pvt, Co B 94 th IL Inf
Jeffrey L	Chubb	Brownell	(William) Henry	Pvt., Merrill's Horse, MO
Rex	Dillman	Yaw	Benjamin Franklin	Pvt, Co G 26 th MI Inf Reg,
Glenn	Palen	Palen	Charles	Pvt Co E 128 th IN Inf
Rodney Samuel	Krieger	Jacob	Krieger	Pvt, Co I, 19th MI Inf
Charles L	Pfauth Jr	Shopbach	Henry	Pvt, Co F 52 nd PA Vol Inf
Charles L	Pfauth Sr	Shopbach	Henry	Pvt, Co F 52 nd PA Vol Inf
Ray	Truhn	Goodenough	Alonzo	Pvt, Corp(x2) Sgt. Co A 2 nd VT Inf
Steven Allen	Williams	Carter Mountjoy/Munjoy Wetmore Wetmore Wetmore McKee	Oren George W Abiather Joy/JA Gilbert Helon/Hellen Albert	Pvt, Co B 186 th NY Vol Inf Pvt, 11 th MI Vol Cavalry & 1 st MI Sharpshooters Pvt 66 th IL Inf Pvt 2 nd Reg NE Cavalry Pvt 13 th Reg IA Inf Pvt Co K 177 th Reg OH Inf
Matthew Carter	Williams	Carter	Oren	Pvt, Co B 186 th NY Vol Inf
Past Members		Ancestor		Unit
Roger C	Gorske	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Kenneth A	Gorske	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Dennis L	Gorske	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Michael	Gorske	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Irving	Hackeman	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Richard	Horton	Horton, Jr	William	
Virlin	Dillmam	Mason	Daniel W	
Daniel	Stice	Pegg	Henry Riley	Co E 17 IN
Amasa	Stice	Pegg	Henry Riley	Co E 17 IN
Richard	Gorske	Hackeman	Frederick H	Cpl, Co L 1 st IL Lt Artillery
Harold L	Cray	Barrett	George W	Pvt., Co F 54th Reg Ohio Inf

Camp Communicator

Sons of the Union Veterans of the Civil War

Frederick H. Hackeman CAMP 85

Happy Birthday to Brothers

Keith Chapman September 6

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