

The Civil War Letters of Adam Muenzenberger

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Adam Muenzenberger, who during thirteen months of Civil War service wrote these letters home, was born about 1831 in the state of Baden, Germany. As a boy he was brought by his parents to America. There the family settled among a group of German immigrants, in the town of Greenfield, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. Adam's father, Phillip Muenzenberger, a farmer, was a Catholic. Adam's mother, who died before the Civil War, was a Lutheran, and was buried near the Muenzenberger home in the graveyard of the Lutheran church on the Janesville Plank Road. Today this road is an extension of Milwaukee's Forest Home Avenue. Although pint-sized and mild mannered, father Phillip Muenzenberger did not lack courage, and after a few beers would invite the patrons of the Big Jug, a nearby tavern identified by a large pottery jug used as a trade sign at its front door, to "bring on two Irishmen. "As a boy in Germany, Adam had appeared bright, so that the parish priest grew interested in him and his education, and tutored him privately. Thus Adam learned to write correct, fluent, legible, articulate German. The letters that follow were written in German. He also learned good manners; and somewhere, sometime, the cobbler's trade.

On May 23, 1854, Adam married a neighbor, 20-year-old Barbara Anna Wuest, daughter of Nicholas and Anna Wuest, and by 1860 they were the parents of four children: Ernest, Henry, Mary and little Adam. Barbara's God-fearing parents had immigrated to America from Lorch, a small town in Hesse, located at the junction of the Wisper and Rhine rivers. Lorch today is a thousand -year -old town halfway up the steep

banks of the Rhine, with the ruins of a castle crowning the hill behind it. Here, in the days of the Nibelungenlied, the Burgundians had their strong hold, and from Lorch Siegfried set out on his celebrated Rhine journey. Nicholas Wuest, a prosperous master blacksmith, operated a smithy and owned vineyards. The Wuests were intensely religious, and, according to Barbara, had been scandalized by the free-thinking talk which had come with the French revolution and the Enlightenment into the Rhine country. Further, when the mistress of the local grand duke, so family legend tells, whimsically asked a spring sleigh ride of him, and he ordered the salt of the duchy strewn on the roads of the ducal palace, Nicholas publicly condemned such frivolous and wasteful behavior. As a result, on an April day in 1846 on which his two daughters

Mary was two years older than Barbara -- made their First Holy Communion in the 11th century church at Lorch, and were confirmed by the Prince Bishop of Mainz, a friend warned Nicholas Wuest that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. Leaving their considerable worldly goods behind them and taking only what money they had, that same day the family of four fled to France to make their way to Le Havre, there to embark for America on the famous steam sailor, the Caroline, Nicholas supported his growing family in America by plying his blacksmith's trade. He too died shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War.

When she was thirteen, Barbara Wuest, after the fashion of the day, learned housekeeping by taking service as a housemaid in Milwaukee, first with the family of Judge Emmons, and later with the family of Christian

Preusser, an early Milwaukee jeweler. The Emmons east side mansion was neighbor to the mansions of Arthur MacArthur, later Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor of Wisconsin, and Rufus King, early Milwaukee citizen extraordinary, publisher of the Milwaukee Sentinel, and later commander of the Iron Brigade. The Kings' boy, Charlie, and the MacArthurs' boy, Arthur, became firm friends of Barbara Wuest, and Barbara supplied them with cookies and other kitchen delicacies. Both boys later attended West Point and became major generals in the United States Army. From association with these Yankees, Barbara learned to speak impeccable English with a trace of New York accent. Today, General Arthur MacArthur is chiefly remembered as the father of General Douglas MacArthur.

Adam Muenzenberger supported his family by making and repairing shoes. The Bradley-Metcalf Company of Milwaukee jobbed the shoes of home cobblers, and periodically Adam slung a bundle of his wares over his shoulder and walked to Milwaukee and back, a round-trip of at least twenty miles.

Husband and wife, like their parents, were deeply religious, so that much of their life centered around the old Blessed Sacrament Church on the Janesville Plank Road. The small settlement of struggling German immigrant Catholics made great sacrifices to buy land, erect, furnish and maintain a simple fieldstone building, and to support a resident pastor. Eventually the congregation drifted away, and in the 1920's the church was torn down, so that only the graveyard now remains. But as an old lady,

Barbara still spoke with admiration of the brave woman who propped up a ladder and whitewashed the whole structure herself, including the tower. When the eminent German Jesuit writer, missionary, preacher, Father Francis Xavier Wenninger, preached a mission at the Blessed Sacrament Church, Adam purchased his two-volume "Lives of the Saints", and entertained the priest as his house guest. Barbara always declared firmly that Adam's sole reason for enlisting in the Union army was to claim a \$300 bounty, which he gave outright to help rescue the debt-ridden parish. This statement is in substantial accord with an analysis of financial benefits to enlistees, published in the-Milwaukee Sentinel during August 1862. Each enlistee was promised:

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. An advance bounty from the Federal Government. | \$25. 00 |
| 2. A Government bonus to a person (himself in this case) presenting a recruit | 4.00 |
| 3. A bounty from the local Central War Committee | 35. 00 |
| 4. One month's advance pay from the Federal Government | 13.00 |
| \$77.00 | |

Additionally, four other financial baits were dangled before him:

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 5. A second bounty from the Federal Government . . |\$ 100 00 |
| 6. A second bonus from the same source | 4.00 |
| 7. A bonus raised by private citizens | 25.00 |
| 8. Nine months pay (if the war was over by spring of 1863) | 117.00 |
| \$246.00 | |

All eight inducements together amounted to \$323, roughly the amount that Barbara claimed Adam gave to the church.

In the same issue and several times thereafter, the Milwaukee Sentinel informed its readers that the quota, of men needed from Milwaukee in answer to Governor Salomon's latest call was 2743. Of these the little Town of Greenfield was expected to produce 110 men. (3) Moreover, social ties among the German Greenfielders were close knit, and Adam was one of the acknowledged younger leaders and spokesmen. In 1859 a group of them organized the Greenfield Farmer's Society. The group held regular meetings, successfully conducted civic, as well as social affairs - Barbara remembered that the big early project of the Society was a public dinner to raise funds for the relief of survivors of the Lady Elgin sinking, long the worst disaster on the Great Lakes. During -1860-1862 Adam served as first -- that is, corresponding -- secretary of the Society. Among the group enlisting were some of his closest neighbors and friends.(4)

But we anticipate. The "Greenfielders," as they called themselves, were still talking about the storm that sank the Lady Elgin, when a greater storm broke over them. (5)

For many years the divided mind had threatened the unity of the nation. The first disunity had been parliamentary. And then South Carolina had fired on the flag. Fort Sumter surrendered on Sunday, April 14, 1861, and war was on.

Next day, President Lincoln called for 75, 000 three-months troops to crush the rebellion. The telegraph brought the proclamation to Milwaukee.

That evening a bipartisan citizens' war meeting was held to express support for the President. On the 16th Governor Randall called for three-months volunteers, and in six days six Wisconsin companies filled ranks. Meanwhile, to spear enlistment, the "Milwaukee Volunteer Relief Association" was organized to collect money to help support soldiers' families. Then came the usual flag presentations, ceremonies, speeches by stay-at-home patriots, more war meetings, and, later, the posting of casualty lists, and more recruiting. That summer, after the Union army was routed at Bull Run, North and South set down to the serious work of preparing for a long and costly war.

By January 1862 war to Milwaukeeans had "become a business, with two or more regiments constantly in camp and another two regiments taking their places when they left. The surrender of Fort Donelson on February 16th sent the city into jubilation. When, two months later, reports arrived from Shiloh, and Milwaukeeans learned that six days after leaving the city the 18th Wisconsin had suffered 190 casualties, war which had been a picnic turned business, turned tragedy.

During the following spring and early summer as the war dragged on with losses heavy and the South still unsubdued. Recruiting lagged, and the loyal governors addressed a letter to Lincoln, urging more prompt and vigorous measures. On July 1st Lincoln responded by calling for 300, 000 men. Wisconsin's share was five regiments of infantry. Again pipes shrilled, drums thrashed, immense crowds cheered. Meanwhile, on August 5., 1862, the War Department notified Governor Salomon that the

call of 300, 000 men was not enough, but that an additional 300, 000, with 11, 904 as Wisconsin's share, would be drafted. In addition, a few weeks later Wisconsin was ordered to fill by enlistment 5, 904 vacancies in her regiments already in the field. Thus the State was required on short notice to raise 17, 808 men. The threat of the draft so stimulated enlistment that the quota was almost reached before drafting began. Large bounties offered to recruits by individuals and towns further encouraged enlistment. Although the draft was to commence on September 3rd, enrollment was not completed throughout the state until late in October, and names were not drawn in the state until November 10, and in Milwaukee until November 19th. (6)

Meanwhile other avenues for encouraging enlistment were explored. During the summer Lincoln authorized General Franz Sigel, a distinguished leader among Americans of German birth, to raise a division of twelve regiments of infantry from the German-speaking population of the United States. When Sigel wired asking Wisconsin's Governor Frederick Salomon to raise one of the regiments, Salomon entrusted the task of recruitment to Milwaukee banker, William H. Jacobs. (7)

Jacobs had little difficulty in completing the task. The greater part of the recruits came from Milwaukee county; the remainder from Washington, Wauzaukee and Dodge counties. The 26th Wisconsin volunteer infantry regiment early nicknamed the "Sigel regiment" (8) -- was mustered into service a thousand strong at Camp Sigel, Milwaukee, on September 17, 1862, with Jacobs as its colonel and commander.

Whether from motives of patriotism alone; or to secure the various bounties, bonuses, and promises of pay, and to give the money to the church; or to keep company and face with his friends and neighbors; or to avoid being caught -- and the chances were great -- in the impending draft, on August 12, 1862, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Adam Muenzenberger, enlisted and was mustered in the service of the United States as a private in the 26th Wisconsin. He was 32 years of age at the time, five feet, five inches in height, with blue eyes and brown hair. His complexion was light. He was married, the father of four children, and, by occupation, a shoemaker. (9)

The letters begin while Adam is at Camp Sigel, in Milwaukee.

Camp Sigel, (10) September 30th, 1862.

Precious Barbara:

I just found out from Leopold [Drewes] (11) that you would like to know when we expect to get our banner. (12) We will receive the flag next Thursday [Oct. 2]. If you would like to come it would give me the greatest pleasure to have you with me here, as I see you only as a guardian angel.

I found out that we leave next week.

Many regards from me: also kiss the children for me.

In hope that I will see you soon again I remain,

Your loving

Adam

Life at Camp Sigel during this two weeks' training period must have been pleasant. As August ended the Milwaukee Sentinel echoed a happy

event there. "The officers and members of Captain Austen's company desire to return their most sincere thanks for the daisies furnished them by the ladies of the Fifth Ward, and to assure them that they and their most 'excellent rations' will be held in grateful remembrance." (13)

On September 30, 1862, the day Adam wrote to Barbara, the 26th regiment received marching orders. The last week in Wisconsin then became a time for flag presentations, dress parades, and farewells. On Saturday, October 4, the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce presented a flag, and the regiment paraded in dress uniforms, to commemorate the event. Next day the soldiers' families arrived and were served "a genuine Sunday dinner." Again the regiment paraded, this time before an admiring audience of 5000 people.

Tuesday, October 7, opened with squalls, but around 10 A. M. as the 26th formed into line, the clouds broke and the sun shone. At 10:30 the regiment turned backs on the camp and marched through Milwaukee's streets to the Lake Shore depot. En route they were feted at the St. Charles Hotel on City Hall Square. A crowd "such as Milwaukee has seldom seen" - the judgment was Captain Winkler's -- lined the streets to watch the blue ranks pass, or followed the regiment to the station. The event was marked by "applause and enthusiasm. 11 Tears fell as wives and mothers rushed upon the marchers, pulled men out of the ranks, and shook hands with them or hugged and kissed them. Even the light-hearted wept openly. (14)

At 1:00 P.M. the 26th entrained and left Milwaukee. Stops on the "slow and tedious" trip east were made in Chicago, Cleveland, and Elmira, N. Y.

Throughout the weather remained delightful, with a bright sun shining by day, and a fair moon by night. On October 14, the regiment reached Washington in the middle of the night, and after eating, the men were quartered for a few hours sleep in the "Soldiers' Rest," a large barracks near the depot. By next afternoon the weather had changed for the worse, and the 26th marched through drizzle and mud to Alexandria, where it spent a cold night sleeping on the wet ground near Fort Corcoran, one of the defenses ringing Washington. Adam Muenzenberger, husband, father, dutiful son and neighbor, one-time cobbler, was now Adam Muenzenberger, volunteer soldier. (15)

Washington, Arlington Heights (16)

Dear Wife:

Duty bids me write you these few lines. Immediately after sending the first letter we received orders to march to Arlington Heights and to remain there until further orders. We are well and happy and do not know as yet when we march. We stay here for an indefinite time. We will be in Sigel's command as soon as he wants us. (17) Answer this as soon as you receive this letter. My address is

Adam Muenzenberger
26th Reg't
Wisconsin Volunteers
Washington D. C.

Remember me to all who inquire for me. Dear Barbara, kiss the children for me. I remain.

Your True

Adam

God keep you!

The Army of the Potomac, which the 26th Wisconsin had joined, had so far experienced more downs than ups. Organized to defend Washington,

Headquarters 26th Regiment Wisconsin
Volunteers, Colonel Jacobs, Co. C.
Fairfax Court House. Virginia,
October 14, 1862.

Beloved Barbara:

I find myself in good health on the soil of Virginia. I beg of you not to worry about me. We are living very well and the climate is tolerable. The days are quite warm but the nights are cool.

Our trip was enjoyable from the beginning to the end. At every station we were received with the greatest enthusiasm. We were detained two days on Arlington Heights. Then we were ordered to [General Sigel's](#) command and the Nineteenth Regiment had to make room for us. (19) Today, Wednesday October 15, General Steinwehr inspected us and then we were ordered to make ready for a review by General Sigel. (20) We were drawn up in line and then at last brave Sigel came. He paraded up and down and inspected us from head to foot. He admired the Germans from Wisconsin and said that it was only through the Germans that anything would be accomplished. He told the officers that only in the soldier's life was there a unity in two parts, namely, one that commands and one that obeys. "I demand from you officers that you expect no more from the soldiers than you know they can do and that you care for them and teach them. You soldiers, obey your superiors in order that brotherly love shall always prevail."

The land here looks desolate. All the houses that are not in ruins are unoccupied. Too bad for this cleared land that lies here. It looks as packed as the roads do at home. Everything is trodden down, all the fences are burned, even fruit trees have been chopped down and burned. There is no beef to be found here other than that which belongs to the army for slaughter. We have fresh beef twice a week. Adam is well and he's just the same as he was at home. (21) Everybody likes him because he is always satisfied. The whole regiment knew him. His mother needn't worry about him. He sends his regards to her and his sisters.

Dear wife, as happy as I would be to be in your midst, I am not sorry to be here. The soldier's life suits me well enough and I therefore urge you not to worry about me. And if the money which I send you does not reach, go to Christian Preusser. He told me you should come to him. (22)

Write to me soon. God willing we will meet again. Many regards to all our friends and acquaintances. My greetings to you and to the children.

Your Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Kiss the children for me. Write soon. the address is:

Adam Muenzenberger
Co. C. 26 Reg't Wisconsin Vol.
Sigel's Division
Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia.

By October 18th the weather had again become "delightful, with days sunshiny and warm, and nights cool and moist. The 26th was encamped in beautiful country. The deciduous trees still bearing their summer leaves were mixed with stands of evergreens. The men drilled six hours a day and bivouacked in their blankets on beds of hay. When the regiment moved to

Fairfax Court House, the men's knapsacks were carried in wagons which did not catch up until midnight. Then each soldier received his blanket and overcoat. Night dew was so heavy that by morning the blankets were thoroughly soaked. On the morning of the 18th, soldiers brushed clothes, blacked shoes, burnished guns in preparation for another review by General Sigel. After the usual maneuvers, Sigel addressed the regiment, telling them that he could not promise it an easy time, that they faced long, difficult marches and bloody battles, and that in the presence of the enemy they should forget personal safety and think only of striking him. (23)
Adam was happy

On October 23rd, after a third review by Sigel, the 26th, together with six other regiments and several batteries, was marched five miles or so, and ordered to deploy into battle line and with fixed bayonets to charge through a field covered with bushes and briars. The green regiment was unequal to the complicated maneuvers required of it, and reaped only ridicule. That day each man was issued forty cartridges.

On October 30th, the 26th moved its camp to a "magnificent" camp ground a half mile west of Fairfax Court House. A line of thick woods protected the camp from the north wind. That day Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, and his lovely daughter Kate, both on horseback, reviewed two of Sigel's divisions, and the 26th paraded. (24)

Fairfax Court House, October 30, 1862.

Precious Barbara:

I received your letter last Sunday and see that you are all well except that you burned your hand and that it pains you much. We are all very happy and wish very much to be remembered. We have camped here for fourteen days but yesterday we broke up and moved into tents on the south side of Fairfax. We are now assigned to [Carl Schurz's](#) division. (25) All the regiments under his command are busy today erecting their tents. We still have beautiful weather. They say that we will have our winter quarters in the place where we are now stationed. The drinking water here is wonderfully pure - all spring water. There is a great plenty of wood and as far as we have gone the district is not nearly as thickly settled as Wisconsin. The whole country hereabouts is covered with shrubbery and wood and no one can imagine how it looks. Therefore the poor war plan.

It is said that as far as the soldiers are concerned Carl Schurz is the best division commander as he takes the best care of them.

I heard that we will receive our pay within the next few days. As soon as we receive it I will wire you. But if it doesn't come go to Christian Preusser. He will attend to it as he promised me he would. We have been visited here several times by men from Milwaukee. M. Shepard came first, then Joseph Philipps who works for Dr. Silberg, (26) and several others who are traveling around electioneering. We were allowed to vote. I see that they are going to send a band of music to our regiment from Milwaukee.

Colonel Jacobs is the best man that would be found for his soldiers. (27) We have him to thank for everything good that happens here. If it weren't for him the captains would not treat us nearly so well. This is all the news I have to write you at this time.

Dear Barbara, please send me 25 or 30 cents for nine three cent post stamps in order that I can send you more letters. We cannot get them here. Here the price for them is already ten cents.

I have been put on scouting service. Please remember me to all our society members and acquaintances, especially Adam Muehl and family, and grandma, Aloys Roller and family, and mother-in-law, Herman Stiefvater and wife and family. Greetings to you and to the children, to your mother, sisters, and brothers, and acquaintances. (28)

Your Loving

Adam

Kiss the children for me. Answer soon. I just received your second letter and it pleased me very much to receive your handwriting again. I hear that we will be paid in the next few days.

The 26th did not remain long in enjoyment of its "magnificent" camp ground. At noon on Saturday, November 1, the regiment was ordered to be ready to take the road at 8:00 the next morning, with five days' rations and ample ammunition. The men were to march in fighting trim -- nothing but a change of underclothes, and an extra pair of shoes and a blanket in their knapsacks. Even the officers were deprived of the cooking utensils, and limited to a tin cup. An advance of the whole army seemed contemplated. (29)

The advance was unexpectedly delayed for a week. Meanwhile, on November 5th, Burnside replaced McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac. And then, long before daylight, on November 8th, fires smoked and sputtered as men cooked two days' rations. Meanwhile wagons were loaded with surplus baggage to be carried back to Fairfax Court House. That day the army and the 26th as part of it advanced about twelve miles over hilly terrain. When the 26th bivouacked that evening, it heard nearby cannonading, and next morning the men were so certain that they would engage the enemy during the day that at breakfast they jokingly bade one another farewell. Again, the day's march took them over some twelve miles of hilly country, and by 4:00 P. M. brought them near Thoroughfare Gap. (30)

All next day the 26th shifted positions until finally they reached a point about a half mile from the Gap. Meanwhile the distant rumble of artillery fire accompanied their march. At 4:00 P.M. the tired regiment had scarcely obeyed orders to sit down and rest under arms when bugles and drums suddenly summoned them to fall in again. But the alarm proved groundless, and they

bivouacked where they were. When a train whistle blew, the whole camp cheered wildly.

Actually the 26th regiment, the division, the corps, and the army itself were going nowhere for the moment, and moving to little purpose. Between major campaigns armies are likely to stir restlessly, like sleepers with disturbing dreams.

While the country was less desolate than Adam described it in his letter of October 14th, Captain Winkler saw the blighting hand of war on it: "The country around seems to be as richly supplied with all the wealth that farmers have, as if no army had ever been here before, but the troops robbed and pillaged yards, barns, and houses in a most disgraceful manner yesterday." "Our regiment," Captain Winkler noted with pride, ... was the most moderate and kept within some bounds of decency. Company B brought in nothing but a few sheep and a pig. (31)

That night the weather became "terribly cold" with wind rattling the tents, and freezing the ground hard.

Next morning at 7:00 the regiment resumed its march and, a little later, a day-long fall of snow began. After traversing the Gap the 26th marched some five miles over a rough, hilly road to New Baltimore, a collection of three houses and outbuildings, five miles from Warrenton. After a day at New Baltimore, the 26th retraced its steps through Thoroughfare Gap, returning in a rapid, three-hour march to Gainesville., where General Sigel had headquarters.

On Monday, the 10th, after the whole brigade lined the nearby road to receive General McClellan, the distinguished guest failed to put in an

Appearance. Rumor had it that General Burside had supplanted him. (32)

Gainsville, November 12, 1862. (33)

Dearest Barbara

Having no duties to perform today - I was on sentry duty yesterday while our company was on picket duty - I felt that I should write to you. Adam and I are well and happy and we hope that these lines may find you the same.

The day after my last letter we marched with the Hills of Bull Run on the one side and the fields on the other and occupied the main street of the town where two days before the enemy's pickets had been posted. They had been driven in by our cavalry under General Stahl. (34) We left our camp at eight o'clock in the morning and arrived in full equipment at one P. M. We were given immediate orders to set up our tents. One had barely finished with this when the younger soldiers of the regiment went out foraging and brought in pigs, chickens, ducks, turkeys and geese in large numbers. We roasted and cooked them.

We are staying at a place called New Baltimore. The other day thirty thousand men of General McClellans's command passed on with orders to march double time toward the enemy. A couple of days ago we were ordered to break camp and to march east towards Gainsville which is a railroad station from which we draw supplies. Ten days ago this town was still in the hands of the rebels. It lies between Centerville and Manassas Junction and was destroyed by them before their retreat. The rebels are in constant flight and are being followed by our companies, particularly by General Stahl's brigade. (35) We are still held in reserve. We have seen no rebels but here and there the wives and children who have been left behind stare at us - sometimes sadly, sometimes hatefully.

Occasionally we come across a farmer who says that he has rented his farm and would gladly go north if he could only secure his possession safely. These men are sent north immediately. No horse or cow is safe from the old regiment. The soldiers take everything along on the plea that they wish to pay the rebels for the treatment at the last battle of Bull Run.

We hear that our wives have received no assistance from the government and a lot of other idle talk. Please write and tell me how everything is at home. Whether Walsh paid the constable's expenses,

and what is happening. You write me that you have heard it prophesied that we can be home by spring. Let me know whether we can believe this or not. Please tell me who the prophet was and where he gets his prophecies and whether we can believe them or not. Please tell me what the teacup gives as truth. (36) I'd rather believe that than any other thing.

We haven't received any pay as yet and haven't heard when we will be paid. If you haven't sent me any post stamps as yet, send me some - but all new ones - and I will write you one of, even two letters every week. Stamps cannot be obtained here. Write me also whether you received the power of attorney and let me know how many letters Adam wrote to Christina and especially how that last trouble with Wallace turned out on account of that window peeking. Please greet all my acquaintances, relatives and friends, especially your mother, your sisters and brothers, my brother-in-law, sister and brother, my father and grandmother, my godfather and family, and Loehr and his family in Milwaukee. Many thousand greetings to you and your children.

Your faithful husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

We just received the news that we march tomorrow. Wither we don't know. Kiss the children for me. I hope for a speedy return. Answer soon.

Gainsville, November 16, 1862.

Precious Barbara, My Dear Wife:

As soon as I received your long expected letter, I felt the urge to sit down and answer it immediately. I don't know what to think of the fact that you didn't receive an answer for so long. Your letters arrived as we lay in our tents and you can't imagine how happy their arrival made me. News again from my dear ones! I had been very much depressed because I had heard that you were seriously ill. Fritz had received a letter from his parents in which they mentioned your illness. (38) Now as I hear your sweet voice again in your letter, I find peace again - but this only through prayer.

I do everything as I promised you - everything with which so long as we are together I could please you. I am very happy to hear that our children are so diligent in study and especially in penmanship, which as you know was always my greatest pleasure.

Since the 30th of October I have written you two letters besides this one. I take pleasure from that fact that the Walters and Hirsch (Francis Louis, his wife Amalia, his brother Carl August, and his wife Rosina) families were so helpful to you in your sickness. (39) I am indeed

very grateful to them. I thank your mother as well and all those who stood by you during your distress because it shows that I and my family still have good friends and brothers.

My clothing is still in good shape. I wash my blue shirts and my underwear every week in spite of a lack of women to do it. Only the soles of my boots are worn through. My shoes and the new grey shirts which I received from the government are like new.

We have received no money as yet nor do I know when we will receive any but as soon as we are paid I will write and send you some. Report has it that we will march again tomorrow or the day after. They say that we will go back to Fredericksburg, Maryland.

I was just invited to a sausage lunch by Jacob Michel, Louis Manz, and Nicholas Frederich. (40) We live as well here as we can. The food is good and the crackers taste - or rather must taste - good to us. We have fresh meat almost every day.

Don't give up hope, old lady, trust in the Lord. In the wish that these lines find you in the best of health as they leave me I salute you all heartily....

...I am sending you 39c for stamps. Now you can send me many letters. It must be nice to hear little Adam talk. (41) You can't imagine the pleasure I get from looking at your picture.

Centerville, November 19, 1862.

Precious Wife:

The day before yesterday, on our retreat from Gainsville, we arrived here in Centerville and we have pitched our camp in the fortifications. (42) Centerville is - or rather was at the beginning of the war - a charming little village with fine mills and a fairly large church, but now it is an abandoned nest. The mill has been destroyed by fire and the church has been converted into a hospital and quartermaster's station. The people have moved out of the place and the houses are occupied by officers, soldiers, and negroes.

We are expected to camp here for an indefinite period. Where we go then we don't know. Our Army is falling back - why, no one knows. Rumor has it that Jackson threatens Maryland again. (43) If such be the case he will be enticed into Maryland and his retreat will then be cut off. They say likewise that two divisions will be put aboard ship and sent to Charleston. They want to attack the Southerners in the interior. The 26th Wisconsin, 119th New York, and the 75th Pennsylvania form our brigade. Our regiment is the strongest.

We had two deserters. (44) Captain Landa, Lieutenant Zarnow of Company D, Lieutenant Waller of Company G, and several returned home. Many of these gentlemen were forced by Colonel Jacobs to ask for their discharges. (45) Colonel Jacobs is sick. He worried too much about his officers.

Rumors of all kinds concerning peace and a return to Milwaukee are floating around. I don't think you can find a single soldier in the entire army who wouldn't rather go home today than tomorrow. Everyone sees this big humbug with wide - open eyes.

The man who stays well here is fortunate. Our doctors are absolutely worthless. During the retreat over the battlefields of Bull Run, one noticed to the disgrace of the Northerners that everything had been done with great carelessness. Where our fallen comrades had been buried in many instances, hands and feet and sometimes whole heads were exposed. The Southerners are buried decently. In several instances more than a hundred are placed in one grave - but they are at least covered and on the one side a board is erected as a marker. We noticed one board inscribed with the names of 130 men of the First Mississippi Regiment.

This must be all for today. If we leave here in a short time, I will write you....

Centerville, November 25, 1862.

Precious Barbara:

Troubled with lonesomeness and with my thoughts forever with the loved ones at home I take my pen in hand to write you a short letter. We are, God be praised, in the best of health and hope that this letter finds you the same. We enjoy happy times here in the encampment at Centerville. We take long walks and pass our time in the easiest fashion. From time to time we have to take picket duty or night watches. Several rebels are captured every day. They are taken as spies. Seeman is provost marshal and sends the captives to Washington where they must stay until they are exchanged. (46)

We have target practice today, twenty men being selected from each company. Adam is with the twenty men today but not I and on that account I have a chance to write a letter and to give the children a little pleasure.

Today several of the officers of our regiment were shipped back to Milwaukee for good, some for being incapable and others for being opposed to commander Jacobs. (47) The commander is still down with the chills and fever. This week as corporal I had the watch before his room. In the morning he treated us with a bottle of brandy. He is in all respects the best officer in the regiment. He is not naughty like Lehman and Major Horwitz. (48) General Schurz is a good man to his division. All of his men have great respect for him. He cares for them like a father. Every two days we get good wheat bread; the other days we have crackers. We likewise have fresh beef every two days. On the other days we have salt pork and bean soup.

We have received no money as yet and don't know when we will receive any but as soon as I do get some I will write to you. The weather here is about the same as it is in October at home. It freezes just a little at night and there is a light frost. We are camped here in our cotton tents, quite well satisfied and filled with the hope that the war will be over in spring. Report has it that there has been drafting in Wisconsin and great resultant scandal. (49) We have had a great laugh at the simpletons who laughed at us because we volunteered. Please let me know who was drafted if you can find out so that I can laugh at their lot the way they laughed at mine.

I find happiness in the thought of a loving wife and children who still remember their father in the north and the more I think of you the more I count on seeing you soon again if God wills. Therefore be comforted. As I have found out here a protecting hand is over us....

Centerville, November 27, 1862.

Best Beloved Barbara:

As it is the custom to greet a good friend on his namesday I consider it my duty to send you, my dear one, congratulations on your namesday, and to wish you many more happy returns of the day with your children. (50)But my greatest wish is that I could be united with you and the children soon again.

I am quite well satisfied here. Our food and surroundings are good, and we expect to spend the winter here in Centerville. According to the latest report we are to work a fortifications this winter. The fortification is to be rebuilt into a very strong fort, and so, God willing, we will spend the entire winter here.

We were on picket duty again last night. We did picket duty before a house where we get a quart of milk every morning and evening. I was the corporal of the watch. We didn't know what to do to pass the time without getting into mischief. We are in good health, and have plenty to eat, and an over abundance of good, healthy appetite. But Babbette, you can't imagine the poverty among the people here, especially among the farmers. At every retreat the Rebels make they plunder everything that isn't fastened down. If the Northern Army [?] retreats they do the same. They (the natives) think the North has some very tough soldiers, but they always have a word of praise for the 26ers, they are always sent back for guard.

We set up our big tents again today.

We didn't receive any money here as yet. Please be so kind and write me soon. I don't know whom to blame for not receiving an answer. I write to you so often and always get an answer every fourteen days. So far I have written you five or six letters and have not had an answer. I don't demand an answer from you for every letter I write, but I would like an answer at least once a week from my beloved one. There is nothing more consoling to a father far away from home than to hear good news and often from his folks. Write me if you received the power of attorney and my commission as corporal.

I beg of you, write me soon and often. Write me and let me know who has been drafted.

Again I wish you love and happiness for your namesday and by next spring your old man will be home in your arms again.

Best regards from your brother. He got another letter from his sweetheart [Christina Schmidt]. It was heartbreaking.

Thank God we are well here and hope this finds you in good health as it leaves us.

Farewell, true soul. Farewell.

Blue Mountain, November 29, 1862. (51)

I received your letter and am greatly pleased to hear of your recovery. I am well and our trip agreed with me nicely. We are still marching inland toward Richmond as reserves. After we had camped to the south of Fairfax Courthouse for several days we received orders to get ready to march. On November 1 we left our former camp and at noon we arrived at Centerville where we camped again. Centerville is eight miles from Fairfax. From Centerville we left and passed through Bull Run. On the outskirts of Bull Run we camped two nights. There we caught two spies. Early the next morning we marched through the Bull Run Hills and came to Haymarket, (52) where the inhabitants still remain. They looked at us insolently but our men sang in a loud voice, "In the South, in the South, where the German guns explode and the rebels fall."

We marched on. I should say here that the rebels were chased by our cavalry before this. (53) Toward four o'clock we arrived in - or rather - at the Bull Run Hills where three hundred men of our company were put on picket or outpost duty. We fixed bayonets and in this way we entered the hills and took up our posts.

There we stayed until this noon. When we were doing picket duty our other companies which had stayed in camp collected about a hundred sheep, pigs, chickens, and geese and killed them and dressed them. Besides that they took potatoes and cabbage. Then they burned down the houses. The New York regiment is entirely German. Wherever you meet soldiers they're German. And they've all sworn vengeance on the South.

Today is election day. All companies have voted except ours. Our officers are all Republicans and our soldiers are all Democrats

and so they've cheated us - or rather the candidates. (55) This evening the wife of Captain Pelosi arrived here. (56) She said that there was rumor that our regiment had already been in a battle. We haven't as yet but it may come soon as we have been listening to the thunder of cannon for the last two days. McClellan and Burnside are at present engaged with the enemy and if it is necessary, we will follow. (57)

Please don't forget the postage stamps or else I can't send you any letters. We haven't received any money as yet. The weather here is fine and warm.

I must close my letter as I have no more room to write. Address your letters the same as before....

Adam sends his love to his mother, sisters, and brothers. Please kiss the children for me and please answer soon.

Centerville, December 7, 1862.

Precious Barbara:

I received your letter of November 26 and I see that everybody - and especially you - is well. As for me I am still healthy and satisfied. When your letter arrived I was doing outpost duty. Just as the assignments for outpost duty were posted. It began to snow and it continued to fall until eight o'clock in the evening. During all this time we stood in the snow around a fire. The officers and the non-commissioned officers don't have to suffer as much as the privates who do picket duty. Every two hours pickets are changed. At nine P.M. the weather cleared and the wind whistled so coldly that we thought we would freeze.

When we came off duty I read your letter, dearest, and I was much pleased to learn that Harmeyer's hired man had been drafted. You're still the same. I was encouraged by the fact that you confronted me about the draft. I'm perfectly satisfied that things are as they are and, if God will, the war will soon be over and we will have the opportunity, volunteers as well as drafted men, to talk to one another.

We do nothing now but picket and will be kept on this duty until New Year. At that time our Regiment will be released. That

will be a happy day as these duties are very hard - twenty-four hours without shelter. It is terribly cold here now. There are traces of snow and the wind is biting. We build little fireplaces in our tents and they feel good - as long as we can remain by them. But what can we do. Duties must be performed.

Our colonel, Jacobs, hasn't taken command as yet. Everybody rejoices at his return because our first lieutenant, Lehman, is a beast and is drunk most of the time. Then he doesn't know how to mistreat the men. (58)

Our company is still the strongest in the Regiment and we will have two promotions very soon. Perhaps two of our corporals will be made sergeants. Who will be the lucky ones, no one knows.

Please be so kind as to write me immediately. Write to me every Sunday if you possibly can. You can't give me any greater pleasure than to write me a letter with your beloved hands. I was afraid that I wouldn't receive any more. Tell me if Harbacher is still with you and how the weather is at home. (59) Write me also whether you received the corporal's commission and what your names day wish is. When you see Walsh tell him that I had written you in regard to the money. I had an entirely different opinion of him as he promised to give me the money at Camp Sigel....

All your friends send greetings, I can't name them all.

Greenfield, December 8, 1862.

Dear Adam:

My wholehearted thanks for your loving congratulations on my names day. My greatest wish is to have you return to me. Beloved, you write that I write so little. Here after I will send you a letter every Sunday. You don't know how much work I have - especially with the wood because since your absence I have cut every piece myself. You can't get anyone to chop. And you know what kind of wood chopper I am. God be praised though, it goes better now. And then you know I sew for other people. Money is scarce.

Dear Adam, it pleases me much that you have good food and are well and happy. I received your power of attorney and also the patent. Please tell Korbmacher that a little son arrived at his home and that he should write to his wife as soon as possible. (60)

His family is well and is anxiously awaiting a letter. Write the address for him the same as yours. Jacobs has been slandered in Milwaukee on the grounds of misusing a solder. I saw Deuster at the Seeboth office. He asked me how you were getting along and I told him that you considered Jacobs a wonderful man and praised him highly. This didn't seem to please him very much. (61) Dear Adam, Jungbluth and his family send their regards and always inquire about you. Write me what happened to John Kraemer as his parents are not very well. (62) I close my letter now in good health. Your wife and children send greetings.

Barbara Muenzenberger

Many greetings from mother, sisters, and brothers, brother-in-law and sister, Rollers, Hommel and family, and best regards from your society brothers.

Farewell, and the good God be your protector. I want to save paper so that you can use the other side for an answer. Farewell, dear Adam, in God's name, Greet my brother heartily.

The marching and countermarching in which the 26th was engaged was part of Burnside's jockeying to gain favorable position for the army in his campaign against Lee's army and Richmond.

Burnside had planned to concentrate his army along the Rappahannock river, and cross them at Fredericksburg, a town in northeast Virginia.

But Lee anticipated the move, seized the heights behind Fredericksburg on the south bank, and in a terrible four-day battle, December 11-15, turned back Burnside's assault. Lee suffered 5, 000 casualties; Burnside, 12, 000.

Centerville, December 9, 1862.

Dearest Wife Barbara:

Your letter of December 3rd found me in the best health and I learn from it that you are the same. You do not know how surprised I was to learn from your letter that the 26th Wisconsin and the 119th New York ran away at Gainesville and had left their blankets and guns behind them. It is laughable and at the same time annoying to have anything of that kind said or written about a regiment such as ours. (63)

It is laughable to this extent. Up to this time our regiment had not had the honor to even meet a Southern soldier with the exception of those whom our pickets took prisoner. Our regiment is still very cheerful and we just received the news that by morning we would break camp and take the field against Jackson's army. Everyone is cheering and waiting the chance to send Jackson home.

It is annoying because we hear that these rumors are given out in part by the Milwaukee Sentinel and in part by the Milwaukee Seebote. Of course you can't blame the Sentinel in this matter. It hasn't forgotten the slur our first lieutenant, Lehman, gave it. It certainly would be aggravation to get a good dig from a Dutchman and not to be able to return it. You know, we are no Yankees. (64)

One can forgive the Seebote because the editor simply doesn't understand the affair and I know the old men. He screams when the other one shouts and he is angry besides because his Napoleon, McClellan, was relieved of duty.

Beloved, believe me - and I wouldn't lie, we marched back in the same order and with the same order and with the same packs that we had when we left here. In the same way that you saw us march from Camp Sigel, we marched from Gainesville to Centerville with our stomachs empty. The whole company grumbled because our equipment wasn't hauled there in spite of the fact that we knew two days ahead of time that we were going to Centerville. I firmly believe, though, that our regiment would let itself be shot to pieces before it would retreat. Let me repeat once more, then, that as yet we haven't seen the enemy and that the whole tale is an ugly slander against us. (65)

John Kraemer is sick now, but not dangerously so. He sends his regards to his parents.

Tomorrow we march ahead to look for the enemy and it is possible

that before you receive this letter the 26th regiment either have withdrawn or fought Jackson.

The news about little Adam and the other children gives me much pleasure. Let everyone read this letter as proof that these rumors are silly and false....

Fredericksburg, December 16, 1862.

Precious Wife:

At last we have arrived at Fredericksburg where Burnside has been bivouacked for five days and I take my pen in hand to write a few lines to you. Immediately after I had written to you the other morning we were ordered to move. We marched from Centerville to Fairfax Station where we pitched camp for the night. On the next day we continued the trip. All that day we struggled through the mud. The ground is frozen in the morning.

It thaws about nine o'clock and becomes soft and dirty. The second day we came into Wolf's Run where we camped over night. The third day we moved on again. The weather is warm and clear-about the way it is at home in October. We marched to within a mile this side of Dumfrie, a little village. Here we rested a whole day. That night I spent on picket duty again.

The weather is beautiful. The next day we pulled stakes and continued to Stafford Court House where we remained for the night. The following day we continued through a village called Stafford which was about the most beautiful I have seen on our whole march. Thence we proceeded to a railroad station called Brooks Station. Here we were given hardtack. We had been without it for two days. Each man received five crackers and every two men were given two tablespoons of coffee. Our wagons couldn't follow us on the march. At Brooks Station each man received twenty crackers and six tablespoons of coffee. Now we are in good condition as far as eating is concerned. (66)

We have pitched camp a mile and a half from Fredericksburg which General Burnside occupied several days ago. His troops are now camping in the village. The rebels in their forest are only four miles away. For five days now that battle has been going on and no one knows yet if it is over. We have heard that ten thousand of our men have been killed or captured. Our people marched everything in the town with much enthusiasm. We are hourly awaiting a renewal of the battle inasmuch as the rebels don't want to withdraw. This

evening we received orders to retreat-where to no one knows but the generals. Hourly new troops are arriving on our side. (67)

Stafford Court House, December 17, 1862.

This morning we broke camp very early and marched back to Stafford Court House where we arrived in a snow storm. We pitched our tents immediately. By the time they were up the snow had stopped falling. How happy I was when our quartermaster brought our mail and I received a letter from my precious wife. I immediately thought, I must finish this letter which I had started at Fredericksburg. God be praised, I still am in the best of health as are Adam, Leopold, John Kraemer, Stubanus the basket maker, and I hope that this letter finds you the same. (68)

We have plenty to eat again but we don't know what's going to happen to us and where will be sent to next. They say that Sigel's corps is to go to Richmond by water with the fleet. General Banks is before Richmond and Sigel is to support him. (69) Tonight it is rumored that General Banks took Richmond but whether the report is true we don't know. We hope that it is.

Enough of that, Adam is very dissatisfied because he hasn't received a letter. He did get one from Mary from La Crosse. (70) She wrote that they had built a barn for two animals and for two tons of hay, that they had drilled a well, and that my father wanted to come to you by Christmas time.

Jacob Michel has been promoted to sergeant and I am third instead of fifth corporal. There have been many promotions. Lieutenant Pizzala has been made a captain. Send my regards to George Michel and tell him that Jacob is now a sergeant and that Nick Fredrich is in the hospital. (71) He is at Fairfax Station.

Dearest, I pity you because you have to cut the wood and do all the hard work. But be satisfied, true soul. This hard lot is merely a test for us. If God wills I can return and we will have wonderful-in fact the most wonderful days of our life together.

Now don't give up. God still lives and I trust that he will let me return in the best of health and will reunite us....

...I send you best wishes from my whole heart and I wish you a merry Christmas and a very happy New Year in the best of health....

.... Farewell. We will meet again. Answer immediately.

This little letter is for you and if anyone wants to read it don't give it to them.

Dearly beloved Barbara:

Precious heart, as happy as I would be to be with you and with our children and in the circle of our families, I must write you how I am and how I like my lot. I am well satisfied, I like the life, and I do not think that there is anyone in the regiment who is as contented as I am. I haven't found a doctor necessary as yet and I don't think that there is another corporal in the regiment with duties as light as mine. Since we have been in camp I have been on guard only twenty-four hours and of that there was only a half-night.

There is no corporal in the company so well liked as I am both by men and officers. The reason is that when they are off duty I let the men do as they wish-but if I am on duty with them they obey orders promptly. I heard yesterday that Schurz's division is at Arlington Heights near Washington. We hope that is true.

Dear Heart, please send my greetings to your mother, sisters and brothers, to Herman and Bina, to the Muehls and their family and grandmother, to Wallace, Weiler, Hirsch, Krak, Montags, Konrad, Krempel, Jungbluth, Jungs, Roller, Michel, Loehrs, and in fact to everybody that inquire for me. And especially do I send my greetings to you, beloved, and to our little ones. And I ask you to kiss them and to tell them to study hard. Greeting you and the children many times I am,

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Farewell, I hope we shall be together in eternity... I thought I had a half sheet but it turned out to be a whole one. Farewell, true soul, we shall see each other soon. Kiss the children for me and write me in your next letter whether you received the letter with the dollar and my picture. I hope that I will be home by summer time.

I greet you heartily, precious soul.

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Goodbye!

Stafford Court House, December 21, 1862.

Precious Wife:

I have received your letter of December 11th and your best wishes for my names day. I see from it that you and the children are well. As for me I am likewise well and happy and I greet you many, many times. Precious, you can't imagine how pleased I am every time I receive a letter from you. I get added pleasure from the knowledge that you are all well and happy. A letter from you always brings healing medicine to my heart which beats only for you, my loved ones.

I am highly pleased to hear that Ernest and Mary like to study. Tell them to keep on so that when I return I may be very proud of them. They can please me better in no other way. Should I return I will surely bring them a beautiful gift if they study hard. How is Henry and little Adam?

I am likewise pleased to hear that my Godfather, Adam Muehl, is of so much assistance to you. I thank him heartily for it. (72) I am not sorry I enlisted but I do wish that those who talked war constantly would have to perform an American soldier's duty for eight days. Then there would be peace in a short time.

The newspapers say that the army is well satisfied with the conduct of the war. That is nothing but a lie. There isn't a regiment that isn't looking for peace saying that war is nothing but moneymaking and humbug. This war doesn't concern the Union but the almighty purses of the officers and contractors, speculators and dealers. For these the war hasn't lasted nearly long enough. As long as Uncle Sam pays the war will last. The New York troops are the most dissatisfied. (73)

The weather is now pretty cold. We have only wood to use for fire to warm ourselves. Nothing would warm me more though than a letter from you and a greeting from your faithful heart. We have received no wages and will not receive any for a while. The story that Heinz from Company G writes that he received his month's salary is nothing but a lie. Not a man of the 26th regiment has received his pay. It must be that Heinz is a ----- and got his pay that way because anyone who knows him knows that he has a pretty big mouth. (74) The man who talks a lot can't always tell the entire truth. On that account, dearest, don't believe all the rumors. I know that when payday comes the entire brigade will receive their pay and only one regiment, much less one man. Men like him only make heavy hearts for other families. Some wives think that their husbands have received their pay and wasted it. Others again feel that they have lost it.

Adam at present isn't quite well but he hasn't gone to the hospital. He has caught a slight cold. He and Holz were out hunting yesterday and killed a cow. They brought it to camp in five pieces. We have plenty of fresh beef now but there isn't enough hardtack. A strong person goes hungry. I always manage to have some left from one meal to the next. Adam is often without it. (75) Leopold, Adam, Asmuth Holz, Andreas Springling from Milwaukee and I are sleeping partners. (76)

Andreas Sprengling is from Weinholdsheim and lives - or his wife does - at or near Loehrs. There are entire companies of Darmstaedter with us. (77)

.... Many greetings to your true, true heart and to our children from

Stafford Court House, December 28, 1862.

Precious Wife:

I received your last letter of December 21st just after I had written to you on the 27th. By it I see that you and the children are well and happy. I am likewise in good health and I greet you and the children heartily. I am happy that you thought of making me a little Christmas present. More, I have nothing but thanks for you. But I ask you not to get any more ideas like that in the future. Presents might reach me but the freight on them is more than they are worth. I want to thank you again though for your goodness of heart. That is all I can do for you at this time but I will never forget it of you.

You write me that Patrick Walsh hasn't paid you as yet. Wait a short time and then ask him again and if he doesn't send you any money then I will send him a letter through the general. I am very sorry that such things happened to Mrs. Wallace. I am happy that you followed my advice and stayed away until she came to her senses.

The next time you write you can send me a few stamps again and please send me a few newspapers. You can include some zinc nails, a few pegs, an awl, some hempen thread, brushes, and shoemakers glue. You don't have to send it this week but send the

awls and zinc nails as soon as possible. Not too many at once, though, only enough to sew my boots as they have been worn out for quite a while. I have received my second pair of shoes. There are many who have received their second trousers and shirts. For these naturally they have to pay. My clothes are still in good condition. All I have drawn is two pair of stockings, one pair of shoes, and one pair of gloves.

You can see from this that I own gloves and that I am well supplied with clothes. The weather, too, is very mild. We have had two deaths since we went into camp here. One of them was the son of Mr. Jaeger who lives near the Muehls. The other belonged to Company G. I don't know his name. (78) They buried the first in the cemetery in Centerville, the other here on a high hill on the other side of camp. His comrades made a fine marker and a garden for him.

Our first lieutenant becomes more bestial day by day. No soldier has any respect left for him. They sneer at his commands. Sometimes he hasn't nerve enough to come into camp until after midnight. The regiment likes our commander more every day. They say that he is a very good man and a very successful officer. Everyone has the greatest respect for him.

Adam is on the way to recovery and asks me to send greetings to his mother and family.

I must close my letter now as I have to make out muster roles. I still think thankfully about your good intentions regarding your Christmas present. Still advising you to be firm and trustful in the hopes of my speedy return I send you my greetings.

January 1, 1863

Precious Barbara:

As healthy as ever I take my pen in hand this 1st day of January, 1863, to tell you, beloved, about our activities here in Virginia.

We are, God be praised, still in good health, and I hope, dearest, that this letter finds you the same. (79) Yesterday our regiment was mustered in again. This happens every two months. Our regiment was acclaimed the best and the neatest. Our general received merited praise for this. We think that we will have our money in a few days as I hear that the entire regiment will be paid here. Should this happen I will send it to my dear ones as soon as possible since it is my greatest pleasure to bring happiness to my beloved family at home. With this letter I am sending you a little new year's present. It is a ring which I whittled out of wood here. It is the same wood out of which they make pipe bowls. It got too small for me. I had made it larger but through steaming it shrunk. I will be very sorry if it is too small for you. I am going to whittle a prettier and larger one for you and for Mary. We have made many pipes many of which are fully as nice as those you get in Milwaukee.

Everyone is whittling pipes and rings and tries to outdo everyone else. I am going to begin another one today. It is sure to be elaborate.

Our New Year in Virginia was very nice although not like New Year at home. Last night as a New Year's gift all of us received a drink of whiskey as big as an inch from our brigadier general. (80) Today everyone is to get three tablespoons of flour. This will be the first flour I have seen since we came to Virginia. Today we are living on pancakes.

One of my comrades dreamed that we would be home by August. He says that it will take as many months to get home as nights he dreams the same dream.

I would like to know what you and your fortune telling says about this. Write and let me know whether you both agree. It would please me much if the war would end soon as it is all humbug and the North isn't able to defeat the South. It's all so much deviltry.

Our major, Horwitz, caught something. He is sick and has resigned. (81) Lieutenant Lehman has been discharged on account of incompetence and terrible cruelty. (82) He is the

worst person in the whole army. He and I were in each other's hair. He brought me before the general who was only half convinced. I told the general the truth right then and there. The general had me come back to him again and told me that if this happened again I should report him. Dr. Huebschmann was before the court martial because he kept the wine that the United States furnished for the sick soldiers and drank it himself. He'll land back in Milwaukee before long. By and by our regiment will be cleared of all rascals. Our general behaves himself very well. He is liked by every one. Every morning he visits the hospital. Adam is well again and draws his rations with the company but is not forced to do any duties.

Write me soon and send me good news. It will please me to hear something agreeable soon. Many greetings to you, precious Barbara, and to our children. Kiss them for their faithful father.

Stafford Court House, January 6, 1863.

Precious Barbara:

As I see by our brother-in-law's letter our little Adam is very ill, and is causing you quite a bit of trouble. I am very sorry that you should have this trial with him, and to show you my sympathy I am writing immediately. I am wishing the little fellow a speedy recovery, and you and yours the best of health.

I am writing this letter with tears in my eyes, so deeply sympathetic I am with You poor, forsaken ones. But who can alter it? Therefore, be comforted, beloved; there is one above us who will correct all this.

Last Sunday we had to move our tents to another location. We built ourselves some fine bunk-houses, about the size of our pig-pen, 12 x 8 feet. Each one accommodates five men. We then built two bed bunks, one above the other. Three sleep in the lower and two in the upper bed, and that gives us a little room in the shanty.

I am still one of the healthiest in the whole regiment,, but I have lost some weight, so before long I will be back to the weight of my youth. But that is nothing. I am now an entirely different fellow, with a mustache and a pair of whiskers, as I have not shaved since I left Milwaukee. If you met me I doubt if you would know me.

Your brother., Adam, is well and still a little homesick. He wishes

fervently that your mother would send him some money. He sends her greetings. If I did not know the circumstances you are in I would have asked you for a dollar long ago. But never mind, everything is alright now. Don't give yourself a headache worrying about me. I am satisfied with what I have--but--if you don't receive any money this month, I am afraid we will have a rebellion right here in the regiment.

Be so kind and send me some more postage stamps, - if you have not already done so.

I am hoping for the best of health for the little fellow and the, rest of the family, and especially for yourself, dear one. And so I greet you and kiss your picture many times.

Until death do us part.

Stafford Court House, January 6, 1863

My Dear Brother-in-Law:

I received your treasured letter on January 5th and I note therein that you are all well. I am, thank God, in good health and I send my kindest regards to you. I am much pleased to hear that my father is visiting you. I thank you all for your good wishes to me and I send you all mine in return.

We are very short of things here. We receive our rations very irregularly and everyday the incompetence of the officers becomes more apparent. We must drill for hours every day, not so much to teach the soldiers as to teach the officers. And they can command - but they can't understand the commands. In this fashion we have to play poodle dog for the officers.

No other regiment drills the way we do, the others watch us.

We have had several deaths in our regiment. First there was the Jaeger boy of New Berlin. In the place where we have now quartered we have already buried three. Among them was a man by the name of Spangenberg from Company A. Many are sick in bed. Others are lying around. I do not think that our regiment has more than eight hundred serviceable men. If this humbug doesn't stop soon there will be many who will die as soon as the weather warms up

after the January rains. One morning as I was doling out rations I saw our Colonel ask a young man, "What's the matter with you, son?"

"Oh Colonel," he answered, "I have such a cough that I can hardly keep up any longer."

The Colonel told the boy to go to the doctor and to get something for the cough and to keep himself warm. He has the warmest sympathy for the sick. His first duty every morning is to go to the hospital. He is the best officer who came from Milwaukee with us and even superior officers are surprised at the progress he has made. Every morning he examines the captains in command of the regiment and in this way he sees what is going on.

Captain Boebel and Captain George are pretty good. So is Lieutenant Fuchs.

The regiment is becoming more and more dissatisfied. At first they told us that we would receive our pay by January 10th, 1863. Now the rumor is floating around that we won't be paid until March. What will happen we don't know.

According to the letter I received from my mother-in-law the women intend to have a meeting at the Stuber House. Let me know immediately if they held the meeting and what they decided to do. I received my mother-in-law's letter at the same time I received yours.

In the expectation of a speedy answer I send greetings to my father, brother-in-law, sister, and in fact to all my friends.

Your Brother-in-Law

Stafford Court House, January 9, 1863

Precious Wife:

Yesterday, January 8th, I received your dear letter of January 2nd and I see in it that our family is entirely well again. Adam and I are in good health and greet you many times. I am - God be praised - still hale and hearty and my meals taste good although many times there is only about half enough to satisfy me. Now, however, things are better as we are receiving our rations regularly.

There is a stone quarry near us and we have built fireplaces next to our bake-hill. I feel very much at home as a result. It is doubtful though whether we will be here long because every time we build we are moved. We hope to stay here, though, as we like it

very well- unless we would be moved way back. Adam received his letter and the money at the same time as I received my letter. He is very grateful to his mother. And as for me, well, I can't thank you enough for the two dollars which you sent because although everything to help us pass time is very scarce I never would have taken the liberty to write you for money if only we would have known when we would receive ours.

But I will pay you back very soon as they say that the paymaster is here. Our general promised us that our regiment would be paid out on the 13th or 14th. As he says, the money that we signed for in Milwaukee should be paid out to you. That pleases us very much here because you can't trust anyone. There is much talk about peace in our midst but how true it is only the gods know. Our men are hard at work - with the exception of the non-commissioned and commissioned officers. The privates must labor on the roads every other day and do duty in the hospitals. As an officer I am forced to do nothing but picket duty. Adam has also been excused from duties until he is entirely recovered.

I am glad to hear that those who were drafted like Herman Krempel and others are free again and I send my regards to all those who sent me greetings in your last letter and I hope that we meet soon and in the best of health. I am glad that fate is so favorable and I hope that you'll follow my advice and stay neutral. You know, dearest, that what affects you affects me.

I am sending this little present to Ernest because he studies so hard. I will whittle and send a ring to Mary. Tell her to be good and industrious. I will send a present later on to Henry and Adam. Please give me the news from the teacup and don't omit anything. It gives me new thoughts.

I don't know any more news other than that Samuel Stoecher's father-in-law will be home soon. He fell and ruptured himself and is discharged.

Include me in your prayers, dearest, as I include you in mine....

Stafford Court House, January 15, 1863

Precious Wife:

As I am all alone in my tent today and do not know what to do I feel urged to write a letter to my loved ones. God be praised, I am still in the best of health and I hope that this letter will find yours and ours the same. We are still in our old camp but for how long we do not know. Yesterday, January 14th, we received orders to get everything in readiness as marching orders might come at any moment. Up to now no orders have arrived. Today our entire company is doing road work. As I wrote to you, however, non-commissioned officers are excused.

Adam is well again and back to work. He is as happy as ever and sends his regards to his mother and to all of you. It is rumored that we will go to Warrentown, partly for the purpose of occupying the railroad and partly to make it easier to get provisions. In bad weather supplies for the number of troops we have (Sigel's and Burnside's) could not be brought by steamboat. If we march to Warrentown it will be a hard trip of four or five or maybe six days and it will be very difficult for us as we will hate to leave our comfortable camp. But that is the way things go. As soon as our camp is entirely in order we travel on. There are many sick men in our regiment. Our company is the healthiest. Neither hands nor feet have bothered me but I am not as fat as I was at home.

I hope all our neighbors enjoy good health....

Please write immediately and tell me how you and the family are getting along. Is there any chance that you will get aid from the town or the county? I will write to Walsh in the near future and try to find out how things are. Please write some news in each of your letters. Tell me, for instance, how long according to your ideas this accursed war can last, how the children behave, how they study, and where is Ernest's letter. Tell him that I will love to have a letter from him and that I will bring him something. Likewise Mary. Tell Henry to be a good boy and I beg of you, dear heart, to kiss the little ones for me....

.... I am sending you a ring which I made in my spare time.

On January 20 the XI corps took to the roads, as Burnside and the Army of the Potomac opened a new campaign against Lee. The XI corps arose early, and set off with much tramping and merry music. Rumor swept through it that another battle was impending near the banks of the Rappahanock. Spirits rose. "May the news when it comes be of a gladdening nature, Captain Winkler wrote.

That evening after sunset a furious rain storm began.

Listening to the torrent, Captain Winkler commented prophetically: Too bad for our troops on the march.

A single night's rain will make Virginia roads impassable. "The storm raged through the night, so that mud became knee deep.

Finally the campaign ended- -swallowed up in mud. History has named this miserable failure of Burnside the "mud march. It

Immobilized by mud and winter, as January ended, the Army of the Potomac, demoralized, disheartened, mistrusting its leaders and itself, still sprawled in its old camps opposite Fredericksburg, on the left bank of the Rappahanock. Morale rose when, on the 26th, Hooker replaced Burnside. Hooker seemed to promise more vigorous leadership. One of his first moves assigned each corps a distinctive badge. The 11th received a quarter moon as an emblem.

Herdford Church, January 29, 1863

Precious Wife:

At last I can answer your letters. I received the last two in the evening just before we left Stafford Court House and had no chance to reply - besides no letters have been sent out before this. You must excuse my long silence as it was unavoidable. For eight days our company was on picket duty and then did not return to the regiment. After that we broke camp and marched to this place. There we came into quite a bit of mail and I got your second letter together with the newspaper and the shoemaker's wax.

You were very kind and I am much pleased to learn that all my loved ones are well. But I am happiest to know that you have turned over a new leaf. It would make me very happy, too, to see you again even if only in a picture. Many wives have sent down tintypes. The picture that I have is my only consolation in all this misery. It keeps me in mind of everything that we discussed before we left.

Our soldier's life is a very hard one now. In the first place we were cheated in our pay. Then the weather here is so bad that we can hardly stand it. It has been raining continuously and during these last few days the rain has turned into snow. We marched in the rain, arrived in the rain, and pitched our tents in the rain. The mud is so terrible that the wagon can't get through.

But why complain? We simply must be satisfied. I derive my only consolation from my good and loving wife and children at home who pity their husband and father in the cursed war and I keep my courage up with the thought that if it is God's will I will see you all again. I beg you, then, send me your picture in your next letter.

We haven't received any pay as yet but according to rumor - for those who want to believe it - we will be paid soon. One can hardly blame Greenfield for not paying the bounty. People working in the fields must do their duty as well as those who receive the bounty. Where are the big-mouths now - those frauds whom accident made officers and whose swelled heads made them unnatural? And where are the two-faced men who acted the Samaritan on the one side and the Pharisee on the other? Let them keep their money and every penny that they cheat us out of will rest on their souls. Be comforted, dearest, your loving husband feels pain just as you do and can console himself with you every time.....

...Send me some chamomile tea and some peppermint. Wrap it in newspapers. I hope to receive your picture soon.

Hartwood Church, January 30, 1863.

Beloved Wife:

I must write to you again because we received our pay today for two months and for the additional days from the fifteenth of August when I enlisted, to September 1, 1862. I was positive that I had guaranteed you \$10 a month in Milwaukee. This was found satisfactory here. I received \$16.90. If you received \$20 then you received \$4 too much. Let me know as soon as you get this letter whether you received \$10 or \$8 a month. Our company should get the most money, because our payroll was made out the best. Other companies had their payrolls made out for one and a half months. Ours was made out for two and a half. I had to pay \$1 to the sutler, I will keep 90c, and I will send the \$15 to my beloved ones. If there is nothing else that you need, and if you wish, you can give this to my sister. We were much dissatisfied with our pay, as we expected money for four months at least. It is rumored that we will receive our next pay in February or March. Write me as soon as you can, dear heart. I will send the money within the next few days.

Adam sends word to your mother that the \$11 which he promised her were taken off, and now by rights she should receive \$22. I haven't been feeling well for a few days. I was on picket duty and caught a heavy cold, but I feel better now. I am about again and as well as ever, but I lost about twenty-five pounds. I am all dressed up as though I was single again, and if I were to call on my loved ones unexpectedly I doubt whether they would know me. But enough of this.

I hope to receive a picture of you in the near future. Likewise send me more nails, pegs, and some stronger sewed soles and thread. Send me soles and thread every week, as I can earn quite a little money -- at least enough to give me something for my own use, and now and then I might be able to send a few shillings home as there is plenty of work here. If you get to Milwaukee go to Just and send him my greetings. Ask him where the tailor Robert Zimmerman lives. Zimmerman should tell his wife that Leopold [Drewes] is sick, and he should also tell his brother-in-law to cheer him up more in his next letter than he did in his last. He worries an awful lot.

(Your brother) Adam is as well as ever. Fritz Awe and [Asmus] Holtz are sick. I am in good health -- God be praised -- and I hope that these few lines find you in good health. . . .

I send you \$10 today. The rest perhaps in two days...

Berie Church, January 31, 1863

Precious Wife:

I received your dear letter this morning and was much delighted to get perfect consolation from my beloved wife. God be praised, I am well again and I hope that this letter finds you in good health. Yesterday I wrote you a letter in which I enclosed \$10. I still have \$6 here and I will send it in my next letter. We received pay for two months and fifteen days. Let me hear from you as soon as you receive the money. You should receive \$10 a month but if you get only \$8 let me know because in that case I will receive the correct amount. If, however, you get \$10 a month let me know too. In that case, I received \$4 too much and I will make you a present of this sum as I still have it with me.

I am sending Mary a breast pin. But a little something for Henry and Adam and tell them that I sent it. The story about your brother Adam is more of lies. People at home must be out of their minds to circulate something like that - or does the big-headed Schmitz family believe that a soldier here in Virginia who has been sick for three weeks and living on nothing but hard-tack and salt pork is in the same frame of mind as one who sits behind a stove? They would like to be smart but by the time Joseph Schmitz finds out how the soldiers in Virginia are living he'll still be green. There are no women to be seen here and the only letters your brother has written are to you and Christina. He can't get away from camp without a furlough and he can't get a furlough. Up to now he has not been away - and he has not been married. Didn't Joseph say that he visited the girl every eight days? Believe me, dearest, there isn't any truth in the whole story. When I told it to Adam he began to sing and cut up in his old way telling everybody he was married but didn't have a wife. Tell your mother not to worry about him. Adam, Leopold, Asmus and I are again together in one tent.

Write me as soon as you receive this letter and let people talk. If you received the \$10 I will send you \$5 more....

....Goodbye. Many kisses to the children and to you. I kiss your picture. Farewell.

Stafford Court House, February 7.

Precious Wife:

I see by your letter that the very much admired Christina Schmitz isn't behaving so very well. Just natural and no better than usual. I've known a long while what kind of bird little Christina is. I've told Adam hundreds of times that he should quit writing letters to her and that it would be much more sensible for him to write a letter to his mother and that he could practice a little. He and Leopold went away together and sneakingly wrote the letter to Christina. She sent him stamps frequently - sometimes as many as six and seven at a time - and such endearing letters with a lot of hugs and kisses in them, as you saw by the letters of Adam's I copied and sent you. "Dear Adam," in the beginning; "Dear Adam," in the middle; "Dear Adam," at the end- that is about the entire contents of the letters. When I read your letter to Adam he wanted to know what business it was of yours. He didn't care if you read Christina's letter. They had to have a good time too.

Please, dear, salute your mother for me and tell her that if Adam sends for money and the letter is not written by me she should ignore it as it would not hurt him to cut down expenses. Since I loaned him the \$5 he has been playing cards continually. I know positively he's ahead \$9 in the game but if the luck should change and he loses he'll immediately write to your mother again. I had made up my mind not to say a word about him and Leopold because they would make trouble for you and had forgiven and forgotten everything. Adam rushes from his duties, has barely time to cram down his meals, and then they get at the game called poker. When they have no duties they keep right on playing. Corporal Urich, the husband of crippled Carl's daughter, and Burkhardt from Walker's Point are the principal players.

Please, dear, write me news. When there is none, write me gossip. Regarding the money from Lieber you will have to go to the County Clerk's office and give Mr. Gosch my best regards. You wanted the county orders for me. I see by the papers that they have been issued. Please let me know if you have received the gold (\$16) which I have sent to you. Also how many months up to now you have received state and county bonus. You don't have to save on the paper when you write to me.

I close my letter by kissing your picture. I send you my picture and a kiss for each of my dear ones. I greet you, beloved, and the little ones. Also your mother and family, Herman and Bina, Muehl and family, Rollers, Wallaces, Weilers, Hirsch's, and in fact everybody who inquires for me....

....I wish the war were over.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
February 16, 1863.

Precious Wife:

On the evening of the 12th I received your letter dated February 9th and I was pleased to learn that my family was in the best of health. My own health is good and my appetite is excellent. The weather is fine and warm and we have rain every day. As a result the roads are almost impassible. We can hardly get from one camp - that is regiment - to another. Our regiment is the flower of Schurz's division. No one surpasses us in cleanliness. I only wish you could see the arrangement of our camp. We have streets in which each tent is exactly in line with the next.

I hear that Colonel Jacob's wife is expected here the day after tomorrow for a visit. He leaves then to meet her in Washington. Our adjutant took a trip to Milwaukee at New Year's time. Two men of every company should receive a furlough. We don't know who is going to get it as yet. If the expenses are not too great I would like to be one of them.

I am very glad that you received the money that I sent you. Besides the money I am earning I still have five dollars here. I am well and strong again but I do wish that this damned humbug were at an end. Up to now we have enjoyed good times but now this damned drilling starts again. One doesn't even find time to write a letter now.

I have the greatest sympathies for my Godfather in the death of his little one. Also with John Weiler. I am sorry, too, that our little Henry is ailing again. I am sending him a fine shovel for a present. Tell him I didn't find one sooner. Regarding an armistice we down here have heard nothing but rumors but everyone would be glad if this humbug were at an end. I only wish that all the folks from Wisconsin were here once - just once - to get a glimpse of soldier life. The whole thing is a swindle from beginning to end. The officers know nothing except making money - and that is all the war is concerned with.

Since the Battle of Fredericksburg some of the soldiers of the old regiments have been wandering around not knowing where their companies are. Some of them don't want to find their regiments. They curse the union and the administration to the depths of hell. Only the thought of their families keeps them from suicide. That's the patriotism that reigns in the army. It disappears more and more every day. But enough of all this humbug.

It also pleased me, true heart, that you gave the \$10 immediately

to my sister. As soon as you receive the \$20 from the state write me immediately. Let me know how you are and also how our families are. Adam is well and sends greetings to his mother. Leopold received a letter when I did last night. They wrote him that Weidmann had to be there when they divided the land and that Mrs. Harmeyer had not been cheated.

Greet all my friends and neighbors, dear soul, especially Weiler. Hirsch, Krak, Wallace, Herman and Bina, Muehl, grandma and family, Montags, Roller, Mirgeler, Muehl - and in fact everybody who inquires for me. Also let me know whether you received the county orders for \$1.90 from Lieber. Greet and kiss all our little ones and especially greet your mother and sister and brothers, and tell Ernest, Mary and Henry to be very good and industrious....

Praise be to Jesus Christ!

Camp of the 26th Regiment near
Brooks Station, February 20th, 1963.

Precious Wife:

I received the tea, awls, and zinc nails which you sent so lovingly and I was greatly pleased at the nice way in which you had packed them. The package arrived here in as good a condition as it left your dear hands. Up to now things have gone well. Up to about ten days ago I felt as well as usual but while we were out on picket duty without any relief I caught a heavy cold which affected my bowels. I likewise lost my appetite.

The worst part was that I had such terribly torn shoes. On second Christmas I received a new pair. I had them about fourteen days when they were all worn out and for ten whole days I had to go around with the dirt and mud over my ankles. As you know, when on the 23rd of January we left Stafford Court House, we were still camping under marching orders. We couldn't get away until one afternoon about four o'clock. It was night before we camped in a little town and it was raining - but that didn't do us any good. Then we heard the order "Forward," and we proceeded ahead a little. Our company and company E received orders to go on picket duty. It was a dark night, we still had two and half miles to march and we didn't know the direction. Then we prepared along in the night like a blind man in the rain. We couldn't find the place where we were to camp and we had to post our sentries to prevent an attack. We left Stafford on January 23rd. This all happened the night that the army of the Potomac was attacked.

The next day we came to a house made of corn stalks and our company had to camp there. This is the place where I caught cold. The first night we lay in camp here a telegraph outpost was set up.

That was how Leopold Drewes came to a house where eight rebels were stationed. He fired his gun and our two companies took up their arms. Our lieutenant, Fuchs, our corporal, Krueger, from Kenosha, and I were the first to reach Leopold. He said that a cavalryman had come out of the house. He challenged him three times. The man failed to stop and so Leopold shot. He only made a hole in old mother nature though. Up to the time of writing this letter we do not know just what he was shooting at.

Leopold is still in good health. Adam, Holz, all my comrades and I are in good health and our food tastes fine - if only we had something good to eat. I hope that this letter finds you and our beloved children in the best of health. The weather here is wet - three days of steady rain but today the weather has cleared.

Adam wanted to write to your mother and ask for some more gold. I still have \$5 here which I shall give him. You can fix this up with your mother. Adam sends his greetings to her. He had several dollars of debts after we are paid out. His appetite is too good. His rations don't seem to satisfy him and he buys edibles. They are quite expensive. He sends greetings to all his relatives and friends and especially to his mother....

Camp of the 26th Wisconsin Regiment, Between Stafford Court House and Brooks Station, February 25th, 1863.

Precious and much-beloved Barbara:

Last evening I received a letter from my Godfather (Adam) Muehl in which he told me of the death of one of his children, and complained about the serious illness of his son George. He also wrote me about the visit, he made at your place, and that he had found dear little Henry quite sick. On that account I can't wait any longer to write you a few lines, as I have just finished a letter to Godfather Muehl, and I intend to send them out together. I am hourly, patiently awaiting a letter from you, beloved; but in vain. In your last letter you wrote me that dear Henry was ill, and that makes the longing for a letter from you, dear heart, so much keener.

Rumor is going around here that the money guaranteed us in Milwaukee for our wives and families hadn't arrived as yet. If you have not received- the money by the time you get this letter, go to Mr. (Christian) Preusser, give him my regards, and ask him if he would be so kind as to help you in this matter.

Another thing: several men here have received letters telling them that their names were not on the allotment list. Answer this letter as soon as you receive it.. You have no idea with what longing I look forward to your letters, and with what happiness I receive and read them. A letter from you is always balsam for my heart, bleeding for my loved ones. On that account, write as often as you can. You can never write too often or too much.

Adam is getting letters regularly from Christina (Schmidt). Last night we all teased him about his letters and he gave us one of them to read. All that was in it was: Dear Adam, I am well. Dear Adam, I greet you very much. Dear Adam, I remain your true friend. Dear Adam, Christina Schmidt. That is the whole letter.

Our General (Schurz), his wife, and some relatives from Washington and Baltimore have arrived, and moved into, the house that was built for him during his absence. The house is surrounded by a lovely garden with gravel paths, and in one corner- they have a bird house, with two wooden birds sitting on the nest and two gravel stone eggs in the nest.

In honor of Washington's birthday we erected a triumphal arch between the rows of tents in the streets, and draped it with garlands.

I helped make a garland forty feet long, which we draped into four loops. In the center of it we had a cross with our Company initial 'C' on it. Our quarters here appear very friendly and homelike.

I am painfully awaiting a letter from you, beloved, and hoping for a reunion with you all before long. I am sending love and kisses to you and the children.

Again, loving you until death do us part, your loving husband till death.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
February 27, 1963.

Much beloved and Precious Barbara:

With deepest sorrow I received the news that between the 15th and 18th of February our little Henry had died. I was greatly saddened by it although I was somewhat prepared from the letter which I received from my godfather this week. When the letter from godfather Muehl came I thought that it was a preparation for worse news because it was from him instead of from my loved ones telling me how they were.

Tuesday I received a letter from my uncle Muehl telling me that Henry was sick though not dangerously so. But next day John Beres, son of Beres of the Beloit Road, said he had received bad news from home. I asked him what and he told me that his mother had written him that my child had died. She said that she had been to the Plank Road Church on Sunday and had heard the news and then had written him. Unhappy as the news made me I was greatly pleased by the way you notified me. You could have told me, though, whether our pet was really dead or sick as I am always prepared for the worst and am not as easily frightened as I used to be. Here one is prepared for everything. I am only sorry that our darling - if he is really dead, God rest his soul - didn't receive the present that he always wanted from me sooner.

Be so kind, dearly beloved Barbara, as to comfort yourself and although I cannot be with you to console you in word and deed I will do so as much as I am physically able in my letters. Cheer up,

dear, the Leader of everything disposes everything for our best, and think with Job: "The Lord Giveth, the Lord shall take. Blessed be the name of the Lord." And let us pray a few "Our Fathers" daily in the hope that Henry has gone to the Father of all where misery has an end where we all sooner or later must go.

Don't give up, dear. You have a husband who has the greatest sympathy for you and should I have the good fortune to return shortly I will surely remember your many trials and tribulations which you endured in my absence. And I will never forget how steadfast and loving you were to the children and to me.

Therefore take my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy and trust in the Lord who directs all things for our benefit. Do not grieve for my absence and for our loss because these cannot be helped and your worry won't assist matters any. Look up, then and trust in the Lord. I wish you and the children the best of health and everything good and I greet you, dearly beloved old lady, and also your mother and family, Herman and Bina, and all our neighbors. Faithful unto death and mourning for our little one, I am,

Your husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Camp of the 26th Regiment, Wisconsin

Volunteers, between Stafford Court House
and Brooks Station,
February 27, 1863.

Dearly Beloved Heart:

About ten minutes ago I received your precious letter of February 19th which brought me the news of our beloved little son. It is just six p.m. and as we will have bi-monthly muster tomorrow I thought I would write to you immediately. As you must have seen in my last letter I was somewhat prepared for the news. I trembled when I saw a letter there for me. I was very much surprised when I saw it was written in your hand.

I want to thank you for the motherly care you took of the little fellow and I want you to thank for me all our friends and neighbors who assisted you in this sad time. I am especially grateful to my

Godfather for what he did for the little fellow and for the assistance and comfort he gave you who was forsaken by me. I will never forget his aid. If a time ever comes when I can repay him I will surely do so. The only thing I can do now is to pray for him and to ask God to bless him since not a drink of water is given of which He does not know.

As for our dear little son, peace be to him, and may God grant him eternal rest. Amen.

Take all the consolation that you can from your loving husband, dearly beloved soul. Cheer your spirit and remember that whatever God does is well done. Think of the words of the Savior: Suffer the little children to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Of the dead also.

I am still in good health. I was much comforted by your letter and I trust that my letter will keep you cheerful in the future.

Yesterday we received a very fine gift from the wife of our colonel. Every company was given four dozen packages of tobacco. My health is just fine now and I am gaining weight and strength every day. I am very well liked and I think that in the future you will see a change in my pay.

Our lieutenant asked me if I was still repairing shoes. I asked him why and he told me that I was to make out the big clothing book and besides that if one wanted to become an officer as I do one has to give up shoe repairing. I do all of the correspondence for the whole company as none of the other sergeants can write. The colonel helps me whenever he can. I can do this correspondence in front of the fireplace sitting on my bed as the time at which it must be done is not specified. It is a noble thought of yours to want to give this money to my mother and I must praise you for the just division of it. Comfort yourself, dear, and trust in God. He will do what is right.

The sorrowing father sends his greetings to you and to his little children. I'll fulfill your request.

Adam Muenzenberger.

You can't write too much. Write as often as possible and send me some shoemaker's wax and needles and postage stamps. Until I write you, send wool in each letter. Schoenleber is again with me. He helps me with the shoe repairing and we have very much work. Adam borrowed \$5 from me. I still have \$5 but I will not use it to buy something to eat. My appetite is pretty good but I can get along with the rations. Goodbye, dear heart. See you again and write me soon what the teacup says.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
March 7th 1863

Faithful and Dearly Beloved Wife:

At four o'clock in the afternoon of March 6th I received your precious letter of February 25th and your beloved portrait. I learn from the letter that you and the children are in good health. I could guess as much of you from the picture. You and the little ones look very well and I am greatly pleased that you sent it. I still feel fine and I send you my love and my portrait. It was taken March 4th and from it you can see what I look like here in the wilds of Virginia. I sincerely hope that my picture finds you as it leaves me - in the best of health. You can judge my appearance from the picture. I await your verdict in your next letter. The picture cost me \$1. As for a furlough we must console ourselves for a while. Furloughs last only five or six days. Lewis Manz has been granted one and has gone to New York. He will bring me glue, etc. Be comforted, dear, for the moment it is impossible.

Please write me as soon as you can. You can tell me what is important in the letter of the school sisters. The two papers and the twins came with the letter. If you send anything else, send it in a 'Know-Nothing' paper, as then I will surely get it. It seems as if they are trying to keep all the democratic papers. Occasionally the soldiers complain that they do not receive their papers regularly or not at all. We do not know. The duties for the privates, and in fact for all the soldiers are being made so hard that they can scarcely stand them. For instance, instead of standing twenty-four hours, the pickets must stand two or three times twenty-four hours at one place.

.....{illegible} You read in the papers here that the army has very good food such as potatoes, bread, etc. Up to now we have seen very few changes and instead of having bean soup with beans we now have bean soup without beans. The soup is made of potatoes and if you want to find any beans you have to use a magnifying glass. Instead of having beef twice every three days in camp we don't have it twice in ten days and then it is so lean that it scorches. The salt pork is not very thick - about six or seven inches - and salted so heavily that the salt hangs on it as thick as a finger. We think things will be better in Stafford because they have a hundred bake ovens there.

This week the rebels clashed again with our cavalry and yesterday when they met the southerners they were driven back. The southern cavalry and the southern artillery are expected to appear at the forest in front of our pickets. Leopold is on picket duty. Adam and Holz were sick for a couple of days. Both were released by the doctor this morning.

Write me immediately, beloved, even if it is twice a week. We will soon begin. The Army and we are ready.

Camp of the Twenty-Sixth Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
March 7, 1863.

Precious, dearly beloved Barbara:

Your dear letter of March 1st came to me this afternoon at four o'clock. You can imagine how happy I was to hear from you on successive days. I am delighted that you and the little ones are in good health and I hope that this reaches you as it leaves me, hale and hearty.

I feel fine again and food tastes good to me. We receive bread that has been baked in Stafford Court House. A field oven has been set up there that uses between three and four hundred barrels of flour every day. We had our first baking from there last night. It arrived about the same time as your letter. It is lovely bread made of summer wheat. We are to receive it four times a week. Hooker, our new general, is responsible for this. He proposes to introduce strict discipline and he wants it followed out.

For this reason fifteen men will be shot next week - men whom this union-saving general condemned to death - and why? Of course because they did not do their duties. But when, as we have seen with our own eyes, such gentlemen make mistakes, what then? The answer is: "Oh, it is or was a mere mistake." Dearest, take my word for it, the whole war from beginning to end is nothing but a humbug and a swindle. If a soldier refuses to do his military service - for instance shoveling dirt or carrying logs, he is sent before the provost marshal and he is punished, losing a half to three months pay. That's what happens in our regiment to our officers. The private hardly know who is cook or commander, lieutenant or captain. The second lieutenant of today in ten or at most thirty days is a first lieutenant or captain. This morning there was a general examination of the sergeants for the purpose of recruiting enough lieutenants. They can't get enough lieutenants and officers. What is the reason for this? They simply do not want to fight for the niggers.

The rumor goes round that General Sigel has resigned. If it is true then Schurz, Steinwehr, Stehel, Kryzynowski and all generals under Sigel will retire -in fact the whole staff will quit. What will become of the German division then? The lord himself only knows. Whether they will fight under a Hooker or a Molitroner time alone will tell. Much as the people at home talk against Schurz one thing is certain. He is loved and honored by his division and he is very proud of his 26th Wisconsin regiment. Our general's wife is still here.

Please answer this letter immediately and tell me whether you received the \$16. We hear from every side that revolution is brewing in Illinois and Wisconsin. Write and tell me what is the truth in this matter and whether we should come up to you soon and put things in order. We are in better shape than the 27th and 28th regiments. The 27th have no idea what it means to be American soldiers. The 28th, I am sorry to say, have already found out how it feels when a father is torn from his family. The 26th feel entirely different and will right about some morning and clear up this humbug. Write to me soon and send my greetings to all my acquaintances and friends.

Your loving,

Adam

A little present to the little one whom it fits from Dr. Schoenleber. He had it given to him. Write me immediately, beloved, even if it is twice a week. We will soon begin. The army and we are ready.

Camp of the 26th Regiment at
Stafford Court House, March 12, 1863

Precious Dearly Beloved Wife:

Happy and in the best of health I received your dear letter yesterday at four o'clock. I trust that this letter of mine will find you, the little ones, and all our friends, acquaintances and neighbors in good health. We are still encamped on our old camp ground and because all our officers are young and newly commissioned we must drill long and hard. The same thing happened to us that happened to the German immigrant who arrived in America and wanted to buy a farm. He needed a pair of oxen for breaking the soil. He asked his neighbors whether he should buy young or old oxen. The neighbor answered, "Buy an old pair. They'll teach you which is right and which is left." That's the way things go with us. If the colonel or lieutenant colonel is commanding, the regiment goes the same old way and doesn't listen to the officers. If they did they would be led astray and our newly commissioned officers would have to march along. I only wish you could see that confusion. Our old captains and lieutenants are leaving one after another and returning home. Yesterday morning Captain George of Milwaukee and Captain Hettler of Fond du Lac, both of Company A, left with their releases.

They talk quite a bit about peace here and about us leaving this place. Almost every hour some news arrives and before long we're so filled with rumors that you might well say that we believe nothing that we hear. When we left Milwaukee they said, "Just let November pass. The Democrats will be elected and immediately things will change." In November they said that if there hadn't been a decisive battle in favor of the North by New Year's it would all be over with. When the first of the year came the rumor spread, "The 4th of March - that is the day of salvation for those in the chains of the once great republic." Look at the prospects now. November 1862, January 1863, and the saving March 1 have come and gone and conditions are just as bad - if not worse in fact - than at the beginning of the war. And the reason - the big pockets of the swindlers and contractors haven't been filled enough yet.

In Milwaukee at a public meeting (for instance the one held a couple of weeks ago at the St. Charles hotel) they will empty a couple of dozen glasses of wine and draw up resolutions. What good are they though? They are nothing but child's play. But to say a word where it will do some good - each one depends on the other fellow. Then they say as one Suabian said to another "Jokele, you walk ahead. You have the biggest feet."

Enough for this time though. Next time more.

Please, Barbara, give my greetings to Henry Trent. Tell him that I am very sorry for him and for all to whom fate is unkind.

Fritz Awe is sick in Douglas Hospital in Washington. He has been there for over four weeks. I forwarded his letters to Washington. I don't know his exact condition. He was sent to the hospital with something wrong with his chest. And from this he appeared well. Adam is still healthy and happy. So is Leopold, Holz and all the rest of our friends. We receive our supplies very promptly now - bread, potatoes, white beans, meat, molasses, etc. Rumor says that we're going to move from here soon. One story has it that we will move to Tennessee. Another says Washington.

Stafford Court House, March 23rd, 1863.

Precious, dearly beloved wife:

On the 22nd of March I received your two letters dated respectively March 12th and 15th. I also received a letter from Francis L. Hirsch. I see that you and our beloved ones are in the best of health. My health is also good and I hope that this letter finds you in the same state.

According to your letter, in your judgment I must have changed my looks considerably as you think that I look thin. Think of this, we don't undress more than once a week and then only when we change our shirts and underwear. That more than anything else keeps us thin. Then imagine the comfortable camps we have on the march. They are either in snow or mud. This keeps one thin too.

But up to now we have had a fairly comfortable camp and very good food. We have fresh bread every day - but how long we will be camped here heaven only knows as the enemy is in the neighborhood and has attacked our picket lines several times. They failed to do anything, however, and were driven back after a considerable loss. When this happened our regiment was on picket duty but about six miles back from the fight. We stood picket duty for three days. We were relieved when the enemy attacked the soldiers who had taken our places and were forced to retreat without achieving anything.

A funny thing happened at this fight. On March the 20th when the fight took place the general wanted to lead into battle one of the

regiments whose time was up in a couple of weeks. They wouldn't move and said they would not return to Fredericksburg. At last a regiment equipped with breech loaders volunteered to go into the battle. We could hear the rattle of the muskets and the roar of the cannon as though we were in the midst of the fight. It sounded great. The struggle lasted six hours. The result you will no doubt learn sooner than will we who are close by.

I don't want to bother you with a lot of useless talk. Although the only result of the war is a large loss of life, we still seem to be gaining something on our side. For this reason I don't think it worth the effort to waste a lot of time on it. It makes me very happy to find all your letters so full of affection. You cannot imagine the pleasure I get from them.

I am very glad that the church tower is to be built at last and I wish the congregation much good luck and contentment. Write me frequently and tell me how things are going with you and the neighborhood. The loss of many children in your neighborhood is certainly very trying. If parents could see how sick children are treated here they would be consoled as I am in the death of our little Henry. If it had been the will of God I would that I had died at his age. If only I had not seen this cursed war.

Be comforted, dear, I am forever thinking of you and the promise that I gave you I have kept every day. Comfort yourself, then, and don't despair. When the news is greatest God is nearest.

As for the color of my beard tell Mrs. Wallace that the reason for that was that beard had never kissed a woman. That's why it is pale and didn't get dark. I sincerely hope that it will get dark later.

Many regards to all our neighbors and friends, to your mother and family, Herman and Bina, Kraks, Strothmanns, Weiler, Hirsch, Hommel, Krempel, Jungbluth, my uncle Muehl and family, Jung, Konrad, Roller, and Michels - wish him much luck in his young son - and in fact to everyone who inquires for me. Don't forget the Wallaces and Horbachers.

In the greatest pleasure that all of you are well I kiss your picture and greet you, precious dearly beloved heart, many times.

Yours until death,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Answer soon. Adam received his letter and greets everybody many times and will write within a few days. Please thank Dr. Krak in my name and write me whether he is still at Miller's. Rumors say that he was discharged.

Camp of the 26th Regiment
between Stafford Court House
and Brooks Station,
April 1, 1863.

Dear beloved precious Barbara:

I was disappointed in my expectations of a letter from you this week. As to date I have received none. I do not know what the cause is, whether the letters didn't arrive or whether you didn't write any last week.

I am still well as are all our acquaintances, Adam [Wuest], Leopold [Drewes], [Asmus] Holtz, [John] Kraemer, in fact all the Greenfielders with the exception of Fritz Awe who is still in Douglas Hospital in Washington. We -- or rather I -- hope that this letter will reach you in the same good health as that in which it leaves me.

We are still quartered in our old camp. But we do not know how long we will be here. Perhaps we will leave in the next few days. Rumor has it that we are to go to Washington and Baltimore to relieve, General Heintzelmann who will take the field.

Although it is very unlikely that we will be sent there, the greater part of the men would be very well satisfied to get out of this dirty hole of Virginia. The weather here is very nice again today. It is somewhat windy. The last two days we had a little snow, and our regiment was on picket duty for three days. Of course I wasn't with them, but Adam [Wuest] and the rest did duty. When the bad weather came, our men had already been two days on picket duty. Then snow began, and rain accompanied by a heavy storm. Our good colonel [Jacobs] went from general to general and said, "I must have my boy's at home. I don't want them to get sick." He personally visited the men at their posts every day, and managed to have them released after two days. When they arrived at camp each man who had stood picket received a glass of beer. According to the papers I see that they're a little down on the colonel, but I assure you that he is an honorable man. He always wants the best for his regiment, and I do not think there is a better colonel in the army. As I have heard from him personally, he takes pride in his regiment. What colonel would have done what he has done for us? Let the papers say what they want.

They can all talk but when it comes to courage and bravery they look for a mousehole to crawl into.

Our quartermaster [Frederick W. Hundhausen] arrived here finally last Monday. He told me he had brought something along for me. But it is still in his trunk. I asked him who had given it to him, but he didn't know. But he showed me my name in his books. That only increased the longing and whetted my appetite to know whether I was to receive a letter, as I would like to know what my dear one -- or whoever it was -- had sent me. But patience, patience conquers everything!

Dear Old Girl:

Be so kind as to greet my sister and brother-in-law, your mother, sisters, and brothers, my uncle Muehl, his families and grandmother. I wish him and his families the best of health. My best wishes too to everybody that asks for me.

If you should get to Milwaukee - will you please go to the neighborhood of the Red Bridge where we had our pictures taken, and ask for Knoechel's house. There inquire for Mrs. Springling. Greet her and tell her that her husband [Andreas] is my bed-partner. One suspects it was an unhappy marriage. Say that he asks through you whether she received the money or not. He sent some money by express. If she hasn't received it then she should take two male witnesses with her to the Express Company and demand it. If you go to town get some socks for me.

I am greatly pleased to learn that Ernest, Mary and Adam learn so readily and are such good children. Tell them that they should continue to be good, and to study hard, and pray that I may return to them soon, and I will surely bring something along for them. Adam's mischief must make him cunning. In looking at his picture one sees nothing but mischief. Kiss the children for me and as I am kissing your picture I beg to remain,

Your dearly loving,

Adam.

Camp near Brooks Station, April 3, 1863.

Dearest and Much Beloved Barbara:

Yesterday, April 2, we were paid for the months of March and April, and the money will therefore soon arrive. I received \$6 the other day. You will receive \$20 within a few days. It pleases me to be able to tell you this and that we are paid so promptly. I am still well and I hope that these few lines find you in the same condition. Adam -- and in fact all the Greenfielders -- is well and wishes to be remembered.

As for me I still enjoy good treatment and have nothing else to do but write and then drill for three hours a day. Our orderly is now acting lieutenant, and when the general returns he will be appointed lieutenant and I will be appointed sergeant. Then instead of thirteen I will receive seventeen dollars a month. This will work out better.

But good as this news is, what value has it when one isn't at home.

Perhaps a decision as to ending the war will come soon.

How are things with you? How is the draft coming? What other news about the war do you hear? What does your teacup say?

How are our children and friends? Please write soon and frequently, and send me all cheerful and good news. I will try, dearest, to answer and describe everything that would be of interest to you.

In the hope that these lines find you and our loved ones in the best of health, I greet you many times, beloved wife, and the children whose picture I often kiss. . . .

Adam can't understand why your mother doesn't write. He is really worried. Greet your mother and sisters and brothers for him and yourself and the children from Adam and me'.

I am sending you a dollar for an Easter present or for whatever you wish to use it. If I can get more I will send it later. A kiss for you, old lady! Goodbye for a speedy reunion.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
April 17, 1863.

Dearly beloved precious Barbara:

I was disappointed in my expectations of a letter from you this week as to date I have received none. I do not know what the cause is, whether the letters didn't arrive or whether you didn't write any last week. I am still well as are all our acquaintances, Adam, Leopold, Holz, Kraemer, in fact all the Greenfielders with the exception of Fritz Awe who is still in Douglas Hospital in Washington. We - or rather - I hope that this letter will reach you in the same good health that it leaves me in.

We are still quartered in our camp. But we do not know how long we will be here. Perhaps we will leave in the next few days. Rumor has it that we are to go to Washington and Baltimore to relieve General Heintzelmann who will take the field. Although it is very unlikely that we would be sent there the greater part of the men would be very well satisfied to get out of this dirty hole of Virginia.

The weather here is very nice again today. It is a little bit windy. The last two days we had a little snow and our regiment was on picket duty for three days. Of course I wasn't with them but Adam and the rest did duty. When the bad weather began our men had already been two days on picket duty. Then it began to snow and rain accompanied by a heavy storm. Our good colonel went from general to general and said, "I must have my boys at home. I don't want them to get sick." He personally visited the men at their posts every day and managed to have them released after two days. When they arrived at camp each man who had stood picket received a glass of beer. According to the papers I see that they're a little down on the Colonel but I assure you that he is an honorable man. He always wants the best for his regiment and I do not think there is a better colonel in the army. As I have heard from him personally he takes pride in his regiment. What colonel would have done what he has done for us? Let the papers say what they want. They can all talk but when it comes to courage and bravery they look for a mouse hole to crawl into.

Our quartermaster arrived here finally last Monday. He told me he had brought something along for me. But it is still in his trunk. I asked him who had given it to him but he didn't know but he showed me my name in his books. That only increased the longing and whetted the appetite to know whether I was to receive a letter as I would like to know what my dear one - or whoever it was - had sent me. But patience, patience conquers everything!

Many regards to you and the children, to your mother and her family, Herman and Bina, Kraks, Weilers, Muehl and family, Hirsch, Jungbluth, Wallace, Konrad, Krempel, Jungs, Rollers, Loehrs, and to all those who inquire for me. I am,

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Camp of the 26th Regiment in the
Neighborhood of Brooks Station,
April [blank], 1863

Precious, dearly beloved wife:

As we received orders to move this morning I will have to write to you immediately as my feelings as husband and father bid me to do. Where we go we do not know but this much is sure, we are advancing. General Hooker crossed the Rappahannock yesterday with three army corps and is looking for the enemy. He hasn't met them as yet as they are rumored to have retreated thence. As reserves we will no doubt proceed directly against Culpepper in the Shenandoah Valley. If we meet the enemy no doubt it will mean a battle. We have received orders to turn in our uniform coats. We had already done so. They will be stored in a magazine. Perhaps a battle will have been fought by the time you receive this letter. We surely hope to be victors and to be in Richmond soon but don't worry unnecessarily about us. Be comforted and trust in the Lord as I do and He will make everything all right. It will please me immensely if I can be back in your circle again but if we rest here quietly and do nothing the war will never end as both sides are too stiff-necked for either to give in and make peace. Therefore be satisfied. We trust that the campaign won't be very difficult. The report is circulating here that the rebels have entirely deserted Fredericksburg. The sick were sent away this morning. The weather here is unusually nice and quite warm.

I again beg of you not to worry so much as I have never been discouraged since I have been here. I hope that you and the children will pray for me as I do for you.

Many greetings to all that I mentioned in my other letters especially to your mother and her family, to Herman and Bina, Muehl and family, and to you, dear wife, and to my beloved little ones.

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Farewell, beloved wife. Kissing the pictures of you and the children, in memory of our mutual promise until death,

Your loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Take care of yourself. Goodbye. Answer soon as your letter follows me no matter where we go.

Dear Old Girl:

Be so kind as to greet my family and brother-in-law, your mother, sisters, and brothers, my uncle Muehl, his families and grandmother. I wish him and his families the best of health. My best wishes too to Weiler, Hirsch, Dr. Krak, Wallace, Harbacher, Konrad, Krempel, Montag, Stuber, Jungs, Jungbluth, Franks, Hommel, Roller, Michel - and in fact everybody that asks for me.

If you should get to Milwaukee will you please go to the neighborhood of the Red Bridge where we had our pictures taken and ask for Knoechel's house. There inquire for Mrs. Sprengling. Greet her and tell her that her husband is my bed-partner. (One suspects it was an unhappy marriage). Say that he asks through you whether she received the money or not. (He sent some money by express.) If she hasn't received it then she should take two male witnesses with her to the Express Company and demand it. If you go to town get some socks for me.

I am greatly pleased to learn that Ernst, Mary and Adam learn so readily and are such good children. Tell them that they should continue to be good and to study hard and pray that I may return to them soon and I will surely bring something along for them. Adam's mischief must make him cunning. In looking at his picture one sees nothing but mischief. Kiss the children for me and as I am kissing your picture I beg to remain,

Your dearly loving,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Stafford Court House, April 2, 1863

Beloved:

How are you? How are the dear little ones? Are they still well and how does it happen that I haven't received a letter this week? As I yearn terribly for a letter from you and wait evening after evening and fail to receive one I become uneasy. I don't know whether or not something has happened which prevents you from writing. I beg of you dear heart, be so kind as to write me a letter every week so that I can know how the family is getting along, whether they are in good health or not, and how everything is getting along at home, and if there is any news. What do the folks at home think of the draft? How are all our friends? What does your teacup say? Is peace at hand or not? And how is business of all kinds in Milwaukee and vicinity?

Please answer these questions - even if you don't do it all at one time - and let your husband know how things really stand. After I had written the other letter yesterday we received orders that everyone had to have two pairs of new trousers, new shoes, and [word illegible], and bread bags. I do not know what in the world is going to happen.

When we left Fairfax last fall we were not allowed to have more than two shirts, two pairs of underpants, two socks, a jacket, a cloak, and a woolen and an oilcloth blanket. Now everything must be about the same with the exception of the blankets. Should we be ordered to march we will have to half kill ourselves lugging these immense bundles through dirt and mud. But where we are headed for we do not know. It is said that we will be paid out before we leave but only until April 1. If we should receive our pay you can figure on my usual liberality because the more I can send you the greater pleasure I get. My most heartfelt wish is only that I may be able to return to our quiet little home, there to know the pleasure that we get from looking at each other and from embracing with joy.

Console yourself, you and the forlorn little ones and ask the good God for the safe return of your husband and father and in this include me in your prayers. I greet you, true soul, and the children many times and in kissing your cold picture I beg to remain,

Your wandering and loving,

Adam Muenzenberger

Kiss the children for me. Answer soon. My greetings to all who inquire for me. Goodbye, love, goodbye.

Letter #35

To Barbara Muenzenberger

Dearly Beloved Sweetheart:

Having just completed a letter to your mother I couldn't resist writing a few words to you. I am well and I trust that this letter finds you in good health.

Although today is Holy Saturday and tomorrow is Easter Sunday things don't look at all like Easter here and our life is more like the life of one who has been banished to a desert than like the life of a free American citizen. We are still encamped in the old place and we will be here about twenty days. Where fate will send us then only He knows who is over us and in Him I put my trust. And then if it is His will He will send me back to my dear family.

The box hasn't arrived as yet. Likewise I haven't received a letter in fourteen days. Perhaps, I thought, the letter has been delayed somewhere.

I understand that we will be paid out within the next few days and then I will send you as much money as I can possibly spare, all, if it is like the last time.

Many regards to your mother, sisters, and brothers, to Bina and Herman, to you and to your children, from

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

To Barbara Muenzenberger

Precious Heart:

Here in our camp things look just like springtime. The robins sing, the other birds whistle, the grass is growing - and yet in spite of all this loveliness and these messengers of spring, the thunder of the cannon, the roll of the drums, and the flash of the bayonet hasn't stopped yet - and neither has the war.

In such weather the imagination at times wanders to the distant home and to the dear wife and children. But that doesn't help one. One must be a man resigned to whatever happens to him. Hope is the only prop for our spirits in these difficult times. We hope that the worst of things is over now and I pray that a star of peace will arise from the distant ocean and take all war and strife from this unhappy land.

Be so good, old girl, as not to send me any more yarn or nails as they are too heavy to carry if we must march. But you might send me some tea or musk as I hear it is good for lice. We haven't any as yet and we don't want any either. All the other regiments say that we will get them and that's why we want to be prepared. If the man asks you for a donation toward a tower or bells do as you want or can. It's all the same to me. From now on I'll leave everything to you....

Stafford Court House, April 6, 1863.

Dearly Beloved Wife:

On Easter Sunday I received your much awaited letter of March twenty-second. I am in the best of health and I hope that these few lines will find you and the children the same. I was much worried over not receiving a letter for two weeks but I see now that the delay wasn't your fault as the letter was written just fourteen days before I received it. It arrived exactly eight days too late. Don't blame me but my love for my family is so great that I can't wait longer than four days for news. Last week we had beautiful weather but on Holy Saturday it changed and on Easter Sunday morning we were greeted with a fine fall of snow. It didn't last long however and today it's pretty well melted. Last week on Good Friday we staged a review for our new General who is taking General Sigel's place. His name is General [Howard](#). He is from Pennsylvania but he can speak German. After the review he visited our camp. When he found that the woolen blankets were hanging in the sun he asked us whether we aired them everyday. We told him that we did. He laughed and said, "What's right." Then accompanied by General Schurz and his whole staff he rode away to Schurz's headquarters. Up to now all is quiet here. What will happen is in the Hands of Him to whom I trust my destiny.

The report goes around here that General Hooker said that in ninety days the war will be over. I certainly hope it is true and I don't believe there is a man in the army with the exception of the officers who does not hope to see this end soon. The officers would like to see peace but they are not anxious to lose their pay. In ordinary business they could not make as much as they are making.

We have poor holidays here. Nobody paid any attention to the fact that it was Easter. In fact no one went to church. Much less did one see children with Easter eggs. But you can stand all this when you know that in your distant home four kindly hearts beat lovingly for the husband and father and share every pain with him.

Be comforted, old dear, every promise I have made to you will be carried out because you know how anxious I am to please you. And you know that I will always do what you are always asking me to do in remembrance of my promises to you. Dear forlorn soul, be comforted.

In case I return, what you are suffering now shall be rewarded a hundred fold....

....Take good care of yourself, true soul, take good care of yourself.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
April 12, 1863.

Precious Barbara:

I received your letter of April 2nd last evening and see - God be praised - that you are all in the best of health. Your brother and I and all your acquaintances are just fine. I am glad to hear that the children are getting better and that my wife has improved and I hope that the next answer I receive will tell me that you are fully recovered. I hope I will hear in your next letter of the speedy recovery of Mrs. Jung and Jacob Konrad. We saw in the paper that the 27th Regiment had left. Tell Theodore Jungbluth I send my regards. Nicholas Friedrich is in the hospital in Pennsylvania. He has written to the Regiment several times. He is in Philadelphia, is better, and has been on guard duty several times. Lewis Manz was in the hospital. He went on guard and the attendants were too lazy to tell him where he was.

I suppose that you have heard the results of the election in our regiment by now. The total vote with the exception of Co. A was 442. Cochrane, Democratic candidate for Supreme Court Justice, received 341 votes. Dixon, the Republican candidate, received 101 votes. A few days ago I wrote a few lines to the Seebothe and told them the results of the election. Things in the Regiment looked better for the Democrats than the gentlemen from Milwaukee had any idea of, and if the soldiers under legal age could have voted, Cochrane would have received even more votes.

The next time you go to town get a county order for \$1.90 as I do not believe the other order was allowed. I read the report of the county clerk in the Seebothe and it said that I was allowed only \$1.90. Please get what you can and use it for whatever you wish.

I am very happy that the little ones are so busy - Ernest, Mary and the Little Mischief. Tell them that it gives me the greatest pleasure that Ernest and Mary are so industrious. Kiss them many times for me, old dear.

Last Friday Old Abraham and his family and the whole array of officers visited us. We held a review for him and marched past him in ranks. Our regiment was the second last. It is the largest in the whole 11th Corps. Also the cleanest and the neatest. Our coats are still as good as new and each man now has his second pair of trousers. On that account our regiment looks as though it had just come to the field. Our colonel said, "Look at the bums. In spite of the fact that our regiment has performed all its winter duties it is still the

trimmest and the best looking. "Boys," he said, "when you march past act as though I were in front holding review so that we get praise again the way we always do." You know our regiment is always praised by everybody.

As we marched past the President one of Carl Schurz's daughters asked him: "General, what regiment is that?" Schurz answered, "That is the 26th Wisconsin." Then she said, "That is the finest looking regiment in the army."

The place where the other regiments paraded was too small for us and so the drums had to be placed back. We marched in division (one division is two companies) in flanks past the President. Our general is very proud of his regiment because it is praised by everyone.

I hope that this letter finds you and the children in good health. I send my greetings to all the relatives and friends without exception, especially to your mother, sisters, and brothers, Herman and Bina, Muehl and families, Jungbluth, Jung, Wallace, O'Neill, Konrad, Krempel, Krak, Hirsch, Weiler, Stempel, and in fact to everybody who inquires for me. From

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Answer immediately. A speedy return. Farewell

Camp near Stafford Court House,

April 12, 1863.

Precious Old Lady:

Today is Whitsuntide, a beautiful day throughout the entire civilized world because of the first communion of Catholic children. Nature is pleased on this day and hence the weather is always good. Such weather favors us. Yesterday and today were quite warm and so we have been going around in our shirt sleeves.

How is the church tower coming along? Is it almost finished? I heard yesterday that the paymaster is in the neighborhood and we will soon be paid out and I will not neglect to send my pay home.

Take care of yourself, old lady, and God be with you all. We send you many greetings. Especially do I greet you and the children in that I kiss your picture frequently....

Dear Beloved Barbara:

Just as I was getting to post a letter to you I was much pleased to receive one from you. I saw that the congregation had agreed to take the advice that I had given so often and was preparing to give a ball. I can almost bet that they will get the hall without cost. I am pleased that you offered to cook the meal for them. I will be even more pleased if you don't take anything from them but will do everything you can for the congregation as I have always done in the past. If I have the good luck to get back I will take the keenest pleasure from seeing the church finished and all discord put aside. Be comforted, therefore, old dear, and trust in the Lord who disposes of everything. And do what you can for the church.

I can see from your letter that Hasse and Gebhard are really wolves in lamb's clothing. Any man who will go and swear that strange dogs have killed his sheep when he can produce no witnesses to show that there were strange dogs and when everyone knows that his own dog did the damage and who then will collect thirty-odd dollars for his sheep - about twice as much as they were worth - is certainly capable of cheating widows and orphans and of robbing bereaved families.

One must deal with one's enemies. If they don't settle willingly one must take the matter to court. He will be forced to pay and he can't get out of it. All of us are in agreement and we want to give the case to a lawyer on equal shares. If he wants to fight we will do this as soon as we have a chance.

I just heard that the paymaster is here and that we will be paid off this week. Governor Salomon will surely be here tomorrow morning. I wish Theodore Jungbluth, Wilhelm and Keogh much luck in their young life. It seems to be that recruiting is now being seriously carried on. Two days, three recruits. That's pretty good work.

Goodbye until next time. Many hearty greetings and best wishes to the congregation but especially to you, dear heart, and to the little ones.

From your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Answer soon.

Stafford Court House, April 17th 1863.

Precious dearly beloved wife:

Because our march has been postponed and we are still in our old camp I thought I would write you a letter. I do not want you to worry unnecessarily. Instead of advancing we went on picket duty and relieved four companies of our regiment because of the very bad weather. All the other regiments had to serve three days of picket duty but our regiment served only a day and a half. Our regiment is still quite large and we had men enough to furnish twice the required number for picket duty. The first four companies served a day and a half and then the next four companies served a day and a half. In this manner our colonel again showed his consideration for us. The 82nd Illinois regiment under Colonel Hecker had to stand its full three days and he doesn't care whether his men are wet to the skin or not. He sees that he stays dry. It rained terribly hard a day and a half of the time they served on picket duty. It rained quite hard one day we were on duty and we didn't know how to get dry as the rain put out the fire. The weather has improved somewhat by now. I had the good luck this week to be appointed acting sergeant and to the satisfaction of everyone was presented with a sword by our first lieutenant Mueller. The company cheered and shouted, "That's right. Muenzenberger deserved this long ago. He has to do all the writing anyway and so he might as well have the job." Lieutenant Mueller is the fellow who reports us to Captain Schmidt with whom I enlisted. He seems to think a good deal of those who enlisted with Schmidt.

Rumor has it that Governor Saloman is to visit us tomorrow - if it isn't false.

They are always taking about he paymaster but we don't know when he is coming. Therefore, old lady, be comforted and don't worry. I don't have to work so hard anymore and if we go into battle I am not in the front but behind the front. My duties are well explained by the orderly. I do all of his correspondence. When we had our election I was clerk and had to make out the papers.

Up to now we don't know where or when we go from here but we are still under marching orders. Our second lieutenant told me that we would be ordered to Aquia Creek to protect the place where the steamboats land. The railroad station is there that receives and ships all the supplies for the army at Fredericksburg. The article you sent with Dr. Hundhausen hasn't arrived as yet. I am patiently awaiting a letter from my dearest. Please write to me soon and send me a few shillings worth of postage stamps.

I am still well and I hope that these lines find you in the best of health. Write me how the children are and what they are doing....

Kiss the children for me.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
April 20, 1963.

Dearest, much beloved Barbara:

I have received your precious letter of April 1. I am greatly pleased to hear that all of you are still well. I too am in good health as are all your friends and your brother in particular. I send my greetings to you and to the children many times.

I was much pleased to receive the package with the moss. You write me about a present, an axe, in your letter. I have sent two axes. Give them to the children who behave best. If you receive the axes one will go to Ernest and the other to the oldest or to Adam. Tell Mary that I will send her something else. Please let me know if you received everything.

Governor Saloman arrived here yesterday and held a brief review of the regiment. He excused himself for not furnishing it with Milwaukee clothes. He assured us, however, that he would never forget the honor with the Twenty-Sixth yielded him. We had decorated the camp with green boughs and festoons. Then he said that the State of Wisconsin was proud of the Twenty-Sixth and looked with admiration upon its two service regiments, the Ninth and the Twenty-Sixth. He repeated the same praise in the evening to the Milwaukee Sanger Bund which serenaded him with the songs, "In Der Heimat ist es Schoen," and "Das Treue Deutsche Herz."

"In my whole life," he said, "I have never before been so proud of my German descent as I am now in the Camp of the Twenty-Sixth Regiment." As soon as he finished his speech the men were supposed to give three cheers for the Union but they didn't go so well. And when the commander asked for three cheers for Governor they didn't go so well either. But when he called for three cheers for General Schurz they went! Schurz merely smiled. You know he was just a guest of the Governor and the General.

I took care of Fritz Awe's affair for him. Lieutenant Mueller, our company commander, has returned the paper to the Secretary of State and now Awe's folks will receive state aid. Weidmann wrote to Leopold that Mrs. Awe died. Write and tell me whether or not it is true.

You write and say that our little mischief is smart. I imagine that he has many teachers and that must make him perfect. I am glad that he is so healthy. Tell Mary and Ernest that I send them many kisses. They should be good and study hard because in that way they will please me. I beg of you, dear heart, be comforted. We must make the best of things down here. Perhaps the story will end sooner than anyone expects. Quite a few soldiers who have served their time are going home.

Many greetings to old acquaintances, to the Muehl families, to Herman and Bina, to your mother and her family, and to all that ask for me. Many sincere greetings to your, dear heart, and to our dear children, from

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Answer soon!

As April opened, the Army of the Potomac had busied itself preparing for active campaigning. Boxes and barrels of food supplies were heaped almost mountain high. Mules and wagons were parked everywhere. Forges smoked and smelled as blacksmiths shoed horses. Infantrymen cleaned their weapons; artillerymen, their guns. Shabby uniforms were exchanged for new shoes and clothing. Hospitals were cleared of the wounded, and scrubbed. Hooker's seven corps, each numbering from 15, 000 to 20, 000 men, with a grand division of about 11, 000 cavalry, for a total of one hundred and twenty-five thousand effectives, faced Lee's army which, outnumbered two to one, lay in plain view across the Rappahanock.

Hooker planned to open the campaign by sending his cavalry to cut the Richmond- Petersburg railroad, on which Lee brought up supplies. When heavy rains made roads and countryside impassable even to horsemen, Hooker determined to divide his army, leaving sufficient forces at Fredericksburg to hold Lee there, while he circled with the greater part of the army to fall on' Lee's more vulnerable flank and rear. The plan was superb; its execution, bungling.

Some five miles west of Fredericksburg the Rapidan river enters the Rappahanock. On April 28th Hooker sent three corps, Meade and the V, Howard and the XI, and Slocum and the dd up roads skirting the north bank of the Rappahanock to a point above the confluence, where they turned and crossed. Chancellorsville, a hamlet twelve miles west of Fredericksburg and six miles south of the Rappahanock, was their objective. Slocum commanded the operation.

That evening the three corps bivouacked near Chancellorsville. Hooker's orders provided that if Lee kept to his Fredericksburg defenses, Slocum should march eastward, parallel to the river, until he reached the high land south of Bank's ford, about three miles west of Fredericksburg. His arrival there should compel Lee to withdraw his outnumbered left, so that Hooker would be able to use all fords west of Bank's to reunite his divided army. To prepare for such reassembling, Couch with two divisions of the II corps took position on the north bank, opposite Bank's ford.

The third part of Hooker's plan was to keep Sedgwick with the remainder of the army to the front of Chancellorsville. Hooker planned to join Slocum in person. After Slocum had crossed at Bank's ford, Sedgwick was to cross the Rappahanock below Fredericksburg, and seize the roads to Richmond to Lee's rear. If, however, Lee weakened his positions by attacking Slocum, Sedgwick, was to make a frontal assault on Fredericksburg itself. If Lee retreated, all were to push him.

This able plan, preliminaries of which were precisely carried out, contained serious weaknesses. With Hooker's cavalry raiding instead of screening, Lee learned of Slocum's movements. Worse', when Sedgwick crossed down-river, he fought so half-heartedly that Lee correctly judged the attack a feint, and guessed that the main attack would emerge west of Fredericksburg. He therefore ordered three brigades to concentrate at Chancellorsville. Although Slocum's superior forces pushed these back on the morning of the 30th, the cat was out of the bag. Hooker now ordered Couch and Sickles to cross the Rappahanock at the fords evacuated by Lee,

and he himself rode to Chancellorsville to take personal command there.

On May 1st, 70, 000 men, a force greater than Lee's whole army, threatened Lee's left around Chancellorsville; while two more Union corps threatened his right at Fredericksburg. But Hooker's ineptitude became apparent when he held his forces around Chancellorsville under cover of the wilderness, instead of leading them boldly into the open fields between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, where their numerical superiority should have been decisive.

The night before, Stonewall Jackson's corps of 25, 000 troops had left their position at Lee's right, and next morning, May 1, at Chancellorsville had made junction with the 10, 000 troops already there. While Jackson moved west on the Chancellorsville-Fredericksburg turnpike, Meade moved east on the same road. At noon, when the heads of the two columns met east of Chancellorsville, Meade took strong positions clear of the woods, and prepared to receive Jackson's attack.

To everyone's amazement, Hooker ordered a withdrawal from positions where numerical superiority gave him decisive advantages to the wilderness tangles where superior numbers availed little. Simultaneously he ordered Reynolds to cross the Rappahanock and Sedgwick to threaten Early, who held the depleted Fredericksburg positions. Had Sedgwick assaulted in strength, he would have crushed Early, but Hooker's confusion or timidity produced so strange a military problem that Lee momentarily did not know how to begin operations. Except for Early, his whole army now enveloped the greater part of a Union army twice its size.

Union General Abner Doubleday who commanded a corps at Chancellorsville, later wrote: "The prospect for Lee as darkness closed over the scene was far more encouraging. He had examined the position of the Union army carefully, and had satisfied himself that as regards its center and left it was unassailable.

Before giving up the attack, however, Stuart was directed to cautiously reconnoiter the right, where Howard was posted, and see if there was not a vulnerable point there.

Returning, Stuart reported that Howard's right was defenseless, in the air. Against all rules of strategy, Jackson asked to march his corps under concealment of the woods and assault Howard's weak point. Lee consented. Possible gains were greater than the known hazard. If Howard was ready, behind breastworks, guns planted, Jackson would be pinned to the spot, while the rest of Hooker's army could crush Lee's remaining forces. So great was Lee's risk, Doubleday avers, that "nothing short of utter blindness on the part of the Union commanders could make it successful."

That evening Stuart reported to Lee and Jackson that the XI corps was "in the air" at Doudall's Tavern in the wilderness. Lee quickly agreed that Jackson with 30,000 men should march around the weak flank and take it in reverse, even though the movement divided the Confederate army into three parts, and exposed it to being beaten in detail. With 15,000 men Lee himself hoped to be able to hold Hooker in check at Chancellorsville. Doubleday described Jackson's movement as a "startling proposition."

At dawn Hooker toured his lines and ordered: a division of the III corps to plug an overlong interval between the XI and XII corps. About the same

time Lee began to demonstrate against Hooker's left, and Jackson set out to hunt the 11th corps.

By noon the Union army saw him, watched his column pass wooded openings, ascertained his direction of march, accurately counted his numbers. Clearly, he was either retreating to Gordonsville, or marching circuitously to fall on Howard. Hooker even ordered Slocum and Howard to post heavy reserves, to strengthen their weak right, and to advance their pickets.

Observing Jackson, Sickles sent out infantry, and artillery to shell his train, and at P.M., with Hooker's consent, started with two divisions to attack Jackson in flank and cut him off from Lee. Although Hooker's indecisiveness prevented Sickles from halting Jackson, prisoners admitted that far from retreating, Jackson was gaining position from which to strike a blow.

Jackson finally gained Howard's flank and rear, and attacked between 5:00 and 6:00 P.M. while Howard's men were cooking supper.

The rout of the XI corps was as tragic as its surprise had been unnecessary. Devens was struck first, held the Confederates for a few minutes, then broke; Schurz crumbled almost as quickly, and finally Steinwehr collapsed. In less than an hour Howard's panic-stricken corps was crowding every avenue of escape, while the rest of Hooker's army slowly adjusted to meet the catastrophe.

The wounding of Stonewall Jackson; the renewal of the battle in the moonlight with the check to the Confederates; Hooker's further pointless withdrawal from strong positions; his head injury and his confusion and

inactivity; his retreat through rain and mud to his old positions; the disheartenment of his army which through inept leadership had lost 18, 000 men and gained neither victory nor advantage -- these and other matters are described in the larger record.

The 26th Wisconsin was caught in Howard's route.

Camp near Brooks Station, May 3, 1863

Dearest and Much Beloved Barbara:

Yesterday, May 2, we were paid for the months of March and April and the money will therefore soon arrive. I received \$6 the other day. You will receive \$20 within a few days. It pleases me to be able to tell you this and that we are paid so promptly. I am still well and I hope that these few lines find you in the same condition. Adam - and in fact all the Greenfielders - is well and wishes to be remembered.

As for me I still enjoy good treatment and have nothing else to do but write and then drill for three hours a day. Our orderly is now acting lieutenant and when the general returns he will be appointed lieutenant and I will be appointed sergeant. Then instead of thirteen I will receive seventeen dollars a month. This will work out better.

But good as this news is, what value has it when one isn't at home. Perhaps a decision as to the end of the war will come soon.

How are things with you? How is the draft coming? What other news about the war do you hear? What does your teacup say?

How are our children and friends? Please write soon and frequently and send me all cheerful and good news. I will try, dearest, to answer and describe everything that would be of interest to you.

In the hope that these lines find you and our loved ones in the best of health I greet you many times, beloved wife, and the children whose picture I often kiss. And I remain

Your Truly Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Remember me to your mother and sisters and brothers, Bina and Herman, Millers, Wallace and family, O'Neills, Konrad, Krempel, Weiler, Hommel, Kraks, Montag, Molthauf, Harbacher, Jung, Jungbluth, Michel, Roller, Loehrs, Frank, and in fact to all who inquire for me. Adam can't understand why your mother doesn't write. He is really worried. Greet your mother and sisters and brothers for him and yourself and the children from Adam and me,

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

I am sending you a dollar for an Easter present or for whatever you wish to use it. If I can get more I will send it later. A kiss for you, old lady! Goodbye for a speedy reunion.

Camp of the 26th Regiment between
Stafford Court House and Brooks Station,
May 7, 1863.

Precious, dearly beloved Wife:

After much trouble and suffering - ten days of it - which for Holz, Leopold, your brother Adam and me turned out luckily, I again take my pen to tell you at the first opportunity about everything which we have undergone. God be praised, I am in the best of health and so is your brother but for many these last ten days were difficult and for some they were last hours. God deserves much gratitude for getting us out of this butchery.

On April 28th we received orders to march but we did not know where we were to go. We had fine clear weather until about nine o'clock when it clouded up with a thunderstorm. It rained that afternoon. We passed through a little village called Grove Church. At two we came within a mile of the Rappahannock River where we waited because the Rebels were on the opposite bank. At midnight we crossed the river. Our regiment was the first to pass over but we found no grey-coats. That morning we marched until three o'clock.

On April 29th we started out at ten and marched until four in the afternoon when we arrived at the Rapidan, a tributary that flows into the Rappahannock. We crossed this at night and at ten o'clock we pitched camp on the other side of Garmane's Mills. It was raining. On the 30th it was still raining. On this day we marched on the plank road towards Fredericksburg and met General Steinwehr's troops. It was still raining.

On May 1st we were in camp nine miles from Fredericksburg. We passed a good night. About noon we heard the beginnings of the cannonading. Suddenly we received orders to get ready. General Kryzynowski told us that we had the honor of forming the right wing and that the enemy would

probably break through at that place. In the afternoon we were lined up in battle order and heard several cannon shots. That night some of us slept in battle lines. Others had to throw up breastworks.

On May 2nd we had taken our places of the day before when at five o'clock in the afternoon the rebels suddenly appeared. They came out of a bluff in great numbers and outnumbered our regiment seven to four. As we were back of a small hill it was hard for them to hit us but every round our regiment fired mowed down rows of southerners.

We were ordered to retire. Our regiment lost 20 dead, 73 wounded, and 103 missing. The fault of it is this: Sigel isn't with us anymore and the others are merely humbug generals.

May 3. We were moved to the left wing where the rebels greeted us again. Our pickets sent them back.

May 4. Everything was quiet until noon. Then the rebels made an attack on the right wing but were repulsed with a very heavy loss. All the rebels in this attack were negroes. Then we were transferred to the center.

May 5. We heard a little gunfire to our left again. It was always quieted, however. In the afternoon we had a thunderstorm. The rain came pouring down and we were soaked through and through. The thunderstorm turned into a slow rain. The rebels surrounded us and we were compelled to retreat over the river or be taken by the rebels or drown.

May 6. We were sent across the Rappahannock in great haste and were lucky enough to get across when we heard that we were to return to our old camp at Brooks Station. We proceeded and arrived there at seven in the evening. We had marched 28 miles that day.

We felt very much at home there, only our muscles were rather sore from the hardships of the battle. I forget all my hardships, though, when I think that I can write to you, beloved, that no bullet touched either Adam or me. Lewis Manz, Jacob Michel, and Sprengling, whose wife you visited recently were wounded, Manz in the head, and Michel in his head and shoulder but not badly. Burkhardt is among the missing. This is all that I care to tell you about the hardships of the battle.

I hope that you and ours are happy and that this swindle will end pretty soon. This affair is nothing more or less than the greatest fraud every concocted.

There were no letters here for me today but I am in hopes of receiving one yet. It would please me greatly to have your next letter bring us the news that this humbug is over.

Be comforted as I am and pray with the children for me as I do for you in the hopes of a speedy reunion. Send my greetings to all our neighbors and acquaintances, especially to your mother and her family, Herman and Bina, Muehl and family, Wallace, Weiler, O'Neill, Hommel, Hirsch, Krak, Roller, Michels, Jungbluth, Jung, Konrad, Krempels, Miendorf, Molthauf, and in fact all that ask for me. I remain your husband, faithful to death,

Adam Muenzenberger.

We lost our second lieutenant among the dead and our first lieutenant Mueller was wounded in the arm. The wounded are all in the hospital. I remain,

Your husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Greet and kiss our dear little ones for me. I hope that you remain well and pray for me. Farewell, faithful soul. Goodbye. More next time.

Another order to march has come but where to I don't know. Farewell. Write to me. The letters arrive.

Camp of the 26th Regiment

between Stafford Court House
and Brooks Station, May 7, 1863.

Precious, dearly beloved Barbara:

Your dear letter of May 1st came to me this afternoon at four o'clock. You can imagine how happy I was to hear from you on successive days. I am delighted that you and the little ones are in good health and I hope that this reaches you as it leaves me, hale and hearty.

I feel fine again and food tastes good to me. We receive bread that has been baked in Stafford Court House. A field oven has been set up there that uses between three and four hundred barrels of flour every day. We had our first baking from there last night. It arrived about the same time as your letter. It is lovely bread made of summer wheat. We are to receive it four times a week. Hooker, our new general, is responsible for this. He proposes to introduce strict discipline, and he wants it followed out.

For this reason fifteen men will be shot next week -- men whom this Union-saving general condemned to death -- and why? Of course because they did not do their duties? But when, as we have seen with our own eyes, such gentlemen make mistakes, what then? The answer is: "Oh, it is or was a mere mistake. "Dearest, take my word for it, the whole war from beginning to end is nothing but a humbug and a swindle. If a soldier refuses to do his military service -- for instance shoveling dirt or ferrying logs -- he is sent before the provost marshal and he is punished, losing a half to three months pay. That's what happens in our regiment to our officers. The privates hardly know who is cook or commander, lieutenant or captain. The second lieutenant of today in ten or at most thirty days is a first lieutenant or captain. This morning there was a general examination of the sergeants for the purpose of recruiting enough lieutenants. They can't get enough lieutenants and officers. What is the reason for this? They simply do not want to fight for the niggers.

The rumor goes around that General Sigel has resigned. If it is true, then Schurz, Steinwehr, Stahel, Krzyzanowski and all generals under Sigel will retire -- in fact the whole staff will quit. What will become of the German division then? The Lord Himself only knows. Whether they will fight under a Meeker or a Molitroner time alone will tell. Much as the people at home talk against Schurz, one thing is certain. He is loved and honored by his division and he is very proud of his 26th Wisconsin regiment.

Our general's wife is still here.

Please answer this letter immediately and tell me whether you received the \$16. We hear from every side that revolution is brewing in Illinois and Wisconsin. Write and tell me what is the truth in this matter and whether we should come up to you soon and put things in order. We are in better shape than the 27th and 28th regiments. The 27th have no idea what it means to be American soldiers. The 28th, I am sorry to say, have already found out how it feels when a father is torn from his family.

A little present to the little one whom it fits from Mr. [Julius] Schoenleber.

He had it given to him.

Stafford Court House, May 11, 1863

Dearly beloved Wife:

I received your loving letter of May 3rd on the 10th and it made me very happy to hear that you, beloved, and my dear ones were in the best of health. I am still hale and hearty and send my greetings to you, beloved, and to our littles -and in fact to all who inquire for me.

Although throughout the last weeks we engaged in a series of strenuous marches and passed through a shower of bullets from the enemy's guns and through the sharp explosion of his bombs we happily came through all these dangers unscathed and I find myself quite - or rather entirely - happy. I can thank the Lord and the Blessed Virgin Mary for the protection given me.

No one can have any idea of what we had to endure - eight days and nights without sleep, with packed knapsacks on our backs, bread bags at our sides filled with rations for eight days, bullet pouches with sixty cartridges, and guns on our shoulders and bayonets at our sides. Then march ahead! Anyone can imagine how it feels to make twelve or twenty miles a day.

But that is nothing compared to what we had to undergo here. When we reached our camp again and pitched our tents we saw only misery. One third of the tents in our camp were empty. And why? Because those who had occupied them were no more. Where are they? Dead! In the hospitals. Captured by the rebels. That is the worst thing that could happen to a regiment that once was so excellent. We have only three hundred men in active service. We crossed the Rappahannock with six hundred. Another affair like this and there will be no regiment.

Our commander has gone to Milwaukee where he seems to have urgent business - what, no one knows. Yesterday General Schurz held a review of our division. Our regiment was there, 260 strong. Rumor has it that we will advance again. How far and where to I do not know. No one is told anything. Here in our camp the command comes to march - we don't know where to until we arrive.

I am greatly pleased, dear heart, that you are taking charge of the ball to pay for the bills, and particularly so because it is for a good cause for which I can do no more. I wish you very much luck in your undertaking. It also makes me happy to learn that the children are diligent and good and study hard. That pleases me.

As for Theodore Jungbluth wanting to know how much salary I get I will write him that I receive thirteen whole dollars a month - or should

receive until the first of May. What I shall get after that I don't know - whether sergeant's or orderly sergeant's pay, as I perform the duties of an orderly sergeant now and am until further orders an orderly sergeant.

This is all for this time....

Answer soon. A quick return! Farewell.

Headquarters of the Twenty-Sixth Wisconsin

Regiment near Brooks Station,
May 19, 1863.

Dearly Beloved Barbara:

As I have been waiting for a whole week with the greatest of longing for a letter from you and our loved ones and have received none I deem it my duty as a husband and father to write to you again and more particularly because the newspapers have published so much truth about the 11th Corps which no doubt disturbed you as well as others. I am still well and happy and I hope that this letter reaches you and ours in the best of health. We left our camp again last Friday and are now stationed near Brooks Station. We traveled one mile and then we pitched our camp about a quarter of a mile from the railroad. We have a good campsite with clear water and we can get good bread almost every day.

Our regiment suffered heavily during the strenuous campaign and Battle of Chancellorsville and of companies which were not wounded half fell sick from wet and cold. During these last days our company alone had seventeen men in the camp hospital, eighteen wounded and missing, and eleven in different United States hospitals. Adam and I are still well and the worst that is happening to us is that we are not always receiving our rations. ... [missing] we haven't as yet found out anything who as I hear is in the hospital and sick but not dangerously. Adam Holz has the same trouble that Adam and I have. He lacks bread most of the time. Adam Sprengling of Milwaukee received two wounds in the battle of May 2nd. God be praised nothing happened to me and to Adam. He is a sharpshooter and on this account was about a quarter of a mile ahead of us. When he came back he went through such a shower of bullets that I expected every minute he would fall dead. But no, he came through luckily. Now he laughs and says, "The rebels didn't get me but I stretched out my share."

I hope and pray, dear heart, that these lines reach you in the best

of health as they leave me. I wish only that I can't be back with my loved ones all the time. I could be with them for a couple of weeks. Please let me know, sweetheart, how things are with you and how much money you made at the Benefit Ball.

Remember me to all our old neighbors and relatives and to all who inquire about me. Especially greet your mother and family, Herman and Bina, Muehls and their families, Kraks, Hirsch, Weiler, Mrs. Wallace and their families, and Krempels, Montag, Mirgeler, Jungbluth, Jung, Michel, Roller, Loehrs, and in fact everybody who wants to know about me.

I greet you and the little ones.

Until Death Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

I now have very light duties.

Brooks Station, May 23rd 1863

Dear beloved, precious wife:

This evening, on the ninth anniversary of our happy marriage, I received your dear letter of May 17th and I was additionally pleased that the letter from my dearly beloved wife surprised me by appearing on that never to be forgotten day. It makes me the more unhappy, though, that I must live in this confusion of war while you live in our quiet home forsaken by your husband. At the same time I feel comforted that the good Father in heaven has protected me and my little ones. The ninth anniversary of our marriage was certainly a sad one but I hope that the tenth will be the happier for it. I am well and I hope that this letter finds you the same. We have changed camps and now are only one-half mile from Brooks Station. From here we can hear the railroad trains and the whistles and we wish we were on our way to Milwaukee. But what good does wishing do when one is so far from his beloved ones and has to see the swindle that is going on?

I see by the papers that the draft in Wisconsin will begin again. It will take many fathers from their happy circles and bring them to this unhappy war to be killed.

Our regiment has been greatly reinforced and is the favorite regiment of Generals Kryczgznowski, Schurz, and Howard. All say that if all regiments were like the 26th the rebels would have been driven back immediately at the first attack. Our regiment has eighteen wounded and no dead. Jacob Michel is in the parole camp at Annapolis, Maryland. He writes that he is in the best of health. Lewis Manz is in the hospital at Annapolis. He was wounded in the right hand and will lose his index finger. He sent me a letter written with his left hand. Andrew Sprengling is in the hospital at Alexandria. He has two wounds. The others are in the division hospital at Brooks Station. I wish you could see one of these hospitals - the cleanliness and orderliness with which they are run. Last Sunday Leopold and I visited the hospital and General Schurz was there. He visits the wounded, tent after tent, and in this way found out that the division doctors had been neglecting their duties and had them put under arrest. He said he couldn't have things like that happen. The soldiers had done their duty and he certainly expected the doctors to do theirs and if they didn't he certainly would show them that they were treating human beings and not animals. He cares for the soldiers like a father for his children. This week we were mustered in for the months of March and April. I was very busy and had a lot of writing to do.

According to rumor we will be stationed here for a while yet as our army corps is to be recruited to full strength. Every week some of the old German troops return home when their time is up. You wrote me in your letter that you were much worried about me as my name did not appear in any paper. That was the fine part of it. If you had seen my name you would have known that misfortune had hit me and that I would have been

either wounded or taken prisoner.

Please let me know how much you made on the ball. I thank you many times because you did this without asking me. It was right of you to give the money to my sister. I am very happy that you are getting along so well with everything.

I wish Henry Muehl the best of luck in his marriage. I hope that they will live as we do, happily, and to the entire satisfaction of their parents. I again wish them much luck and hope that their marriage will be a happy one. Please write me when he was married and if I know his wife.

Andreas Stubnsus died last week and was buried in Virginia. During the time we were in the battle he was with the provost guard and helped drive cattle. He had a very swollen neck. I did not learn he had died until someone told me several days later.

I am greatly pleased that Ernest and Mary are so busy studying. I take the greatest pleasure from it. Tell them they should be busy little children and pray for me. The fact that little Adam talks about me so much and is such a happy little fellow shows his affection for me. It is proof that all of you speak of me frequently. It makes me very happy. Please let me know what the teacup tells you the next time you write. I was happy to learn that you ordered a mass and received the sacraments on our wedding day. I wish that I could have done the same but here one sees no church or religion - nothing but woods and soldiers.

My greetings to all our acquaintances and neighbors, to your mother and family, Herman and Bina, Weiler, Hirsch, Hommel, Krak, Wallace, Oelrich, Krempel, Konrad, Montag, Molhauf, Jung, Jungbluth, and especially to those who ask for me. Send a special greeting to Henry Frank.

Your loving husband heartily greets you and our dear little ones. Farewell. God be with you.

Adam Muenzenberger

When you go to Milwaukee please go to the house next to Burkhardt's and ask for a woman by the name of Christen. Tell her that she should write to her husband more frequently. He is worrying about her.

Letter #48

Camp Near Brooks Station, Va.,
May 31, 1863

Beloved, Precious Wife:

I received your precious letter of May 25th yesterday, May 30th, and I rejoice that you and our beloved children are well. As for me I am, thank God, hale and hearty and I hope that this letter finds you the same. You write to me that Fritz Awe is dangerously ill. That may well be. He appeared in good health when in our camp but he complained continually about pains in his chest and he could scarcely breathe. We would all be very sorry if he was ill. Nicholas Fredrich has recovered and according to the letter I received from him last week will remain in the hospital at Philadelphia as orderly. He writes that he thinks he will never come back to the regiment again. Manz wrote me again. He is feeling fine and his hand is healing out nicely. Our wounded are all recovering and some of them are back with their companies again and the rest will be back within a few days. The severely wounded will be sent to Washington just as soon as they can stand the trip. From there they will be sent home on a furlough until they are entirely cured.

Our camp here is excellent and our provisions are of the best. I am very much pleased to hear that Ernest and Mary are such good children and study so nicely and that the little father is so happy and thinks of me so often. I think that shows your great love and affection. Should I be lucky enough to return - which I sincerely hope - I will certainly reward you and the little ones. Until then I can only thank you many, many times. Our payroll for two months is complete again and no doubt we will be paid out as the paymaster arrived here a few days ago. As soon as I am paid I will send you as much money as I possibly can. My duties are light. I have no night picket duties. This is the only reward I get for acting as sergeant. I need do nothing but hand out

rations in the company and do all the company correspondence.

Please write me all the news as soon as possible, whatever you find out no matter what it is. Our general is sick in Washington. Send me the shirts I wrote to you about as soon as possible. I am greatly pleased that you and the little ones remember me in your prayers. I do the same for you as I have always done it since I left you. I hope the time is not far distant when peace will return to this unhappy land.

I remain your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

I remain your faithful Adam. Kiss the little ones for me. Goodbye, goodbye. Write immediately. What does the teacup say? Does the end come soon?

Letter #49_____

Camp near Brooks Station,
June 7th, 1863

Precious, dearly beloved Barbara:

I received your dear letter of May 31st on the afternoon of June 6th. It pleases me much that you, beloved, and the children are still healthy and happy and I trust that you will still be the same when this letter arrives. I greet you and our dear ones by kissing your picture many, many times.

I see according to your letter that you bought yourself a new stove. I am greatly pleased with this and with the fact that you are satisfied with your lot. I am content with my fortune and I can see from your letter that I may expect the same from you. I hope and pray that luck will turn her face toward us once more and we can be together again.

I can't complain about my duties since I do nothing but an orderly's tasks. I was appointed orderly by the commanding lieutenant, Young of Milwaukee, and so I have to be in camp all the time. I think that if it pleases fate I will be appointed sergeant. Up to now I have had nothing but light duties. If I get the appointment I will receive \$20 a month instead of \$13. I hope this happens soon. Therefore, dearest, be consoled regarding your husband. I lean upon God and I hope that with his help and with the help of the Blessed Virgin we will be happily reunited.

We have been marching for several days and are still under marching orders but we hope that the march won't be as hard and that our luck will be better than the last time. We hear that the 11th Army corps is to return to Dumfries. The day before yesterday we heard heavy cannonading along our front and the rumor is with us that General Hooker and several army corps had crossed the Rappahannock and had taken Fredericksburg Heights.

I thank you very much for your friendly willingness to send me things. That isn't necessary. But if you get a chance send me two shirts of thin blue material, and, if possible, send them as soon as you can. This would please me greatly.

You want to know whether Adam and I are not good friends. We are as friendly as ever but he would rather hang around with the young fellows who are willing to play cards with him than with me. Outside of that we are the best of friends. I am not with them in their tents anymore. I am quartered with the sergeants. That's all for now. More next time.

Write me frequent, soon, much and good news. I send my greetings to all of you as in my last letter and particularly to you and to our beloved children, to your mother and family, Bina and Herman, Muehl and family. And I remain

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Be comforted, old lady, the old Lord is still living. Pray to him with the children as I do. He surely won't forget us and if it is His wish we will meet again.

You mustn't take my last letter too much to heart. As happens occasionally when I wrote it I was downhearted. It particularly happens when you have to listen to everybody's sad story. Greet Kraemers from John and tell them to address his letters to the regiment again. He is back with his company C.

Goodbye, old lady. Hope to see you again. Farewell, precious heart. Don't forget me and include me in your prayers.

Your loving husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Kiss the children again for me. I received a letter from a doctor in the hospital telling me that Fritz Awe is in the hospital in Madison, Wisconsin.

Letter #50_____

Goose Creek, VA, June 22, 1863

Precious Wife:

Today, on the 22, I received your two letters. It pleased me greatly that I received them both. It hurts me much to learn that little Ernest is so dangerously ill. Nurse him carefully as I know you will and if God so desires, He will restore his health.

We have undergone very strenuous marches. The weather has been very hot, the road dusty, and we marched from early in the morning until late at night. We went from Brooks Station to Hardwood Church and then to Cattelet Station and from there to Centerville and thence to the place where we are now. All day yesterday our cavalry battled with Stuart's cavalry. The fight lasted from early morning until after 5 p.m. Our men defeated the enemy and drove them back. In spite of all this marching I am still healthy and in the hope that this letter reaches and the little ones in better health. The letters leave today. Next time more. God protect you! I remain your loving

Adam Muenzenberger

Letter #51_____

Camp near Goose Creek, VA
June 22, 1863

Precious, Dearly Beloved Barbara:

I received your long-wished for letter today. My happiness was great when I heard that we were to receive letters, but our happiness, or rather mine, did not last long because on opening your letter I saw to my very great grief that our Ernest is ill. I hope that it will be nothing serious and until I receive the next letter I will live in the hope that he is recovering. Let God's will be done though. The fate of man is in His hands. Tell Ernest to be resigned and he will get better.

I am still in good health and I hope that this letter finds you the same. We made some pretty strenuous marches. On Friday, June 12th, we broke camp at Brooks Station and leaving at 10 o'clock in the morning marched to Hardwood Church where we bivouacked overnight - in the woods of course. Saturday morning at

three o'clock the call to break camp was sounded. We rose from our beds where we had rested well and after we had our black coffee and crackers we marched on. We passed through very beautiful - very beautiful. Here and there we saw fields planted with wheat and Welsh corn. Cherries were just ripe. These were pretty well punished by the young men in the army. Whole trees were ripped apart. Strawberries and blackberries were here very plentiful. Wherever we are we are at home. You can imagine what happens. Whatever is loose goes along.

Toward evening we came to Wenerton where there had been a heavy cavalry fight a short time before. We encamped alongside of Cattlet Station on the Alexandria and Culpepper Railroad awaiting further orders. Sunday morning everything was quiet until 10 o'clock when orders arrived to break camp. The command came to go to Manassas Junction. When we get there orders to travel to Centerville.

Centerville, our old camping place where we spent several months last year - how glad we were when we saw the old next before our eyes again. Here we camped on the very earthworks the Rebels had made. During the day the weather is very hot but at night it is very cold. The other morning we had to march through Centerville again and toward the Bull Run Road where we pitched our camp in an open place under the scorching sun.

Tuesday the 16th our entire regiment had to go on picket duty on the Bull Run. In the evening we received orders to break camp at three o'clock the next morning. The next day we marched until five o'clock in the evening and came to Goose Creek where we are now. How long we stay here only the Gods know. You can imagine how we feel. The weather is so hot that we think we scarcely can stand it and yet we have to march with our entire equipment, loaded like a pack mule. You'd think this is a rose - and it is for the southern general, Lee, is marching in the same direction through the Blue Ridge and we have to march rapidly to block his way. Which we have been lucky enough to do.

This forced marching was due to a new campaign which the Confederates had opened a gift in the East. After Chancellorsville, Lee's victorious army had returned to Fredericksburg. There Longstreet's corps rejoined it, and reinforcements raised its strength to 80,000 men. Lee divided this force into three infantry corps, each with eighty pieces of artillery. His single cavalry corps mustered 10,000 horsemen. The Confederates were cocksure, confident of their leaders, certain that they would not idle long in their camps.

Conversely, the watching Union army was reduced in numbers, low in spirits by reason of repeated defeats. While Hooker lay before Fredericksburg, the two other major Union armies were variously employed. In middle Tennessee Rosecrans and the Army of the Cumberland faced a wary Bragg and the Army of Tennessee. In Mississippi Grant struggled to gain a vantage point from which to destroy Pemberton's army, and seize Vicksburg. As the Confederate wave mounted to its crest, the great decision became inevitable: Lee would strike through Maryland into Pennsylvania, outflank Washington, thrust at the rich seaboard cities, and threaten the major sources of Northern strength.

The Shenandoah Valley offered a broad, easy highway to the North. On June 3rd Longstreet set out upon it from Culpepper, Virginia; next day, Ewell followed him. Only Hill was left to face Hooker, and when Hill moved to occupy the positions left by Longstreet and Ewell, Hooker, alerted, made plans to assault and either destroy him or force Lee to call back Longstreet and Ewell to rescue him. The War Department rejected this plan, and ordered Hooker to cover Washington and Harper's Ferry. When his cavalry reconnaissance

showed Hooker that he could crush Hill and capture Richmond before Lee could return, he repeated his request, and again being refused, led his army north from Manassas and Fairfax Court House, keeping it between Lee and Washington. From the summits of the Blue Ridge, Hooker's scouts watched Lee's whole army streaming toward the Potomac. Panic seized the North: Lee was bent on invading Maryland and Pennsylvania. On the 20th Ewell began to cross the Potomac, and on the 24th Longstreet and Hill followed. Now the War Department suggested that Hooker should divide his army and destroy Lee by attacking and dividing his extended column. The scheme proved impractical. From the 24th through the 28th of June, Hooker hurried in parallel lines to Longstreet and Hill, with long folds of South Mountain between himself and Lee.

In this crisis the War Department vetoed Hooker's plan to unite part of his army with the Harper's Ferry garrison for a joint movement up the Cumberland Valley and an attack on Lee's rear. Hooker resigned on June 27th, and Meade, who succeeded him, continued to push the Union army forward in three columns toward Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, Stuart was leading Lee's cavalry on a raid around Hooker's army. The tour took longer than anticipated, so that Lee found himself eyeless in unfamiliar, unfriendly country.

June 23, 1863

Dear Old Girl:

We are now camping on Goose Creek five miles from Leesburg, fourteen miles from Centerville and six miles from Edward Furey.

Our camp is quite comfortable but how long we will be here only God himself knows. Yesterday quite a few men arrived here from {illegible}. Likewise Andreas Stubanus who was thought dead came here and as I walked through the regiment this morning I met him. He told me that he wrote Goll and Frank only one letter in six years. As we crossed the river to Chancellorsville he came with the wagon train and as he was not well he returned. When he got into the hospital and had no papers he was sent into the camp as a deserter where the prisoners and deserters are sent. He is well and sends his regards to any who inquire after him.

Yesterday our company went on picket duty again but as I am acting as orderly I can stay in camp while the rest must get out.

Our lieutenant, Robert Mueller, is from Milwaukee and lives in the ninth ward. He leaves Milwaukee July 6th and if the shirts are ready please send them to me with him. I should be awfully glad if I could receive them as I need them badly.

Adam is hale and hearty and is as crazy about card playing as ever. Our general has not as yet arrived. If you receive this letter please answer it very soon. I am awfully anxious to hear how Ernest is - in fact all you dear ones. The only consolation that I have in this world is to receive a letter from my dear ones at home. If God wills, He will reunite us again.

Include me in your prayers as I include you in mine. Wishing you the best of health I close my letter with loving greetings.

Be so kind as to greet your mother, sisters and brothers, Muehl and family, Henry and family, Herman and Bina in fact all neighbors, relatives and dear friends. Kissing your dearly beloved picture that I carry in my breast pocket through all my travels I beg to remain yours till death,

Lovingly,

Adam Muenzenberger

Write very soon that I may know how you all are. Write your letters regularly even if you don't receive an answer from me, because while on the march we can't send any letters we always receive them.

If you don't receive another letter from me don't worry because most of the time we are under marching orders or on the march. Be comforted, old lady, everything that had a beginning must have an end and I certainly hope it doesn't last much longer.

Your Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Headquarters of the Twenty-Sixth Wisconsin
Regiment, Goose Creek,
Four Miles from Leesburg,
Virginia, June 24, 1863.

Precious, Dearly Beloved Wife:

When I received the letter this morning I thought immediately that either good news or bad news would be in it. Unfortunately it contained bad news - or worse. I think of the trouble you are in and the way your heart must be torn by this trial. But what can that help? You know how I love our children with heart and soul but I must counsel you to be consoled, dearest. The Lord tries us in these days of tribulation. We too can say, "Whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth." Therefore be comforted. After the long night the sun must shine again. Of course it is hard. It is hard for me too as a father because I am so far away from you. But I give myself patiently and with resignation to my fate. And I pray the good God that he preserve us and our two little ones and if it is His will that He will have us meet again.

Of course for you, sweetheart, it has been considerably harder because it was your lot all alone to watch the suffering and pain of the children without my being of the least help to you. But be consoled, dear, if we have good luck, and if after this foolishness is ended, we should come together again, rest assured I will never forget what you have done for our little ones. I owe you many thanks and I hope that the Lord will repay you a hundred-fold.

I feared as soon as I opened the letter that it wouldn't contain good news because generally when I receive a letter from someone else it doesn't contain much good news.

I received Herman Stiefvater's letter this morning and I intended to answer it immediately. I am still well and although this news staggers me for the minute I am quite consoled in thinking, "Lord, Thy will be done." I hope that you too, beloved, may raise yourself above these sorrows and think, "The Lord has given, and the Lord shall take. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

I know, dear that you are strong in adversity. Do me the favor, be comforted. Don't worry because we can't help matters anyway.

In the hope that this letter finds you and the little ones in as good a health as it leaves me I send you my sincerest greetings.

I greet Adam and Mary a thousand times and I remain

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Greetings to Herman and Bina and the folks, to your mother, and to all who inquire for me.

Be comforted, dear. After the rain comes the sunshine.

St. Joseph's Maryland, June 30, 1863.

Beloved Wife:

We arrived here this morning worn out with strenuous marches. I hope that you and Mary and Adam are well. I still feel pretty good although I can hardly push one foot ahead of the other these days. We must march like dogs and now that the rainy weather has started the road is pretty bad. We camped a few days at Middleton and then we proceeded to Frederick City. We camped there over night and the next day we marched to Emmitsburg. There we camped on a wet field and this morning we marched two miles nearer the hills where the St. Joseph's convent is located. We have our camp close beside the convent. Should we stay here for a while - which I doubt - I will receive communion.

Be consoled my dear. I didn't think much of home until we landed in a civilized country again. Put the sad thoughts out of your mind and ask God to protect us and to give us a speedy return. Please write me immediately and tell me how things are with you and the children. Adam is still cheerful and the meals still taste good to him. He buys ... [illegible] and makes [illegible]. I was quite exhausted by the campaign recently but I hope it will soon be ended. They say that we are headed for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. I'm only sorry that I can't send you anymore, true heart. It rains very hard.

My greetings to all relatives and friends, and to all who inquire for me, especially to you and to our two little ones. As I kiss your picture I remain

Your,

Adam Muenzenberger

Reynolds' and Howard's corps, forming Meade's left, struggled north through the valley, to the right of South Mountain.

On the same morning that Adam learned of the death of his son Ernest, the XI Corps, which formed part of the moving Union screen, was ordered to Edward's Ferry on the Potomac, about six miles from its position on Goose Creek. At 7:00 P.M. Howard was ordered to remain at the river crossing, guarding the bridge and depot on the north side of the Potomac. About four and a half hours later he was told to march for Sandy Hook, near Harper's Ferry. An hour later this order was countermanded and he and his men set out for Middletown, Maryland. At the end of the next day the XI Corps stopped at Jefferson, Maryland, less than ten miles from its goal. On June 26 the corps was camped within a mile of Middletown, and on June 28 it marched to Emmitsburg, Maryland, via Utica and Craegerstown, taking a position near the St. Joseph's Convent, about eleven miles from Gettysburg. The XI corps was strung out east of South Mountain, marching north. To the left of South Mountain corps of Longstreet and of Hill marched on parallel roads. Early's division, in Lee's van, turned right near York, Pennsylvania, just as Meade's right closed down on the town.

When on June 29th Reynolds, commanding the I Corps, learned that Longstreet and Hill had veered to the right into the South Mountain passes leading east to Chambersburg, and that their advance had reached Cashtown, less than ten miles west of Gettysburg, he guessed that Lee was bent on reassembling his army at Gettysburg. To checkmate him, Reynolds ordered

Buford with his cavalry to ride ahead and occupy Gettysburg. At noon Buford struck and drove back Confederate resistance west of Gettysburg. Meade then ordered Reynolds to advance his own and Howard's corps and hold the town. Lee issued similar orders to Hill. When Hill attacked in strength, Buford withdrew to Seminary Ridge, west of Gettysburg, to prevent him from flanking the long column of Reynolds -and Howard as the two corps toiled ahead on the Emmitsburg road, east of the ridge.

On June 29th, although outnumbered more than four to one, Buford's 5, 000 men held Hill back until Reynolds arrived, and at about 8:00 A.M., the XI Corps marched for Gettysburg from their position near Emmitsburg. The 1st Division moved along the Cashtown Road; and the 2nd and 3rd, along the Horner's Mill Road. The Cashtown route was eleven miles, and the less direct Horner's Mill route, thirteen. At about 11: 30 A. M. Howard reached the field, learned that General Reynolds of the I Corps had been killed by a Confederate sharpshooter, and assumed command of the two corps. The XI Corps was turned over to Schurz. Howard then posted the two corps to keep open the Emmitsburg road, and sent dispatches to Sickles and Slocum to hurry forward.

At about 2:00 P.M. the 3rd Division arrived and was sent with the 1st Division to Seminary Ridge, to extend the Union's northern flank and to support the men of the I Corps, who had been fighting for some time. When the 2nd Division arrived it was sent to Cemetery Ridge as a general reserve.

Meanwhile the ever increasing thunder of distant battle told Early that Lee and Meade had collided, and turning south, he reached Gettysburg just

as Doubleday repulsed Hill's second attack. Early struck Schurz- in the right flank, routed the XI Corps, and as Schurz scattered, the two corps sought stronger positions on Cemetery Hill. At this moment Hancock rode out with Meade's orders to command the field.

His arrival, the formation of a new and stronger Union line as Sickles and Slocum brought up their commands in haste, Lee's costly wait for Longstreet's arrival, the gradual concentration of both armies on the long crests and rounded hilltops, the jockeying for positions during the remainder of July 1st, the indecisive struggles on the 2nd, the first signs of the rolling back of the whole Confederate tide in Pickett's repulse on the 3rd -- in all this brutal, immortal pageantry, if he saw it all--Adam Muenzenberger Was a helpless spectator. When Early overran Schurz on July 1, 1863, Adam became a prisoner of war.

That same day, Lt. Albert Wallber of Company F, 26th Wisconsin, was also captured. Later, Wallber wrote an account of his trip South. Although officers and men traveled in separate columns, Adam and Wallber essentially shared the same experience.

Soon after being captured, Wallber was marched to the rear across the battlefield. His first impression was a feeling of helplessness. On the field he saw dead men whom he knew, and listened to the cries of the wounded who "begged for water. "His guards would let him do nothing to help them.

All prisoners were brought together behind the Confederate lines. Early next day, officers and men were separated and marched a mile or so farther to the rear. Rations were distributed, "A small piece of meat, and

a handful of flour, and a few grains of salt. " Having no cooking utensils, some men utilized makeshift ones. Before reaching Richmond, almost all the prisoners became adept at "making-do" with what they had. A parole offer was made by the Confederates, but the officers refused it. At the end of the day the prisoners heard musketry fire, but did not know what it meant.

On the morning of July 3 the prisoners glimpsed General George Pickett, and were impressed by his appearance. That afternoon for hours they listened to the sounds of battle. Although no one told them what was happening, they were agreed that that day's action must be decisive. Some of them pinned their hopes a Union victory on the lack of jubilation among their guards.

That night they were tired, hungry, filled with despair. Next day, July 4, they huddled together in a fenced field, surrounded by guards who looked increasingly more vicious. The day grew overcast, and the men sat down. Finally an officer began to sing -- first "John Brown, "and then "Rally Round the Flag." When others joined him and the guards did not interfere, this inaction convinced many prisoners that the Union troops had won a victory.

Much continuous commotion rose from a nearby road. Soldiers marched by; wagons passed; and finally an ambulance lumbered by, filled with wounded who "moaned piteously." As the prisoners were ordered to resume march, rain began to fall. That afternoon Lee stopped with his staff, glanced at them, said something to an aide and rode on.

Roads grew muddy, and narrowed. Men on the outer fringes of the

column were forced off, and made their way across the fields.

On July 5 the prisoners reached Fairfield, Pennsylvania, a Union town. Women stood in doorways, crying, to see so many prisoners in Federal uniforms. That day the country became more hilly, and the rough terrain concentrated the column, and slowed it. Through a moonless night the prisoners' tramped on through roads clogged with heavy traffic. Some prisoners wormed their way past the guards, and escaped.

Next day, a second parole offer was made and refused. Although by now many of the prisoners were near exhaustion, rest stops were infrequent, so that every time "the procession halted, prisoners dropped on the muddy road to stal' a minute's rest. "On July 7 at Hagerstown, Maryland, for the first time citizens began to shout encouragement to the Confederates. South of Hagerstown more prisoners joined the column.

When the men moved too slowly to suit their captors, the guards prodded, them along at bayonet point. Each time the prisoners heard the distant roll of artillery fire they hoped that a rescue party might appear. But none did. At Williamsport the column forded the Potomac, and after passing through Martinsburg, West Virginia, by July 12 reached Winchester, Virginia. For the next five days it covered fifteen to twenty miles a day, marching down the Shenandoah Valley, passing through Newton, Middletown, Strasburgh, Woodstock, Edenburg, Mount Jackson, New Market, Harrisonburgh, and finally arriving at Staunton, nearly 200 miles from Gettysburg. Although rain fell incessantly, so that at the end of each day's march the men were wet to the bone, they threw themselves to the ground and slept, too exhausted to care.

At Staunton, as they boarded railroad cars, their blankets and haversacks were taken from them. When some of them tried to keep their possessions, their guards told them "to shut up." The less they said "the better for them.

At evening on July 18 they arrived in Richmond, were detrained in the heart of the city, formed in double file, and marched away. Although many persons watched the moving column, no one made threats. The prisoners trudged past the State House, and twenty minutes later arrived at Cary Street, near the canal. There the officers halted outside of the large three-story, red brick building which was Libby Prison. The enlisted men meanwhile were led by another route to Belle Isle Prison. For many of them the journey and the war had ended.

During the war the Confederates set up many makeshift prisons in Richmond. For the officers the most famous--or infamous--of these was Libby, for the men, Belle Isle.

Adam remained a prisoner for somewhat less than five months. During the greater part of that time he was undoubtedly confined on Belle Isle, a small island on the James River, then on the western outskirts of Richmond. The prison shared a cramped area with the Tredegar Iron Works, perhaps the South's most famous foundry and rolling mills, and a Confederate hospital. By 1863, 10, 000 men were crowded into the small compound, and the death rate was staggering. A few shacks and some Sibley tents provided wholly inadequate shelter. Prisoners were allowed to swim in the James River, and while some escaped by this route, many would be fugitives were shot down by rifle and cannon fire. To reach the compound Adam had to trudge

across the old Richmond and Petersburg railroad bridge. For obvious reason the prisoners named the structure the "Bridge of Sighs.

Family tradition, probably based largely on reports brought home by Adam's fellow prisoners who were exchanged, has it that Adam died in Libby Prison. In spite of the fact that he gives Belle Island in the date line, Adam himself, in the last of his prison letters (October 22, 1863), writes that "we are still in the grocery warehouse." The "grocery warehouse" was Libby Prison.

Libby, most famous of Southern prisons, faced Cary Street on a hillside which sloped steeply toward the James Canal. Its isolation from nearby structures was such that a small guard could watch every door and window from the outside. The northern face of the former warehouse -- the Confederates had not bothered to remove the "Libby & Son, Ship Chandlers & Grocers" sign from one corner -- was three stories high; the southern-downhill face, four. Each level originally contained three large independent rooms, separated by massive walls which on the upper floors had been cut through for prison use.

It seems likely, Adam spent part of his prison life in Libby, he was admitted through a door at the east end, and was registered. He then mounted a stairway guarded by sentinels, to the upper floors, to find himself in a room with a few crude chairs and tables and a great crowd of seedy prisoners, who stood, walked, sat, or sprawled on the floor. Prisoners picked up their meals at a makeshift kitchen set up in the middle first floor room. Food was warmed on two stoves and in a fireplace. Two leaky faucets supplied drinking

water. The one--flow dripped in a leaking trouble that so befouled around it that the sentinel assigned to watch it gagged, and had to be withdrawn. Libby and Belle Isle may not have been Andersonville, but like all Civil War prisons, North and South, they were stinking sewers and vermin ridden death houses.

Greenfield, August 19th, 1863.

Dear Adam:

I am taking my pen in hand to write you a few lines, and hope they will reach you in as good health as they leave us. We are all in good health, and little Adam is as full of mischief as ever. You would be happy to see him. Little Mary Anna is a very busy and obedient little girl and talks about you and my brother Adam quite a bit.

But unfortunately, misfortune has again followed us. On July 30th at 4 A. M. we had a very severe thunderstorm. The lightning struck our chimney and shattered the bricks from top to bottom. There wasn't a stone that wasn't smashed to bits. The bolt followed the joist and wrecked the middle door and the cellar door, and caved in a wall and splintered four scantlings and a large cross joist. It broke a lock and 34 window panes. I lay unconscious for about a half hour. You can imagine what a sight I saw and what a fright I had when I came to. The whole house was wrecked. The only blessing is that no lives were lost. It was a cold shock.

Mr. Preusser took pity on me and had the house repaired and put in order. I have been living with my mother, but am going back to our own house again today.

I pray to the dear Lord to send me any trial that he wants to, and I will willingly suffer any hardships patiently, if he only lets you come back to my arms again. I can truthfully say that I have endured a great many trials this past year. To lose two children by death without their father at my side to comfort me was a double trial. . But, dear Adam, I take comfort in the hope that the good Lord does everything for our own benefit, in his own way.

If you danplease try and get a furlough as so many have returned home that were taken prisoner. Farewell dear soul. I am awaiting an early return. I greet and kiss your dear picture.

Your true and loving wife and dear children,

Barbara Muenzenberger.

Mother and family send greetings. Also Herman and Bina. I know you have suffered greatly, but suffer patiently, as the sun will shine again for us. The sister Strauss is here and will pay us a visit August 22nd. She came July 19th.

Richmond, August 30th, 1863.

Beloved Wife:

I had the misfortune to be taken prisoner at the battle of Gettysburg. I was captured on the 1st of July and have been a prisoner since then. Asmus Holz was taken with me and likewise John Nachtsheim from the Kilbourn Road.

We are still hale and hearty and I hope that these few lines find you in good health. Don't worry about me. We are pretty well accustomed to our trials and are resigned to our fate. You can't write a letter to me until I send you another letter from the parole camp on our front lines. We expect to be exchanged any day. Console yourself the way I console myself and things will soon be better.

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Richmond, Virginia, September 27, 1863.

Precious Barbara:

Here in prison boredom drives me to again write to you a few lines. I am still feeling fine although our clothes are in tatters, and the food - it is a little too much to starve on and not enough to live on. Everyday we have two meals. In the morning a piece of bread - about a quarter of a pound - and the smallest piece of meat - Adam wouldn't be satisfied with it - and evenings another piece of bread the size of that in the morning, and either bean or rice soup - about a pint, from which all fat has been skimmed. The salt bag generally stands beside the soup kettle and there isn't a kernel of salt lost on the way. There are absolutely no vegetables in it - perhaps a little dirt and flies - but dearest, how good it tastes and how glad everyone is when the drum calls us to rations! Our beds are the cool earth but now we are camped in tents. Our army blankets were taken away from us by the southerners - in fact everything we received from the government. But enough of this.

I hope that you are not worrying about me too much. These are heavy trials but as long as God gives me my health we can thank our Heavenly Father. Last Monday one thousand men were paroled from here and according to rumor, yesterday morning fifteen hundred, officers included. They are paroling again and I am sending this letter with one of them. If one thousand leave every day I am in the 12th hundred but as it is now I am still in the 22nd hundred. I am giving this letter to a man in the 52nd New York regiment who has become a good friend of mine.

Be comforted, old lady, as long as God is over us when need is greatest He is nearest. The time came when I was taken prisoner and I think that the time will come when, if the Lord wills, I will be exchanged.

Many regards from Asmus Holz and John Nachtsheim who are still with us to all our acquaintances, friends, relatives, neighbors, and especially to all our immediate families, and most of all to you, dear heart, from

Your loving husband,

Adam.

I hope to visit you when I get out of here and to speak to you personally.

Your husband,

Adam Muenzenberger.

Bell Island, October 22, 1863.

Precious, Dearly Beloved Barbara:

Still here in the southern prison I again take my pen to write you a few lines. I and Asmus Holz are still together like brothers and what one has the other has. Nachtsheim from the Kilbourn Road is sick now and has been taken to the hospital. I do not know whether he is alive ... {illegible} one of the ... and he is in the hospital.

We are still in the grocery warehouse but when we will leave it {illegible} on our only He who knows.

Therefore, dearest, please write me an answer so that I may know how things are at home, what our dear ones are doing, and how the friends and neighbors are. Here we sit and get nothing but lies. Be so kind and write .. {illegible} a hundred thousand hearty {illegible} and all our acquaintances and relatives and all who still inquire for me. When you write nothing about ... {illegible} only how your family is, how the last draft is coming, and who from our town is drafted. Write how my two little darlings are - whether or not they are alive.

Don't worry, and write soon as I would love to hear something new from my dear ones. In the greatest expectation that we will soon get out of this misery, I send my greetings to you and the children, to your sisters, to Herman and Bina, my godfather, Muehl and his family, and to Roller and family. I remain,

Your Loving Husband

Adam Muenzenberger

and tell Fred Stuber

Asmus Holz asks you to be so kind as to write to Holz's parents that he is here in prison and still in good health and sends his greetings to Stuber and family. He should send greetings to Holz's parents from him and me. Again many greetings from him. Many greetings to you and the family and to Stuber and family. I remain,

Your Loving Husband,

Adam Muenzenberger

Asmus Holz sends greetings to all his relatives in the hopes that we will soon be out of here.

Asmus Holz

One more request to you. Pray for me as I pray for you. Then everything will come out all right.

Adam

My address is

Adam Muenzenberger,

Co. C. 26th Rgt.,
Wisconsin Volunteers,
Prisoner of War,
Richmond Virginia.

Greenfield, November 4, 1863.

Beloved Husband:

I received your long awaited letter of the 22nd and I see that - God be thanked you are still alive and well. I had received no news of you for four months. Some thought you were dead, others that you were sick, and so for four months I was broken-hearted, because you did not write. All of us are well. Little Adam talks quite a bit about you when he is at play. He says frequently that he will call for you in town. Little Mary who is seven years old today speaks much of you and prays for you forsaken ones very nicely and with the greatest confidence. She believes that if she prays the good God will let you return to us again. Little Adam lifts his hands so beautifully in prayer although he cannot speak the words.

Dear Adam, I have made up my mind to leave November 7 to visit my sister. At that time I will also visit your father, brother, and sisters. Please address your next letter to La Crosse as I will stay there six or eight weeks. I cannot forebear, Dear Adam, to mention the misfortune which was mine since my last letter to you. On the 30th of July, at four o'clock in the morning the lightening struck our house and demolished the whole chimney - there wasn't a stone left - went down the middle door in the cellar and tore four beams, two cross beams of the upper floor, two boards in the front room moved the window sill four inches from the house and broke four window panes. It injured the right eye of the Harbacher girl. I was unconscious for an hour. Harbachers were forced to move out and I was compelled to stay at mother's for three weeks. Mr. Preusser took pity on me and had the house put in order again.

But these are all only trials. God be praised we will survive them if only you return and that soon. Mr. Kilian, pastor of the Lutheran Church, is now our neighbor. He sends his regards to you and to Mr. Holz and will remember you in his prayers as will his family. Mr. Hirsch bought Mr. Buechler's house and will start a saloon. He is altering the entire building. Schmidt the musician lost the four children of his second wife within the last few weeks. Hilkene's son, Carl, died.

Dear Adam, if possible try to get a furlough and come home for a few days if God wills. Pray, dear Adam, and don't lose courage. Suffer everything patiently. {illegible} I also am forsaken by my husband and my two dear ones, Ernest and Henry. The Lord give them perpetual rest where we will see them at some future time. That is my consolation.

I delivered the message from K... {illegible} to Stuber. He wishes to be remembered to you all. Also best regards from all acquaintances with no exceptions, especially from the relations, Grandma Muehl and family, mother, sisters, brothers, Herman and Bina.

Your Wife, Loving You Until Death,

Barbara Muenzenberger

Your loving children, Mary and Adam Muenzenberger, kiss your picture ... Farewell, dear one, we will see you soon again. I have written you two letters. No doubt you failed to receive them.

Lookout Valley, Tenn., Nov. 14, 1863.

Mrs. Muenzenberger:

As commanding officer of Company C, 26th Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers, of which your husband is a member, I received a letter addressed to him at Richmond. I opened it and by the signature saw that it was written by you. I therefore take the liberty to send it back to you and also to enclose a clipping from the Herald which contains the exact address and the regulations for writing a letter. The letter must be written in English, etc.

Respectfully

Robert Mueller
First Lt.

26 R. Wis. Vol.

yours,

Commanding Co. C.

I considered it my duty to notify you in regard to this.



Greenfield, November 30, 1863.

Dear Sister-in-Law:

Last Saturday we received a letter addressed to you. We thought that it came from Richmond but we found that it was your letter that you sent to Adam but which never reached its destination. We are therefore sending you the letter the way it came back together with the enclosed letter from Lieutenant Mueller. In this you can see exactly the reason why your letter was returned.

I was drawn in the last draft but I bought my freedom for about \$50. Henry Muehl was drafted but I hear that he is home again. The rest of the names in the draft you can see in the paper.

My sister Catherine lost two children, a boy of six and her littlest girl. They died of throat sickness. We are well and we hope that you in La Crosse enjoy a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Greetings,

Herman Stiefvater

My regards to Mathias and my sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law.

But Adam Muenzenberger never returned to his dearly beloved Barbara, little Mary and Adam, his cobbling and his church, and the comfortable, pleasant life in the town of Greenfield among neighbors, friends, and relatives.

As an old lady, Mary Roller, daughter of the Rollers to whom Adam sent frequent greetings in his letters home, recalled how as a girl of fourteen she and her mother on pleasant evenings would stand at their cottage gate chatting with passersby and learning the news. One day as the two talked with Barbara and her mother, two "old men," silhouetted against the sunset, limped toward them. Only when they spoke did the women recognize them as Adam's army friends and companions, Asmus Holz and John Nachtsheim. After having survived Belle Isle, Asmus Holz returned to the 26th, was captured during the Atlanta campaign, and died of disease at Andersonville, August 20, 1864.

Barbara read the answer to her unspoken questions even before she put them.

"Adam was very sick when we left," Holz told her. And Nachtsheim added, "We don't think he will last long."

The Certificate of Service of the Wisconsin State Adjutant General's office records that Adam Muenzenberger "died in prison of disease" on December 3, 1863, at Richmond, Virginia, and was "buried in cemetery."

The cemetery probably was Shockoe Hill in Richmond, where Justice John Marshall lies, and where most prisoners who died in Libby and Belle Isle prisons were buried. Burial records for Shockoe Hill are kept across

the road, in the office of the Richmond Nursing Home. Wartime photographs show that bodies were tossed into crowded, long trenches, and covered. The present neat arrangements are later surface dressing. Nor apparently was effort made to identify the dead, record their burial places, or even to list their names. At the top of many pages of the burial register someone was likely to write the date, and "a yank". Other burials for the same date were then indicated by ditto marks. Once in a while the deceased was described as a "damned yank", and at least once, as a "yank shot trying to escape it". The register notes burials for December 3rd and 4th., but does not name the dead. If such procedures seem callous and careless to us, we should remember that graves registration services, North and South, during the Civil War, were primitive, and that many Union burial squads did little more for their own comrades. Before the news of Adam's death arrived, Barbara had hopefully hung out

Sunday suit to air, and when the breeze billowed the trousers' legs, little Adam threw his arms around them and sobbed, "papa, papa,

So Mary Roller remembered as an old lady with tears running down her cheeks.

Brother-in-law Adam Wuest was transferred with the 26th Wisconsin to the Western front, when the XI corps went by rail to the relief of Chattanooga, and survived the Battle of Missionary Ridge, the Atlanta Campaign, and Sherman's March to the Sea. He did not marry Christine Schmidt. After the War he lived in Milwaukee for a while, and later opened a tavern at Franksville, in Racine County, Wisconsin. His soldier days were the great event of his life, and he finally moved his family to Richmond, Virginia,

to be nearer the battlefields over which he had first fought.

Barbara purchased an iron cross, bearing their names, to mark the graves of Ernest and Henry in the Blessed Sacrament Church graveyard. It is missing from its place now. Years ago, a woman, upset by the loss of her own son and wanting a marker, transferred the cross to his grave. After returning it several times to the grave of the Muenzenberger boys, Philipbena Muenzenberger Stiefvater finally shrugged her shoulders and quit the contest.

Barbara moved to Milwaukee, and there married Joseph E. Cordes, wealthy wholesale grocer, an alderman, school commissioner, leader among Milwaukee Democrats and Germans. Cordes lost his fortune in the panic of 1873, and died in 1874. Barbara died in 1914, having lived for years on the small income from a few rental properties.

Throughout the poverty and prosperity, a second marriage and a long widowhood, she treasured Adam's wartime letters, and as she grew older, memories of intervening years grew dim., and the older happiness and troubles grew more vivid. Once in a while, with tears in her eyes, she would bring out the old letters, and tell friends and relatives about long passed events and people, and the blighting of the happy home in Greenfield town. Returning from a visit to the Milwaukee veteran's home, she once rebuked a five-year-old great-grandson, who frivolously spoke of cannons, saying: "Willie, war is terrible. Someday, when you grow up, you may understand as I do. Over a half-century later he still recalls her words, and the hurt in her voice and on her face.

For years until her death she lived at 914 West Madison Street on

Milwaukee's lower south side. Her yard was marked by three large crab apple trees planted by her brother, Adam's comrade-in-arms in the 26th, Adam Wuest, who once owned the property.

When Barbara grew very old, in pleasant weather she sat rocking on her small porch, and singing quietly to herself in a eloquent soprano. Her great -grandchildren, who lived next door, and loved her dearly, considered these intimate concert "queer". Equally queer to them were the lonesome songs she preferred: "The Tyrolean and His Child" and "Kathleen Mavourneen." Lines came back from the former: "If only I could see my homeland, if only I could go to my mother, and the latter, that haunting, broken-hearted cry: "It may be for years and it may be forever, yet why are thou silent. Kathleen Mavourneen.

A half century before, sleepless, she had asked the question of a loved one, "Why art thou silent?" Once she told her great-grandson, "In Germany, my great -grandmother told me as now I tell you, that old age is difficult. The difficulties eased by bitter-sweet memories.

Wordsworth asks:

"Will no one tell me what she sings?

-Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow for old, unhappy, far off things and battles long ago.

Footnotes:

1. These are matters which W. M. L. learned from his great -grandmother, Barbara Wuest Muenzenberger, who lived next door to him, and died when she was eighty-four and he was fourteen. In the summer of 1959, W. M. L. visited Lorch in Hesse.
 2. Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, August 27, 1862.
 3. Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, loc. cit.
 4. Minute Book: Greenfield Farmers' Society (Greenfield Burger Verien)
 5. See footnote 1.
 6. ---- History of Milwaukee, 1881, pp. 721-722.
 7. E. B. Quiner, Military History of Wisconsin, p. 746.
William H. Jacobs arrived in Milwaukee from Germany in 1850 and immediately entered banking. After 5 years with the Marshall & Ilsley bank, he organized in 1855 the Second Ward Savings Bank, becoming its first cashier. After commanding the 26th Wisconsin for two years, Jacobs resigned from the army. He had been slightly wounded at Chancellorsville. Later he became clerk of courts of Milwaukee County, and a Wisconsin State senator. He was a busy, important, citizen, and a man of broad cultural interests. His Greek revival mansion was long a Milwaukee showplace (----History of Milwaukee, 1881, p. 1100) He died September 11, 1882.
 8. The Sentinel, on August 14, 1862, editorialized that Jacobs is "an educated gentleman of unusual ability and industry, and although not a soldier by profession, is capable of becoming one as soon as any person we know of. Of course a man of military experience would have been more desirable, but in the absence of such a one, all agree that a better man... could not be found. . . . Success to the Sigel regiment. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, August 14, 1862,)
- Germania, Unsere Deutes Regiment, p. 1.)
9. Certificate of Service: Adam Muenzenberger, Adjutant General's Office, Madison, Wisconsin
 10. Camp Sigel was on the outskirts of Milwaukee. On January 2, 1863, the camp burned down. Two men were killed, and almost all buildings were destroyed. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Jan. 3, 5, 1863)

Footnotes:

11. Leopold Drewes was one of Adam's closest friends. He also lived in Greenfield, and the two men enlisted in the 26th on the same day, August 15, 1862. Drewes, was injured by an accident, October 5, 1864, and was "Absent sick" when the regiment was mustered out. (W. M. L. and Roster of Wisconsin Volunteers, Vol. H, p. 318)
12. On Wednesday, August 21, 1862, the Sentinel noted that on the 20th the Chamber of Commerce had voted to present a flag to the "Sigel" regiment--the 27th Wisconsin.
13. Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, August 30, 1862.
14. Milwaukee Daily Sentinels, October 1, 8, 14, 1862; Quiner, op. cit. p. 787; Winkler, F. C., Letters, p. 1.
15. Quiner, op. cit., p. 787; Winkler, op. cit., p. 1,4.
16. Arlington is across the Potomac, near Washington, D. C.
17. At this time Sigel's command was the XI Army Corps, which in September 1862 had been created primarily from the divisions of Generals Schenk, Von Steinwehr and Schurz. This unit was called "the Gernian Corps," because it contained a large number of German speaking regiments. It must be remembered, however, that some authorities contend that only slightly more than half of the Corps was German speaking. (Doubleday, A., Campaigns of the Civil War, p. 29; Official Records, I, XXV, Part I, pp. 659 -660)

Franz Sigel, a graduate of the German Military Academy, fled his homeland after the ill-fated 1848 revolution, coming to the United States by way of Switzerland and Great Britain. In 1861 he was Director of Schools in St. Louis. When war began, he threw/in his lot with the Union, and influenced many Missouri Germans to espouse the Federal cause. On May 4, 1861, he was commissioned to colonel of the 3rd Missouri. Thereafter he rose, rapidly. By March 21, 1862, he was a major general who had fought well in Missouri, and at the great battles of Wilson's Creek and Pea Ridge. (Boatner, M.M., Civil War Dictionary, p. 76 1)
18. Fairfax Courthouse, scene of many skirmishes during the War, was about 10 miles northeast of Manassas Junction.
19. In the "make room" statement Adam is referring to the constant competition between regiments for camping space. The 19th may be either the 19th Maine or the 119 N. Y., which were both assigned to the XI Corps at this time.

Footnotes:

20. General Adolph Wilhem August Frederick Von Steinwehr was a military man by tradition and experience. Born in 1822, the son and grandson of high ranking Prussian officers, he came to the United States to fight in the Mexican War, married an Alabama girl, became an American citizen, returned to Prussia to resign his commission, and came back to the United States to become a gentleman farmer in Connecticut. He was appointed Colonel of the, 29th N. Y., an all German regiment, and was in the reserve at 1st Bull Run- From September 12, 1862, to February 22, 1863, he commanded the 2nd Division of the XI Corps. After the war he became professor of Military Science at Yale, and later, a U. S. Government Engineer. (Boatner, op. cit., p. 881)
21. Adam Muenzenberger's brother-in-law was Adam Wuest, a boy of sixteen who according to family tradition joined the Army to escape marriage to Christina Schmidt, a neighbor's daughter. Young Adam was also a member of Co. C, 26th Wis., enlisting on August 20. (W. M. L. and Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 320)
22. Christian Preusser was a prosperous Milwaukee jeweler, whose store was at the corner of N. Water and E. Wells. Barbara worked for him as a maid when she first left her parents' home in the town of Greenfield and came to Milwaukee. It is said that Preusser was also an advisor and friend to Adam. (W. M. L.)
23. Winkler, F. C., op. cit., pp.4-7.
24. Winkler, F. C., op.cit.,pp.8-10.
25. The 26th Wisconsin was assigned to the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division, commanded by Carl Schurz, one time a resident of Watertown, Wisconsin. In the election of 1856 Schurz, one of the best known of the 1848 German revolutionary refugees, had missed by a few votes being elected lieutenant -governor of Wisconsin. He had been a prominent early Republican, and brought many votes to Lincoln in 1860. Lincoln appointed him minister to Spain. Schurz served there until 1862, when Lincoln appointed him brigadier general, U.S. V. Schurz commanded the 3rd Div., I Corps, Army of Virginia, at 2nd Bull Run. Until February 1864, when he resigned from the army, he commanded the 3rd Div., XI Corps, Army of the Potomac, or the XI Corps itself. He is probably most noted for his post-war civil service reforms. He served as Secretary of the Interior for Hayes. (Boatner, op. cit., p. 727)
26. Shepard and Phillips were Milwaukee politicians. Phillips was alderman of Milwaukee's Sixth Ward. Later he became Mayor. (---History of Milwaukee, p. 1113)

Footnote s:

- 27 Colonel William H. Jacobs, a Milwaukeean, recruited the 26th Wisconsin at the- request of Gov. Edward Salomon. (see footnote.5)
- J~
28. The Society was the Greenfield Birgerverien, a farmer's union. (see footnote 4.) It filled a unique place in Adam's life. Grange-like, it was a social club and an economic forum where Adam and his peers could meet together and speak in German. The Muehls and Rollers were very close friends. Herman Steifvater was the husband of Adam's younger sister, Bina. (W. M. L.)
29. Winkler, op. cit., p. 10.
30. Winkler, op. cit., P. 14.
- 31, Winkler, op. cit., pp.13-15.
32. Winkler, op. cit., pp.15-16..
33. Gainesville was at the junction of the Warrenton Turnpike and the Manassas Gap Railroad, about eleven Miles from Thoroughfare Gap.
34. Julius Stahel, a Hungarian, fought with the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth in 1849, and eventually fled to New York and there became a newspaperman. In 1861 he was commissioned lieutenant -colonel of the 8th New York, and in Nov. 1861 was promoted to brigadier. From Sept. 1862 until Jan. 1863 he commanded the 1st Division of the XI Corps, and then was transferred to the command of the cavalry division of the XXII Corps. In 1864, for service near Piedmont, he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war he was appointed to the diplomatic corps, served in Japan, and engaged in private business there and in this country. (Boatner, op. cit., pp. 790 -791)
35. *,-- - On Nov. 3,1862, Schurz's division was ordered to Thoroughfare Gap, in the Bull Run Mountains. On the same day, Sigel informed General Heintzleman, commander of the military district of Washington, that "our cavalry under General Stahel has driven the enemy out of Thoroughfare Gap. No enemy is in sight. 11 (Official Records, I, XIX-2, p.541) This is Stahel's engagement that Adam refers to.

-The Union cavalry continued its advance to New Baltimore and Georgetown, driving the enemy's cavalry pickets from Buckland Mills and New Baltimore. On Nov. 5,1862, while Schurz's division was in the Gap, Stahel's detachment was attacked by 1500 cavalymen, with four pieces of artillery. Stahel drove them off toward Warrenton. (Official Records, 'I, XIX-2, p. 542)

Footnotes:

Adam, of course, overestimated the importance and effect of Stahel's movements.

36. In Adam's family and circle of friends Barbara was reputed to be able to predict future events by reading messages left by tea leaves in the teacup. Hence Adam asks, "What does the teacup say?," (W. M. L.)
37. Christina Schmidt was Adam Wuestls inamorata.
38. Fritz Awe was from Spring Prairie, Wisconsin. He enlisted in Co. C. Wis. 26th on August 20., 1862. (Wisconsin Roster II, p. 319)
39. The Walters and Hirsches were Greenfielders. (W. M. L.)
40. Jacob Michel and Nicholas Frederick were Greenfield men who enlisted in Co. C. on Aug. 21, 1862- Louis Michel, perhaps a member of Co. C., is not listed in the Wisconsin Roster. Jacob Michel became a sergeant, was wounded and captured at Chancellorsville, fought at Kenesaw Mountain, and died on July 12, 1864, at Chattanooga. Nicholas Frederick came through the war safely and was mustered out in June 1865. (Wisconsin Roster II, pp. 319-320)
41. "Little Adam" is Adam Muenzenberger's youngest son.
42. Centerville, 26 miles southwest of Washington, played a prominent role in the early years of the war.
43. In the Official Records General Burnside's chief of -staff, John G. Parke, refers to this deployment as "a movement" which Sigel was to make simultaneously with Hooker. (Official Records 1, XXI, p. 760). Most authorities agree with Adam and describe it as a retreat.

Jackson of course is T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

44. Between Sept. 20, 1862, and Nov. 19, 1862, six men deserted from the 26th Wisconsin. Only one of them was a member of Co. C, and he decamped before the regiment left Wisconsin. Two deserters were from Co. D, two from Co. H, and one from Co. K. Four of these men were from Milwaukee, one from Russell City, Wis., and one from Sauk City, Wis.- (Wisconsin Roster II, pp. 312-339)
45. Captain Franz Landa, Co. I, and Lieutenant Christian Sarnow, Co. A, resigned their commissions Nov. 19, 1862, but Lieutenant Albert Wallber, Co. F, returned and eventually became the Lieutenant Colonel of the 26th. (Wisconsin Roster II, pp. 313, -326, 334)

Footnote s:

46. John P. Seeman, a Milwaukeean, recruited the men for Co. C, and became its captain. On Oct. 21, 1863, he was mustered out of the service because of a wound he received at Chancellorsville. In December 1863, he was recommissioned captain of Co. I, of the 26th Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 318)
47. Between Nov. 19, 1862, and Feb. 26, 1863, eleven officers resigned their commissions in the 26th.

Captain Landa- Co. I, Lieutenant Sarnow, Co. A, and Lieutenant Jacob Heip, West Bend, Wis., resigned on Nov. 19. (see footnote 45) Other resignations also seemed to come in clusters in the following months:

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------|
| Dec. 8, 1862 | | Lt. William Huttman | Co. B | Milwaukee |
| Dec. 8, 1862 | | Capt. Jacob E. Mann | Co. G | West Bend |
| Jan. 16, 1863 | | Lt. Colonel Charles Lehmann | | |
| | Milwaukee | | | |
| Feb. 5, 1863 | | Major Phillip Horwitz | | Milwaukee |
| Feb. 6, 1863 | | Lt. August Mueller | Co. A | Milwaukee |
| Feb. 6, 1863 | | Lt. Julius Meisswinkel | Co. G | |
| | Milwaukee | | | |
| Feb. 12, 1863 | | Lt. John F. Hagen | Co. E | Milwaukee |
| Feb. 26, 1863 | | Lt. Joseph Wedig | Co. H | Sheboygan |

(Wisconsin Roster, H, pp. 312, 313, 316, 324, 329, 336)

il,?, Lt. Colonel Lehmann was Adam's implacable enemy. To Adam, Lehmann's pompous severity and moral failings (he considered Lehmann a drunkard) everything that was bad in officers and in the War. Evidently other soldiers shared this low opinion, because on April 11, 1863, a soldier from the 26th, writing to the Sentinel described Lehmann as "the leading. miscreant" and said he had only been appointed because he was considered a good soldier.

However, it was soon discovered that "he would make a good corporal, and his superiors demanded his resignation. (Sentinel, April 11, 1863, 1-5)

Early in his military career as an officer Lehmann had won the Sentinel's animosity by a display of childish bad temper and pomposity.

As a result of the Sioux uprising and the resultant massacre in Minnesota, panic spread eastward throughout Wisconsin and finally reached even the lower counties along Lake Michigan.

Klement points out that: "Even the Milwaukee area took part in the scare. Settlers from the country streamed in Port Washington and Milwaukee. Fugitives outdid each other in starting new rumors and magnifying old ones. It was reported that Waukesha had been attacked, that West Bend was ablaze, and that Pewaukee had been destroyed. All Ozaukee

Footnotes:

County was gripped by the panic. It was rumored that Cedarburg had been burned and that scalping parties were active. . . . Governor Salomon, ordered a company of militia to seek out the Indians in the area north and west of Milwaukee. Captain Charles Lehmann and his militiamen spent several days in fruitless search. Some of the soldiers, tired of searching for Indians'.. visited grog shops to regain enthusiasm for their chore. It (Klement, F. L. , Wisconsin and the Civil War, pp. 40 s eq.

This ridiculous business sent the Sentinel reporter to writing several "amusing burlesques" --the Sentinel's own term--on the "Indian hunters and their wild goose chase. Although the Sentinel commented that the articles contained "nothing in the least degree purposely offensive to any person," when Lehmann read the satires, he organized a detachment of 200 men from Camp Sigel. In front of the Sentinel office they drew up in line, and a smaller detachment, some fifteen or twenty-five officers and men, some armed with clubs, entered the editorial room. Wheeler, who was alone there, stood his ground, and admitted that he had written the articles in question. When he stooped to pick up copies of the paper, Lehmann knocked him down and several other officers struck at him. The Sentinel growled that when an army officer leads men under his command to violate the peace, public opinion might compel the Governor himself to make an example of the offenders. Next day the rumpus was aired in Milwaukee's Municipal Court, and Lehmann was fined \$5 and costs. The Sentinel simmered editorially for a few days. After that it was anti-Lehmann. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Sept. 9 -11, 1862)

Drafting began everywhere else in Wisconsin on Nov. 10, 1862. Mistakes in the draft list delayed it in Milwaukee. In Ozaukee County rioters on November 11 drove the draft commissioner away and burned his home. A few days later another mob rioted in Port Washington, and eight companies of the 28th Wisconsin were called out to quell the disturbance. (Quiner, op.cit., pp.139-146)

In Milwaukee there was much resentment. On November 9 a protest march was held in the city's Ninth Ward. Korn writes: "On November 9, 1862, a group of approximately 150 -men, drawn mostly from Milwaukee's Ninth Ward, paraded down Grand (presently W. Wisconsin) avenue bearing a banner which proclaimed, 'NO DRAFT! NO! NO!! A noisy brass band headed the parade; and while those in line encouraged others along the line of march to join in the demonstration, only few responded. Such was the extent of the much publicized anti-Civil War draft riots in Milwaukee. (Korn, "Civil War Drafts in Milwaukee", p. 7) Next day it was rumored that a mob of women had assaulted a draft commissioner. (Sentinel., Nov. 10, 11, 1862) Some Milwaukeeans were in an ugly mood, and to

Footnotes:

maintain order, the 1st Wisconsin Volunteers were ordered into the city. The blame for the riots was placed upon the Germans and I 'German -Belgian" elements of Wisconsin,. (Quiner, op. cit., pp. 146-147) The charge has never been substantiated. (see also Korn, B.C., "The Civil War Drafts in Milwaukee", Historical Messenger, Sept. 1961, pp. 7-12)

60. Catholics believe that there is a special relationship between an individual and the saint for whom he is named. . The Church honors each saint on a designated feast day, which, among some Catholics, by a pious custom is also a special day for his namesake, virtually a second birthday for him.
 61. Blue Mountain is a peak in the Bull Run Hills, about twenty miles northwest of Manassas Junction.
 62. Haymarket is on Virginia Route 55, a few Miles northwest of Gainesville.
 63. Adam may have been referring to a movement by cavalry of the XI Corps under General Stahel and one brigade of infantry under Colonel Von Gilsa, which on Nov. 27 drove the Confederates from Aldie, Va. Aldie cleared, the cavalry advanced through Middlesburg, White Plains, Salem, Rectors town and Ashby's Gap, where it engaged and defeated a small enemy force. On the next day and Union detachment advanced to Snickersville and Berrytown, and routed another small Confederate detachment. (Official Records,I, XXI, p. 803)
 64. The 119 N.Y., commanded by Colonel Elias Peissner, was an all German regiment in the 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, XI Corps. (Official Records, I, XXI, p. 803)
 65. Adam was a Democrat. (W. M. L.)
 66. Louis Pelosi, Milwaukee, was captain of Co. K. He resigned from the service March 12, 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 102)
 67. McClellan was Commander of the Army at this time. Burnside, of course, would soon replace him.
 68. See footnote 48.
- Sx Harbacher, a Greeufield man, was hired by Adam to help Barbara with the

Footnotes:

Korbmacher, probably a Volunteer in the 26th, is not listed in the Wisconsin Roster.

(a/, The Seebothe was an influential German language daily printed in Milwaukee at this time. The newspaper's sentiments were violently anti-war and pro-Democratic. The Copperhead label was often applied to it. On January 27, 1863, the Sentinel reported that the Seebothe had been barred from all army camps in Missouri. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Jan. 27, 1863) Peter V. Deuster was the newspaper's editor, and it echoed his sentiments.

62. John N. Kraemer, from Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, enlisted August 20, 1862, in Co. C and fought the entire war with the regiment. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 319)

65. As Adam declares in this letter, the printed report was absurd. The two regiments were not in action at Fredericksburg. The article written by a New York, Times correspondent, had been printed in that paper and "picked up" by many Northern newspapers. On Nov. 26, 1862, the Sentinel re-published this story, which declared that on the retreat from Gainesville to Fairfax Courthouse the- 26th Wisconsin abandoned its tents and was sent back to retrieve them by Sigel, himself. The correspondent also accused the 86th New York of destroying \$1,000,000 worth of supplies. This account is characteristic of the nativistic, anti-German and anti foreign prejudices of this period.

On Nov. 27, 1862, Sigel write to Governor Salomon of Wisconsin:

"Probably you have read that 'a Wisconsin regiment' did not behave well on the withdrawal of our forces from Thoroughfare Gap by throwing away their arms and burning their tents. Although I'm sure you don't believe this scandalous report, I think it nevertheless my duty to say that the 26th Wisconsin was not at Thoroughfare Gap when we marched from there to Centerville, and that the whole story... is a most malicious and infamous misrepresentation (and lie. It affords me pleasure to say that the 26th Wisconsin is in the best spirits, and by constant exercise and drill, in excellent health.

An account of Sigel's letter was printed in the Sentinel on December 4, 1862. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Dec. 4, 1862)

Footnotes:

6Y, The intensity of the Sentinel's prejudice against the 26th Wisconsin is difficult to determine. At first glance it would seem that the newspaper rarely missed an opportunity to print an article which damaged the reputation of the 26th. Perhaps the Sentinel's dislike was rooted in nativism; perhaps it originated in Lt. Col. Lehmann's assault and efforts to browbeat the editor. (see footnote 48)

In September 1862 the Sentinel printed two articles criticizing the conduct of the 26th's officers and men, charging them with drunkenness, pomposity and a readiness to brawl in the streets. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, Sept. 29, 1862) In singling out the 26th the Sentinel was being hypercritical. Since the beginning of the War, Wisconsin newspapers had been criticizing volunteers for brawling and drunkenness. The 26th were no different from the rest.

To the criticism that it had no right to publish an unfounded rumor, such as the Fredericksburg libel, the Sentinel might plead in its own defense that at this time midwestern newspapers plagiarized the articles of the nation's major dailies as a matter of course. The article had been carried in the New York Times. It was not strange that the Sentinel should republish it verbatim. Most symptomatic, however, of the Sentinel's bias is the absence of letters from the 26th's soldiers. Even here, though, mitigating circumstances might be found. Not many of the regiment's soldiers wrote English.. Few- probably sent letters to the Sentinel.

However, at least one of them felt that the Sentinel printed no letters from the 26th because of ill feeling between the daily and the regiment's officers. In April 1863, this soldier wrote to the Sentinel declaring that although the regiment had left Milwaukee in September 1862, not once in those six months had he seen even the regiment's name mentioned in the newspaper:

11. .. although the regiment is composed almost entirely of Milwaukee citizens of the very best class, and is entitled to some sympathy from your readers. I am well aware that there went with us at that time (Sept., 1862) several officers who were very obnoxious to you and had brought the whole regiment into disrepute. I cannot see why we all should suffer for their misdeeds now, when those officers have left us, or rather have been sent away, why should we not again be received in your favor. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, April 11, 1863)

Footnotes:

66. On Wednesday, December 9, the 26th left Centerville and marched southeast about seven miles to Fairfax Station. Throughout the day the roll of heavy cannonading drifted from the direction of Fredericksburg. The next day the regiment reached Wolf Run Shoals, and at the end of the march, on Friday, December 11, reached Dumfries twenty-two miles northeast of Fredericksburg. On December 12, the regiment marched again and on the 13th reached Stafford Court House, covering less than ten miles. Too late, by this time, to participate in the battle of Fredericksburg, the 26th veered to the southeast, halted at Brooke Station, and then marched to within a mile and a half of Fredericksburg.
- &7. By the 18th, when General Sigel and a few of his staff rode over to Burnside's headquarters, at least the officers of the XI Corps knew the truth. Fredericksburg had been a terrible disaster. Captain Winkler commented, "What now? It is hard to tell. Our corps is sent back at once to guard our right against flank movements and maintain the railroad communication with the army. (Winkler, 23)
- 6.Y. Pvt. Andreas Stubanus, "the basketmaker, Co., F, a resident of Greenfield, enlisted on Aug. 20, 1862, was wounded at Gettysburg and died on Aug. 28, 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, H, p. 331)
- &y1. Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, defeated by Jackson at Cedar Mountain, was placed in charge of the Washington Military District. In October 1862 he succeeded General Butler in command of the Department of the Gulf. Adam's statement about going to Richmond is merely another of those groundless rumors which swept through the ranks of the Union army. (Boatner, op. -cit., p. 42)
- 7a. Mary from LaCrosse, Wisconsin, was Mary Wuest Wiskirchen, Barbara Wuest's older sister. (W.M.L.)
71. Charles Pizzala of Co. G, a resident of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, was promoted to Captain of Co. K on Dec. 8, 1862, replacing Captain Jacob E. Mann. Pizzala died at Chancellorsville. (Wisconsin Roster, H, p. 329)
- 7z. Among pious Catholics the godfather of 1862 was accorded a higher role and dignity than he is today. Then he was not only assigned responsibility for the religious upbringing of his godchildren, but in many cases, he was regarded as a substitute father, and helped the family of his godchild in

Footnotes:

- 79- The New York troops in Adam's division probably were responsible for this conclusion. In the 1st Brigade were the 68th N. Y. and the -157th N. Y. In the 2nd Brigade (Adam's) were the 58th N. Y. and the 119th N. Y.
- 74-- Jacob Heinz of Co. G, a resident of Addison, Wisconsin, enlisted on Aug. 18, 1862, and was wounded at Gettysburg. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 330)
- 7,5-. Captain Winkler did not wholly agree with Corporal Muenzenberger on the adequacy of the supply of simple food. On the 23rd he wrote to his wife: "The road to Washington is unsafe for sutlers, so that we are entirely confined to quartermaster and commissary stores. Oh what a luxury a piece of bread would be, but I don't care for luxuries, we have plenty of good food...."
- 7&. Pvt. Andreas Springling of Co. C, a Milwaukee resident, enlisted on Aug. 13, 1862, and was wounded at Chancellorsville. Asmus Holz, a Greenfielder, enlisted in August 1862, and was taken prisoner at Gettysburg, and died on Aug. 20, 1864 at Andersonville. (Wisconsin Roster, H, pp. 319-320)
- 77 This was of special interest to Barbara because she and her family had come from the principality of Hesse-Darmstadt. (W.M.L.)
- Pvt. Heinrich Jaeger, who enlisted at Milwaukee and was a member of Co. A, died of disease at Centerville, Nov. 30, 1862. Conrad Mack, a private in Co. G, from West Bend, Wisconsin, died of disease Dec. 23, 1862, at Stafford Court House, Va. (Wisconsin Roster, II, pp. 314, 330)
- 7y. The buoyant tone of Adam's opening may have been partly due to fine weather. Captain Winkler wrote: "The common wish of a Happy New Year, I have heard from a hundred lips today. If we were to regard the weather as an omen, it would promise good to Virginia, war-beaten Virginia. This morning is clear and bright and genial, as if angels ruled the skies, and the day has been a lovely Indian summer day." (Winkler, 24)
- Wladmir Krzyzanowski, Adam's Brigade Commander, a Polish emigré who had fought in the Polish Revolution of 1846, was appointed brigadier general of volunteers on Nov. 29, 1862. When his appointment expired on Nov. 4, 1863, he reverted to the rank of Colonel of the 58th New York. (Boatner, op. cit., p. 469) At Chancellorsville, in May 1863, he still

Footnotes:

functioned as the Commander of the 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps. Schurz, 3rd Division Commander, is supposed to have quipped that Krzyzanowski did not attain a general's rank because "no senator could pronounce his name." (Boatner, op. cit., p. 469)

Captain Winkler wrote of Jan. 1, 1863: "The Major has gone to Washington on twenty days' sick leave, at the end of which he will probably resign... (Winkler, 25)

o'.Z. Adam's statement, probably was based in part on rumor and wishful thinking. Captain Winkler's letter of the same day remarked: "The Lieutenant Colonel of the 26th Regiment told me today that he intended to resign. (Winkler, 25)

Francis Huebschmann, surgeon of the 26th, a Milwaukee resident, enlisted on Aug. 22, 1862, and resigned from the service on Sept. 23, 1864. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 312) Although Adam accused Huebschmann of stealing medicinal alcohol for his personal use, Huebschmann apparently was in high favor with the Sentinel editor. In March 1863, while on leave, Huebschmann informed the newspaper about the regiment's adventures and the resignation of Lt. Col. Lehmann. The Sentinel said of Huebschmann: "It gives us- sincere pleasure to take by the hand so warm a patriot as Dr. Huebschmann.... When he leaves for his post, he will carry our good wishes to the men in the field. (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, March 18, 1863) Clearly the impression an officer made on the men and which he made on furlough might be quite different.

c?,54 Herman Stiefvater was married to Adam's youngest sister, Philipbina Muenzenberger.

Adam's father was Philip Muenzenberger. A widower, he was living with his son Philip, Jr., on a farm on St. Joseph's ridge, near LaCrosse, Wisconsin. Several of Adam's married sisters lived nearby.

Ab The soldiers buried their dead carefully. Two weeks later Captain Winkler wrote: "Near the old camping ground of the 26th Wisconsin are four graves, two very recent ones of Company A, two of last month of Company G. A very neat picket fence encloses them; two of them have stone slabs, with the name of the sleeper, his description, age, and time of death painted

Footnotes:

upon them. The two latest are completely surrounded by wreaths of the Virginia holly; the outline of a heart is also traced on each of the latter with a soft and tender light green moss ornamented with the holly berries. These two graves are indeed beautiful and testify that his dead comrade is not an-object of indifference to the soldier. (Winkler, op. cit., p. 9)

l'Spangenberg, from Co. A, was Pvt. William Spangenberg, who enlisted in Milwaukee on Aug. 18, 18.62, and died at Stafford Court House, Va., Dec. 31, 1862. The cause of death was listed as "disease. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 315)

,?X, Captain Hans Boebel, a Milwaukeean, commanded Co. H. in the 26th. On Jan. 18, 1863, two weeks after this letter was written, he replaced Lt. Col. Lehmann as second in command of the regiment. (Wisconsin Roster, II, P. 312) Captain William George of Co. A was also from Milwaukee. On March 10, 1863, he resigned his commission. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 313) 1st Lt. John Fuchs, another Milwaukeean, had transferred to Co. C in the 26th from the 5th Wisconsin. On March 15, 1863, he was promoted to the captaincy 6 f Co. A. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 318)

dy. The Stuber family were neighbors of the Muenzenbergers in the Town of Greenfield. (W. M. L.)

Yo. Adam's mother-in-law was Anna Mary Diehl Wuest. (W. M. L.)

~P/ Adam, unlike many of the men of the 26th (see letter of Jan. 15,1863) lived in a tent. Winkler describes how during the stay of the 26th at Stafford Court House he found soldiers' houses everywhere. "The boys of all the regiments had, with considerable exertions, put up log huts and made themselves quite comfortable; about half a dozen were well built and strong, plastered over with clay. Of course, every hut had a fireplace and a chimney." (Winkler, op. cit., pl. 9)

Warrenton was about 30 miles in a direct line northwest of Stafford Court House.

Footnotes:

In 1861, aid was provided privately for soldiers' families. Throughout Wisconsin meetings were held and individuals subscribed money to be used for relief. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Milwaukee in April 1861, \$11, 175 was donated. In a few days this sum had risen, to \$30, 000. (Quiner, op. cit., pp.128-130). This was not the case everywhere. Green County, for instance, levied a special relief tax on its citizens from 1861 to 1865.

Naturally, as war went on and patriotism waned, there was not enough private money. Then state, county, city and township raised funds and provided for their soldiers' families, giving them either money or food. In many cases counties issued scrip which could be used to purchase necessities. (Quiner, op. cit. , p. 149)

V4. Winkler, op. cit., p. 2 9.

Winkler, op. cit., p. 30.

Hartwood Church was about 10 miles west of Stafford Court House.

f7. Burnside's attempt to cross the Rappahanock and envelop Lee's Army on Jan. 20, 1863, was doomed to failure by a two-day rainstorm which flooded streams, and turned roads into quagmires. When the operation was abandoned, it had accomplished little except to demoralize the Army of the Potomac and to hasten the removal of Burnside as its commander. (Boatner, op. cit. , p. 573)

On Jan. 19,1863, the XI Corps left with the rest of the Army of the Potomac on the movement, called the Mud March. The 26th had formerly been manned by the entire corps. The regiment remained on picket through heavy rain and later snow, until they were relieved by a detachment from the XII Corps. (Love, W. D., Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion, p. 397; Quiner, op. cit., p. 747)

F8. On July 1, 1862, the states were authorized, by the War Department, to give a volunteer one month's pay and a quarter of his \$100 bounty in advance. In addition to this, the State of Wisconsin offered each volunteer an additional \$50 bounty. At various time s counties, cities and even villages offered men bounties of different amounts to stimulate volunteering. (Quiner, op. cit., p. 129)

Footnotes:

99. Camomile is a plant of the aster family from which a tea with medicinal value was brewed.
100. The 26th marched to Beriah Church after being relieved from picket duty during the Mud March, and at this place, they rejoined the rest of their brigade. (Love, op. cit., p. 397) On Feb. 4, 1863, the 3rd Division, was ordered to march to and encamp between the Telegraph Road and the railroad, south of Stafford Court House and Brooke Station. (Official Records, I, H, XXV, p.45)
- 101 . Joseph Schmidt was a member of the family of Christina Schmidt, with whom Adam Wuest was infatuated. In the Wisconsin Roster, Joseph is not listed as a member of the 26th Wisconsin.
102. The Brigade moved to within a mile of Stafford Court House and remained there in winter quarters until the end of April. (Love, op. cit. , p. 397)
103. The culprits leading Adam Wuest astray were Heinrich Urich, a corporal in Co. C from Milwaukee, who enlisted on Aug. 14,1862, and Christopher Burkhardt from Manitowoc, who enlisted on Aug. 21,1862. (Wisconsin Roster, 1-1, p. 320)
104. Lt. George Traeumler was from Milwaukee and became the 26th's adjutant on Sept. 16, 1863, after Phillip J. Schlosser resigned. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 312)
105. The ten dollars was a sum of money that Adam sent home when he was paid. The twenty dollars from the State was either relief money or the advance payment Adam's family was to receive when he enlisted.
106. Adam has, in retrospect, described in detail the activities of the 26th when it was left behind, while the rest of the XI Corps was engaged in the Mud March. The Army of the Potomac was not generally attacked on Jan. 23; perhaps he is referring to the response elicited from the Confederates by the Mud March maneuver. (see footnote 97)
107. Ferdinand Krueger, Co. C, was from Kenosha, and was captured at Gettysburg. After being released, he fought with the 26th in the West. (Wisconsin Roster, 11, p. 319)

Footnotes:

- 108 Henry, Adam's second son, had fatally contracted diphtheria. (W. M. L.-
- 109 John Beres, a private in Co. C, from Granville, Wisconsin was wounded at, Gettysburg and died in a hospital, there on July 16, 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 319)
110. Again, this was the Blessed Sacrament Church, located a mile east of the Milwaukee U Road on the Janesville Plank Road. The building has long since been razed. (W.M.L.)
- Julius Schoenleber, a Milwaukee resident, enlisted on Aug. 18, 1862, was captured at Gettysburg, and later exchanged. He was transferred to the Veteran's Relief Corps on Jan. 15, 1864, and was mustered out July 3, 1865. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 320)
112. By this time Captain Hans Boebel had been promoted, and had replaced Adam's enemy, Lt. Col. Lehmann. --(see footnote 88)
113. Anton Kettler, from Fond du Lac, was Captain of Co. E, not Company A. He resigned on March 8, 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, H, p. 313)
- The St. Charles was one of Milwaukee's outstanding hotels. It was located on City. Hall Square. (W. M. L.)
114. During the war patriotic meetings were common. Toasts were drunk and resolutions were drawn up, addressed to the President, advising him on the best methods for waging and winning the war. After the meetings, the resolutions were printed in area newspapers, and then forgotten. (R. D. B.)
115. Suabians, Southern Germans, occupy a humorous place in German folklore. As a class, they are the butt of practical jokes, the people who are usually victimized by "sharpers," etc.
116. This series of picket line attacks, and the reluctance of a regiment to fight is not mentioned in the Official Records.

Footnotes:

117. Barbara always maintained that Adam enlisted for the bounty and other monies then paid to volunteers, so that he would have money to donate to the debt ridden Blessed Sacrament Church. (W. M. L.)
118. Samuel P. Heintzqeknan, a Pennsylvanian, first served in the Army in 1826. Later he distinguished himself in the Mexican War and in Indian fighting. In 1861, he was appointed Colonel, of the 17th U. S. Infantry and Brigadier General of U. S. Volunteers. He captured Alexandria, Virginia, in May 1861, and was wounded at 1st Bull Run. By April 1, 1863, he was a Major General commanding the X Corp., and the Military District of Washington. He has been described as a lackluster leader, who was prone to magnify the difficulties lying between himself and the successful completion of his task. (Boatner, op. cit. p. 392)
119. Frederick Hundhausen, the 26th's quartermaster, enlisted on Aug. 14, 1862, and was discharged for a disability on July 30, 1864. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 312)
120. Culpepper is more than 30 miles northwest of Brooke Station and Chancellorsville is southwest. When the regiment moved, however, it did swing generally in the direction of Culpepper.

Footnotes:

121. iSe-e- footnote 1. For the Blessed Sacrament Church. _01

122. Controversial Oliver Otis Howard graduated from West Point in 1854, served on the frontier and in government arsenals, and taught mathematics at West Point. In June 1861, he- resigned his commission in the regular army to become colonel of the---3rd Maine. He fought at 1st Bull Run, and Yorktown; and at Fair Oaks he was twice wounded and lost his right arm. On Nov. 29, 1862, he was promoted to major general and given command of the H Army Corps. In early February 1863, he was transferred to the XI Corps, which he led at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. When the XI Corps was shifted to the west, he went with it to Chattanooga and the Army of the Cumberland. In the Atlantic campaign he commanded the IV Corps, and in July 1864, he was appointed Commander of the Army of Tennessee. After the war he was named a commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau and was the founder of Howard University for Negroes in Washington, D.C. (Boatner, op. cit.pp. 413-414)

Franz Sigel's resignation was not well received by the men of the XI Corps, with whom he was very popular. While the official reason given was "poor health," obviously, other matters were involved. On Feb. 12, he wrote to General Hooker about the difficulties of reinforcing the XI Corps, and resigned:

"I know of no troops that are available to increase my, corps and I cannot consent to ask other commanders to reduce their corps to strengthen mine. Besides this, my past experience in endeavoring to strengthen my own command has been so painful that I am convinced-it would be useless to make further efforts in that direction. I have therefore, after due deliberation, concluded to ask to be relieved from my present command.

In an enclosure addressed to Lt. Col. Joseph Dickinson, Assistant Adjutant General of Volunteers, Sigel declared that he was resigning because the "reduction" of his command made it "exceedingly unpleasant" to continue. (Official Records, I, XXV, II, P. 70) Sigel had much seniority as a corps commander. He had commanded a grand division for Burnside, and when it was dissolved, he was given back his old command, now the smallest corps in the Army of the Potomac.

Abner Doubleday, admittedly biased against General O. O. Howard, declared that in the spring of 1863, "Only one portion of the army was

Footnote s:

dissatisfied," the XI Corps:

which had been given to General O. O. Howard. The large German element in that corps was discontented at the change. They knew little and cared less for Howard's reputation as a great Biblical soldier, the Havelock of the Army as he was called, owing, to his- having studied for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church. They felt when their countryman Sigel was relieved of his command, that it was a blow to their nationality, and therefore lost some of their enthusiasm which always accompanies the personal influence of a popular leader.

(Doubleday, A., Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, p. 3)

123. The 27th regiment left Wisconsin on March 16, 1863, went to Columbus, Kentucky, and then participated in the siege of Vicksburg. It fought at Little Rock and Jenkins Ferry, Arkansas, and Spanish Fort at Mobile, Alabama. In June 1865, the 27th was transferred to Texas, and remained there until August, when it returned to Madison to be mustered out. (Love, op. cit. pp. 814-817)

Pvt. Louis Manz, a resident of Greenfield, enlisted on Aug. 21, 1862, in Co. C. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Chancellorsville. On Sept. 22, 1864, after being released from prison, he was discharged as a result of the Chancellorsville wound. (Wisconsin Roster, I-1, p. 320)

/Z,S'. The two candidates for the post of Supreme Court Justice were Montgomery M. Cochrane, a Democrat, and Luther S. Dixon, the incumbent, a Republican, running under the banner of the Independent Union Party. The important issue in this campaign was the railroad debts problem, although the Copperhead charge against Cochrane was also present.

More than a decade before the election, Wisconsin farmers had mortgaged their land to railroad companies, to provide money to complete the lines. This paper was sold to Eastern companies, and stock in the railroads was issued to the farmers. Dividends from the stock were to be used to redeem the mortgages, and with the railroads completed, the farmers were assured of a cheap and easy way of getting their crop to market.

Unfortunately, in the depression of 1857, every railroad in Wisconsin failed. Railroad stock became worthless, and the Eastern companies called in the mortgages as they came due. In the investigations

Footnotes:

followed, it was proven that much corruption had attended the railroad's affairs, and the farmers refused to pay, and organized farmers' leagues for protection. Next the Wisconsin Legislature passed acts which made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Eastern companies to collect their money. When all of these bills were declared unconstitutional by the Wisconsin Supreme Court, the farmers determined to elect Justices who would find otherwise.

Late in this election the Copperhead issue was inserted into the campaign, and the military vote elected Dixon by a small margin:

| | Dixon | Cothrane | Scattering |
|----------------|--------|----------|------------|
| Home vote | 51,948 | 56,840 | 967 |
| Soldier's vote | 9,449 | 1,747 | 75 |
| | 61,397 | 58,587 | 1,032 |

(See Merk, Frederick, *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, Studies, Vol. I: Madison, Wis.; State Historical Society, 1916. Election figures in the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, May 19, 1863)

1Z& 1st Lieutenant Robert Mueller enlisted Aug. 18, 1862, at Milwaukee, as a Sergeant in Co. C, and rose through the ranks to be appointed Captain on Nov. 17, 1863. He died on July 20, 1864, at Peach Tree Creek, Georgia. (Wisconsin Roster, IEI, p. 318)

127. Edward S. Salomon was an 1848 Prussian revolutionary who became Governor of Wisconsin when Louis Powell Harvey died in April, 1862. Salomon's brothers, Carl Eberhard and Frederick Sigel Salomon, both became generals in the Union Army. (Boatner, op. cit., p. 718)

128. Aquia Creek station was fifteen railroad miles northeast of Fredericksburg. Army supplies from Washington were shipped down the Potomac to Aquia Creek station, and thence transported by rail to Union supply depots. (Stackpole, Chancellorsville, p. 718)

129. Bernhard Domschke, a Milwaukeean, was 2nd Lieutenant of Co. C, from Sept. 3 to Nov. 14, 1862. He was then promoted to the 1st lieutenantcy of Co. G., was transferred to Co. F., and went to Co. H as its captain on March 15, 1863. (Wisconsin- Roster, II, pp. 218, 326, 329)

Footnotes:

The 9th Wisconsin regiment was formed in October 1861, and was the first all German detachment from Wisconsin. It served in the West. Frederick Salomon, brother of Governor Salomon, was its colonel. (Quiner, op. cit. , pp. 578-581)

130. The Milwaukee S~nger Bund was a choral group organized from the Milwaukeeans in the regiment. The songs the regiment sang were: "It Is Beautiful in Our Homeland," and "The True German Heart.
131. Doubleday, Abner, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, p. 19.
132. Ibid., p. 2 1.
133. Ibid., p. 20. SL-e-
134. On Monday, April 27, at 5:30 A.M., the)U Corps broke camp and marched to the northwest, toward Kelly's Ford on the Rappahanock. This wing of Hooker's army, consisting of the XI, XII and V Corps, was attempting to flank and move behind Lee's army. At the end of the day, the)U had covered fourteen miles and bivouacked a mile beyond Hartwood Church.
135. Next day, after a fourteen mile march, the XI reached Kelly's Ford, and there detachments from it began to construct a pontoon bridge across the river. At 6:00 that evening 400 men from the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division crossed in boats, to clear the far shore of Confederates. Four hours later the bridge was completed and at daylight on April 30 the rest of the corps began to cross.
136. The XI moved southeast behind the Corps, marching for Germanna Ford on the Rapidan. During the day the flanks of the column were threatened by small detachments of enemy cavalry. Once the rear of the XI was shelled briefly by "light artillery." By 4:00 in the afternoon the Corps had forded the Rapidan and arrived at Dowdall's Tavern, near Chancellorsville, on the south side of the Old Orange Turnpike, not far from the intersection of the Plank Road and the Turnpike. (See Oliver Otis Howard's report in the Official Records, I, XXV-I, pp. 627-628). On the evening of April 30 the"Y2 was stretched along the Turnpike from about "three miles west of Chancellorsville, the right flank refused a short

Footnotes:

distance to the north and the left flank connecting with the right of Slocum's XII Corps." (Stackpole, op. cit., p. 151)

Adam's chronology and geography are inaccurate. The march started on April 27, not April 28. Nor is there a Grove Church north or northwest of Chancellorsville along the U's line of march. (1.4.

Steinwehr's troops were the 2nd Division of the XI Corps.

The Official Records indicate that the 26th Wisconsin suffered higher losses at Chancellorsville than Adam estimated:

| | Officers | Men | Total |
|---------------------|----------|-----|-------|
| Killed | 1 | 22 | 23 |
| Wounded | 7 | 128 | 135 |
| Missing or Captured | 0 | 40 | 40 |
| | 8 | 190 | 198 |

(Official Records, I, XXV, I, p. 18 3)

137 On May 3, at 6:10 A.M., the 3rd Division took up a position "in the vicinity" of the junction of the Mineral Spring road with the road from Chancellorsville to Ely's Ford. It remained there until 11:00 P.M. when a Corps detachment relieved it, and then went into a position supporting the I Corps. Throughout the rest of the battle Schurz' division did virtually nothing. On May 6 it recrossed the Rappahanock with the rest of the Army of the Potomac, at United States Ford. (Official Records, I, XXV, I, pp. 547, 657-658) The Confederates made no attack with Negroes at Chancellorsville or anywhere else during the war.

138. Louis Manz and Jacob Michel were both listed in the Wisconsin Roster as having been wounded and taken prisoner at Chancellorsville. Both were released, and manz was discharged in 1864. Michel fought with the 26th in the West and died at Chattanooga in July 1864. (Wisconsin Roster. H, p. 320) Burkhardt was Peter Burkhardt of Co. K, a Milwaukeean who was wounded during the battle and transferred to the Veterans Reserve Corps in November 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 337)

Footnotes:

139. Second Lieutenant Henry Rauth was not killed at Chancellorsville, but only captured by the Confederates. Eventually he was released and became the 1st Lieutenant of Co. C on Nov. 17, 1863, and its Captain on Oct. 19, 1864. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 318)
140. Meeker and Molitroner
141. The 28th Wisconsin put down the draft riots in Ozaukee County in November 1862. In the days that followed, it was sent to the Western theatre, fought in Arkansas, participated in Yazoo Pass expedition, and ended the war in Texas. (Love, op. cit., pp. 818-826)
142. See footnote 111.
143. Colonel Jacobs left the regiment at this time and went to Milwaukee on "sick leave." He did not return until after the battle of Gettysburg. (Official Records, I, XXVII, I, p. 746)
144. Theodore Yungbluth was another of Adam's Greenfield neighbors.
145. At Chancellorsville Adam Wuest was in the line of eighty skirmishers set out in front of the 26th's position on the north side of the Ely's Ford Road, west of Hawkins Farm. See appendix.
146. The 26th Wisconsin's losses were heavier than just eighteen wounded at Chancellorsville. See footnote 136. Adam is probably referring to those men convalescing from wounds received during the battle.
147. These two men were wounded and captured at Chancellorsville. See foot note 136.
148. Henry Muehl was another Greenfielder.

Footnotes:

149. Adam was wrong about his friend Stubanus. Strange things had happened to him during and after Chancellorsville. (See footnote 157)
150. The woman named Christen was the wife of John M. Christen, a private in Co. C, from Milwaukee. Stubanus was taken prisoner on May 25, 1864, and was absent when the regiment was mustered out. (Wisconsin Roster, H, p. 319)
151. The only 1st Lieutenant named Young listed in the regiment was Martin Young of Co. A, from Milwaukee. He died at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. (Wisconsin Roster, H, p.- 313)
152. This engagement was the battle of Franklin's Crossing (Deep Run), which occurred on June 5, 1863. Hooker sent General John Sedgwick and a detachment from the VI Corps out on a "reconnaissance in force," to discover whether or not Lee's troops were withdrawing from Fredericksburg. The Union troops attempted to cross the Rappahanock at Franklin's Crossing, opposite Deep Run. Entrenched Confederates across the river could not be driven out either by small arms or artillery fire, and so Sedgwick's men crossed on pontoons and forced them back. As a result of this engagement, Sedgwick reported that in his opinion the Confederates were not withdrawing, and Hooker ordered the cavalry reconnaissance, which led to the Battle of Brandy Station. (Boatner, op. cit. , p. 309)
153. The cavalry brush at Upperville, Virginia, on June 21 was the third in a series of engagements stemming from Pleasanton's attempts to penetrate Stuart's counter reconnaissance screen, so that Hooker could know more about Lee's movements. The first two engagements were at Aldie on June 17, and near Middlesburg on June 19. Constant Union pressure had forced Stuart back toward the main body of the Confederate troops in-the Shenandoah Valley. Stuart set up a line along Goose Creek, but eventually his men were pushed toward Upperville by a combined Union cavalry and infantry detachment. From Upperville the Confederates retreated to a strong defense position-in Ashby's Gap and there the engagement ended. (Boatner, op. pit. , pp. 332-333, 548, 861-862)
154. The distance from Brooke Station to Hartwood was almost fifteen miles. The 26th had covered this route before, on its way to Chancellorsville. From Hartwood the regiment swung northwest to Catlett Station. On June 14 it moved to Manassas Junction and almost immediately went on

Footnotes:

to Centerville, where Hooker was concentrating his army. Three days later it set out for Leesburg, about twenty miles away, and en route it passed through Gum Springs and Farmwell Station, and crossed Goose Creek, near Trappe Rock, about four or five miles from Leesburg.

(Official Records, I, XXVII, I, p. 140; XXVII, Ea, pp. 285 -288, 290, 336)

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1,s~r,Stubanus had returned from the dead. Goll and Frank were a firm of Milwaukee dry goods wholesalers.

(W. M. L.) Stubanus, occupationally, was a basketmaker, so it is conceivable that he was either an employee or a supplier to Goll and Frank. ~ (R. D. B.)

IS& Another of Adam's sons, Ernest, was dead. This was the bad news the letter contained.

Official Records, I, XXVII, I, p. 140; 1, XXVII, IH, pp. 255-288, 260, 336.

The 26th's role in the battle has been described by General Frederick C. Winkler, who was then captain of Co. B in the 26th and fought at Gettysburg:

“At seven o'clock on the morning of July 1st, marching orders were received. The Maryland boundary was crossed, artillery fire was soon heard in advance, the march was hastened with all possible speed. From the summit of a hill Gettysburg was seen and beyond it the smoke of battle. The troops were pushed forward, passed through the town, and were at once marched for the conflict. The third division, eleventh corps, formed to the right of the first corps, north-westerly of the town. The Twenty-sixth was placed in second line, in a double column closed in mass. The lines then advanced. The first line became engaged, and being very suddenly set upon by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, broke to the rear in some disorder, hardly giving the second line (or rather the regiments acting as supports for there was no continuous second line) time to deploy. The Twenty-sixth became very hotly engaged, but checked the enemy's advance, and sustained its position with admirable firmness. The One Hundred

Footnotes:

and Nineteenth New York was again on its left, (as at Chancellorsville) and fought with equal gallantry. But the enemy doubled round its left flank, which was without support, threw it back on the Twenty-sixth and the brigade was then ordered to fall back. The retreat, over open fields and under the fire of the enemy, proved fatal to many, but was conducted in good order. A stand was made in the outskirts of the town, where a short skirmish ensued, and the Twenty-sixth, then acted: as rear guard during the further retreat to Cemetery Hill. There it took position behind a low stone fence, its right resting on the street. Of the officers engaged with the regiment in this conflict, only four, Captains Carl and Fernekes, and Lieutenants Schmidt and Rauth, escaped unhurt. Captain Fuchs, whose wound was slight, and had been dressed, at once rejoined the regiment upon its reaching Cemetery Hill, and took command. During the subsequent days and nights of the battle of Gettysburg., parties detailed on picket were constantly engaged in skirmishing, but the regiment, as a -body, did not again participate in the fight. The total losses of the regiment in this battle were forty-one killed, one hundred and thirty-seven wounded, twenty-six prisoners, and six missing.

Again, _the question may well be asked as to whether or not at Gettysburg the M Corps was not unjustly criticized for errors which could be laid squarely upon the shoulders of its non-German commander.

In his article, "Howard at Gettysburg," Carpenter comments: "The battle of Gettysburg turned out to be for Howard almost an controversial as Chancellorsville. At first the general opinion was that he had rendered valuable service to the Union cause. Even the Eleventh Corps had its share of the praise. But when Congress in January 1864 voted thanks to Hooker, Meade, and Howard for their share in the Gettysburg campaign, controversies arose. These concerned three questions:

1. Did Howard select Cemetery Hill and Cemetery Ridge as a possible battle site?
 2. Did he conduct the battle skillfully and order the retreat at the right time? Carpenter finds that "Historians have almost unanimously criticized Howard's actions at Gettysburg. His attempt to maintain too extended a line, as well as his failure to give Doubleday adequate direction and send him and Schurz reinforcements, have come under fire. Especially has Howard been criticized for not ordering a timely retreat."
 3. Did he command the Union forces at Gettysburg between the time that Hancock arrived at the Cemetery and when Slocum assumed command?
- (Carpenter, "Howard at Gettysburg,"pp. 272 '276)

/,Fj~ Walber, Albert, "From Gettysburg to Libby Prison., Wisconsin Commandery Papers, pp. 191-200.

Footnotes:

160, - Waitt, R. W., Jr., Libby Prison, Richmond, Virginia, Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee, Richmond, 1961, pp. 1-6.

/4/. Family tradition does not identify the "sister Straus. She was a relative of either Adam or Barbara. (W. M. L.)

John Nachtsheim, a private in Co. K from Greenfield, Was also taken prisoner at Gettysburg. He died on Dec. 5, 1864, at Alexandria, Virginia. The cause of death was listed as disease. (Wisconsin Roster, II, p. 338)

163. Adam's complaints about the food should be interpreted in the light of general conditions in the Confederacy. By the summer and fall of 1863 a shortage of transportation and a runaway inflation were beginning to paralyze the food rich Confederacy, and Richmond was finding difficulty in feeding its civilian population, to say nothing of thousands of Union prisoners at Libby, Belle Isle, and the half-dozen other prisons scattered throughout the city. The influx of population to the war swollen Confederate capitol was in part responsible; the tightening of the blockade also hurt, as did the disruption of the originally too small Confederate railroad system. Meanwhile Confederate printing presses debased the currency until debasement and shortage set the price of coffee at \$4 a pound in an economy in which the better paid Union private supported a family on wages of \$13 a month. During this period it is recorded that a group of nine Confederate soldiers paid \$600 for a meal. A bread riot broke out in the Richmond market area in April 1863. And a grim Richmond joke had it that where once a shopper "took along to market her purse for her money and a basket for her purchase, she now took along a basket for her money, and her purse for her purchase. (Godden, C. H., Richmond, Virginia, p. 9)

1&44,.See Lamers and Habenstein, The History of American Funeral Directing, pp. 601-603.

APPENDIX - THE 26TH WISCONSIN AT CHANCELLORSVILLE

The 26th Wisconsin's Position at Chancellorsville

On May 2, Schurz's 3rd Division, facing south, was stationed between the 1st and 2nd Division of the XI Corps. Its front was bounded on the west by Talley's farm and on the east by Dowdall's Tavern. Near Talley's farm, it connected with the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division. Their three regiments, the 74th Pennsylvania, the 64th Ohio and the 68th New York, were deployed in line of battle along the Old Orange Turnpike. On the 68th New York's left, a grove of trees occupied the space formed by the intersection of the Turnpike, and the Brook and Plank roads. The 68th's sharpshooters were concealed in the grove, and the 119th New York was stationed on its southern border. East of the grove and to its rear a battery of artillery had been posted. To the left of the battery and again slightly to its rear, the 58th New York was deployed in a grove of trees around Wilderness Church.

In a second line, flanking, but connected to the left of the 68th New York, lay the 82nd Illinois, the 157th New York and the 75th Pennsylvania. East of the church grove and farthest to the left was the 26th Wisconsin, Adam's regiment. The 82nd Ohio was stationed to the right and rear, near the intersection of the Brook and Ely's Ford road, close to the Hawkins farm, where the 3rd Division headquarters had been set up.

At 11:00 a.m., Schurz moved the 26th Wisconsin and the 75th Pennsylvania from their position in the second line to the right rear, west of the Hawkins farm. This movement brought the 26th Wisconsin to the north side of the Ely's Ford road and the 75th Pennsylvania to the south, facing northwest on a front perpendicular to the Turnpike. Later that afternoon the 75th Pennsylvania left its position to picket a position in front of the 2nd Division. The 58th New York replaced it. Schurz shuffled these troops on his "own responsibility" because by 11:00 a.m. he was convinced that the attack "would come from the west and fall upon" his corps' "right and rear." Subsequently, Howard approved the relocation. (Official Records, XXV-I, pp. 651-652, 666)

II. Pickets and Fortifications

At 9:30 a.m., May 1, General Hooker sent a circular to all corps commanders ordering them to keep "pickets well thrown out" around their positions at all times. (Official Records, XXV-II, p. 323) Early next morning he inspected his lines and found little to complain about along the section held by the XI Corps. He limited himself to criticizing the deployment of one regiment and ordering "a gap" between two other detachments covered. (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 628)

II. Pickets and Fortifications (cont1d)

At 9:30 a.m., however, Hooker's aide-de-camp, James H. Van Allen, sent a dispatch to Generals Howard and Slocum complaining about troops positioned "with a view to front attack." Hooker ordered them to examine the ground near their lines in order to decide on a course of action to be taken in case of a flank attack, advising them "to have heavy reserves in- hand" to meet this "threat."

Hooker also criticized their fortifications, and mentioned that there was reason to believe that the Confederates were moving to the right:

"The right of your line does not appear to be strong enough. No artificial defenses worth naming have been thrown up and there appears to be a scarcity of troops at that point and not in the General's (Hooker's) opinion so favorably placed as might be. We have good reason to suppose that the enemy is moving to our right. Please advance your pickets for purposes of observation as far as may be safe in order to obtain timely information of their approach." (Official Records, XXV-II, pp. 360-361)

Hooker's dispatch is not clear. Because it had been sent to both Howard and Slocum, it provided either with the opportunity to decide that it applied to the other. It mentioned a flank attack only as a possibility, and advised Howard and Slocum to decide on a course of action to be taken if it occurred, not when it occurred. It did not even consider the possibility of a complete surprise. As late as 4:00 p.m. on May 2, Hooker must have considered a strong flank attack unlikely, for he detached a brigade from the XI's 2nd Division, and sent it to Sickles.

Howard apparently was convinced that nothing was amiss with his pickets and fortifications, and that the terrain and forest around his position would deter the enemy from attacking in force. He declared in his report of the battle that "our front was covered with rifle pits and abatis," and "the front was covered by a good line of skirmishers. (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 628) General Gouverneur Warren, chief topographical engineer for the Army of the Potomac, said that no major changes were made on the right "because of the assurance of the commander. . . that they were abundantly able to hold their position against any force." The enemy would be able to "bring against them and because they thought to fall back would have some of the demoralizing influence of a retreat." (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 199)

No doubt rifle pits had been dug, pickets had been sent out and some fortifications had been thrown up. In the Official Records, almost all of Howard's subordinates mention such screening activity. However, for the most part, they declare that pits, fortifications and pickets all faced south. The attack came from the west. General Nathaniel McClean, Commander of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, who had no reason to admire

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Pickets, and Fortifications (cont1d)

Howard since the latter had demoted him from division to brigade commander, declared that the pickets in front of his brigade were "only strong enough to drive away a small force." -(Official Records, XX-V-I, p. 6 32)

Carl Schurz says that the position of the corps for staving off an attack from the south was only "moderately strong", because of a lack of reserves. As a position protecting the Army's right and-rear, it was useless:

"Our right wing stood completely in the air with nothing to lean upon, not even a strong echelon, and with no reliable cavalry to make reconnaissances, and that too in a forest thick enough not to permit any view to the front, flank, or rear, but not thick enough to prevent the approach of the enemy's troops. Our rear was at the mercy of the enemy who was at perfect liberty to walk right around us through the large gap between Von Gilsa's right and the cavalry force which... at Ely's Ford and which at all event had no considerable power of resistance. As we were actually situated, an attack from the west and northwest could not be resisted for any length of time, without a complete change of front on our part. To such a change, especially if it was to be made in haste, the formation of our forces were exceedingly unfavorable." (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 651)

Abner Doubleday, biased though he may be, deals even more harshly with Howard. He accuses Howard of taking "no precautions against the impending danger." As for the rout and surprise which occurred at 6:00 P. m., Doubleday minces no words: "There was no reason other than Howard's utter want of appreciation of the gravity of the situation to prevent him from forming a strong line of defense to protect his right flank. (Doubleday, Campaigns, p. 25-26)

III. Howard's Knowledge of Jackson's Movement

At 8:00 a.m. on May 2, General David Birney, Commander of the 1st Division, III Army Corps, knew that a large Confederate infantry column was moving across his front toward the Union right. (Official Records, I, XXV -1, p. 408) An hour and a half later, this information had moved along the line of command to Hooker, who relayed it to Howard and Slocum. (Official Records, I, XXV-H, pp. 360-361)

General Daniel Sickles, Birney's Corps Commander, watched the column travel "in a southerly direction" from 8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. Birney reported to Sickles: "The movement indicated a retreat on Gordonsville or an attack upon our right flank--perhaps both, for if the attack failed

III. Howard's Knowledge of Jackson's Movement (cont1d)

the retreat could be continued. In addition to reporting to Hooker's staff, Sickles notified General Howard about the movement. At noon Sickles was ordered to send out a detachment "to harass" the moving column. (Official Records, I, XXV-I, p. 384)

As early as 11:00 a. m., Howard's subordinates were aware of the Confederate movement and reported it to him. At that time General Charles Devens of the 1st Division saw "a large moving column" rapidly crossing his front with the intention of passing around our right or of retreating. A short time later his pickets brought in two Union scouts who announced that the enemy was advancing "in great numbers upon" the right flank of the XI Corps. These two men were escorted to corps headquarters to report their information. (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 634)

General Nathaniel McLean, one of Devens' Brigade Commanders, declared that "during the day in plain sight" he saw "large bodies of troops" moving along the front. He informed Devens, who passed it on to Howard. (Official Records, XX-V-I, p. 647) General Schurz became aware of the enemy's presence in the "forenoon", and he rode to Howard to discuss it with him. Informally he suggested that troop disposition be altered so that the corps might be *prepared for a flank attack. (Official Records, I, XXV -I, p. 652) Evidently his suggestion was not acted upon.

Understandably there was much confusion along the line that afternoon. Schurz, for instance, declared that "immediately before the attack" a cavalry party scouting the woods in front of the 26th Wisconsin reported that everything was "all right." (Official Records, L Y-XV-I, p. 654) Colonel Leopold Von Gilsa, commanding the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, declared that just before the battle a cavalry patrol reported to him and said there were no enemy troops opposite his line. Fifteen minutes later another scouting party reported "masses" of Confederates in an open field nearby. As Von Gilsa was relaying this information to Devens, the attack began. (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 637)

General Alexander Schimmelfennig, commanding Schurz's 1st Brigade, made several reconnaissances in his front and that of the 1st Division on May 2. His scouts revealed only that a heavy line of Confederate skirmishers had been placed about a mile and a half from the Union line. However, "between three and four o'clock" Schimmelfennig's men went out again, this time "up the Plank Road," and when they returned after "some time" had passed, they reported "that they had heard the yells and shouts of a large number of men behind the enemy's line of skirmishers." (Official Records, I, XXV-I, p. 654)

Howard, however, declares in his report that throughout the day the only information about the enemy he received was that "the enemy is

III. Howard's Knowledge of Jackson's Movement (cont'd)

crossing the plank road and moving toward Culpepper." It is apparent that both Devens and Schurz mentioned the possibility of a flank attack. Schurz went so far as to suggest a change in troop disposition, to meet such an eventuality. Howard seemed to have closed his mind to the possibility of such an attack, and neither dispatches from Hooker, nor other corps, commanders, or the reports of his subordinates, could change his opinion. He was convinced of a Confederate retreat. Unfortunately for the troops of the XI Corps, Lee and Jackson- had another plan in mind.

IV. -The 26th Wisconsin's Role in the Battle

At 6:00 p.m., on May 2, when the Confederate attack began, the 26th Wisconsin and the 58th New York were stationed in the rear and on the extreme right of the 3rd Division's position. The two regiments were west of Hawkins Farm, athwart the Ely's Ford road. The 26th on the north side of the road and the 58th on the south had "deploying distance" between them. A skirmish line of eighty men from the 26th and forty-five from the 75th Pennsylvania were set out in front of the position.

Soon after the battle began, the routed troops of the 1st Division ran through the skirmish line into the 26th and 58th. The Wisconsin regiment remained in place, "flanked on both sides and exposed to a terrible fire in front." After twenty minutes of this, General Krzyzanowski, the 26th's brigade commander, asked Schurz for reinforcements. None were available, so Schurz ordered him to retreat. The 26th did this "in good order," turning and firing "as often as possible." (Official Records, I, XXV-I, p. 655)

The regiment reached the woods in its rear. There thick undergrowth separated it from its wing companies, and there it stood firm for an hour before retreating to a position on the right of General Berry's Station (IH Corps). About 9:00 p.m., the regiment marched to a field north of Hooker's Chancellor House headquarters, where the remnants of the XI Corps reassembled. (Official Records, I, XXV-I, pp. 655-A666)

Generals Schurz and Krzyzanowski had nothing but praise for the 26th Wisconsin. Schurz said:

"This young regiment alone and unsupported, firmly held the ground where I had placed it for about twenty minutes; nor did it fall back until I ordered it to do so.

There is hardly an officer in the twenty-sixth Wisconsin who has not at least received a bullet through his clothes. Had it not

IV. The 26th Wisconsin's Role in the Battle (cont1d)

been for the praiseworthy firmness of these men the enemy would have obtained possession of the woods opposite without resistance, taken the north and south rifle-pit from the rear, and appeared on the Plank road between Dowdall's Tavern and Chancellorsville before the artillery could have been withdrawn." (Official Records, I, XXV-I, p. 655)

General Krzyzanowski, who had been with the two regiments on the right and rear also praised generously. He commended the 26th for standing "their ground until it became untenable." He would not "refrain" from singling out "Colonel W. H. Jacobs, Lieutenant Colonel Boebel, Major Baetz and Adjutant Schlosser" of the regiment, because these officers "led their men to the best of their abilities and with coolness." Official Records, I, xxv-i, P. 667)

V. Aftermath

Throughout the North the period immediately following the battle of Chancellorsville was a time of accusation. Almost every northern newspaper was convinced that the German troops- of the XI Corps caused the defeat. General Howard, the corps commander, hinted that he was badly served by his subordinates, and many of those officers blamed each other. For instance, Schimmelfennig of the 3rd Division complained about the fleeing, panic stricken remnants of the 1st Division who made it difficult to fight effectively. Von Gilsa of the 1st admitted that his brigade retreated, but contended that he could have rallied them behind the 3rd.1s line had not that regiment abandoned its position. (Official Records, XXV-I, pp. 636-662)

In his report, Howard offered three excuses. While admitting that he was constantly aware of the movement of the enemy, he alleged that the forest around his position was so thick that the Confederates were able to mass a large force without being discovered. In addition, he cited the panic produced by the surprise attack, and the detachment of his reserve brigade by General Hooker before the battle began. (' Official Records, I, XXV-I, p. 630) The last two statements are more legitimate than the first. Before the battle, Howard was convinced that this same underbrush would prevent him from being attacked in force. (See General Warren's report in OfficialRecords, I, XXV, I, p. 630) As to the lack of notification about the enemy's location, we know that throughout the day, and as late as two hours before the battle, the presence of the enemy on his front was reported to him.

In the public's mind the 3rd Division was largely responsible for the

V. Aftermath (cont1d)

debacle at Chancellorsville. In the days that followed the 3rd Division General, Carl Schurz, bitter about false accusations and "abuse and insult," attempted to correct this impression:

"The Eleventh Corps, and, by error, or malice, especially the 3rd Division, has been held up to the whole country as a band of cowards. My division has been made responsible for the defeat of the Eleventh Corps and the Eleventh, Corps for the failure of the campaign. Preposterous as this is, yet we have been overwhelmed by the army and the press with abuse and insult beyond measure. We have borne as much as human nature can endure. I am far from saying that on May 2 everybody did his duty to the best of his power. But one thing I will say, because I know it; these men are no cowards. I have seen most of them fight before this, and they fought as bravely as any. I am also far from saying that it would have been quite impossible to do better in the position the corps occupied on May 2; but I have seen with my own eyes, troops who affect to look down upon the Eleventh Corps with sovereign contempt behave much worse under circumstances far less trying.

In this same report, Schurz asked for an official investigation of the, events of May 2 and for permission to publish his report of the battle. On May 18 he repeated this request, this time to Secretary of War. Stanton. While Howard and Hooker forwarded, the request, the latter refused to approve of the publication of Schurz's report. Three days later, Schurz demanded that he and his division should not be transferred to another theatre of operation until they had been given a chance to vindicate themselves. Schurz himself requested the transfer from Howard seven weeks before Chancellorsville. However, to leave after the battle and the "slanders" would give the nation the 'impression that the division was being "shaken off by the Army of the Potomac." Again Schurz reminded Stanton that he wanted an inquiry and the right to publish his report. Howard endorsed the request, asked to withdraw his transfer request, and promised to "make every effort to reconcile all difficulties arising from the different nationalities" in his command.

By May 30, Schurz had been notified by the War Department that his report would have to pass through "proper official channels" before it was published. He replied, tongue in cheek, that as a result of this news he was requesting the War Department to publish his report when it reached them through "the proper channels." If this were "inexpedient," then he again renewed his request for an investigation. Howard approved and said he did "not shrink from" such an inquiry. Hooker also forwarded the request, but this time Commander in Chief Halleck disapproved, claiming that "partial reports" could not be- published "until the general commanding has time to make his report."(Official Records, I, XXV-I, pp.658-661)

V. Aftermath (cont1d)

General Alexander Schimmelfennig was even more outspoken in his criticism of the "infamous falsehoods." It seemed to him that "a nest of vipers" had attacked the XI Corps. Such newspaper reports would not bother him if they had come from the "prurient imaginations of those who live by dipping their pens into the blood of the slain, instead of standing up for their country, sword and musket in hand.,, However, these accounts were "dated headquarters of General Hooker" and were signed by "responsible names.

Schimmelfennig believed that the 3rd Division and Bushbeck's Brigade of the 2nd had fought well. They "were the men who stood the brunt of the battle and held at bay the enemy's masses for an-hour." If blame for the surprise should be levied, then he would assess it against "the First Division and those whose duty it was to foresee such an event and prepare for it." He concluded his report to Schurz by declaring:

"General, I am an old soldier. To this hour I have been proud to command the brave men of this brigade; but I am sure that unless these infamous falsehoods be retracted and reparations made, their good will and -soldierly spirit will be broken. In the name of truth and common honesty, in the name of the good cause of our country, I ask, therefore, for satisfaction. If our superior officers be not sufficiently in possession of the facts, I demand an investigation; if they are, I demand that the miserable penny-a-liners who have slandered the division be excluded, by a public order, from our lines, and that the names of the originators of these slanders be made known to me and my brigade, that they be held responsible for their acts. (Official Records, XXV-I, p. 662)

A few newspapers did not jump to conclusions about the XI Corps conduct. One of these was the Milwaukee Sentinel. On May 6, it carried an article based on "telegraphic dispatches from the New York Times and the New York Herald" which was headed: "Cowardly Conduct of Schurz's Division - They Run Like Sheep and Lose 12 Guns." In it the 3rd was charged with abandoning fortified positions and "rushing", terrified, from the field. The article also declared that Schurz's men were the first attacked, giving way instantly, "thousands throwing down their guns and streaming toward headquarters. " All of General Howard's "daring and resolution" could not save the day. Bushbeck and McLean's brigades were said to have fought as long as possible and "retired in good order, but in spite of their heroic effort, all was lost. (Milwaukee Sentinel, May 6, 1863, 4/1)

Very little of this was true, and the Sentinel did not accept it without

V. Aftermath (cont1d)

rezervation. In a front page article, published the same day, the news paper aired its doubts., declaring that it was unjust to describe Schurz's division as "Cowardly Dutchmen," for even if they fled the battle, there might have been "mitigating circumstances'." All of the facts were not yet reported. At any rate, "only a small portion" of the division was German and for its action, "the German nationality has no more to answer for than the Yankee or any other nationality.(Milwaukee Sentinel, May 6,1863, 1/1)

A week later the newspaper applauded Carl Schurz's demand for an inquiry. This action confirmed the Sentinel's opinion of him: "Whoever may prove deficient in spirit or courage, he will not be found among the number."(Milwaukee Sentinel, May 13,1863, 1/13) On May 23 the newspaper attacked the eastern correspondents' accounts, and praised the conduct of the 26th:

"The reckless statements of an irresponsible correspondent branded all of the regiments in the 11th Army Corps with cowardice at the battle of Chancellorsville. We know now that at least one of those regiments, in whose honor we feel a peculiar interest, fought as bravely as any troops in the field. We allude to our Twenty-sixth."(Milwaukee Sentinel, May 23, 1863, 1/3)

On June 1, the Sentinel announced that the New York Times correspondent had retracted his story. (Milwaukee Sentinel, June 1, 1863,1/ 3) Four days later the Sentinel printed a letter from an individual who claimed "to be able to tell the story of the 26th with good authority. He declared that the 26th's brigade "did all in their power to check the advance of the enemy" on May 2, and that the Wisconsin regiment "fought savagely... and kept up the combat until it was ordered back. (Milwaukee Sentinel, June 5, 1863, 2/1)

Even after the war the Chancellorsville controversy continued. In 1866, - E. B. Quiner, in his military history of Wisconsin during the Civil War, declared that there was much "injustice" in the charges of cowardice made against the Germans. Since the war "experienced officers" had inspected the battle ground and declared that the XI Corps, position was "untenable and the best troops in our armies in the same position and under the same kind of attack would have broken and retired..." (Quiner, pp.148-149)

In 1882, Abner Doubleday wrote about the battle and the XI Corps German troops, saying that they were made "scape goats" for the mistakes of others:

V.- Aftermath (contd)

"I assert that when a force is not deployed, but is struck suddenly and violently on its flank, resistance is impracticable. Not Napoleon's Old Guard, not the best and bravest troops that ever existed, could hold together in such a case, for the first men assailed are - to use a homely but expressive word driven into a huddle; and a huddle cannot fight, for it has no front and no organization. Under such circumstances, the men have but a choice of two evils, either to stay where they are and be slaughtered, without the power of defending themselves, or to run, and the only sensible thing for them to do is to run and rally on some other organization."

To be sure, these troops were not entirely blameless, for when the battle began, "in many cases their muskets were stacked and the men lounging about, some playing cards, others cooking their suppers intermingled with the pack mules and beef cattle they were unloading. However, ultimate responsibility for the defeat is placed squarely on Howard and Hooker. In Howard's case, Doubleday declared that the XI Corps Commander was aware of the enemy's presence long before the battle began and refused to make any preparations for a possible flank attack. The reason that he was only "mildly censored" after Chancellorsville was that the investigation carried on by the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War was "a farce." For so long as Howard and Hooker were in command, no subordinate would testify against them for "any officer that did so would have soon found his military career brought to an end."(Abner Doubleday, C. & G, 1882, pp. 28-32)

Historians and commentators have not ignored Hooker's role in the failure either. His indecision and sudden temerity have been discussed by many. Doubleday, for instance, criticizes him for not committing 37, 000 of his troops on May 3. Recently, in an issue of *The Civil War Times Illustrated*, Hooker's sobriety during the Chancellors Ville campaign was questioned. The author, Elden E. Billings, cites a letter from Washington by Roebing, an officer near Hooker on April 30, to Langbourne M. Williams, a Richmond, Virginia, businessman, some time after the war. (The exact date of the letter is not given.)

"That night Hooker got drunk. They could not rouse him until late next morning and when he did give an order, it was one of criminal foolishness. Slocum's Corps, the 12th, had advanced to within a couple of miles of Salem Church where he was to effect a juncture with Sedgewick, who was coming up from Fredericksburg. I was the unfortunate officer selected to carry the order to Slocum to withdraw. He could not

V. Aftermath (contd)

believe it - called me a damned liar and rode back personally to Hooker, who confirmed it.

That action on Hooker's part lost us the battle before it really began. The rest of the day was wasted doing nothing. Jackson's circumventing march was duly observed and was facetiously called a retreat. Major Bigelows. history of the battle goes into all the details. The Dutch Corps, the 11th, knocked me over in their panicky flight that evening."

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