Picturing the Civil War:

Visual Culture of the Rank and File

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To Frederick Henry Crawley,

5th New York Heavy Artillery

b. 1842, d. 1889

Frederick travelled from my hometown Crewe, Cheshire, where he worked as a railway engine driver to Brooklyn, New York, to enlist as a private in the 5th New York Heavy Artillery on October 4, 1864. He served just shy of a year and was mustered out with his regiment at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, on July 19, 1865. He returned home and went back to work on the rails and died aged forty-six.

He lies in my hometown cemetery.

Abstract

The American Civil War revolutionised visual culture. From 1861 to 1865, soldiers seized upon pictures as new forms of self-expression. Yet, engagement with war imagery presented both an opportunity and a dilemma. At the outset of the conflict, conventional modes of the pictorial representation of conflict were orientated towards a romantic image of war as a heroic cause. Such conventions remained powerful, but over the conflict's course, some soldiers began to abandon these conventions, and sought new ways of representing the experience of war; others, meanwhile, continued to fortify older traditions. As soldiers faced their foes in battle, they entered a cultural contest over the war's representation with professional picture-makers and their own comrades.

"Picturing the Civil War: Visual Culture of the Rank and File" is the first comprehensive study of Civil War soldiers' wartime art. It charts how soldiers used visual culture, even as the war transformed visual technologies and as imagery transformed the public's experience of the war itself. Using new archival material from the Library of Congress, the Brooklyn Historical Society, and the Atlanta History Center, amongst others, we can see how soldiers visualised war compared to its popular representation. This thesis blends textual and visual records to elevate soldier art from products of the war, to emphatic statements about it. Putting soldier studies into conversation with visual and material culture histories illuminates how those who deemed themselves best-poised to comprehend the war experience did so in response to their lived realities.

Each chapter demonstrates how different visual forms (print imagery, portrait photography, and drawn and painted pictures) inspired a clash between the ideal and the real in American war culture. They illustrate themes in Civil War history that are essential to an understanding of this contest. As modernisation characterised much of the war, it also shaped visual culture. Popular culture seized upon rapid image production whilst soldiers countered it by

employing traditional forms and by focusing newer technologies on themselves. Visions of nationhood were tested, revealing that soldiers' views could be distinct from societal expectations. Death abounded and troops responded with self-representation. In these contexts, gender and identity became key to the shaping of soldiers' visual culture. As the war tested American masculinities, soldiers reformulated them in their pictures. This project reveals the nuanced nature of wartime imagery and asks: how did soldiers use visual culture to picture the realisation that idealised expectations about conflict rarely gelled with the realities of civil war?

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This project has only been possible with the interventions of others. I am blessed to have benefitted from the support of so many intelligent and thoughtful people.

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Abbreviations

BHS: Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York

FMLSBU: Friedsham Memorial Library, St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, New York

GLI: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York

HSP: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ILSC: Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa

MCVMHC: Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia

MDLoC: Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

NYPL: Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, New York

PPLoC: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

SCUoV: Special Collections, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont

USCT: United States Colored Troops

VHS: Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont

Introduction:

"Laid by the Palette and Pencil, to Shoulder the Musket"

The smoke had hardly cleared around Fort Sumter in April 1861 when the American art community joined an ever-intensifying chorus of voices stirred by the outbreak of civil war in the United States. As *rage militaire* swept the nation and Americans of all sections and stations vied to thunder their premonitions of the coming conflict, picture-makers and their critics attempted to make sense of the role of art in the divided nation. Charles C. Ingham, the president of New York's National Academy of Design, warily observed:

> War and politics now occupy every mind. No one thinks of the Arts. Even among artists, patriotism has superseded painting, and many have laid by the palette and pencil, to shoulder the musket – "Union for the Country" is the word on every lip, and the feeling in every heart.[1]

For Ingham, internal conflict compelled artists to cast aside paintbrushes for guns. War and politics were separate from the arts. Patriotism was distinct from painting. The attack on Fort Sumter signalled a call to arms to artists, and a suspension of their everyday aesthetic pursuits. He went on, "Let us not, however, in our love of country, forget our love of art, nor forget that if union is good in the nation, it is also good among the artists."[2] As Ingham called for artistic unity, others offered alternative assessments of the creative response to the war. Perhaps, it was the duty of artists to stay in their studios and paint patriotically. A writer for Goupil's Gallery in

[1] Charles C. Ingham, "Annual Report delivered to National Academy of Design," May 1861, in Eliot Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design, 1825-1953* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 76.
[2] Ibid.

New York exclaimed, "When the Flag of the country was insulted and the Government defied and betrayed, [it] found no more hearty or instant response among any class of citizens than the artists."[3] The broadside's writer lauded the pervading "patriotic enthusiasm which inspired the artists," foreseeing a renewal of pictorial culture inspired by Union sentiment and armed conflict.

Historians Steven Conn and Andrew Walker note that Northerners widely shared in the view that patriotic duty entailed "both military and cultural service." But their enthusiasm would quickly "dissipate like smoke off the battlefield as people's moods, and the war itself, became increasingly grim."[4] Whilst throughout the war a broad commitment to the positive and patriotic depiction of the conflict remained pervasive on the surface, a closer look at the wartime visual culture of the United States reveals a more varied and fractious image. Through the course of the conflict, traditional artistic forms and styles clashed with emerging photojournalism, whilst newspaper sketch-artists increasingly found that their work could not be satisfactorily reproduced for publication. Yet, on the frontlines of this cultural conflict were the ordinary men who made up the rank and file of the burgeoning armies. They took up pencils and paintbrushes and commissioned photographs to depict the war and their place in it. The story of this great cultural contest over the representation of the Civil War remains neglected by historians.

This thesis examines Civil War soldiers' visual representations of themselves, of the broader experience of war, and the tensions that emerged around romanticised visions of warfare. Soldiers' visual culture reflects a fundamental underlying strain between the heroic ideals of war and its realities, making it a significant but unrecognised early front in the development of American realism. Several core themes and tensions are essential to an understanding of the cultural contest between soldiers and popular culture, and amongst soldiers themselves. Visions of American nationhood were tested both North and South during the war, revealing that the

[3] "Our Banner in the Sky," brochure published by Goupil's, 772 Broadway, New York, in Eleanor J. Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 38.
[4] Steven Conn and Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1, *Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War* (2001): 60-81, 61.

real and lived experiences of ordinary soldiers could be strikingly different from the expectations of wider society. These tensions were characterised by the public and private experiences we see displayed in visual culture produced by soldiers. Dominant nationalistic visual culture was firmly in the public realm, whilst citizen-soldiers' expressive culture, which countered patriotic and idealised depictions, was more suited to clandestine and personal records. The patriotic tone of much wartime popular culture was driven by commercial forces which informed the public image of warfare and built upon the popularity of idealised war tropes. In contrast, soldiers developed their own private networks and more informal economies of image production and exchange to explore what they deemed the real experience of war.

Developments in antebellum technologies of visual culture facilitated a far-reaching mainstream culture of idealised warfare. As modernisation characterised many aspects of the Civil War, so too did it shape visual culture and in its many forms. From 1861 to 1865, popular culture seized upon rapid image reproduction whilst soldiers countered its proliferation by employing more traditional forms and by focusing newer technologies on personalised self-representation. As rates of mortality and injury were increased by modernising military technologies, soldiers employed photographs to ensure a measure of self-preservation. Soldiers responded to dehumanised and anonymising warfare by focusing much of their creativity on the war's ordinary actors, including themselves. Thus, gender and race became central to the shaping and structuring and organising of their visual culture. Soldiers' pictures are commentaries upon the expectations of American masculinity and how these concepts were reformulated by the ultimate test of warfare. Given slavery's central position in bringing about the Civil War, the perception that the citizen-soldier was exclusively white, and the war's shift from a conflict for union into one that embraced emancipation, race and ethnicity were central to soldiers' depictions.

This thesis opens with three chapters which centre on Union soldiers' use of different visual media: print imagery and ephemeral materials; portrait photographs; and painted and

drawn works. A fourth chapter considers these forms of visual culture collectively, but in the Confederate context. Questions of form are central to this study. Citizen-soldier picture-makers were constrained by those media and materials which were available during wartime, with print, photography, and even paper itself sometimes radically restricted. At the same time, the media and materials which they could use themselves shaped the works they produced. Some image-makers saw their work reproduced in print publications; others produced an improvised visual culture with what ephemeral or reused materials they had to hand. Always, these citizen-soldier image-makers were adaptable, and their work evidences a constant overlap and interaction between the forms of printed imagery (such as lithographs and woodcuts which appeared in newspapers and broadsides); ephemeral print culture (such as stationery); photographs taken both in studios and in the field; and their own original sketches, drawings, and paintings. In producing such a corpus of imagery amid the circumstances of war, these soldiers demonstrated their command of visual culture and an ability to navigate between forms in their attempts to realistically represent the war experience.

Soldier-artists and those men who were invested in pictorial culture were heterogeneous. They were white, black, native-born, and immigrants, but white native-born Northern soldiers are the primary group for study in this thesis.[5] Many had occupied graphic-based occupations before the war came, as students and teachers of art, or as printmakers, illustrators, and

[5] Though this study considers black soldiers' portrait photographs, archival silences inherent in the study of African American Civil War soldiers limit the ability to adequately consider black troops. But as Deborah Willis and Barbara Krauthamer note, consideration of black imagery is crucial. It adds an important dimension to the African American archive, offering documentation of people whose names and stories often went unrecorded in textual sources. Deborah Willis and Barbara Krauthamer, *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 59. Studies of black American imagery in the early- and mid-nineteenth century demonstrate how African Americans self-represented and pictured freedom, but studies of black Civil War soldiers' pictorial self-representation are rare. For more on antebellum depictions of race and slavery, see Jasmine Nichole Cobb, *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015) and Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). For a study of wartime representations of black freedom, including those from the pages of white servicemen's sketchbooks, see Martha S. Jones, "Emancipation's Encounters: The Meaning of Freedom from the Pages of Civil War Sketchbooks," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 3, no. 4 (December 2013), 533-548. For a study of visual constructions of black deference in the Civil War, see Richard J. Powell, "The Wounded Zouave and the Cyrenian Paradigm," in Kirk Savage, ed., *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (New Haven: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 65-78.

draughtsmen, and others were simply the sons of those who did.[6] A number had no professional background in picture-making at all, but had matured in a society increasingly familiar with visual culture. Their creative output, which encompasses everything from elaborate paintings to modest photographic portraits and matchstick cartoons, is an archive that permits one to see how those best-poised to visualise the war experience did so in response to own their lived experiences. Most soldiers fulfilled the elite's expectation that patriotism could be as cultural as it was martial. But soldiers' images, in style and substance, were as different as the individuals who created them, and many moved away from the positive, patriotic, and sentimental depiction of the Civil War. Unhindered by the expectations bestowed upon professional picture-makers and unrestrained by the same levels of oversight, these soldier-artists produced war art that revealed the war in its quotidian reality, and with all of its violence and tedium.[7]

The soldiers recovered and analysed in this study, as well as being heterogeneous and autonomous, were also necessarily influenced by the wider cultural context shaped by established picture-makers. Through the commercial production and distribution of national publications, these established picture-makers' modes, strategies, and themes were destabilised and transformed by the Civil War, but they gave an overall commitment to the illustration of what historian William F. Thompson first recognised as heroic war representation.[8] The focus altered

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[6] This thesis focuses chiefly on white volunteer soldiers who enlisted early in the war and experienced army life in the ranks of major Civil War armies, and who rarely felt estranged from their cause. Officers are included, but mostly those who served at the regimental level or below. Those who were conscripted into Civil War armies were less likely to leave comprehensive visual records of their service. Other groups of soldiers, such as women who passed as men, Native Americans, guerrillas, and bounty-jumpers are not included. A recent conference panel entitled "Why Keep Up the Fight: Motivations for and Perceptions of Service from Late-War Union Volunteers, USCT Soldiers, and Occupation Troops" showcased the research potential for groups often neglected by Civil War historians. Angela Zombek, Alexandre Caillot, Kelly Mezurek, and Lorien Foote. "Why Keep Up the Fight: Motivations and Perceptions of Service from Late-War Union Volunteers, USCT Soldiers, and Occupation Troops" (conference panel presented "Soldiers and Civilians in the Cauldron of War," the Society for Military History Conference 2019 Columbus, Ohio, May 10, 2019).

[7] As Peter S. Carmichael notes in his recent study exploring how soldiers navigated the war with a "hard-nosed pragmatism," sentimentalism and idealism proved incapable of "reconciling the inherent tensions in the model of the citizen-soldier." Sentimentalists believed soldiers could rise above the dehumanisation of army life and war through physical and moral discipline. In truth, sentimentalism never lost potency, but it could not accommodate the "extremes of the military world." He inquires how soldiers imbued with sentimentalism intermeshed their worldviews with the daily routines of soldiering. Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Fought, Thought, and Survived in Civil War Armies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 7-9.

[8] William F. Thompson, Jr., *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1959), 7.

from triumphant early-war images of "strenuous hand-to-hand combat by bare-chested heroes" to mournful depictions of "the living skeletons which emerged from southern prisons," but the message remained the same.[9] Civil War propagandising focused on the morality of the cause, the heroism of volunteers, and the wickedness and inferiority of the enemy. It made a tremendous contribution; rallying Americans to the war effort, inspiring volunteers to enlist, and ensuring their continued devotion until the conflict closed.[10] Civil War soldiers' own archival records reveal that this imagery had a significant impact on the rank and file's morale, particularly in the early-war period. Ultimately, the Civil War established the main themes of pictorial propaganda for every American war to follow.[11] The Spanish-American War saw the rise of yellow journalism whilst the Committee on Public Information and the Office of War Information were organised for propagandising in the First and Second World Wars, respectively. Idealised war imagery persisted in the twentieth century.

For many Civil War soldiers, positive war pictures did not prepare them for the realities they came to know during the conflict. Union private Warren Olney exclaimed, "This contest

[9] William F. Thompson, Jr., "Pictorial Propaganda and the Civil War," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 46, no. 1 (Autumn 1962): 21-31, 22 & 27. When graphic images of the war were exhibited, such as those photographs of Andersonville prisoners-of-war and the battlefield dead, there were few ways to see them. Megan Williams notes that such photographs were encountered by the American public in galleries, or through remediations that were published in the weekly newspapers." Megan Williams, *Through the Negative: The Photographic Image and the Written Word in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 65. However, Emily Godbey argues against this assumption, noting that Americans with mailboxes could order such pictures. Though such photographs were commercially available, that Godbey still relies on the oft-cited records of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., British journalist George Sala, and reviewers of the New York exhibition for *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Times*. She offers no testimony from ordinary Americans, nor any evidence or estimate of circulation figures for such graphic photographs. Emily Godbey, "'Terrible Fascination:' Civil War Stereographs of the Dead," *History of Photography* 36, no. 3, (July 2012): 265-274.

[10] As J. Matthew Gallman notes in his study of home front popular culture, Northern society "embraced the Union soldier" in part because the Union army relied on volunteers. Lithographs and prints heroised celebrated soldiers and immortalised fallen martyrs, patriotic envelopes circulated martial imagery and patriotic slogans, and prominent photographers marketed *cartes-de-visite* of national celebrities such as Elmer Ellsworth and Colonel Robert Anderson. Gallman notes significantly that even as battlefield events gave little cause for enthusiasm, Northerners in blue earned widespread respect. J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2015), 66-67.

[11] Thompson, "Pictorial Propaganda," 31.

exploded all my notions derived from histories and pictures, of the way men stand up in the presence of an enemy."[12] John Billings of the 10th Massachusetts Battery agreed, writing:

> Some of us had dim remembrances of a Mexican war in our early childhood… we only remembered that there was a Scott, and a Taylor, and a Santa Ana, from the colored prints we had seen displayed of these worthies… this, of course, was utterly inadequate to do the subject justice.[13]

Lived experience jarred uncomfortably with mainstream depictions. Soldiers mused on imagery in their correspondence and diaries, penning critiques of the romanticised exaggerations made in the pictorial news and in printmaking. Many choreographed photographic portraits that deconstructed the idealised envisioning of the citizen-soldier, and others pictured battles, camps, and marches that were devoid of the heroism essential to the mainstream depictions.

The result was a groundswell in grassroots art production amongst ordinary American soldiers. Volunteers had experienced the emergence of accessible photography and pictorial news during their upbringing. They entered civil war familiarised with the changing role of visual culture in record-keeping, in maintaining relationships over the great distances inherent in American antebellum expansion, and as a widely accepted purveyor of truth. Curator Eleanor Harvey notes that photography announced a "level of verisimilitude impossible to convey in print or on canvas," but soldiers turned to a multitude of visual forms to record the conflict in ways that their martial forebears would not recognise. Though authenticity would not be the "arbiter of success" amongst professional picture-makers, it was for many ordinary soldiers.[14]

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[12] Warren Olney, "Shiloh as Seen by a Private Soldier," *A Paper Read before California Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, May 31, 1889* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1889), quoted in Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 154-155.
[13] John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee, or; The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith & Co., 1887), 25. I have quoted all soldiers' words in this thesis exactly as they wrote them, unless absolutely necessary for clarity.
[14] Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, 3.

Whilst literary scholars broadly view realism in American culture as a response to the dramatic changes caused by urban-industrial capitalism after the Civil War, some argue that the war itself was an "expression of 'realist' values," as mechanised butchery overwhelmed romantic standards.[15]

Soldiers were invested in producing immediate and authentic records of their wartime experiences, which had to acknowledge the shock of new forms of warfare.[16] A defining impulse of Civil War realism was to deromanticise the war and to forthrightly confront its harsh realities.[17] However, Walt Whitman was in part correct when he noted that "the real war will never get in the books."[18] Soldiers' art, which was often a private endeavour and clandestine in nature, was unable to overcome idealised and sentimental depictions in the popular realm during or after the war.[19] But their works illustrate that in the defining moment of nineteenth-century United States history, ordinary soldiers employed pictorial media to realistically depict war and to exert some agency over its recording.[20] Whitman posited that the "actual soldier" would never be written, but soldiers evidently wrote and pictured themselves into history.[21] This thesis stands as

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[15] Amy Kaplan, *The Social Construction of American Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 5; Michael Davitt Bell, *The Problem of American Realism: Studies in the Cultural History of a Literary Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 59.

[16] Brian Thomsen notes that for Ambrose Bierce, a soldier-turned-writer, the war was a "soul-shattering experience that required an exorcism." Ambrose Bierce, *Shadows of Blue & Gray: The Civil War Writings of Ambrose Bierce,* edited by Brian Thomsen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 7. In the post-war era, a number of writers turned to the other-worldly to make sense of battlefield carnage, but during the war, some soldiers depicted combat in bluntly realistic terms. Monika Elbert, "Domestic Gothic in the Civil War Fiction of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (Ward) and Ambrose Bierce," in Monika Elbert and Wendy Ryden, eds., *Haunting Realities: Naturalist Gothic and American Realism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 76.

[17] Ian Frederick Finseth, *The Civil War Dead and American Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 198.

[18] Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days; & Collect* (Philadelphia: Rees Walsh & Co., 1882), 80.

[19] Over fifty years after the war had ended, literary historian Vernon Louis Parrington noted that the First World War was the first to produce an "aftermath of searching criticism" in culture. The "romantic note" was dominant in all earlier conflicts, "particularly of the… Rebellion." He posited that only one work of realism had been produced, which was "mutilated by the publisher to temper its cynicism, and that enjoyed no popularity." Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: 1860-1920* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1930), 384. Though many scholars argue that the Civil War's "murderous requirements" were enough to generate the realistic movement in the arts, David Shi correctly notes that although romanticism suffered many blows in the aftermath of the war, none of them proved fatal. David Shi, *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 45.

[20] James Malpas notes that realism presupposes the need for "management of, or at least of some measure of control by man over, the environment." It has ubiquitous subject matter, meaning that anything a soldier experienced or saw was worthy subject material. James Malpas, *Realism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7.

[21] Whitman, *Specimen Days,* 81.

the first study to comprehensively document Civil War soldiers' relationships with visual culture and to recognise how these individuals contributed to the creation of an alternative pictorial war history that ran parallel to the mainstream narrative.

To achieve this, it is necessary to marry together the two Civil War subfields of soldier studies and art history. Neither field has given serious attention to the expressive pictorial culture of over three million American soldiers who served and fought in what historians consistently designate as the United States' definitive conflict. Socio-cultural studies of soldiers rarely treat their drawn or photographed record of the war with the seriousness that they accord the written one, whilst studies of Civil War visual culture seldom consider soldierly responses when analysing the role and impact of mainstream war art. The existing works composing these bodies of scholarship are highly relevant to this thesis, for the twinning of their methodologies will open a previously unexplored avenue in Civil War studies.

This thesis aligns with Harold Holzer's and Mark E. Neely's critique of the idea of "'illustration' in Civil War history." Though referencing mainstream visualisations of the conflict, they contend that Civil War imagery has been "more often seen than studied," and that their use as mere illustrations has "robbed them of the power they once held to provoke responses from their viewers."[22] Similarly, Caroline Brothers lamented that photographs are at worst ignored by historians and at best used merely in the illustration of other historical narratives.[23] Like textual representations of Civil War experiences and events, "visual representations... inevitably contain a 'point of view.'" By considering popular images as "part of a great effort [by Americans] to comprehend the Civil War" and by seizing opportunities for comparison offered by this approach, Holzer and Neely elevate Civil War artistry from simple visual descriptors of civil war to nuanced statements about it.[24] Instead of centring on textual records and treating pictures as

[22] Harold Holzer and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: The Civil War in Art* (New York: Orion Books, 1993), x.
[23] Caroline Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 1997), 15.
[24] Holzer and Neely, Jr., *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory*, xi.

pictorial accompaniments, Holzer and Neely apply close visual analysis to Civil War images to uncover the themes and the representational strategies employed by their creators. They treat mainstream imagery as indicators of popular sentiment and investigate how the war's shifting course informed pictorial conventions that had roots in antebellum visual culture. It is this study's intention to treat soldiers' visual records in parallel terms. By analysing soldiers' war art and soldiers' engagement with popular imagery, I reveal how they used imagery to provide commentaries on the war and their participation in it, and how they aligned with and opposed mainstream visualisations of war. As soldiers made pictures, they revealed themselves as invested record-keepers who adopted newly accessible ways to pictorially represent the transformative conflict.

By urging the consideration of soldiers' war art, this thesis contributes to the debate over the Civil War as an unresolvable representational crisis. Historians argue that "no history painting relating to the Civil War has attained any kind of iconic national status," due to the fact that the conventions of artistic traditions such as grand-manner history painting and landscape painting were "incapable of representing the tremendous impact the Civil War wrought on all aspects of American life."[25] Lucretia Hoover Giese's treatment of art in wartime New York concedes that despite the contemporaneous hope that the war might stimulate an "artistic nationhood," the reality was that "artists felt little responsibility to depict the conflict."[26] Sarah Burns, in her study of David Gilmour Blythe's cartoons, notes that it was difficult, "if not impossible to produce images to elevate the meaning of a conflict whose meaning (and outcome) remained unclear." Her subject, Blythe, "whose dark vision of the war cut radically against the grain," was one of few artists who "grappled seriously with the war's magnitude, tragedy, and

[25] Conn and Walker, "History in the Art," 62-63.
[26] Lucretia Hoover Giese, "'Harvesting' the Civil War: Art in Wartime New York," in Patricia M. Burnham and Lucretia Hoover Giese, eds., *Redefining American History Painting* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70.

horror in memorable pictorial language."[27] Conn, Walker, and Burns all conclude that the artist who made the most significant impact with his wartime art was Winslow Homer. Homer, though a civilian, grasped that "translating the war into painting meant breaking almost entirely with the accepted conventions" of the aforementioned genres. He invented a new visual "language and vocabulary with which to engage the complexities of historical 'truth'" that depicted war not through a lens of heroic action and didactic certainty, but with "ambiguity, ambivalence, and even irony."[28] Harvey focuses on landscape painting as the key to understanding the war's impact on art, but recognises Homer's attempts to restore "compassion for combatants" by passing over "the battlefield narratives and individual heroics of history painting to focus on the common soldier."[29] Homer's artistic transition owed much to his wartime experiences and his embeddedness with the troops. But soldiers' art was borne from their experiences of directly participating in military service, and so a fundamental difference in perspective existed between civilian artists and the soldier-artist. Moreover, many soldiers conceded that the experiences of war were indescribable, particularly those relating to battle, and so this study will examine those who ultimately employed visual culture as a medium with which to attempt to overcome the limitations of text.[30]

Other studies relating to Civil War imagery rally around Holzer and Neely but fail to fully consider the artistic production of those who were most active in implementing their respective government's war policies and strategies. Harry Katz and Vincent Virga begin their study of newspaper sketch-artists by first turning to soldier Alfred Bellard's war art (which is considered in this study), recognising that "his record exemplifies the need of Americans to find a way to

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[27] Sarah Burns, "Cartoons in Color: David Gilmour Blythe's Very Uncivil War," in Patricia A. Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 66-67.
[28] Ibid., 80.
[29] Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, xiv-xv, 113.
[30] As soldiers often conceded that the mental and physical shocks they suffered were often beyond the scope of language and representation, their war art did not always conform to cultural expectations surrounding the representation of conflict. Jill Bennett, *Emphatic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 3.

understand and recall their experiences." They acknowledge that the public never saw his images, along with the art of other soldier-artists such as Adolph Metzner, and then turn their focus to the newspaper illustrations that assisted Americans in seeing the "arc of the conflict."[31] Considering the instructional and polemical nature of the newspapers, investigation of soldiers' visual culture will reveal the conflicting representations of the war in the public and private spheres. Some soldiers produced pictures for publication and so took cues from established forms. Steven Boyd's *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War* (2010) examines the iconography of the popular pictorial envelopes that rallied citizens to the war effort. They disseminated illustrations of the key issues of the war, contributed to the solidification of the flag as a "central icon for each nation," and depicted African Americans, women, and Union soldiers to illuminate notions of race and gender during the period.[32] But few mainstream depictions of race truly acknowledged the hard realities African Americans faced, and most drew from antebellum racist imagery.[33] Boyd, like Katz and Virga, shows how American civilians sought to better comprehend the war through mainstream visual culture. This thesis extends the scope by focusing on how soldiers interacted with popular, printed visual culture. It explores how soldiers aligned with or critiqued such imagery, how such media was elevated from ephemeral documents to relics of the war, and why soldiers chose to individually produce illustrated stationery and create illustrated regimental newspapers.

By considering the testimonies of soldiers when analysing visual culture, this study builds upon the foundations of other scholars' forays into the impact of wartime imagery. Thompson

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[31] Harry L. Katz and Vincent Virga, *Civil War Sketch Book: Drawings from the Battlefront* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), xi-xiii.

[32] Steven R. Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 14-15. Gallman notes that although patriotic envelopes provided behavioural cues, they were often vague and did not necessarily instruct Northerners to act in a particular way. Gallman, *Defining Duty*, 68.

[33] Shannon Egan, director of the Schmucker Art Gallery at Gettysburg College, notes of contemporary artist Kara Walker's *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War (Annotated)*, "Walker's use of silhouettes of distorted, fragmented and flailing black bodies… incorporate a new understanding of suffering, loss and horror absent from the nineteenth-century illustrations." Shannon Egan, "Kara Walker: Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War (Annotated)," *Schmucker Art Catalogs* 2 (2013): 1-9, 2; Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 152.

identifies the role and impact of journalistic depictions of the war, particularly those created by sketch-artists in the field. He indentifies the eventual abandonment of stereotyped images of heroised warfare by artists, and the subsequent rift that developed between illustrators embedded in the armies and printmakers operating on the home front. Thompson seldom considers the soldiers' reception of these images, even though they wrote fastidiously about pictorial newspapers in their correspondence and diaries. Whilst he acknowledges that some sketch-artists relinquished one sense of artistic tradition in their coverage of the war, it does not necessarily follow that their depictions were as realistic as those produced by soldiers. Likewise, contemplation of soldiers' responses to these pictorials, as well as their own production of illustrated newspapers, will expand upon James McPherson's brief examination of soldiers' "love-hate complex toward the illustrated papers."[34] To fully gauge the reception and employment of these visual forms and not just the uses intended by their creators, this thesis places soldiers' written testimonies and their visual responses in a central position in its consideration of the impact of print imagery.

The emergence of photography and its documentary lens jarred uncomfortably with the refined sensibilities of conventional artwork from the war's outset. The exhibition of Alexander Gardner's October 1862 *Dead of Antietam* photographs did much to bring to the home front the suffering of the conflict in all its graphic detail. But as Alan Trachtenberg concedes, contemporary writers provided textual commentary that sanctified grisly battlefield images and so instructed viewers on how to properly view that which might otherwise undercut the lofty ideals of the Union cause.[35] This thesis does not consider the images of professional operators such as Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, or Timothy O'Sullivan, whose photographic records have already received generous consideration by academics. Instead, it shifts focus towards the

[34] James M. McPherson, "'Spend Much Time in Reading the Daily Papers:' The Press and Army Morale in the Civil War," *This Mighty Scourge: Perspectives on the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 155.
[35] Alan Trachtenberg, "Albums of War," in *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1989), 71-118.

less visible but critically important soldiers who employed photographic portraiture in their managing of the war experience. Whereas Harvey's study chose not to address portraiture, as it varied "little in substance and symbolism from the work of earlier American artists," this thesis contends that the form was revolutionised by its recent democratisation and American's unique employment of it during the war.[36] Whilst work has been conducted on rank and file portraiture, these studies largely conclude with the rightful acknowledgement that the popularity of portraits was a natural consequence of hundreds of thousands of men departing for the "uncertainties of war," and that the threat of injury and death drew thousands of soldiers and their families to studios.[37] This recognition, and Keith F. Davis' overview of portraiture's embeddedness amongst the rank and file, provides a strong foundation for further analysis of portraiture's use as a wartime tool of coping and as an exclamation of martial identity.

It is generally accepted that Civil War armies were the most literate in history to that time. Absent soldiers frequently corresponded with their home-circles and regularly recorded their experiences in their diaries. The war occurred at a unique juncture: literacy rates were high, but armies were yet to subject letters to official martial censorship or discourage diary-keeping, as was common in the twentieth century.[38] McPherson states that soldiers' textual records permit the historian "to peer farther into the minds and souls of Civil War soldiers than of those in any other war." Though there is some truth in McPherson's claim that these "documents bring us closer to the real thoughts and emotions of those men than any other kind of surviving evidence," this thesis demonstrates that the rank and files' visual production stands as an essential historical source alongside the written record.[39] Considering pictorial culture's

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[36] Harvey, *Civil War and American Art,* xv.
[37] Keith F. Davis, "A Terrible Distinctness: Photography of the Civil War Era," in Martha A. Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 143; Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 46.
[38] James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11-12.
[39] Ibid. Even without authoritative top-down censorship, soldiers' visual culture, like their textual records, was constantly processed through considerations of audience and sifted through cultural expectations. Soldiers constantly self-censored their textual and visual representations of the war. Carmichael contends that soldier letters are not unmediated statements that reveal exactly why men fought. Instead, the act of writing "registers an

democratisation in the years preceding the Civil War, this thesis argues that soldiers were also unprecedentedly visually literate. Nevertheless, soldiers' pictures, like their letters, are flawed and do not guarantee an exact demonstration of what soldiers thought about the war. Instead, consideration of the soldier's visual record illuminates how they thought about and attempted to picture the conflict.

Historians have not entirely ignored the visual production of soldiers. But they have neglected such imagery as a historical document charged with the cultural significance that Holzer and Neely identified. Instead, they often employ pictures and photographs as illustrative descriptors alongside the individual soldier's written record. These texts are usually in the tradition of edited collections of soldiers' correspondence or diaries. Importantly, they exhume soldiers' overlooked depictions and accounts of the war and exhibit them for other scholars and public audiences. They recognise the significance of pictorial records, but shy from examination and analysis of the material (and soldiers' relationships to such material). Eric Campbell's edited collection of Charles Wellington Reed's wartime correspondence demonstrates this tendency. Campbell recognises the quality of Reed's drawings, stating that this "collection has, inexplicably, been nearly forgotten," an oversight he deems baffling, but one for other scholars to correct.[40] Other edited collections work similarly, including David Donald's collection of Alfred Bellard's war art and Michael Peake's exhibition of Adolph Metzner's watercolours.[41] Moreover, by considering these soldiers in isolation, scholars ignore that a substantial number contributed to a

expression of reality filtered through cultural lenses and the idiosyncratic tendencies of the writer." Much existing Civil War correspondence can be catalogued as "terse tales that never pierce the inner world of the writer." Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier,* 11.

[40] Charles Wellington Reed, *"A Grand Terrible Dramma" - From Gettysburg to Petersburg: The Civil War Letters of Charles Wellington Reed*, ed. Eric A. Campbell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), xxi.

[41] Alfred Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard*, ed. David Herbert Donald (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1975); Michael A. Peake, ed., *Blood Shed in this War: Civil War Illustrations by Captain Adolph Metzner, 32nd Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2010). Other such collections include Robert Knox Sneden, *Eye of the Storm: Written and Illustrated by Private Robert Knox Sneden*, eds. Charles F. Bryan, Jr. and Nelson D. Lankford (New York: Free Press, 2000); Robert Knox Sneden, *Images from the Storm: Private Robert Knox Sneden*, eds. Charles F. Bryan, Jr., James C. Kelly, and Nelson D. Lankford (New York: Free Press, 2001), and Ronald S. Coddington, *Faces of the Civil War: An Album of Union Soldiers and Their Stories* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004); *Faces of the Confederacy: An Album of Southern Soldiers and Their Stories* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008).

broader grassroots visual war archive. By considering soldier-artists alongside those who critiqued popular pictorial culture, this thesis considers not just a soldier's relationship with imagery in the Civil War, but soldiers' experiences with it. It is important that other works treat their subjects as complex individuals rather than as "cleanly divided analogous groups."[42] Micro-histories of individual soldiers are valuable in shifting the historiographical focus to a bottom-up orientation, but run the risk of leading to over-reaching conclusions.[43] Considering the paucity of scholarship on rank and file visual culture, this study will establish patterns of representation and employment for future studies. This study will uncover the paradigms in soldiers' visual culture before others can treat individual soldier-artists in isolation, as has been afforded to the elite and well-renowned picture-makers of the period and is more recently being applied to ordinary soldiers.

Other edited collections of soldier's war art recognise patterns in soldiers' creation and use of visual culture. In Ross Kimmel's and Michael Musick's *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures"* (2014), Gary Gallagher notes the value of John Omenhausser's drawings as a prisoner-of-war under the charge of African American soldiers in considering wartime race relations.[44] The authors classify Omenhausser's renderings as folk art, divide them into the categories of pre-captivity pictures and vignettes of captivity, and note that his work "reflects the early manifestations of cartoon art." Kimmel and Musick liken his work to that of Bellard's, and draw distinctions between Omenhausser's pictures and those of Union soldier Robert Knox Sneden.[45] Similarly, the foreword to Robert Bonner's *The Soldier's Pen* (2007), a distillation of the soldiers' collective experience of the Civil War, congratulates the use of "two sets of unique visual materials: a satiric sketchbook... and a set of nineteen watercolor sketches," and argues that these

[42] Joseph Cook, "The Future of Civil War Soldier Studies: The Failure of Courage," *Saber and Scroll* 3, no. 4 (2014): 25-38, 25.
[43] Richard D. Brown, "Microhistory and the Post-Modern Challenge," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 1-20, 1; Cook, "Soldier Studies," *Saber and Scroll*, 30-31.
[44] Gary W. Gallagher, "Foreword," in John Jacob Omenhausser, *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures:" The Civil War Art and Letters of Private John Jacob Omenhausser, CSA,* eds. Ross M. Kimmel and Michael P. Musick (Annapolis: Friends of the Maryland State Archives, 2014), vii.
[45] Kimmel and Musick, eds., *"Busy Drawing Pictures,"* 4, 112.

permit readers "new angles of vision, literally, on what ordinary soldiers experienced."[46] Bonner makes use of these previously unexamined sources alongside other soldiers' textual accounts to examine soldiers' shared experiences. However, despite employing visual materials as essential historical sources, he does not attempt to locate these soldiers' creative activities within the broader tradition of nineteenth century visual culture.

Historians who examine Civil War soldiers' self-representation abstain from visual material and are over reliant on textual forms, despite soldiers' frequent use of pictorial forms to express themselves. Studies registering Civil War soldiers' motivations for enlisting and those ties that sustained them in the army, neglect visual culture almost entirely. McPherson recognises that "abstract symbols or concepts such as country, flag, Constitution, liberty, and legacy of the Revolution figured prominently into their explanations."[47] But he ignores the pictorial material that circulated representations of such symbols and concepts amongst soldiers, like patriotic stationery, recruitment posters, and pictorial newspapers. Furthermore, photographic portraits, which volunteers used to envision their new military identities, are absent.[48] Likewise, Reid Mitchell's study of domesticity's influence on Federal soldiers insists that domesticity framed the Northern volunteer's understanding of the war. Despite exploring how "domestic imagery... shaped the ways in which northern soldiers experienced the war," Mitchell neglects the exchange of portraits alongside correspondence between the separated martial and domestic spheres.[49]

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[46] James G. Basker, "Foreword," in Robert E. Bonner, *The Soldier's Pen: Firsthand Impressions of the Civil War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), xiii.
[47] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 21.
[48] A number of texts claim that portrait photographs constituted over ninety percent of American photographs in the first fifty years of the form's existence, making it more surprising that scholars have not paid serious attention to the popularity of this form amongst soldiers in the Civil War. Robert A. Sobieszek and Odette M. Appel, *The Daguerreotype of Southworth and Hawes* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), x; Keith F. Davis, *The Origins of American Photography, 1839-1885: From Daguerreotype to Dry-Plate* (Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2007) 173-174, and John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd, and Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015), x.
[49] Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xiii. David Anderson's study of homesickness in the Union army only makes scant mention soldiers' use of photographs to combat homesickness, noting that they invoked pleasant recollections of domestic life. A lack of acknowledgement of soldiers' widespread use of portrait photographs diminishes them in importance compared to written forms of connection. David Anderson, "Dying of Nostalgia: Homesickness in the Union army during the Civil War," *Civil War History* 56, no. 3 (September 2010): 247-282, 265.

James Broomall touches briefly upon soldiers' visual culture in his study of the emotional worlds of Confederate soldiers, revealing that two pictures of camp life by Southerners in the 46th Virginia have much to offer in a consideration of soldiers' self-representational strategies.[50] But many Civil War historians deem soldiers' textual accounts as the keys to their minds, and so analysing pictures is unnecessary. Though recent studies have treated textual material more warily, it is logical that scholars should embrace the full inventory of soldiers' expressive culture to reveal what and how soldiers thought about their service.

Battles did not characterise the entirety of a Civil War soldiers' service, but they appeared as one of its intense and unfamiliar occurrences. Soldiers developed means to repeatedly withstand combat's shock but struggled to put their experiences into words. Gerald Linderman's analysis of the psychosocial effects of combat recognises that domestic ties were crucial to sustaining soldiers in the Civil War.[51] But he fails to acknowledge the exchange of imagery between soldiers and civilians, nor how patriotic imagery issued behavioural protocols to soldiers about how they should behave in battle. Earl Hess's oppositional text briefly references soldiers' acknowledgement of the inaccuracy of idealised warfare representation in antebellum and wartime artworks, but overlooks imagery when examining how soldiers faced battle and mastered their reactions to it.[52] These studies are over reliant on written records, even as they offer insightful contributions to debates over Civil War soldiers' representation of their motivations. They preclude other important cultural means of surviving the war, such as portrait photographs in narrowing wartime divides, patriotic ephemera in disseminating motivational and instructional cues, and soldiers' pictorial expression in their attempts to overcome the incommunicability of battle.[53]

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[50] James J. Broomall, *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 55-58.
[51] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 3.
[52] Hess, *Union Soldier in Battle*, 1-3.
[53] Anna Denov Rusk suggests that Northern soldiers held a fascination with Southern landscapes and cultures. By writing about their experiences and collecting material items from their war service they coped with military service by continually making observations about what they found unfamiliar and curious, rather than simply becoming

Other Civil War cultural histories have touched upon visual material when examining how soldiers navigated the war's unfamiliar aspects. This is particularly so in the study of how ordinary troops attempted to manage death, which will be a persistent theme in this study.[54] Drew Faust examines how death's omnipresence forced the government to take responsibility for the dead and how religious culture struggled to reconcile with such unprecedented carnage. Inherent is a discussion of how ordinary Americans, including soldiers, sought new ways to manage "battlefield deaths in a way that mitigated separation from kin and offered a substitute for the traditional stylized deathbed performance."[55] This thesis greatly expands on Faust's acknowledgement of dying soldiers' employment of photographic portraits. Shirley Samuels' *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War* (2004) offers constructive foundations for the understanding of imagery's importance during the conflict, such as her recognition of portrait photographs as markers of "definite absence" and as "trace[s] of memory" and "evocation[s] of trauma."[56] But by relying upon figures such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., Samuels' work urges a parallel that provides a better awareness of the cultural habits of common soldiers. By

desensitised by army life. Similarly, soldiers recorded their comrades and war scenes in pictures. Anna Denov Rusk, "Collecting the Confederacy: The Civil War Scrapbook of Henry M. Whitney," *Winterthur Portfolio* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 267-296, 270-271. Collecting material items from the war also often included looting or collecting misplaced photographic portraits, a feature absent from most studies of Civil War material culture. The most recent extensive study of wartime material culture makes few references to photographs as material objects. Joan Cashin, ed., *War Matters: Material Culture in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

[54] This thesis is influenced by what has been titled by some as the "dark turn" in Civil War-era studies, which views the war in tragic terms and focuses on the war's human cost. Some historians have pushed back against this trend, arguing that "the analytical risk of overemphasizing the dark side is that [one]… might infer that atypical experiences were in fact normative ones." Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shively Meier, "Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 4 (December 2014): 487-508, 492. But it is not the intention of this thesis, for it is evident that many soldiers applauded and produced visual culture that pictured the war in heroic and sentimental ways, during the war itself and in the postbellum era. Moreover, Frances M. Clarke charges that Victorian Americans viewed the war's destruction as redemptive and believed suffering benefitted individual character and wider society. Frances Clarke, *War Stories: Suffering and Sacrifice in the Civil War North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). Despite this, it is important to acknowledge the possibility that soldiers did so to sanitise and manage harrowing and traumatic wartime experiences.

[55] Drew G. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 11. One recent study explores the random occurrence of books stopping bullets for Union and Confederate soldiers in battle but does not consider photograph cases. Soldiers gossiped about "life-saving printed materials, related their miraculous usefulness in diaries, and sent home these relics so that civilians could contemplate war's vicissitudes through these damaged items." But when a photograph of a loved one housed in a case stopped an enemy bullet, some soldiers not only viewed the event as divine intervention, but as holy intercession facilitated by the subject in the photograph. Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Saved by a Testament: Books as Shields Among Union and Confederate Soldiers," in Cashin, ed., *War Matters*, 75-76.

[56] Shirley Samuels, *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 74-75.

including visual source material in a consideration of soldiers' wartime self-representation and by adjusting the focus of previous cultural studies towards the rank and file, this thesis supports previous studies that centre on what soldiers thought whilst attending to previously unconsidered but frequently used forms that volunteers seized upon to represent and manage the abnormalities of military service and war.

It is a commonplace observation that the Civil War was the ultimate test of manhood for American males in the mid-nineteenth century.[57] Civil War soldiers' motivations for fighting; their relationship with domesticity in the war context; their conduct in, and management of, violence and the battle experience; their response to the death's proliferation in wartime; and the ways in which they attempted to picture them, all rested upon antebellum perceptions of masculinity and manhood. Two preeminent notions of masculinity reigned in the mid-nineteenth century: restrained manhood and martial manhood, though a wide range of masculine practices existed.[58] Restrained men avoided sin and were proponents of domesticity but were still "manly in the nineteenth-century sense of the term." They were morally upright, reliable, and brave. In contrast, martial manhood celebrated military values, strength, and bravery, believing that aggression, and even violence, better defined a man than restraint. Popular lithographs during and after the US-Mexican War spoke to both masculinities as they reinforced a vision emphasising the heroism of the American man.[59]

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[57] The Civil War "put a premium on toughness and courage" amongst American men, acting as a catalyst for a change in norms of masculinity. Whilst fraternal organisations had put young middle-class men through symbolic ordeals, war put many men through "actual ordeals which combined murderous male conflict with male camaraderie." Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian American* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 191.

[58] As Amy S. Greenberg posits, white American men in the mid-nineteenth century embraced a range of masculine practices. Labourers could locate their manhood in boxing or in the sentimental ideals of melodrama, whilst some urban workers embraced self-restraint and moral self-discipline. The middle-classes could self-identify as militia members or in exclusive men's clubs. Whilst Southern gentlemen upheld duelling as a key component of their own unique culture of chivalry, abolitionists embraced the language of Christian fraternal love. For more, see *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[59] Ibid., 11-13, 27.

When the Civil War came, men "brought cultural notions and values from home that shaped the way they felt and performed their duties as soldiers."[60] Established masculine virtues at once persisted during the war, and yet were profoundly altered by it, as soldiers attempted to manage an experience that seemed so at odds with societal expectation. Northerners assumed that antebellum era masculinities would naturally produce "model citizen-soldiers" whose manhood would carry victory, but no fixed code of conduct arose.[61] Southerners thought similarly but were more absolutist in their beliefs. This absolutism was founded upon a need for honour which was at the centre of the South's white male power structure. White Southern men often perceived the conflict in binary terms and rarely acknowledged their complicity in its follies. They were generally more bounded in their thinking, more likely to align with societal expectations, and often conflated public and private behaviours.[62] This meant that Northerners were more likely to be self-critical when producing war pictures, whilst Southern absolutism limited introspective thought. For African American men the test was much greater, as they laid claim to a figure exclusively located in the domain of white manhood from an inferior position in American society.[63] Many black men recognised that military service was not only an opportunity to demonstrate their manhood, but to attain equal citizenship. Ultimately for all, capacity for heroic action had to mingle with restraint. Soldiers had to be capable of spontaneous acts of bravery, and yet be self-controlled. Importantly, one had to seem fearless despite being very much afraid.[64] When soldiers faced instructional imagery which derived its cues from widely held

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[60] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 2009), xv.
[61] Lorien Foote, *The Gentleman and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 4.
[62] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 232-233.
[63] Douglas Baynton, "Slaves, Immigrants, and Suffragists: The Uses of Disability in Citizenship Debates," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 120, no. 2 (2005): 562-67. Positive representations of African American soldiers gained traction during the war, but such depictions were politically opportune and often foiled by accompanying images and commentary that reaffirmed negative racialised imagery. Fahs, *Imagined Civil War,* 164-65. Even the work of Thomas Nast and Eastman Johnson, two white artists known for sympathetic renderings of enslaved African Americans and free blacks, was tinged with racism. Patricia Hills, "Cultural Racism: Resistance and Accomodation in the Civil War Art of Eastman Johnson and Thomas Nast," in Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low,* 103-123.
[64] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 42. Stephen Berry recognises that nineteenth century American men had to "clock their hearts and stifle their doubts, to so carefully groom their public persona as to become it." Stephen W. Berry, *All*

notions of American masculinity, they applauded and critiqued them from new positions of experience. When they produced their own war art it was a documentation of a lived reality that, dependent on audience and form, was tempered by these expectations.

Form dictated much about the content, circulation, and accessibility of visual culture in the Civil War. Before dealing explicitly with visual forms, it is crucial to state that in demonstrating the value of pictorial material, it is not the intention of this thesis to construct a binary opposition between visual and textual materials. Visual culture is best conceived as a hybrid of texts and images. The Civil War saw a proliferation of imagetexts, "composite synthetic works… that combine image and text." Newspaper pictures were viewed alongside written journalism, soldiers sent home their photographs enclosed in letters, and pictorial envelopes often featured textual slogans and mottos. As W.J.T. Mitchell notes, "visual-verbal relationships are unavoidable."[65] Printed images, photographs, and drawn and painted works all served functions and bore characteristics which could overlap despite their core dissimilarities: "all arts are 'composite arts'… all media are mixed media, combining different codes, discursive conventions, channels, sensory and cognitive modes."[66] And even within these broad media categories, further distinctions existed. Portrait photographs differed entirely in content and function to photojournalistic pictures, and printed pictures intended for display in the home were distinct from more ephemeral pictorial newspapers. Furthermore, a tintype portrait photograph was durable compared to its ambrotype counterpart, whilst pencil sketches were a more accessible means of creating art than painted works. Ultimately, one must register the crucial importance of how form influenced visual media in terms of subject and function, whilst also bearing in mind that stylistic components and practical employment often intersected

That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11. James J. Broomall notes that "successfully navigating army life required both… masculinities, as men had to act the aggressive warrior but also the intimate associate." Broomall, *Private Confederacies*, 33.

[65] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Beyond Comparison: Picture, Text, and Method," in W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 83-101.

[66] Ibid., 94-95.

between forms. This is no less so in the context of the Civil War, in which new visual technologies were being employed in unfamiliar circumstances and soldiers seized upon what was accessible to emulate a range of familiar forms.

The means of producing pictures underlies a consideration of form. Walter Benjamin posits that two developments in the antebellum era – the widespread use of lithography and the invention of photography – signalled the modernisation of mechanical reproduction:

> [Lithography] permitted graphic art for the first time to put its products on the market, not only in large numbers as hitherto, but also in daily changing forms. Lithography enabled graphic art to illustrate everyday life, and it began to keep pace with printing. But only a few decades after its invention, lithography was surpassed by photography.[67]

By the Civil War, mechanical reproduction had seized a place amongst the pictorial processes, which caused a profound change in its impact upon the public.[68] Mechanisation paralleled and contributed to the modernising nature of warfare, as print culture assisted mobilising and maintaining Civil War armies with a barrage of pro-war imagery. This was particularly so in the Union, for the Confederacy was never able mirror the North's pictorial war narrative.

Soldier-artists who rejected patriotic imagery mostly employed more democratic tools like pencils and paintbrushes in their self-representational efforts. They resisted the "exhibition value" of mechanised forms by seizing upon art's fading "cult value," which was demonstrated in the creation of a "cult of remembrance."[69] Although some photographic forms were

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[67] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, reprint edition (New York: Shocken Books, 2013), 219. Though Benjamin chiefly explores the effects of twentieth century film on the rising dominance of politically charged visual media, lithography and photography had already made a significant impact on antebellum American's relationship with visual culture.

[68] Ibid., 219-220.

[69] Benjamin's cult value refers to origins of artistic production, with ceremonial objects being destined to serve in a cult. What mattered was "their existence, not their being on view." During the Civil War, the emphasis on exhibition value meant that popular imagery, specifically in its printed forms, had "entirely new functions, among which the one we are conscious of, the artistic function, [was] incidental." Benjamin, "Mechanical Reproduction," 224-226.

reproducible, soldiers used portrait photography to focus on the cult value's ultimate retrenchment: the human countenance. Soldiers' focus on "loved ones, absent or dead, offer[ed] a last refuge for the cult value of the picture." The cult value characterised most of their self-representational efforts, regardless of subject or form, as they recorded and memorialised persons and experiences. Most soldiers' visual culture retained Benjamin's identified "aura" because they were unique, less likely to be exhibited, and were created within close spatial and temporal proximity to the subjects represented, in contrast to mass-produced patriotic media in the public realm.[70]

This thesis is structured by form, to ensure the primacy of visual culture throughout, rather than one that examines Civil War soldiering through a chronological or thematic format. Divided into four chapters, the first three consider Union soldiers as consumers and creators of distinct categories of visual culture: print imagery and ephemeral materials, portrait photographs, and painted and drawn works. The ordering of these chapters provides a trajectory for better considering the clash between the idealistic and the realistic in wartime visual culture and soldiers' art. Print imagery, in the public realm and shaped by the American elite, was the site in which idealised and sentimentalised heroic war envisioning of the conflict was at its strongest. Portrait photographs moved through private channels but were still restricted by familial and community expectations, meaning that they trumpeted American nationalism but were tempered by unique domestic influences. Soldiers had less engagement with drawn or painted works of high art, but their own productions were often private efforts. Patriotic themes occur, but private visualisations permitted the most forceful explorations of the war's taboos. The fourth chapter moves South, and, owing to the scarcity of visual production in the Confederacy, grapples in turn with all the above-mentioned forms in relation to Southern soldiers. This approach reveals the nuanced nature of wartime imagery, in both the popular realm and amid the soldiers' world,

[70] Ibid., 221, 225-226.

and prompts the question: how did soldiers use visual culture to navigate and picture the realisation that idealised expectations about conflict rarely gelled with the realities of civil war?

Chapter One is foundational to the broader claims of this thesis. It establishes how the antebellum idealisation of conflict was the bedrock for the mainstream representation of war in printed imagery, which formed visual culture's mainstay of romanticised conflict depiction during the war. Additionally, it asserts antebellum print imagery's overtly political nature, establishing it as the expected vessel for the dissemination of didactic cues regarding how good citizens should act in a republic in crisis. The significance of print imagery in the antebellum era and its influential wartime position is essential to a comprehension of how most white Union soldiers came to engage with wartime pictorial culture. By focusing on pictorial stationery and illustrated newspapers, this chapter chronicles soldiers' shifting attitudes towards mainstream war-positive imagery. Union troops were obsessed with pro-war imagery until 1863. By this mid-point, patriotic stationery was rarely used amongst rank and file troops. Illustrated newspapers remained popular, less because they offered idealistic visualisations of the war – which were often ridiculed by battle-tested soldiers – but because they offered a means of keeping detached soldiers up-to-speed with war news. Some soldiers did not simply stop buying decorated envelopes and lettersheets or mock the newspapers when they came into camp. Instead, they created their own. Soldiers rarely had the means to seize engraving processes, so they took up pencils and pens and emulated the stylistic strategies and formatting of the popular forms but turned the content towards their personal experiences. Even so, their own depictions rarely ventured towards war's darker aspects, as they were tempered by societal expectation and considerations of audience, emphasising the interchange between public and private forms of visual media.

Chapter Two examines photography to reveal the importance of portraits to Union soldiers and civilians during the Civil War, beginning with a consideration of soldiers' self-representational strategies. Volunteers used portraiture to visually exclaim their new martial

identities. They were often nationalistic statements which emphasised the agency of the subject, reflecting the mainstream depiction of the idealised citizen-soldier, but subversive tones existed. White soldiers juxtaposed martial and domestic identities, at once affirming the unique status of the volunteer but undermining traditional conceptions of American masculinity by emphasising home and family. Meanwhile, African American soldiers' portraits destabilised the presumed whiteness of the American soldier in popular culture. Soldiers also used their own portraits and those of their loved ones to bridge the separated domestic and martial spheres. Photographs were domestic ties that sustained soldiers and allowed civilians to retain proxies of absent soldiers. Individual soldiers found a more effective way to withstand army life and war's rigours through personal portraiture than they could through mainstream propagandistic depictions. Most importantly, soldiers' portraits were *memento mori* and were used to manage a divide far greater than those caused by mobilisation. The troops responded to fears of injury and death by using photographs to immortalise their physical selves. Other visual forms navigated wartime mortality, but the photograph's exceptional relationship to its referent held it above all others.

Chapter Three turns towards the private worlds of Northern soldiers as they drew and painted their experiences of the war. It was through these traditional mediums that soldiers centred visual culture on camps, marches, and battles, and were most likely to depart from the accepted motifs of mainstream war visual culture, owing to the more cloistered nature of making such pictures. Many remained steadfastly devoted to sentimental and idealised portrayals of war, particularly those who had their sketches reproduced as prints for commercial circulation, which this chapter also considers. The deliberation of soldiers' involvement in the creation of print images offers a cornerstone to consider the conflict between ideal and real war depictions not only as one occurring between mainstream civilian forces and individual soldiers, but amongst Union soldiers themselves. Some soldiers propagandistically depicted ambiguous stalemates as sweeping victories, whilst some pictured such events as demonstrations of war's universal suffering. Considering the pressures of societal expectation, which assumed soldiers were able to

mask their exposure to the horrors of war with self-restraint and cheer, those who explored the war's taboos often only did so within the pages of private sketchbooks and rarely, if ever, exhibited these depictions to others. Soldiers' painted and drawn artworks best exhibit the conversation between the individual soldier and the nation, between official and unofficial representations of events, and this chapter reveals how soldiers identified with the self and their experiences in contrast to how they were identified by others.[71]

Chapter Four moves into the Confederate ranks. In the Confederacy, the production and circulation of visual culture was scarce, and so all previous forms considered in the Union chapters are held to account. Southern limitations were striking in comparison to the situation in the North and had their roots in the antebellum era. During the Civil War, this scarcity was further heightened by wartime demands. The existing visual culture shared broad similarities with the Union's, owing to their common cultures of war before disunion, but it carried a distinctly Southern aesthetic intended to legitimise the distinctiveness of the Confederate project for nationhood. But white Southerners in Confederate armies struggled to engage with the elite's projection of Confederate nationalism. This was not only because it was often inaccessible, but because it repeatedly failed to acknowledge the ordinary Southern soldier. In fact, some Southern soldiers could rely more upon the flow of Northern pictorial culture than that which originated in the South, and their attitudes towards their enemy's propagandistic depictions illuminate the reach and power of the Union pro-war narrative. So, analogously with Union citizen-soldiers, white Confederate men surmounted obstacles to represent themselves and the war. As in the North, soldiers largely affiliated with heroic modes of picturing civil war, while instances of realist counter-imagery were less common than in the Union ranks. In rare cases, Confederates pictured how the war turned their social and cultural worlds upside down, reformulating white Southern identities in the process. In identifying the distinctly Southern experience of wartime

[71] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 16.

visual culture, this chapter also offers a comparative synthesis of Civil War soldiers' pictorial engagement more broadly.

At its core, this is a study of a cultural contest over the visual representation of the Civil War between elites and ordinaries, between societies and individuals, and the clashes that took place amongst those at the grassroots. This cultural conversation materialised over a range of new and old media, in both the public and private realms, and amongst a range of solidarities. It was informed by, and in turn informed, notions of identity, mortality, race, and gender. This thesis charts a shift in how ordinary American civilians-turned-soldiers pictured the Civil War, moving towards representations founded in blunt reality as the forces of war broke down idealised imaginings of what conflict looked like.

Chapter One

"Just What a Soldier Needs:"

Print Imagery, Heroic War, and the Union Citizen-Soldier

"The whole Northern heavens seems a perfect aurora borealis of stripes and stars," proclaimed the *Chicago Tribune* in May 1861.[1] The *Tribune*'s declaration of a Northern skyscape punctuated with stars and stripes was the accumulation of war fervour in the United States following the attack on Fort Sumter, the foreboding meteorological activity along the eastern seaboard in years preceding the Civil War, and a pictorial tradition in landscape art that consistently employed the symbolism of the American flag. Meanwhile, the *Detroit Free Press* roared, "The Star-Spangled Banner rages most furiously," whilst the *New York Times* observed that if one asked a soldier the reason for their enlistment, "they will probably say 'it was the insult to the old flag at Sumter,' or 'it is for the stars and stripes.'"[2] On the ground, James Welsh of the Shenandoah Valley, who would serve in the 78th Illinois, was aghast to hear of his sibling's support for the Confederacy, "I would strike down my own brother if he dare to raise a hand to destroy that flag."[3]

The flag was a contested national icon. Frederic Edwin Church responded patriotically to the Confederate attack and in tandem with the nationalistic furore by painting *Our Banner in the Sky* (Figure 1). Printers hastily converted it to an affordable chromolithograph formats for commercial sale. One version carried an accompanying broadside that asserted that artists were

[1] "What Do the Stars and Stripes Mean?" *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1861, in Eleanor J. Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 37.
[2] *Detroit Free Press*, April 19, 1861, in Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union,* updated edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 18; "The Stars and Stripes," *New York Times,* May 6, 1861, 4, in Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*, 37.
[3] James Welsh to John Welsh, May 12; June 2, 1861, in "A House Divided: The Civil War Letters of a Virginia Family," ed. W.G. Bean, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 59 (1951), 399-401, in James M. McPherson, *For Cause & Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 14.

the most patriotic class of citizens.[4] Though the writer overlooked the thousands of volunteers rushing to enlist, he recognised American artists and printmakers' ability to produce and disseminate nationalistic symbols and imagery that would rally Americans to the Union war effort.



Figure 1, Frederic Edwin Church, *Our Banner in the Sky*, 1861, oil paint over lithograph on paper, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1992.27, Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago, Illinois, https://conversations.terraamericanart.org/artworks/our-banner-in-the-sky, (accessed 03/05/2017).

White Unionists made the American flag a powerful symbol. Major Robert Anderson's spirited but forlorn defence during the Sumter Crisis imbued the flag with a new potency. After the war, historian George Henry Preble reminisced that when the "stars and stripes went down at Sumter, they went up in every town and county in the loyal states," and everywhere "it was hailed with enthusiasm… there was seen in it a sacred value which it had never before

[4] "Our Banner in the Sky," brochure published by Goupil's Gallery, 722 Broadway, New York, Olana (OL1986.142), in Harvey, *Civil War and American Art,* 38.

possessed."[5] New Yorker Abby Woolsey wrote that within weeks the standard was ubiquitous: "The city is like a foreign one now; the flag floats from every public building and nearly every shop displays some patriotic emblem… quantities of Union cockades were worn in the streets yesterday, and I should not be surprised if they should become universally popular."[6] It was pervasive: "the national flag was printed in colors on note paper, and on slips for use in books and where it could be displayed on anything." Her sister Jane noted that symbolic imagery would motivate soldiers:

> [Eliza] sent for a large number of very small testaments, for knapsacks, for the Fishkill Regiment, and we have found some sheets of flags on paper, like stamps, to paste in them, each with appropriate verses – "Fight the good fight;" "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ," etc.[7]

A year later, the Woolsey's still used flags to encourage the troops, "Mary had written a number of verses for the soldiers, and they had been printed as leaflets, each one floated over by the flag in red and blue, and distributed widely among the enlisted men." One verse went, "God's blue star-spangled banner / To-night is not unfurled; / Surely *He* has not deserted / This weary, warring world," blending the flag's imagery with religious rhetoric.[8] Printed imagery, including popular prints, illustrated newspapers, and pictorial stationery, employed "universally recognised iconography" to call on white Unionists, immigrants, and eventually African Americans, to fight.[9]

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[5] George Henry Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 453.
[6] Abby Woolsey to Eliza Howard, April 19, 1861, in Georgeanna Woolsey Bacon and Eliza Woolsey Howard, *Letters of a Family During the War for the Union, 1861 – 1865,* Vol. 1 (Printed for Private Distribution, 1899), 39, 42.
[7] Jane Woolsey to her sisters, April 29, 1861, in Bacon and Howard, *Letters of a Family*, 56.
[8] Bacon and Howard, *Letters of a Family*, 279-280.
[9] Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 161. Flag propaganda proliferated in print imagery as a message of "hope and triumph" even during the war's darkest days. Sarah Burns and Daniel Greene, "The Home at War, the War at Home: The Visual Culture of the Northern Home Front," in Peter John Brownlee, Sarah Burns, Diane Dillon, Daniel Greene, and Scott Manning Stevens, *Home Front: Daily Life in the Civil War North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 7.

Not only did the ever-present flag hang from public buildings and apparently from the heavens, but alongside other patriotic symbols of American national identity it was tangible on a daily basis in the hands, pockets, and mailbags of Northerners.

Yet it was not just the flag. As Mark Neely and Harold Holzer note, when the Union presence in Charleston died with Fort Sumter's surrender, the Union image was born. Throughout the Civil War, a multitude of affordable, mass-produced pictures, depicting courage, victory, and defeat, were available as popular prints, newspaper illustrations, and stationery sets.[10] These pictures reflected ideological convictions in the North and guided Americans towards appropriate behaviours and sentiments in the unfamiliar context of civil war. Pro-Union images were a "pictorial call to arms." They remained until the war's end as incessant reminders of what patriotic duty entailed.[11] Furthermore, technological innovations in the mass production of imagery permitted quickened responses to national events. It kept up with the pace of the war and could capitalise on gains and losses, new policy initiatives, and changes in public sentiment. Five weeks after Fort Sumter's fall, Currier & Ives copyrighted a print entitled *The Union Volunteer*, "a prompt visual response by mid-nineteenth century standards."[12] Civil War popular imagery was inspiring, instructive, responsive, and affordable.

This chapter considers both ephemeral and non-ephemeral imagery and suggests a partial collapse of the distinction between the two. It is notable that Civil War Americans preserved even ephemera as conflict souvenirs in their own records, and for posterity, thus undermining its very status as 'ephemera.' Such imagery came in many forms. Professional publishers designed popular prints, intended for display in homes, with longevity in mind. Other forms, such as patriotic stationery, stamps, pictorial newspapers, illustrated song-sheets, and recruitment posters, were ephemeral. Christopher Makepeace defines ephemera as a "flimsy or insubstantial,

[10] Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer, *The Union Image: Popular Prints of the Civil War North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 1-2.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 6.

transient document produced for a specific purpose and not intended to survive the topicality of its message or event to which it relates." Maurice Rickards observes that ephemera "is used to denote the transient everyday items of paper — mostly printed — that are manufactured specifically to use and throw away... vital when they are needed, wastepaper immediately after. They flourish for a moment and are done."[13] But such items of the material visual culture of the Civil War were just as potent as those with intended permanence. Writing specifically of patriotic envelopes, historian Steven Boyd states that they promoted patriotism, disseminated political information, and reflected the motives of Northern citizens.[14] They bore patriotic emblems, and idealised pictures of military heroes, engagements, and soldier life. Printmakers based the most common designs on the American flag.[15] Cartoons were a mass-marketed graphic art that was topical and ephemeral, which "flung [their] nets wide, seeking to address and influence a mass readership rather than an audience of cultivated elites."[16] For transient and fragile items to be imbued with cultural and political significance during an internal conflict elevated them above throwaway curiosities in the public's perception.

Mainstream forms of visual culture were so associated with the war that citizens kept them as conflict mementos. Like the volunteers themselves, patriotic ephemera was as a solution to a present crisis, to be retired at its close. The war's unexpected duration and intensity transformed both soldiers and ephemera into a means of representing and remembering the conflict, just as the war's severity seared it into that generation's psyche. Moreover, as J. Matthew Gallman identifies, Americans in 1860 simply had no reason to know how to behave in a war of such magnitude. Print culture offered a roadmap as to how a citizen should respond to the

[13] Christopher Makepeace, *Ephemera: A Book on its Collection, Conservation, and Use* (Hants and Brookfield: Gower Publishing, 1985), 10; Maurice Rickards, *This is Ephemera: Collecting Printed Throwaways* (Old Town: Gossamer Press, 1977), 7.
[14] Steven R. Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 11.
[15] Josephine Cobb, "Decorated Envelopes in the Civil War," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 63/65 (Washington, DC: Historical Society of Washington, DC, 1963): 230-239, 230.
[16] Sarah Burns, "Cartoons in Color: David Gilmour Blythe's Very Uncivil War," in Patricia Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 68.

crisis.[17] Ephemera and popular prints remain not only as indicators of popular sentiment in the Civil War era, but as didactic tools that instructed Americans what their sentiments and actions should be.

Of course, exceptions existed. Not all commercially available print imagery was supportive of President Abraham Lincoln's administration or even of the war generally.[18] Northern political satire was aggressive in highlighting the contradictions of the Union war effort, particularly because Federal strategy met with repeated failures throughout the conflict. At times, popular pictures criticised the war effort at the expense of soldiers in the field.[19] A new recruit in the 83rd Pennsylvania wrote home in June 1861 that he had seen a comic picture "representing a very *milingtary* man with a fierce mustache," but that when it was turned upside down, it showed a "complete jackass." "That is just about our situation," he conceded.[20] Print culture could also destabilise the very modes of idealised war representation that it sought to propagate, particularly when printmakers remediated wartime photographs for publication in the illustrated newspapers. Alexander Gardner's *Dead of Antietam* series, the photographs of the fugitive slave Gordon, and those of emaciated Union prisoners-of-war returned from Andersonville, Georgia, thrust shocking images of the ravages of war and slavery into the hands of Northern image consumers. Even so, the referential value of photography was limited during the process of reproduction. Pictures were minimised for publication so that detail became imperceptible. In effect, printmakers domesticated images.[21] Moreover, graphic imagery

[17] J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3.
[18] Moreover, not all imagery popular amongst soldiers was orientated around the war and included obscene materials. For more, see Judith Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
[19] Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War Armies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 243-45.
[20] Oliver Willcox Norton to his father, June 27, 1861, *Army Letters, 1861-1865* (Chicago: O.L. Demming, 1903), 19.
[21] Lucretia Hoover Giese and Roy Perkinson recently unearthed a Winslow Homer sketch that illustrates how printmakers censored graphic detail from the sketches they made their engravings and woodcuts from. Homer's initial submission showed a bullet striking a Union soldier in the head, but in the picture published in *Harper's*, the soldier had undergone a resurrection. In another sketch, a soldier attempting to control skittish horses became an orderly procession of cavalry, battle smoke a benign cloud formation, and a curiosity-seeking couple enlivened a foreground fence. The latter change is particularly striking, as it suggested that war was something that civilians

disseminated to the Northern public was not anti-war or self-critical of the government or armies, but of Confederate enemies. By disseminating pictures of skeletal Federal prisoners-of-war and the ravaged bodies of enslaved individuals, Northern printmakers exposed the barbarity of their adversary and called upon Unionists to give new energy to the war effort. Union soldiers were heroic crusaders tasked with avenging the injustices performed on their white Northern comrades. Furthermore, Confederate cruelty to black bodies epitomised slavery's degeneration not only of African Americans, but of white Southerners too. By extension, slavery's expansion threatened Northern liberties and freedoms. Even when print culture pictured the war's most extreme taboos, the press nevertheless marshalled them in support of the heroic war narrative.

The volunteers' relationship with patriotic imagery shifted even though most troops held onto the ideals that swept them into service. Early in the war, many Union soldiers, raised in a society that romanticised conflict, were avid consumers of patriotic imagery and admired sanitised battle scenes. However, as imagined idealisations clashed with lived realities, the experience of war revealed the pictures' fanfare and pageantry as fiction, and soldiers came to lambast the heroic modes inherent in print imagery and newspaper illustrations. Over time, they ceased to be patrons of overtly patriotic stationery and ephemera. After 1863, using a flag-adorned envelope was a rarity within the ranks and, although soldiers always craved newspapers, many could only laugh when they saw the pictures inside. Some went further, producing their own imagery that emulated and supplemented that which was commercially available, whilst others produced visual condemnations of Unionist propaganda.

This chapter will trace soldiers' uses and reception of wartime printed and ephemeral patriotic imagery. To do so, it is necessary to introduce the foundations and stylistic strategies of patriotic war imagery in the Civil War North. This is not only crucial to understand soldiers' reactions to the material considered in this chapter, but also to better comprehend their

should spectate. Lucretia Hoover Giese and Roy Perkinson, "A Newly Discovered Drawing of Sharpshooters by Winslow Homer: Experience, Image, and Memory," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 61-90, 62, 66, 67.

representational strategies with other mediums in the subsequent chapters. This is because mass-produced war imagery constituted the most accessible media available in Civil War America. As popular culture, it reflected and suggested how American citizens should act in civil war. Moreover, it was through printed pictorial matter that Northern elites were best poised to disseminate heroic framings of the conflict. Unbound from the camera's documentary lens and unrestrained by the aesthetic considerations of high art, printmakers produced romanticised, sanitised, and domesticated images of war that were straightforward in their intended messages. In a war of such magnitude, Northerners turned to their larger community for guidance. Much of the advice came from an outpouring of popular publications that were explicitly didactic. However, cultural messages relating to proper conduct in wartime also came from printed pictures.[22]

One might wonder why the federal government did not establish an agency to control the flow of information, as it did in twentieth century wars. As Gallman notes, behavioural regulations rarely came from the federal government. As in the antebellum period, "public officials relied on familiar market forces to shape individual decisions," and the Union war effort largely functioned within this framework. Moreover, elites did not necessarily need to pressure the public towards particular action, for a highly patriotic bloc of citizens already existed that was anxious to back the national cause. Gallman concludes that the "government gambled on citizens investing in the war effort."[23] Personal choice, though limited by a plethora of factors, ruled. Though war-weariness caused issues for Union war strategy on the frontlines and at home, manifested most strikingly with desertion and draft riots, the gamble ultimately paid off. Even soldiers who fought loyally until 1865, under the pressures of martial authority and the hardships of war, had agency over how, and if, they would interact with patriotic print imagery.

[22] Gallman, *Defining Duty,* 2-3.
[23] Ibid., 251-252

This chapter traces the surge of patriotic print material during the Civil War, and soldiers' responses to it. It is formed of six sections. The first three examine the popularity of patriotic print imagery, its ubiquitous nature, and its depiction of American soldiers. The first charts the reasons for its popular reception amongst Union soldiers: they formed a uniquely politicised volunteer army and employed patriotic images as symbols and touchstones for the ideological convictions they fought to defend. The second section examines the presence of printed war-positive imagery in the ranks, exploring what forms soldiers could access and how, and gives a sense of the prominence of print imagery in Union soldiers' culture. The third analyses how soldiers are depicted on much of this material. The idealised citizen-soldier figure in patriotic imagery provided an instructive representation of white American masculinity for Northern soldiers. The remaining three sections trace soldiers' responses to printed war imagery. The fourth studies soldiers' attitudes towards Union pictorial print ephemera by examining their employment and manipulation of this material, whilst the fifth examines the illustrated lettersheets of Charles Wellington Reed specifically. Finally, the chapter closes with a consideration of soldiers' changing relationship with the illustrated news. Soldiers had mixed feelings towards the pictures in the press, lambasting them more frequently as the conflict dragged on and as their representations failed to catch up to the soldiers' view of the war. Some drew comics in soldier-made newspapers and provided their own commentaries, and others made satirical drawings lambasting the press in their sketchbooks. Taken together, this chapter charts the rise and decline of print imagery amongst Union soldiers.

"Politics Seems to Enter into Everything:" Print Imagery and Patriotism

Patriotic print imagery resonated on a vast scale in a highly politicised nation-in-arms. Before the war, a popular market for political imagery had emerged. It was orientated towards presidential elections and stimulated nationalist sentiment. Printmakers usually ignored local elections as they

provided too small a market for campaign memorabilia, and instead peddled their pictures across the nation.[24] In 1845, the American Art-Union proclaimed, "Pictures are more powerful than speeches… Patriotism, that noblest of sentiments… is kept alive by art more than by all the political speeches in the land."[25] Non-partisan printing firms drove much of the pre-war print industry. Few in the North would go against Union public opinion and patriotism when the booming wartime markets came.

In 1860, a journalistic covered the Presidential Election summarised popular sentiment on the eve of the war: "Politics Seems to Enter into Everything." Historian William Gienapp concludes that more than in any subsequent era, "political life formed the very essence of the pre-Civil War generation's experience."[26] It was not just at rallies and in campaign offices that one found political imagery. Popular lithographs on parlour walls, newspapers on the tables, and *cartes-de-visite* of virtuous politicians abounded. During the 1864 Presidential Election, Walt Whitman visited a Brooklyn saloon "where the air is full of the scent of low thievery, foul play, & prostitution gangrened," and found that everyone supported George McClellan for president, with one barmaid sporting a McClellan medal.[27] As Neely affirms, the unparalleled investment in politics by Americans was not only through engagement with textual mediums, but also through public displays of partisan affiliation which included the wearing of political images and ideological symbols.[28] Printed pictures were an important medium for the political life of non-elites. The establishment of popular political print imagery in the antebellum era paralleled a surge in the prevalence of the illustrated news. The rise of these mediums familiarised Americans

[24] Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Boundaries of American Political Culture in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 12.
[25] J.T. Headley, *Transactions of the American Art-Union for the Year 1845* (New York: n.p. 1940), 14-15, in Patricia Hills, "Cultural Racism: Resistance and Accommodation in the Civil War Art of Eastman Johnson and Thomas Nast," in Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low*, 104.
[26] William E. Gienapp, "'Politics Seems to Enter into Everything:' Political Culture in the North, 1840-1860," in Stephen E. Maizlish and John J. Kushma, *Essays in Antebellum American Politics, 1840-1860* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 15-69.
[27] Neely, Jr., *American Political Culture*, ix, 1.
[28] Ibid., 2.

with a steady stream of topical and didactic pictures that reflected and guided their political beliefs.

Politics dominated antebellum American newspaper culture. In contrast to the bipartisan publishers of campaign material who produced material for both sides of political contests, newspaper editors were firmly biased. Of over 4,000 newspapers published in 1860, eighty percent were political. Joseph C.G. Kennedy, head of the Census Bureau, noted that the census illustrated that the United States was "peculiarly 'a newspaper-reading nation.'"[29] Illustrated newspapers offered ideological choice in the pre-war years, before becoming more bi-partisan in a patriotic response to the Civil War. *Harper's Weekly* was solidly Republican and supported Lincoln in the 1860 election, whilst *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* was initially Democratic and opposed the administration until war broke out.[30] In 1861, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. noted that in the warring United States, the news was even more important, "We must have something to eat, and the papers… Everything else we can do without."[31] Daniel Wait of the 7th Indiana Volunteers recalled the popularity and power of *Harper's* during the Civil War:

> Conspicuous among the great papers that helped to mold public opinion in the North was *Harper's Weekly*… [Its] utterances exactly sounded the keynote of northern sentiment. No paper was more loyal to the Federal government or more zealous for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and its able editorials and the striking illustrations of Thomas Nast exercised a powerful influence in shaping northern sentiment.[32]

[29] Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census. 1860* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1862), 102-3.
[30] Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, 5.
[31] Louis M. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War: The Bohemian Brigade in Action, 1861-1865* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 44, in James M. McPherson, "'Spend Much Time in Reading the Daily Papers:' The Press and Army Morale in the Civil War," *This Mighty Scourge: Perspectives on the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 155.
[32] Daniel Wait Howe, *Civil War Times, 1861-1865* (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Company Publishers, 1902), 4-5.

Howe identified *Harper's Weekly* as the organ of the Lincoln Administration. Lincoln agreed, apparently titling Nast "our best recruiting sergeant."[33] *Harper's* was generally sympathetic and supportive of the Lincoln administration, apart from one tense moment when Secretary of War Edward Stanton suppressed *Harper's* in April 1862, believing its illustrations provided too much military intelligence to the enemy.[34] The paper responded, stating that it would suffer no "pecuniary injury" from the order, but that the policy robbed "our gallant troops of property which belongs to them."[35] Though referring literally to the soldiers' subscription payments, *Harper's* was able to exploit its popularity within the army to accuse the federal government of stealing from its soldiers. The press provided a valuable channel of information to the soldiers and gained influence over them in doing so. Howe agreed:

> Men who scarcely ever read, much less buy, a paper at home, are eager to see one in camp… People at home have no idea how well posted and how interested the soldier is in the political questions of the day. My impression is that the majority of the soldiers are now much better qualified to decide political questions than they were at home; therefore I think they should be allowed to vote.[36]

His statement, in reference to the 1864 Presidential Election, argues that military service further politicised already ideological volunteers, making them eligible voters despite their absence from civil society.[37] Pictorial newspapers such as *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's* were a salve to the

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[33] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 69.
[34] Harry L. Katz and Vincent Virga, *Civil War Sketch Book: Drawings from the Battlefront* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), 54.
[35] *Harper's Weeky,* May 17, 1862, 306.
[36] Howe, *Civil War Times,* 4-5.
[37] James McPherson calls the election a "bold experiment in democracy," for it allowed soldiers to vote "in what amounted to a referendum on whether they should continue fighting." Lincoln would win seventy-eight percent of the soldiers' vote. For more, see James M. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 803-806; Oscar O. Winther, "The Soldier Vote in the Election of 1864," *New York History,* 25 (1944): 440-458, and Josiah Henry Benton, *Voting in the Field: A Forgotten Chapter of the Civil War* (Boston: n.p., 1915).

inevitable tedium of camp, even for those who did not initially consider themselves part of the newspaper-reading nation. Politicised pictorials ensured that absent volunteers would not be detached from public affairs whilst providing striking images of the war as it unfolded.

Compared to twentieth century American soldiers, the political and patriotic investment of the Civil War combatant is significant.[38] A Second World War study found that ideology, patriotism, and politics were remote from the concerns of frontline soldiers. In the Vietnam War, researchers found that soldiers dismissed ideological motivations and rhetoric as jokes.[39] But American troops viewed North Vietnamese soldiers as "the toughest fighters in the world" because they "knew what they were fighting for."[40] Raised in a politicised society, Civil War volunteers frequently referred to ideological and patriotic motivations. Whilst the entire Northern rank and file did not hold a nuanced understanding of contemporaneous political issues, ideological and patriotic visual touchstones existed to which citizens could align themselves or seek out for guidance. The internal nature of the conflict meant one could not fight without some engagement with the fact that the war would shape the future of the United States and, by extension, the future of all its citizens. Political reasoning motivated and sustained soldiers in the armies. The Comte de Paris, serving on General McClellan's staff, noted that volunteers were:

> Active citizens in their respective counties and States… fully acquainted with public affairs… the soldier on duty, if he thought himself unobserved, walked up and down with his musket in one hand and his newspaper in the other.[41]

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[38] Between the 1840s and the 1890s, average voter turnout across all states in presidential elections was seventy-eight percent. The figure has not been exceeded since. Joel H. Silbey, *The American Political Nation, 1838-1893* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 144.
[39] Samuel A. Stouffer and Arthur A. Lumsdaine, *The American Soldier: Combat and its Aftermath*, Vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 150; Charles C. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man: The Rank and File in Today's Military* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 135-36.
[40] Ronald Spector, *After Tet: The Bloodiest Year in Vietnam* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 71, in McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 91.
[41] Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America*, eds. Belle Becker Sideman and Lillian Friedman, *Europe Looks at the Civil War* (New York: Orion Press, 1960), 52-53.

Unlike soldiers who composed professional European armies, American citizen-soldiers remained connected to the society for which they fought.[42] Regiments were representative of particular communities, and volunteers considered themselves civilians temporarily in uniform to do a necessary job as quickly as possible.[43] White Northern volunteers were uniquely patriotic and politicised combatants.

Not only native-born American citizens fought for their political convictions. Immigrants and the sons of immigrants composed over forty percent of Union forces. They were largely of Irish and German origin, with many fleeing political oppression and repression in their homelands.[44] They understood the war not as a territorial or economic dispute, but as a battle over universal ideological beliefs but played out on an American stage. One German soldier wrote, "it's about freedom or slavery… I support the cause of freedom with all my might."[45] Although African Americans, both free and enslaved, North and South, lived in a society that largely excluded them from politics, those who enlisted were aware of the political significance of the war and their participation in it in shaping their futures. Almost 200,000 African Americans would serve in the 2.1 million strong Union army.[46] Invoking the flag's symbolism, Henry Harmon of the 3rd United States Colored Infantry wrote, "we too have borne our share of the burden. We too have suffered in defence of that starry banner which floats only over free men."[47] Historian Eric Foner notes that the decade following the war witnessed "astonishing

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[42] American distrust towards professional armies had existed since the Revolution. Samuel Adams wrote, "A Standing Army... is always dangerous to the Liberties of the People. Soldiers are apt to consider themselves as a Body distinct from the rest of the Citizens. They have their Arms always in their hands." By the Civil War, the United States fielded a small standing army of about 16,000 men, which volunteers supplemented in times of national crisis. Samuel Adams to James Warren, 1776, in Charles A. Stevenson, *Warriors and Politicians: US Civil-Military Relationships under Stress* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2006), 2; McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 46.
[43] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 46.
[44] Doyle, *Cause of All Nations*, 159.
[45] Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Johannes Helbich, eds. *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters they Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 350.
[46] Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 306.
[47] Henry S. Harmon to the *Christian Recorder,* October 23, 1863. The letter appeared in the paper on November 7, 1863, in Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men*, 36.

advances in the political, civil, and social rights of Northern blacks."[48] Individuals generally volunteer for military service with the prospects of pay, plunder, shelter, fraternity, and adventure, but patriotic and ideological convictions were an "essential part of the sustaining motivation of Civil War soldiers." In James McPherson's survey of 647 Union soldiers' letters and diaries, two-thirds of Union soldiers expressed patriotic motives for fighting, whilst forty percent "discoursed in more depth on ideological issues such as liberty, constitutional rights, constitutional law, self-government, resistance to tyranny, republicanism, [and] democracy."[49] Composed of politically-active white Americans battling to preserve their liberties, of immigrants fighting for citizenship and continuing their ideological battles abroad, and of African American vying for emancipation and equality, the Union army was a highly-politicised force. In military environments like camps, new markets suddenly emerged as Union soldiers became detached from their families and communities as they engaged in a great national contest. Printmakers and the press were well poised to offer a multitude of patriotic newspapers, stationery items, and popular prints to men who wanted news, correspondence, and affirmations of the worthiness of their cause.

"A Decided Sensation:" The Prominence of Patriotic Print Imagery

Northern soldiers, particularly in the Civil War's early years, employed visual touchstones to encapsulate their motivations for fighting. They took various forms and served myriad purposes. Flags encapsulated patriotism, icons of George Washington embodied revolutionary heritage, figures of volunteers idealised American citizen-soldiers, and negative representations of Confederates personified threats to civil liberties. American printers and publishers offered visual encapsulations of war issues on an unprecedented scale. Propagandistic efforts were "asserted

[48] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 471.
[49] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, viii, 114.

through the material culture of patriotic envelopes, advertising manuals, recruiting posters," and the "wider detritus of visual material culture."[50] The ubiquitous nature of this imagery had its origins in the advances in print production and transportation before the war. The development of inexpensive lithographing techniques and the earlier passing of the 1845 Postal Act (which altered postal cost to one based on weight and distance) hurried image production and propelled its transmission.[51] Advances in printing technology like steam-powered printing presses facilitated the emergence of illustrated newspapers.[52] Three major illustrated weekly newspapers emerged in the 1850s: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* in 1855, *Harper's Weekly* in 1857, and the *New York Illustrated News* in 1859.[53] Meanwhile, Currier & Ives produced small folio prints for display on walls for "intimate, domestic viewing."[54] American appetites for printed imagery catalysed further development. By 1861, Northerners who would fill the ranks had been familiarised with printed pictures as a means to symbolise their worldviews and to align with popular virtues that composed the American national character.

Harper's Weekly and other pictorial newspapers offered a steady stream of newsworthy pictures to the American public. By 1860, *Harper's* was one of America's leading pictorials, boasting a circulation of over 90,000 copies a week.[55] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* had a similar 1860 circulation: 100,000 copies per week. Moreover, actual readership would exceed circulation. Regional newspapers such as the *Philadelphia Inquirer,* the *New York Illustrated News*, and the *New York Herald* also forayed into pictorial reporting, whilst *Vanity Fair* and *Yankee Notions* pictured the war through a "morbidly humorous carnival of monsters, skeletons, and grotesquery of every description."[56] Their advertisement sections are equally enlightening in

[50] Shirley Samuels, *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 29.
[51] Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes*, 2.
[52] Brayton Harris, "Newspapers," in Maggi M. Morehouse and Zoe Trodd, eds., *Civil War America: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2013), 194.
[53] William F. Thompson, *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1959), 20-22.
[54] Neely, *American Political Culture,* 10, 13.
[55] Thompson, *Image of War*, 22.
[56] Thompson, *Image of War,* 21, 23; Burns, "Cartoons in Color," in Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low*, 68.

demonstrating American enthusiasm for pictorial culture. One could find notices for portraits of generals, sold by "the Thousand, Hundred, or Dozen." Another advertised three-foot by two-foot generals' portraits and scenes of Union soldiers trampling on Confederate flags for twenty-five cents.[57] Northerners could purchase maps with which to practically track campaigns and, by extension, trace their own movements and those of their kin during the war. One advertisement authenticated one military map, noting that "Gen. Scott Uses this Map, So does Our Whole Army!!!"[58] Joseph Culver of the 129th Illinois wrote home requesting "a pocket map of the U.S., reliable. Should you see any of Floyd's Newspaper maps of the seat of the War, please send me one by mail."[59] Other practical print imagery included pictorial stationery. One promotion exclaimed "Union Envelopes!!" and offered packages containing 100 varieties.[60] Another advertised a "new and superior prize package for the camp or household… containing… Extra fine Paper and Envelopes, embellished with splendid and highly colored new Union emblems." It concluded, "Just what a soldier needs. It will create a decided sensation, and sell like wildfire."[61] By the war's end, Americans had enjoyed access to more than 15,000 patriotic envelope styles.[62] In purchasing *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's*, not only were nearly 200,000 Americans consuming pictorial media on a weekly basis, they were being familiarised with new avenues to engage with other printed imagery. The availability of these journals, and their inclusion of advertisements for greater access to print imagery, reflects the established popularity of these forms during the war.

Northern soldiers did not always purchase print matter. Welfare societies recognised soldiers' needs and responded by distributing necessary supplies. Reporting on the camps in Alexandria, Virginia General William Sherman's soldiers gathered in 1865, the United States

[57] Neely, Jr. and Holzer, *Union Image*, 35-36.
[58] *Harper's Weekly,* August 3, 1861, 496.
[59] Joseph Franklin Culver to his wife, July 8, 1863, Joseph Franklin Culver Papers, 1863, MSC0373, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (hereafter ILSC).
[60] *Harper's Weekly*, August 3, 1861, 495.
[61] *Harper's Weeky,* October 11, 1862, 656.
[62] Ordinary Americans could technically print their own. Innovators intended small presses, like the 1861 Adams Cottage Press, to make "Every Man His Own Printer" for twenty dollars. Cobb, "Decorated Envelopes," 234.

Sanitary Commission responded to what it described as the soldiers' "real wants." After food and medical supplies were distributed, two female agents provided paper and envelopes to the soldiers. Officers "melted to tears at seeing their men receive comforts from their loyal friends."[63] Between May and June 1865, the Sanitary Commission distributed nearly 400,000 envelopes and around 900 reams of writing paper to the hospitals and camps around Washington.[64] In 1864, it provided over 21,000 envelopes to the armies in Virginia.[65] The United States Christian Commission also knew the value of providing soldiers with patriotic pictures. Obviously, their main value was in providing a means for correspondence with the home, but the USCC distributed approximately 7,000,000 lettersheets and another 7,000,000 envelopes, which were "stamped with appropriate and attractive devices and mottos."[66] Patriotic print material often appealed to the soldiers. Writing of the religious newspapers distributed by the Christian Commission, Reverend J. Stockbridge conceded, "some men take a fancy to the *Christian Intelligencer,* because it displays an American flag at the head of its first column."[67] Soldiers were willing to neglect their particular religious denominations for a newspaper devoted to the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church. Though welfare organisations distributed pro-war print material to the troops, soldiers most often made a conscious consumer choice to engage with such imagery. The range of media meant that volunteers were not just limited to purchasing pictures of flags, but maps and images of military leaders and soldiers, too. As much of this visual culture worked to affirm soldiers' reasons for enlisting and the justness of their cause, troops found in wartime popular culture a great source of positive representations of soldiery identities.

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[63] A.M. Sperry, "Report of A.M. Sperry, U.S. Sanitary Commission, Washington, D.C., June 22, 1865," *Documents of the U.S. Sanitary Commission* (New York: n.p., 1866), 804.
[64] "Articles Distributed by the Hospital Visitors," *U.S. Sanitary Commission,* 817.
[65] Wm. A. Hovey, "Appendix A: U.S. Sanitary Commission," in *U.S. Sanitary Commission,* 443.
[66] Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 292, 487, 517.
[67] Ibid., 710-711.

"We Know Our Country's Need:" Citizen-Soldiers in Print Imagery

Volunteers had a clear impression of what ideal American soldiers looked like. Pictures of the celebrated citizen-soldier permeated American society and had been intentionally emphasised as role models for boys and young men in the antebellum era. Visual and literary strategies, disseminated through history books, pictures, martial parades, monument dedications, and a whole host of other cultural forms and corporeal performances, facilitated the creation of an ideal American soldier figure that the body politic revered. With the war's outbreak, there was a rush to raise the citizen-soldier higher on his pedestal. Images of both noted military heroes and generalised representations of idealised volunteers littered patriotic stationery, illustrated newspapers, card decks, recruitment posters, and *carte-de-visite* photographs. Imagery such as Figure 2, a detail from a recruitment poster, used idealised representations of the United States and its citizen-soldiers to circulate indicators informing American men how they should respond to the national crisis. The unparalleled dissemination of martial ideals through patriotic print material assisted in fostering it as reality, as tens of thousands of volunteers rushed to recruitment stations to enlist.



Figure 2, Baker & Godwin, detail from *36th Regiment New York Volunteers*, 1861-5, recruitment poster, Civil War posters, 1861-1865, aco3149s, PR-055-3-149, New-York Historical Society, New York. Citizen and soldier flank a representation of Liberty. The citizen at left calls out, "We know our Country's need, and will respond to her call! We will leave our Farms, our Homes, our Shops and our Stores, and give all our strength to the Government that made us a great and happy People!"
http://digitalcollections.nyhistory.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A159460, (accessed 06/05/2017).

Soldiers continued the cycle when they circulated print imagery bearing representations of idealised warriors, as well as their own portrait photographs. Though Americans generally viewed professional soldiers with suspicion, volunteers were a class to aspire to in times of national emergency. It was an exceptionally American notion, as many European nations regarded soldiers as the dregs of society.[68] Americans understood the ability to participate in military service as a precondition to the full rights of citizenship for white men, as well as being an expression of civic virtue. The volunteer was a pillar of social order, entwining militaristic and civil values in the creation of the ideal citizen. Historian William Davis writes of the Civil War volunteer as a descendent of his revolutionary forebear. He was the "Minute Man, the yeoman abandoning his plow to meet a crisis, sacrificing all if needs be, then to return to his humble

[68] Jay Luvaas, "Introduction," in John M. Priest, *Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2.

pursuits when the danger passed – the very definition of the new American."[69] Figure 3 represents the revolutionary lineage of the American soldier. Early-war volunteers best embodied the idealised citizen-soldier, and they were the soldierly demographic most likely to engage with patriotic print material. They were the young sons of farmers, landholders, merchants, mechanics, artisans, and the urban elite. Fundamentally, they were white and largely native-born. Possessing basic schooling and an American-Victorian sense of morality, they believed themselves to be, or capable of becoming, embodiments of the constellation of values necessary to American soldiering that were so frequently exhibited in newspapers and on stationery.[70] Exhibiting those traits on the battlefield was the ultimate goal, but it became a volunteer's ritual to first lay claim to them through the employment of patriotic print imagery.



Figure 3, detail from *Walker V. Personius to his parents, November 10, 1861,* illustrated lettersheet, Walker V. Personius Correspondence, Mss85614, folder 1, box 1, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter MDLoC). The stationery depicts the soldier of 1861 as the descendent of a Revolutionary forebear.

[69] William C. Davis, *Lincoln's Men: How President Lincoln Became Father to an Army and a Nation* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 1.
[70] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 2, 8.

"They Speak My Sentiments:" The Employment and Emulation of Printed Imagery

The patriotic emblems, soldier figures, and slogans adorning stationery may seem trivial in comparison to the functional purposes of the material itself, which bore assurance from detached soldiers and encouragement from the home front. This is particularly so because soldiers and civilians wrote so little about the decorative icons. Boyd's study outlines the reasons why a paucity of commentary on patriotic stationery exists. First, the significance of the devices was self-evident: patriotic designs generally spoke for themselves. Second, the focus on daily activities and personal relationships in Civil War letter writing left little time for musing extensively on the war issues.[71] The second explanation is problematic. Soldiers travelled vast swathes of the United States during the war. Soldiers' letters frequently touched upon the ideological, political, social, gender, racial, ethnic, economic, and technological issues that they confronted, regardless of the level of articulation they discussed them with. Commentaries on stationery and other print material generally remain rare and issues regarding preservation can further complicate historical analysis. Referring to a patriotic cover, Iowan James Mead noted in one letter, "I think the verses on that envelope are verry nice, they speak my sentiments."[72] Regrettably, he only kept the letter, obscuring the envelope's devices and motto from our consideration. Nevertheless, Mead, like other Union soldiers, recognised the patriotic envelope as a way to exhibit his wartime opinions.

[71] Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes,* 8.
[72] James Mead to Ellen, September 20, 1863, Mead Family Papers, July 1863-January 1864, MSC0372, ILSC.

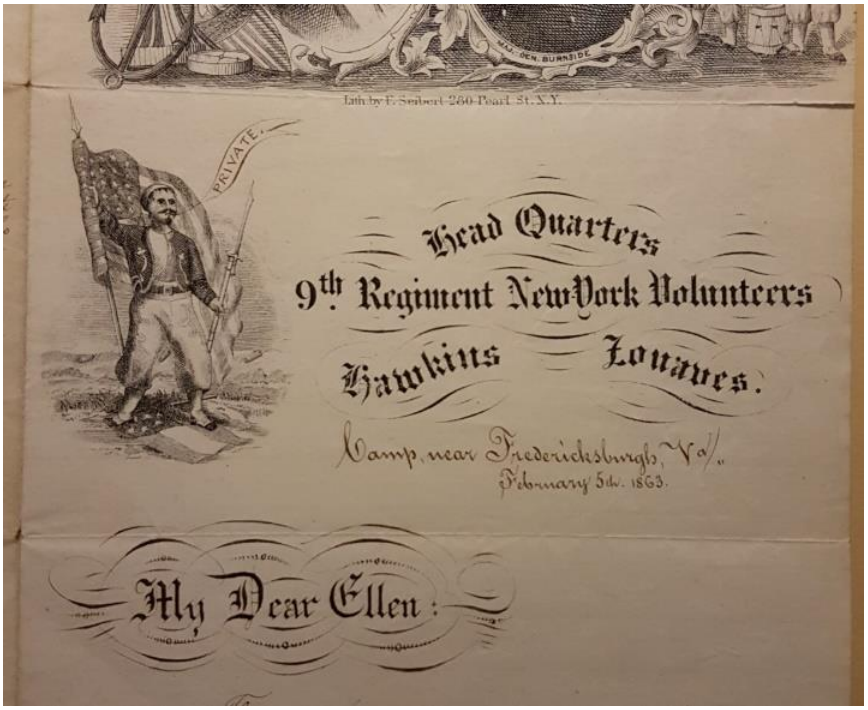


Figure 4, F. Seibert, detail from *John England to Ellen Haxgedon, February 5, 1863,* illustrated lettersheet, Letters of John England, Hawkins Zouaves, MssCol22265, folder 1, U.S. Army box 3, 1862-1863, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, New York (hereafter NYPL).

It was rare for soldiers to print images without the intervention and assistance of commercial enterprises. Thus, soldiers often manipulated existing patriotic stationery or used its arrangements to decorate unadorned lettersheets and envelopes with their own pictures. Those who engaged directly with patriotic stationery annotated images to relate them to their specific circumstances. When there was no stationery at all, they made their own images, patriotic or otherwise. Paul Petasch, a German soldier in the 55th Illinois, annotated a picture of Columbia with the American flag inscribed with the words "Death to traitors" by adding "but life to you."[73] Petasch's personalisation of the letterhead aligned him with the Union cause. He and his correspondent were no traitors. Others made the soldier figures depicted on their stationery the guardians of their correspondence. John England of Hawkins' Zouaves annotated an image of a soldier so that he bellowed "PRIVATE" (Figure 4) to any curious eyes that might intercept the

[73] Paul Petasch to Petasch family, Mr. Pochmann, and friends, October 27, 1861, in Kamphoefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War,* 309.

letter. At the bottom, he drew a fanciful script adorned with all the battles his regiment had fought in.[74] England's manipulation of a depiction of a loyal soldier and the inclusion of his battle record imposed signifiers of his patriotism, even as the content of his letter diverged from pro-war themes.



Figure 5, detail from *Alonzo Ameli to his Friend, August 15, 1861*, illustrated lettersheet, Alonzo Ameli Papers, 1861-1863, Mss85588, folder 1, box 1, MDLoC.

Others laid claim to soldier figures, even if they deviated from the typically idealised configurations. Alonzo Ameli of the 5th New York altered a lettersheet near Baltimore in August 1861.[75] Baltimore, a secessionist stronghold that remained in the Union, had rioted in April. Southern sympathisers attacked the 6th Massachusetts Infantry with bricks, paving stones, and pistols as they marched through the city to Washington.[76] Ameli's lettersheet reflected on the

[74] John England to Ellen Haxgedon, February 5, 1863, Letters of John England, Hawkins Zouaves, 1862-1863, folder 1, U.S. Army Box 3, MssCol22265, New York Public Library Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division (hereafter NYPL).
[75] Alonzo Ameli to his brother, July 18, 1861, Alonzo Ameli Papers, 1861-1863, folder 1, box 1, Mss85588, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (hereafter MDLoC).
[76] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 285. In one Currier & Ives lithograph, the event was titled "The Lexington of 1861," a reference to one of the opening battles of the American Revolution, and an attempt to claim the Union as the true heirs of the revolutionary legacy. Currier & Ives, *The Lexington of 1861*, 1861, hand-coloured lithograph (New York: Currier & Ives, 1861), LOC PGA – Currier & Ives – Lexington of 1861 (A size), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

rowdy event by exhibiting a soldier clad in a motley set of makeshift armour (Figure 5). Ameli claimed the figure by titling the illustration "Corporal Ameli." The caption read, "The way to go through Baltimore. Armed and Provisioned for a Siege."[77] Ameli was anxious about the pro-Southern Baltimoreans. In one lettersheet bearing a picture of Baltimore's Federal Hill Docks, he recounted a confrontation with over three hundred drunken citizens "who were shouting and runing they looked very formidable… as soon as we got in thier midst they set up a shout for Jeff Davis and gathered around… doing everything they could to make us fight."[78] Under orders not to fire unless in self-defence, Northern soldiers felt powerless against those who sympathised with the rebellion they had enlisted to quell. The scenario established the figure in his earlier correspondence as an exaggerated caricature of a very real danger. Rather than a positive image of the idealised Union volunteer, Ameli's own self-representation as a soldier illustrates how idealised imaginings of heroic warfare were destabilised by the war's realities. Ameli's specific soldierly experience contradicted the received image of wartime conduct as disseminated in popular culture. Instead, the critical and humorous image depicted Ameli's situation more realistically than the typical representations of flawless volunteers.

[77] Ameli to his friend, July 15, 1861, Ameli Papers.
[78] Ameli to his brother, August 24, 1861, Ameli Papers.

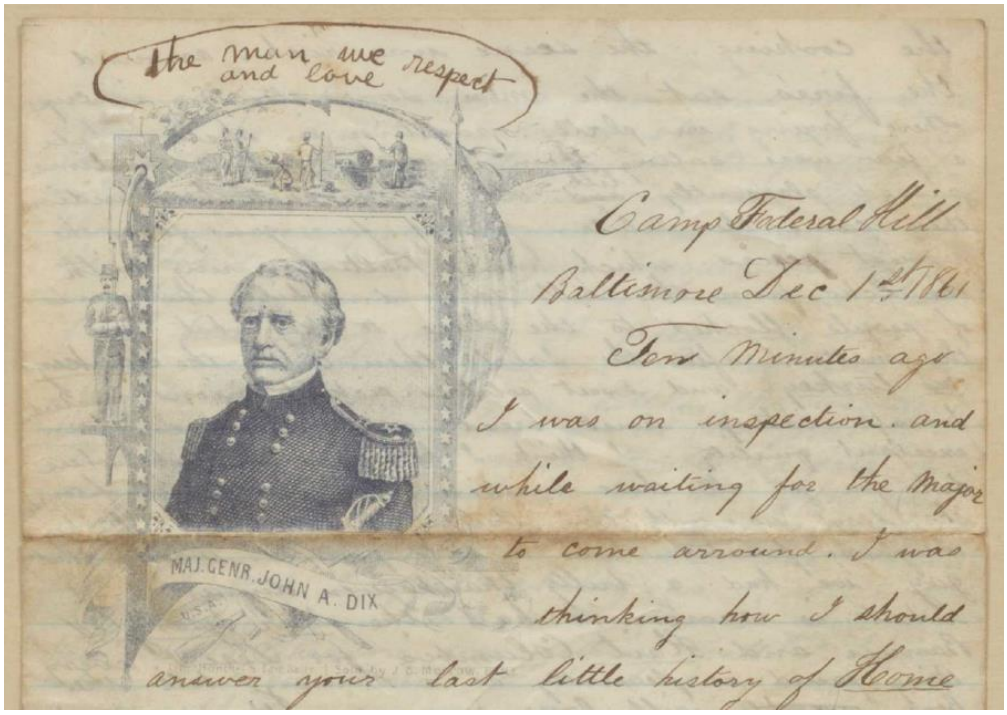


Figure 6, detail from *Alonzo Ameli to unknown, December 1, 1861,* illustrated lettersheet, Ameli Papers, 1861-1863, Mss85588, folder 1, box 1, MDLoC.

Few soldiers used printed imagery to comment on the negative aspects of their service. Most used patriotic stationery to circulate images of generals, officers, camps, and battles. Ameli sent a later letter that bore Major General John Adams Dix's likeness (Figure 6). Patriotic symbols and figures surround the portrait: the stars stud the border, at his side a flag drapes, and peripheral images of an artillery battery and an infantryman symbolise martial prowess. Ameli further confirmed Dix's esteemed position and established him as an inspiring figure by writing above the portrait, "the man we respect and love."[79] In May 1862, Ameli was still employing positive imagery in his correspondence. But he added his own drawings when he could only obtain plain sheets. During General George McClellan's ultimately disastrous Peninsula Campaign, Ameli felt so confident in his abilities that he wrote that he felt "stronger and have more stubborn endurance than I would give myself credit for." He added a hurried sketch of an individual carrying a parcel labelled "Box in haste for Alonzo Ameli, army of the Potomac,

[79] Ameli to his brother, December 1, 1861, Ameli Papers.

Richmond Va" (Figure 7).[80] The Army of the Potomac's success would be so quick and inevitable, he thought, that only a box sent in haste to the Confederate capital could reach him.

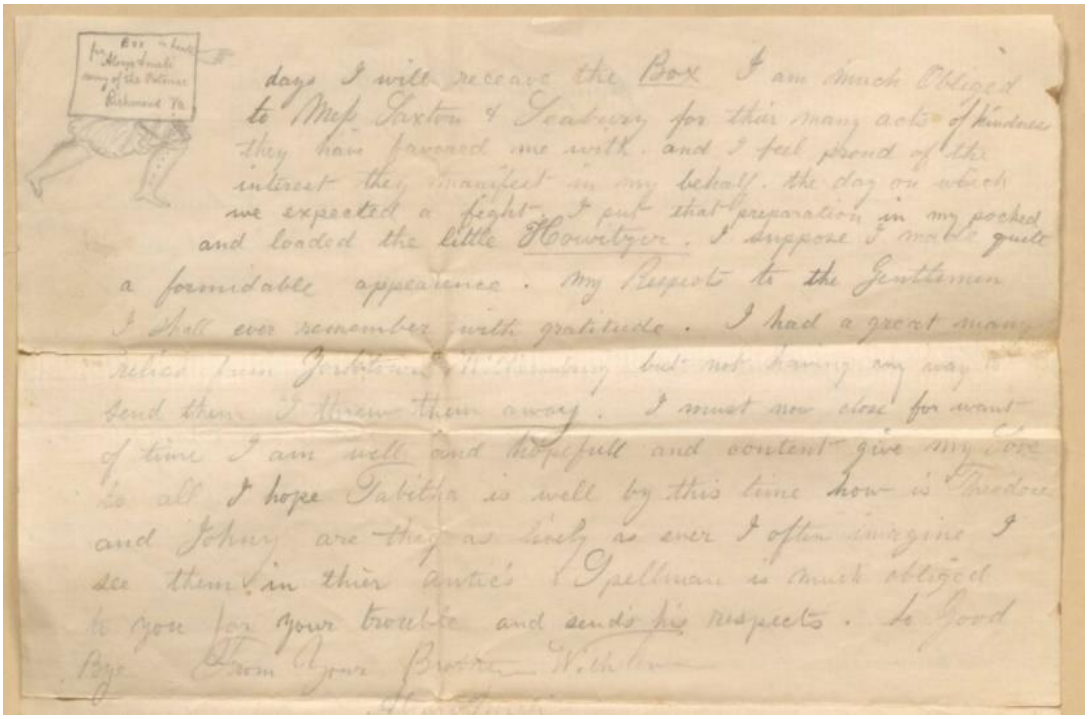


Figure 7, detail from *Alonzo Ameli to his brother, May 18, 1862*, pencil sketch, Alonzo Ameli Papers, 1861-1863, Mss85588, folder 1, box 1, MDLoC.

Such buoyant sentiments were commonplace in the early-war period, so much so that another comrade in the 5th New York expressed a similar opinion about the war's duration. William Platt wrote unexpectedly to his father on a lettersheet adorned with a tree of liberty (its leaves were represented as American flags) and the word "UNION," coloured in red, white, and blue (Figure 8). He used this strikingly patriotic lettersheet to announce confidently, "Dear farther I enlisted in the 5 regement fire zouaves… We are going on to Richmon to morrow it

[80] Ameli to his brother, May 18, 1862, Ameli Papers. McClellan's campaign lasted from March to July, 1862, and attempted to avoid the build-up of Confederate forces in northern Virginia by amphibiously deploying the Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula. From there, the army could march up the Peninsula and capture the Confederate capital Richmond without suffering heavy losses. McClellan's initial successes transformed into humiliating defeat when Robert E. Lee replaced the Confederate commander, Joseph E. Johnston. For more, see Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002) and Gary Gallagher, ed., *The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula and the Seven Days* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

will take us three days to get there."[81] He penned a poem beneath, which called upon the most potent visual symbols of the war:

> So good bie to home and friends.
>
> For I have joined the voluntiers.
>
> I am bound for freedoms wars.
>
> And on the rebel flag I will tramp.
>
> And fight for the strips and stars.[82]

By the month's end, Confederates had driven Platt and his regiment back to Washington. Instead of writing victoriously from Richmond that he had stood on a secessionist flag, he wrote distressingly from the plains of Manassas to lament on the destruction of his unit, where the Rebels had "shot us down by hundreds."[83] Though he fought on until 1865, his archival file contains no other patriotic stationery, suggesting that Platt never again employed a buoyantly patriotic design in his wartime correspondence.

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[81] William H. Platt to his father, August 12, 1862, William H. Platt Correspondence, folder 5, box 1, Mss62095, MDLoC.

[82] Ibid.

[83] William Platt to his father, October 16, 1862, Platt Correspondence, folder 1, box 1. Platt details the events of the Second Battle of Manassas, or as it was commonly known by Union troops, the Second Battle of Bull Run. It was here that the 5th New York Fire Zouaves was destroyed by Confederates. It was the greatest battle fatality sustained by any Federal infantry unit in the war. For more, see Brian Pohanka, "Destruction of the 5th New York Fire Zouaves: Battle of Second Manassas," *Civil War Trust*, April 16, 2009, https://www.civilwar.org/learn/articles/destruction-5th-new-york-zouaves (accessed 01/10/2017).



Figure 8, detail from *William H. Platt to his father, August 12, 1862,* illustrated lettersheet, Platt Correspondence, Mss62095, folder 1, box 1, MDLoC.

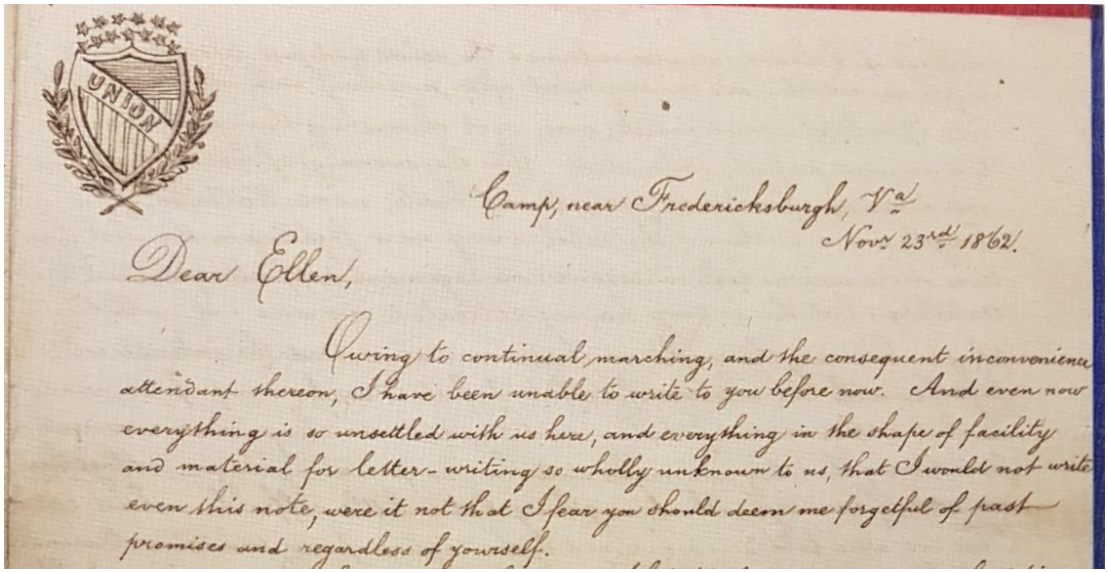


Figure 9, detail from *John England to Ellen Haxgedon, November 23, 1862,* pen sketch, Letters of John England, Hawkins Zouaves, MssCol22265, folder 1, U.S. Army box 3, 1862-1863, NYPL.

John England, the volunteer who guarded his private sentiments with images of soldiers, also made his own patriotic stationery when commercially produced imagery was unavailable. England employed the guard in a particularly sentimental letter to Ellen, but he used pictures to

distract from his letters' contents in other instances. England emulated the conventional styles found on mass-produced stationery. He drew Union crests wreathed in laurels and topped with stars (Figure 9), even when occupying a position where "everything in the shape of facility and material for letter-writing [is] so wholly unknown to us."[84] After the Battle of Fredericksburg and General Ambrose Burnside's infamous "Mud March," England produced a patriotic cover (Figure 10) for a letter that criticised these disasters. He echoed soldiers' protests against the Emancipation Proclamation and noted, "All were loud in cursing Burnside and the visible humbug and stupidity which are carried on… the spirit and patriotism of this army is dying out every day." He was "sorry for the country – grieved that it should come to this."[85] However, even as he wrote from "the grave yard of America" and bemoaned America's fall from "science, wisdom, and religion," his envelope bore a positive and patriotic design.

It depicts two women, reminiscent of popular depictions of Columbia and Liberty, sat beneath an Eagle's wings and other symbols of American nationalism. The left-most woman carries a caduceus, suggesting American proficiency in science and knowledge. At right, a scythe and a wheat bushel symbolise American agriculture. A partially obscured anchor denotes maritime power. In the centre is a wreath bearing Ellen's name, which each figure connects with by touch. The cover contrasts strikingly with the sentiments in the letter. The envelope is a public performance of patriotism, whilst the letter itself comments on the Union war effort. The outward performance was limited in that it bore no reference to American martial superiority, but it was a tribute to the refined sensibilities shattered by the conflict. When viewed with the letter, his pictures lament his country's losses but hold hope for a restoration of its

[84] England to Ellen Haxgedon, November 23, 1862, Letters of John England. England's patriotic depiction appears more significant when the context is fully considered. England produced the letter in late November 1862, during the preparations for an assault against Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Federal soldiers were aware of how effective the Confederate defences were and that the battle would likely be disastrous. On December 13, 1862, Union soldiers attacked, and the Army of the Potomac suffered an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 casualties. For more, see George C. Rable, *Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!: The Classic Account of the Battle and Its Place in Civil War History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
[85] England to Ellen Haxgedon, January 25, 1863, Letters of John England.

accomplishments. Considering the public/private dichotomy of soldiers' correspondence, with patriotic covers often giving way to introspective writings in the letters themselves, envelopes carried through the mail, delivered to post offices, and collected by their recipients rarely featured visibly negative themes.



Figure 10, *John England to Ellen Haxgedon, February 5, 1863,* pen sketch, Letters of John England, Hawkins Zouaves, MssCol22265, folder 1, U.S. Army box 3, 1862-1863, NYPL.

"A Desirable Scetch to Exhibit:" Charles Wellington Reed's Pictorial Stationery

Some soldiers played with pictorial stationery's conventions to greater degrees, with lettersheets offering a surface on which to produce imagery that was more reflective. Charles Wellington Reed, a bugler in the 9th Massachusetts Light Artillery, emulated stationery's formatting but manipulated its themes with the wartime creation of over fifty pictorial lettersheets. After the war, Reed was recognised as "a most exact and faithful American reproducer of incidents and actions of the great Civil War." His contemporaries noted the historical significance of his efforts, "he delineated many localities, actions, incidents of soldier life, etc., which he was fortunately able to preserve," and deemed these "of the greatest interest to all who study the

history of the War of the Rebellion and the services of the volunteer forces of the republic."[86] John Billings had Reed illustrate his popular post-war memoir *Hardtack and Coffee* (1887), praising him for his "truthful and spirited illustrations," which would be "very familiar to the veterans of the Union armies."[87] Reed "while very young developed that gift of drawing from the life around him," and he used it not only to record the war, but to benefit himself financially too.[88] He was able to complete three lithographs during the war, which he sold to his comrades.[89] As a bugler, and eventually as a topographical engineer, Reed could sketch at an impressive rate. Within a month of enlisting he bemoaned the lack of good material to draw on and requested a "solid scetch book and a portfilio to keep it, and my scetches in."[90] Most of his surviving wartime art is composed of the life sketches that adorned his letters. He sent most of his sketches privately to his mother and sisters, and the intended audience tempered his drawings. Reed's sketches demonstrate how soldiers could simultaneously emulate and destabilise patriotic print culture's conventions, whilst attempting to balance a portrayal of the war's hard realities with a representation sensitive to civilian sensibilities.

[86] Charles W. Winslow Hall, ed., *Regiments and Armories of Massachusetts: An Historical Narrative of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia* (Boston: W.W. Potter, 1901), 533-34, in Charles Wellington Reed, *"A Grand Terrible Dramma" - From Gettysburg to Petersburg: The Civil War Letters of Charles Wellington Reed,* ed. Eric A. Campbell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), xxi.
[87] John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith & Co., 1887), vi.
[88] Ibid., 533.
[89] Reed, *"Grand Terrible Dramma,"* xxiv.
[90] Charles Wellington Reed to his sister Helen, August 20, 1862, Charles W. Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 5 (May-Dec 1862), box 1, MDLoC.

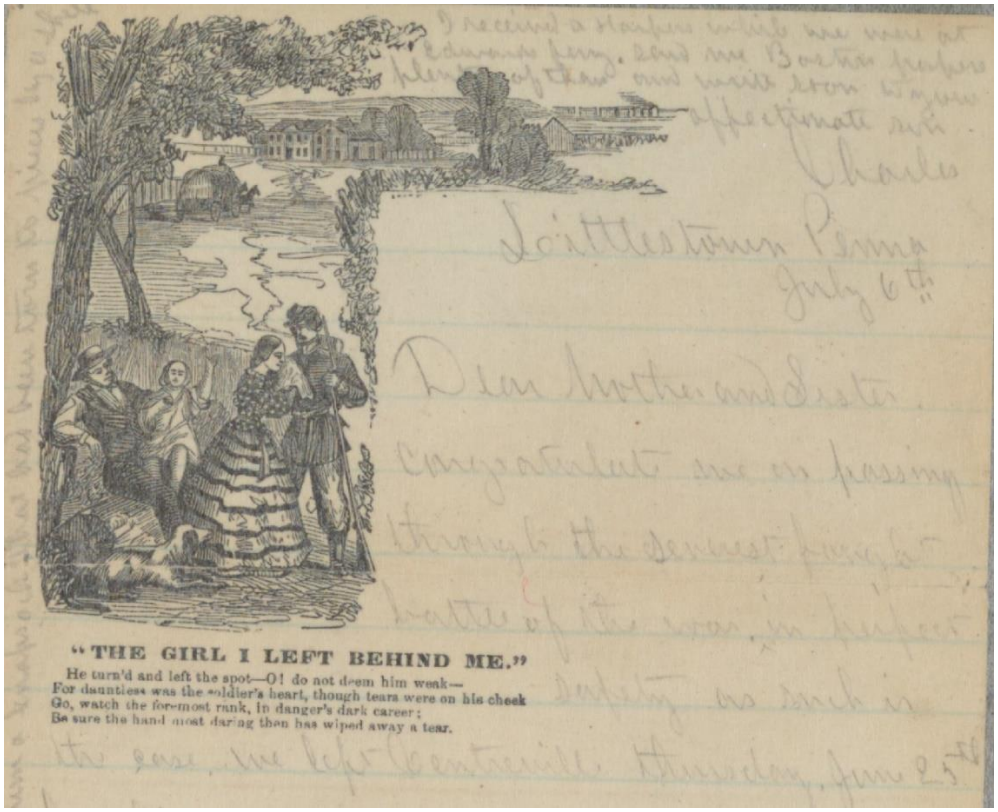


Figure 11, detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his Mother and Sister, July 6, 1863,* illustrated lettersheet, Charles W. Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 7 (Apr-Jul, 1863), box 1, MDLoC.

Reed rarely used printed stationery, but he regularly employed its associated formatting. Most of his lettersheets bear pictures that appear at the head of the first sheet of paper, much like the mass-produced pieces used by Union soldiers. Reed's drawings fuse with his written accounts to provide illuminating records of his daily activities. In contrast to the typical citizen-soldier representation on commercial items, Reed does not attempt to depict soldiers as idealised crusaders for the Union. Instead, he pictured soldiers in their quotidian realities. When Reed did employ popular stationery, it was not in a direct exhibition of nationalist sentiment. After the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, Reed sent home a lettersheet showing a soldier and a woman embracing as the former departs for the front, entitled "The Girl I Left Behind Me" (Figure 11). The woman's apparel clothes her in an American flag, with the implication being that fighting for one's country was akin to fighting for loved ones. Though the sheet bears patriotic devices, Reed was preoccupied with the reference to the sustaining motive – women – rather than the cause of

his enlistment. Reed was close with his mother and sisters. His parents separated before the war and he did not write to, or mention, his father in his correspondence. For many Union soldiers, domesticity provided motivation as much as its absence injured them.[91] Reed had just passed through "the severest fought battle of the war in perfect safety," so it is unsurprising that a pictorial allusion to his female relatives, those who sustained him through over two years of war, was used to signal his safety to his home-circle.[92]



Figure 12, detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his sister, September 22, 1862,* pen sketch, Reed Correspondence, folder 5 (May-Dec, 1862), box 1, Mss37457, MDLoC.

Reed practiced a form of pictorial reportage alongside written accounts of his soldiering. Responding to his sister Helen's concerns about his safety in September 1862, he asserted that he was living "as well as any one could desire." He had "just had supper, and enjoyed a ciggarette, and now I am writing you on a barrel head."[93] He included a sketch showing him writing a letter in a spacious, well-lit tent as a comrade sleeps safely by him (Figure 12). As historian David Henkin recognises, illustrated envelopes and lettersheets were "early model

[91] Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xiii.
[92] Reed to his mother and sister, July 6, 1863, Reed Correspondence, folder 7 (Apr-Jul 1863), box 1, MDLoC; Reed, *"Grand Terrible Dramma,"* 5.
[93] Reed to his sister, September 22, 1862, Reed Correspondence, folder 5 (May-Dec 1862), box 1, MDLoC.

postcards – not by philatelic criteria," but insofar as they permitted individuals to maintain immediate visual contact with their correspondents, and because they introduced certain locations, events, and peoples.[94] Reed sketched as a means to project his condition, experiences, and environment with immediacy to his loved ones. Photographs were certainly associated with being more authoritative in this respect, but cameras could not capture movement, were difficult to manoeuvre, and were not accessible to most Americans, especially soldiers in wartime. Americans still relied upon drawn pictures as proof of events, particularly if they were made 'on the spot,' a common refrain used in newspapers to affirm the validity of their depictions.[95] In comparison, photographs only composed the basis of around fifteen percent of the presses' published pictures during the war.[96] Though soldiers frequently reassured their kin that they were well with the written word, a few like Reed employed pictorial depictions to further guarantee their wellbeing. By picturing himself busily engaged at his barrelhead, Reed let loved ones know he enjoyed leisure time within the oppressive routines of army life and complemented his written account of his experience with a more immediate and personal visual representation.

[94] David Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 129-130.
[95] Soldiers regularly used photographs to affirm the claims they made about the war. Nineteenth century attitudes towards photography perceived the camera as a scientific instrument and its images as undeniable proof that an event occurred. For more on the photograph as evidence, see Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 5.
[96] Katz and Virga, *Sketch Book*, xiii.




Figure 13 (left), detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his mother, November 3, 1862,* pen sketch, Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 5 (May-Dec, 1862), box 1, MDLoC; Figure 14 (right), detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his mother, April 7, 1863,* pen sketch, Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 7 (Apr-Jul, 1863), box 1, MDLoC.

Reed's mother and sister valued his pictures and would often express their desire for "a scetch very much."[97] Reed knew that his sketches were circulated within his home community, and noted in one letter that he had a produced "a desireable scetch to exhibit [to] your friends you speak of." As Reed's wartime audiences included his superior officers, regimental comrades, family members, and his wider home community, he produced different representations depending on his intended audience. He never once sent a violent image to his family. He did send a sketch of two comrades' graves in September 1864, but he refrained from doing so until four months after their deaths.[98] Generally, Reed's imagery depicted the monotony and discomfort of army life and the ways soldiers adapted to their circumstances. Cavalrymen ride along Pennsylvania Avenue in a heavy rain (Figure 13), soldiers plead for food at the doors of Southern civilians (Figure 14), infantry columns march with ragged flags (Figure 15), and Reed and his messmates create shadow shows on tent walls to pass the time (Figure 16).[99] Fewer than

[97] Reed to his Mother, November 12, 1862, Reed Correspondence, folder 5 (May-Dec 1862), box 1, MDLoC.
[98] Reed to his Mother, September 21, 1864, in Reed, *"Grand Terrible Dramma,"* 273-274.
[99] Reed to his mother, November 3, 1862, Reed Correspondence, folder 5 (May-Dec 1862), box 1, MDLoC; Reed to his mother, April 7, 1863, Reed Correspondence, folder 7 (Apr-July 1863), box 1, MDLoC; Reed to his mother, June 20, 1863, folder 7 (Apr-July 1863), box 1, MDLoC; Reed to his sister, January 12, 1865, folder 11 (Jan-May 1865), box 1, MDLoC.

ten percent of Reed's pictorial lettersheets bear patriotic representations. That is, those depicting Union forces in a way akin to popular printed imagery. Only three pictures display the American flag, the most commonly used device on patriotic stationery. His sketch of marching soldiers, Reed depicts the flag in tatters, borne by a haggard regiment in which an officer marches with a stooped back and a number of the soldiers are shoeless. Reed titled the motley assortment the "old braves."[100] Reed did not picture the war in a polemically critical or negative way, nor did he succumb to fanciful, overtly patriotic representations. In relaying his lived experiences to his home-circle, he explored the tedious realities of army life with a candidness unseen in commercial imagery. Simultaneously, he evaded confronting them directly with the war's violence and pain, even if pictures of broken-down soldiers attested to the physical toll the war wrought on its combatants. Besides, civilians already received a steady stream of battle imagery through pictorial newspapers, and some soldiers conceded that these representations pictured the war better than they could.





Figure 15 (left), detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his mother, June 20, 1863,* pen sketch, Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 7 (Apr-Jul, 1863), box 1, MDLoC; Figure 16 (right), detail from *Charles Wellington Reed to his sister, January 12, 1865,* pen sketch, Reed Correspondence, Mss37457, folder 13 (Jan-May, 1865), box 1, MDLoC.

[100] Reed to his mother, June 20, 1863, Reed Correspondence, folder 7 (Apr-Jul 1863), box 1, MDLoC.

"An Especial Prize to the Boys:" Union Soldiers and the Illustrated Press

The illustrated press provided a more important form of print imagery to soldiers in the Civil War. Whilst patriotically decorated ephemera provided pro-war covers and surfaces for soldiers' correspondence, newspapers provided a regular stream of news-related imagery that kept volunteers abreast with the ebb and flow of war. The soldiers' interest in illustrated newspapers was not lost on the war's participants. Soldiers wanted pictorial reportage as much as, if not more than, civilians. Artist Edwin Forbes wrote of the importance of illustrated newspapers to enlisted men, noting, "a private soldier's world, in an active campaign, does not extend far beyond the lines of his brigade."[101] Misinformation, the concealment of military intelligence by superiors, and a lack of access to news sources limited the worldview of the rank and file. Sergeant Dolphus Damuth of the 29th Wisconsin wrote home from Helena, Arkansas, stating, "I have no news to write as I know of you must know a great deal more about the war."[102] Edward Williams of the 100th Indiana Volunteer Infantry wrote from College Hill, Mississippi in December 1862 that, "All are getting anxious to see a newspaper. Everything at home may be all right, or the reverse… We are in blissful ignorance of the doings of the world."[103] In a steady environment, such as a fort or pitched camp, news was more readily available. Corporal George Tillotson of the 89th New York wrote from Roanoke Island, North Carolina to comment on the "bully time" that his comrades stationed in Norfolk, Virginia had, as they "get the dayly papers every day." By contrast, Tillotson had "not heard a word of war news that is from Richmond."[104] Soldiers longed for the newspapers which would bring them "news of 'The Last Great Battle' –

[101] Edwin Forbes, *Thirty Years After: An Artist's Story of the Great War* (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1890), 133.
[102] Dolphus Damuth to brother John, March 17, 1863, Collection of Dolphus Damuth, D Company, 29th Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry, 1862-1865, GLC03523.14.16, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (hereafter GLI).
[103] Edward P. Williams, *Extracts from Letters to A.B.T. from Edward P. Williams During His Service in the Civil War, 1862 – 1864* (New York: For Private Distribution, 1903), 28.
[104] George Tillotson to Anne Tillotson, July 19, 1862, Collection of George Tillotson, H Company, 89th Regiment, New York Infantry, 1861-1864, GLC04558.032, GLI.

of which he had been a part, yet about which he knew but little."[105] Illustrated newspapers widened soldiers' wartime perceptions. When soldiers could not access pictorial newspapers by themselves, they asked kin to send their copies. Lieutenant Charles Cummings of the 16th Vermont wrote to his wife Lizzie in 1864, "Can you mail me Harper's Weekly when you are done with it. Its resume of the news… would be pleasant."[106] In subsequent letters, he recorded instances when Lizzie had sent him pictorial newspapers.[107] Another Vermonter, George French of the 11th Infantry, lamented from Virginia in October of the same year, "I wish I could read the Harpers [Weekly] this fall. But we are away from all marks of civilization."[108] *Harper's* marketed itself as the journal of civilisation and some soldiers took this quite literally. Where soldiers could find no copy of *Harper's*, ignorance prevailed.

Newspapers had a stimulating effect on the men. Albert Marshall of the 33rd Illinois Infantry noted the receipt of "a neat box… full of Harper's and other good and instructive magazines" from the Rockford Female Seminary. He reflected that the girls "had thoughtfully re-covered the magazines with their own hands and expressly for the soldier boys. Such true, unassuming kindness… will always be remembered."[109] Soldiers were joyous to hear of victories. Following the duel victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July 1863, Leverett Bradley exclaimed, "The papers have just come, the news is what you might call '*Bully.*' The cloud has passed over and things are looking more favorable."[110] To these citizens-in-arms, news of political victories were also welcome, "Such victories, though bloodless, have a powerful influence on the rank and file of the army. Every ballot cast… is equal to a well-directed bullet against the foe."[111] Should a newspaper reflect the soldiers' political sentiments, then the

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[105] Forbes, *Thirty Years After*, 133.
[106] Charles Cummings to Lizzie, June 15, 1864, Charles Cummings Papers, 1857-1873, MSA 28, Vermont Historical Society (hereafter VHS).
[107] Cummings to Lizzie, September 30, 1864, Cummings Papers.
[108] George Oscar French to friends, October 9, 1864, George Oscar French Letters, 1857-1888, MSA 414, VHS.
[109] Albert O. Marshall, *Army Life: From a Soldier's Journal: Incidents, Sketches and Record of a Union Soldier's Army Life, in Camp and Field, 1861 – 1864* (Joliet: n.p., 1884), 53.
[110] Leverett Bradley, *Leverett Bradley; A Soldier-Boy's Letters, 1862 – 1865, A Man's Work in the Ministry* (Boston: Everett Press, 1905), 29, original emphasis.
[111] Willard Glazier, *Three Years in the Federal Cavalry* (New York: R.H. Ferguson & Company, 1873), 163.

newspaper carrier attempting to bring it into camp would be lucky to make it out unharmed.[112] Generally, soldiers agreed, "with these sheets many moments are pleasantly spent." Soldiers hailed them as "remedial influences in camp" that enjoyed "extensive patronage."[113] Newspapers like *Harper's* were a welcome arrival to the majority of soldiers in camp, as they were persistently loyal to the Lincoln administration and supported the soldiers.

Soldiers were prone to keep records of their reading habits, giving indication of which journals they favoured. Maximilian Hartman of the 93rd Pennsylvania Infantry was an enthusiastic customer of the pictorial weeklies, and pictures more generally. When in Washington, Hartman wrote of exchanging newspapers, as well as trading photographs and the artworks he viewed in the Capitol Building and the Smithsonian Institute. Between February 19 and March 1, 1862, Hartman received three copies of *Frank Leslie's*.[114] A more comprehensive record exists in his diary:

> Letters sent away from Feb. 1, 1862:
>
> …Feb. 20 – Illustrated Inquirer and knapsack with a letter to my wife Bertha…
>
> …Mar. 10 – Frank Leslie's Illustrated to my wife…
>
> …Mar. 20 – Letter, Inquirer & Leslie's to my wife Bertha…
>
> Papers and Letter received from Feb. 1, 1862 – Cont.:
>
> …Mar. 8 – Frank Leslies from J. Richards…
>
> …Mar. 18 – Sunday Transcript and Leslie's of J. Richards
>
> …Apr. 27 – Two letter of my wife and 1 of my friend J. Richards, also 2 Sunday Transcripts, Sunday Dispatch and Leslie's Illustrated with Supplement of J. Richards…[115]

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[112] Joseph Chase Rutherford to Hannah Rutherford, May 2, 1864, Joseph Chase Rutherford Correspondence, Special Collections, University of Vermont (hereafter SCUoV).
[113] Glazier, *Federal Cavalry,* 32.
[114] Maximilian Hartman, February 19; February 22; March 1, 1862, diary, Typescript Civil War diaries by M. Hartman, Co. B, 93rd Reg. PA, 1861-62, 2007.79, Special Collections Research Center, College of William & Mary, Virginia.
[115] Maximilian Hartman, December 27, diary, Typescript Civil War diaries by M. Hartman.

Hartman's careful recordkeeping allows a tracking of his newspaper-reading habits. He engaged with and disseminated a visual record of the conflict as the press constructed it. Another soldier, Iowan Alexander Downing noted in his diary which newspapers he subscribed to during the war. His entry for December 27, 1864 reads:

> I sent in my subscriptions today for three papers: the Missouri Democrat at $2.00 per year, the Theological Journal, $2.00, and Harper's Weekly, $4.00. I think I shall have enough reading matter now for 1865.[116]

Downing's account suggests a contradiction. However, the *Missouri Democrat* was ironically a Republican newspaper. Whilst the *Democrat* kept him posted on the Republican interpretation of the war, *Harper's* kept him stocked with war imagery. Taken together, Downing ensured he had access to religious texts, political news, and a visual record of the war.

Engagement with pictorial journalism appeared as a custom amongst enlisted men. Forbes noted, "The weekly story-papers seemed an especial prize to the "boys" and passed through many hands. When read, the pictures were cut out and stuck up, more or less ornamentally, on the walls of the log-shelters."[117] It was common practice, and Pennsylvanian William Davis recalled that whilst officers would wallpaper the interior of their quarters, "those of the men were covered with Harper's Weekly and other pictorials, which presented them with an illustrated history of the rebellion so far as it had progressed."[118] Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), applauded by veteran's for its realism, includes a reference to "a picture from an illustrated weekly… upon the logs walls."[119] Supposedly, some took their newspaper

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[116] Alexander G. Downing, *Downing's Civil War Diary* (Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1916), 241.
[117] Forbes, *Thirty Years After*, 133.
[118] W.W.H. Davis, *History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment, from August 22nd, 1861, to September 30th, 1864* (Philadelphia: J.B. Rogers, 1866), 33.
[119] Stephen Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage* (Calgary: Broadview Press, 2014), 38.

reading to the extreme. Forbes recounted spotting a Union soldier amid the fighting at Antietam in 1862, under the shelter of "broken ground and scattered rocks" as the enemy's bullets "continually drove up the dust… within a few feet of him." The soldier was reading a newspaper and barely flinched when a comrade was wounded beside him. Forbes "marveled at his coolness as he turned the paper inside out."[120] Whether the soldier had resigned himself from fighting or a wound had immobilised him is unknown. It is an ambiguous account, but one that nonetheless demonstrates some soldiers' investment in the press.

For wounded soldiers, illustrated newspapers provided a salve against the tedium of the hospitals. William Henry, an officer in the 10th Vermont Infantry, wrote his wife Mary to ask "King Brown if he has any old pictoral papers or magazines that are a little out of date he might put them in to fill the box." He noted, "we always turn over all the papers and Magazines we officers buy, after reading them to the sick boys in the Hospital, and they are very thankful for them."[121] William Henderson of the 12th Iowa, in hospital in Davenport, Iowa, noted in his diary that he had been "reading the papers & some of the Harpers Weeklies with which the Hospital is suplied as Reading matter."[122] But illustrated weeklies were a cure for boredom in conventional camps, too. Myron Owen of the 8th New York Cavalry recorded in his diary on May 22, 1864 that he had spent an entire day in camp "reading Richmond papers and Harpers." For Owen, recording his newspaper-reading habits became commonplace. On June 17, he noted in a soldierly tone that he had "Read Harpers Smoked and grumbled."[123] Considering soldiers' investment in the illustrated news, they enthusiastically anticipated the arrival of the papers. A British observer with the Army of the Potomac wrote of the influx of a shipment of illustrated newspapers:

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[120] Forbes, *Thirty Years After*, 133.
[121] William Wirt Henry to Mary Jane Henry, April 5, 1863, William Wirt Henry Correspondence, 1861-1865, SCUoV.
[122] William Legg Henderson, April 30, 1864, diary, William Legg Henderson Journal, MSC0926, 1864, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries (hereafter SCUoIL).
[123] Myron Owen, May 22; June 17, 1864, diary, Myron Owen Diary, 1864, xMsW56, SCUoIL.

> I saw [the mail call]… under its most important aspect, inasmuch as we brought with us the Saturday's illustrated journals, immense quantities of which… "Harper's Weekly" and "Frank Leslie's," are distributed by local and state associations among the soldiers in camp… a curious sight it was to me… a general rustle of opening leaves, and in a moment every man as if it had been part of his drill, was down upon the ground with the same big picture before him.[124]

Ferguson's note that illustrated weeklies were the most important aspect of the mail call, even above letters, is striking. However, a reasonable explanation is that looking at newspaper pictures was a visible, public behaviour suited to soldiers queuing up for mail. Conversely, private letters were more important, but reading them was more suited for moments of relative seclusion after dismissal.

References to newspaper-reading habits made appearances in soldiers' private letters too, sometimes in ways that confronted traditional gender boundaries surrounding their consumption. Historians Harry Stout and Christopher Grass argue that political papers generally constituted a male medium, whilst the religious press "appealed equally to men, women, and children."[125] However, Valentine Barney of the 9th Vermont Infantry wrote to his wife from Yorktown, Virginia in 1863 asking which papers she read "so as to keep posted on war & other matters." He also asked for her opinion as to which newspapers he should subscribe to.[126] In the context of war, some soldiers readily admitted that women on the home front had a better knowledge of newsworthy events than they did in armies isolated on campaign. In an upheaval of antebellum convention, men like Barney relied on well-informed women to advise them on

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[124] Robert Ferguson, *America During and After the War* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 74.
[125] Harry S. Stout and Christopher Grass, "Civil War, Religion, and Communications: The Case of Richmond," in Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 316, 328-29.
[126] Valentine G. Barney to Maria Barney, September 18, 1863, Valentine G. Barney Correspondence, SCUoV.

their newspaper-reading habits. Soldiers' difficulties in getting news saw them break down traditional gender boundaries.

Soldiers employed available illustrated weeklies to visualise their claims about army life. When Franz Wilhelm von Schilling of the 3rd Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery wrote to his friend about wartime technological innovations, he also sent a sketch of a ship's "revolving tower" based upon an image from "an illustrated newspaper showing these vessels in fight against Charlestown and Fort Sumter."[127] Although a remediation of the newspaper illustration (itself a remediation of an artist's sketch), Schilling referred to its newspaper origins to evidence the existence of the weaponry he had encountered. Another German soldier, Johann Diedan, used an illustrated newspaper to reassure kin of German soldiers' abilities. German soldiers suffered prejudice and native-born Americans often employed them as scapegoats for military disasters.[128] Sending a newspaper to his cousin, he referred to the "picture of Franz Siegel at the 2nd battle of Bull Run, giving commands for a bayonet attack against the attacking rebels, while the entire Union army was fleeing or had already run away."[129] Siegel had received the attention of printmakers in the war's early years, and Diedan used his picture as a foil against claims that German soldiers were inept.[130]

Others employed papers to recount their own experiences, most often with written accounts, but sometimes pictorially, too. Edward Williams wrote home following the Battle of Chickamauga that he would "not attempt to describe the battle. The newspapers have told the

[127] Franz Wilhelm von Schilling to Alexander, September 5, 1863, Franz Wilhelm von Schilling Papers, 1863, section 3, folder 1, Mss1Sch335a6, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture (hereafter MCVMHC).
[128] The public representation of the XI Corps' combat record (a corps noted for its large German composition), particularly at the Battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, tarnished it with cowardice and failure. However, other sections of the army, as well as the press, exaggerated the corps' incompetence, and any negative portrayal of the XI Corps was hardly the fault of German soldiers alone. For more, see James S. Pula, *Under the Crescent Moon with the XI Corps in the Civil War,* Vols. 1 & 2 (El Dorado Hills: Savas Beatie, 2017, 2018).
[129] Johann Diedan to his cousin, September 28, 1862, in Kamphonefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War,* 304.
[130] For more on Siegel's depiction in Union popular print culture, which demonstrated that "German-born soldiers could be well worth honoring," see Neely, Jr. and Holzer, *Union Image*, 31-34.

story better than I could."[131] Others attempted to relay battle experiences in letters home, only to concede, "doubtless you have read of them in the papers."[132] Alvin Voris of the 67th Ohio Infantry wrote fastidiously to his wife Lydia about imagery. In 1863, from South Carolina Voris wrote of the sight of Fort Sumter. Confident that Lydia was already familiar with the newspaper pictures, he explained, "Sumter looks like a vast pile of ruins – not unlike the views given in the illustrated papers."[133] It was a soldier's assumption, and a testimony to the pervasiveness of the pictorial weeklies, that civilians at home had accessed images of the war before their mail had arrived. He provided only a brief description of the fort, adding that the widely circulated images were authentic representations. In December, Voris noted that the popularity of the illustrated newspapers had encouraged him to submit sketches with his letters. He sketched for his children and wrote tellingly that, "Illustrated papers are all the rage now. To be up with the times, I thought it best to illuminate my letters… by some first class sketches."[134] The commercial success of illustrated journalism pressured Voris to blend textual and visual accounts in his own correspondence. Pictorial newspapers served several functions. They were tools of justification, a means to share an understanding of the war that could pass between armies and homes, and, like pictorial stationery, an incentive for soldiers to employ their own drawings in their correspondence.

As McPherson notes, soldiers had a mixed relationship with the illustrated papers."[135] Many distrusted and mocked the popular newspapers and criticised their negligence of the difficult circumstances the soldiers endured. J.C. Rutherford, a surgeon in the 10th Vermont Infantry, shied away from contributing to the press as he believed that newspaper correspondents, both professionals and writers from amongst the ranks, were so numerous and

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131 Edward Williams, *Extracts from Letters to A.B.T. from Edward P. Williams During His Service in the Civil War, 1862 – 1864* (New York: n.p. 1903), 28.
132 Leverett Bradley, *Soldier-Boy's Letters*, 49.
133 Alvin Coe Voris to Lydia Voris, September 14, 1863, Alvin Coe Voris Papers, 1863, Mss1V9154a, MCVMHC.
134 Voris to Lydia Voris, December 23, 1863, Voris Papers.
135 McPherson, "'Daily Papers,'" *Mighty Scourge*, 158.

"flat" that he would "dislike to place myself in [that] light."[136] Private Bradford Sparrow of the 4th Vermont Infantry warned those at home of the inaccuracy of newspapers, "I do not wish to discourage you but… News Paper reports are very flattering but they are false."[137] Whilst many soldiers conceded that civilians gained a greater comprehension of war events from newspaper reports, some believed their service lent them superior judgement. Others recognised that the press censored negative aspects from their coverage. Captain Charles Nott of the 5th Iowa Cavalry wrote of an "event which has greatly depressed us" on January 10, 1862. His comrade Frank Gülman had succumbed to pneumonia "alone in the cheerless wards of a public hospital." He lamented, "It is one side of the war picture which does not often find a place in the newspapers."[138] Others bemoaned the information that ran alongside war images. An officer in the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry complained, "What an outrage it is that the newspaper reporters cannot be checked... These papers go South freely… with statements of [our] forces, positions, and movements."[139] Soldiers wondered how they could win the war without precaution in military affairs.

Soldiers who mocked newspaper artists frequently levelled the charge against reporters that they were boosting the reputation of a particular officer or regiment in return for special favours.[140] On one occasion, the newspaper sketch-artist George Alfred Townsend noted that enlisted men met him with derisive cries as they entered battle:

> "Our Special Artist!"
>
> …"Give our Captain a setting up, you Sir!"
>
> …"Puff our Colonel!"

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[136] Joseph Chase Rutherford to Hannah Rutherford, April 10, 1864, Joseph Chase Rutherford Correspondence, SCUoV.
[137] Bradford Sparrow to his parents and brothers, June 5, 1864, Bradford Sparrow Correspondence, SCUoV.
[138] Charles C. Nott, *Sketches of the War: A Series of Letters to the North Moore Street School of New York* (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863), 9-10.
[139] Wilder Dwight, *Life and Letters of Wilder Dwight, Lieut.-Col, Second Mass. Inf. Vols* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 74.
[140] Thompson, *Image of War*, 77.

> …"Give me a good obituary!"
>
> …I shall not forget one fellow, who planted himself in my path (his regiment had halted), and leaning upon his musket looked steadily into my eyes. "Ef I had a warrant for the devil," he said, "I'd arrest that feller."[141]

It was a common accusation. Voris launched into a damning attack of the papers' habit of boosting the reputation of incompetent leaders, "Admirals and Generals have their trumpeters about them who sound their horns to suit the pride and caprice of those to whom they are attached." He continued:

> Admiral A. wishes to win his laurels easily… He knows it is much easier to write than fight his way to glory. He employs an artist and a special correspondent… The pictorials represent him a la Neptune, with fifteen inch guns protruding from his breeches pockets, horse pistols in his boot legs, mortars in his cap, with a cutlass forty feet long in his right hand… Fifty dollars makes "Frank Leslie" believe all this… The point is gained, he is a hero. Immortality stares him in the face… The General employs the same agencies… and he too, goes to glory.[142]

Voris damned officers who purchased fame with money rather than with sacrifice and bravery. But others applauded the papers for praising the right officers. From Tennessee, Edward Williams penned his approval of the newspapers giving the Union leadership "great praise for their fighting" at Chickamauga.[143] Another soldier reminisced after the war, "The War Correspondent is the proper and natural medium between the Army… and the people at home."

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[141] George Alfred Townsend, *Rustics in Rebellion: A Yankee Reporter on the Road to Richmond, 1861 – 1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 219.
[142] Alvin Coe Voris to Lydia Voris, June 10, 1863, Voris Papers, VHSMC.
[143] Williams, *Letters to A.B.T.,* 95.

He believed the correspondent to have as "much place and fitness in the field as the Commander-in-Chief." Yet he conceded, "War Correspondence is a most thankless office… If he dies in service by disease or casualty, it is thought and declared by many that he had no business there."[144] Soldiers' opinions of sketch-artists and the newspapers they worked for varied, but most seemed to agree that even the most skilled correspondents could fail spectacularly in the depiction of battle and war events.

Many soldiers found the depictions of combat "so stylised and sentimentalised that [they] ridiculed them." Alfred Waud would become one of the best frontline artists of the war, but printers remediated his early sketches into engravings that were so ingrained with heroic war conventions that they appeared as fantasy. After sketching a Union charge at the Battle of Fair Oaks in June 1862, the published picture exhibited five hundred men in a perfect formation, with every man running with the same leg forward and every bayonet levelled at the same angle. When the issue reached the Union camps, veterans of the battle burst into laughter.[145] Reverend A.M. Stewart, chaplain of the 102nd Pennsylvania Infantry, noted following the disastrous Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 that "pictures in Frank Leslie, Harper's Weekly, *et id omne genus,* of officers with drawn swords riding *before* their men into battle" led the enlisted men to "shout out with mocking irony; *all played out.*"[146] A soldier in the 132nd Pennsylvania suggested the limitations of popular imagery when he recalled that after the Battle of Antietam, where his regiment assaulted the Sunken Road in the Confederate centre and left the Southern dead in piles three or four deep, that pictures in the illustrated papers only "partially portrayed the horrible scene."[147] An unknown soldier in the 44th Massachusetts went further, producing a series of rudimentary condemnations of the Northern press in his private sketchbook, lambasting it for

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[144] Junius Henri Browne, *Four Years in Secessia: Adventures Within and Beyond the Union Lines* (Hartford: O.D. Case and Company, 1865), 15-16.
[145] McPherson, "'Daily Papers,'" *Mighty Scourge*, 158.
[146] A.M. Stewart, *Camp, March and Battle-Field; or, Three Years and a Half with the Army of the Potomac* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers, Printer, 1865), 280.
[147] Frederick Lyman Hitchcock, *War from the Inside: The Story of the 132nd Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry in the War for the Suppression of the Rebellion, 1862-1863* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1904), 70.

exaggerating news of Union victories. Amongst numerous absurd depictions of soldiers' life that touched upon the totality of service, the soldier included four cartoons that begin with a broadside sounding news of a Union success. In the subsequent panels, the soldier reveals the news as a complete exaggeration of the reality of the event. In one cartoon (Figure 17), a newspaper peddler exclaims:

> Glorious News!!!! Destruction of a very important Bridge in North Carolina!! Communication cut off between Richmond and the Sandwich Islands The REBELS in DESPAIR!!!! Jeff Davis says All is now LOST!!!!!!!!!![148]

In the subsequent drawing, the crucial bridge is in fact a plank of wood connecting two banks of an insignificant creek. Gorge the "Sojer," the comic book's protagonist, destroys it by simply dropping a rock onto it. The cartoonist included another three depictions criticising the newspapers, in which a Southern stronghold is revealed to be an outhouse, livestock are discovered to be lice, and a captured baggage train is exposed to be a couple of wheelbarrows. They are a testament to the contempt in which some Northern soldiers held the Union press.

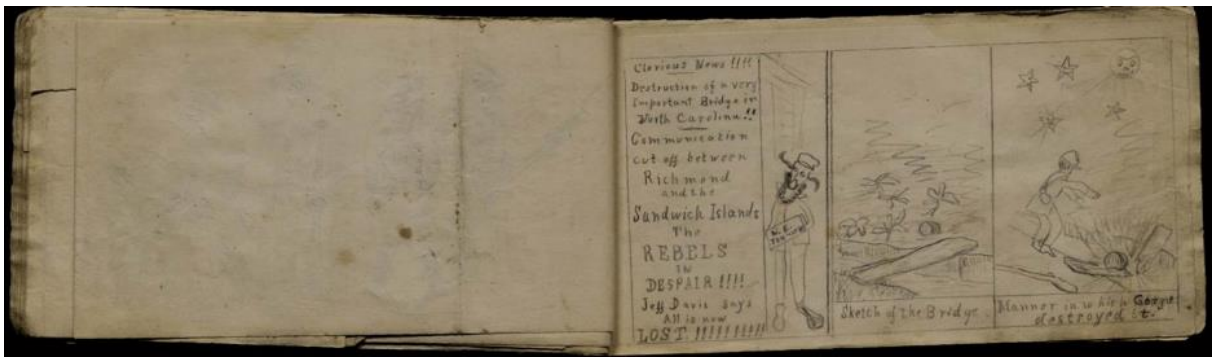


Figure 17, *A Few Scenes in the life of a "SOJER" in the Mass 44th*, diary/pencil sketch, 1863, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLC08200, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc08200 (accessed 15/09/2016).

[148] *A Few Scenes in the life of a "SOJER" in the Mass 44th*, diary/artwork, 1863, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLC08200, GLI.

Others commended sketch-artists to varying degrees for their work. George Oscar French wrote to his friends at home in June 1864:

> I advise you to get Harpers Weekly of the 11th June. All the pictures about the Army of the Potomac are very good – We fought in that terrible "Salient"… Dead men were there who had been there 7 days – Some of our boys thought they were darkies. Near that solitary tree on the right of the picture Lt Glazier lost his arm & Col Warner was wounded Not 20 feet from me.[149]

French noted the accuracy of the *Harper's Weekly* picture and used it as a foundation on which to layer his own experiences of the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House. For home front audiences, the pictures are elevated in their realism. French's kin could chart his experiences onto a picture that otherwise would not bear the same level of personal resonance. He admitted the image's limitations when he described the condition of the dead. The engravers removed the corpses from the newspaper's battle record. In another letter, Thomas Nast's *Compromise with the South* (Figure 18) caused French to muse on the fate of the nation following the war, "I… recommend to your observation, the picture in Harper's Weekly… This picture is perfectly lifelike, and one can study it for ten minutes to good advantages."[150] Nast's picture attacks the defeatism that permeated the North in the summer of 1864, depicting a wounded Union veteran compromising with a Southerner who stands with one foot on a Northern grave. Beneath the veteran, Columbia weeps and a tattered American flag hangs upside down at left. Soldiers were quick to criticise romanticised press pictures, particularly if they depicted battles in which they fought, but they perceived pictures on the broader war effort differently. Nast's picture supported Lincoln's

[149] George Oscar French to friends, June 10, 1864, French Letters.
[150] French to his father, August 28, 1864, French Letters.

bid for re-election and a reinvigoration of the war effort. Many Americans considered the election a referendum on the war. If Lincoln won, the North would fight until it had won unconditional victory. If his opponent McClellan did, then most expected a peace treaty. Soldiers voted overwhelmingly for Lincoln.[151] Nast's cartoon forced audiences to weigh the costs and gains of the war, asking whether Union soldiers had died in vain. For veteran volunteers like French (who had enlisted in 1862), compromise with the South was an alarming prospect, and one that made him reflect on the sacrifices he and his comrades had borne. French's interaction with the picture demonstrates that whilst many soldiers might come to reject patriotic images of idealised battle scenes, they nevertheless remained patriotic fighters who would see the war to a close, no matter the cost.

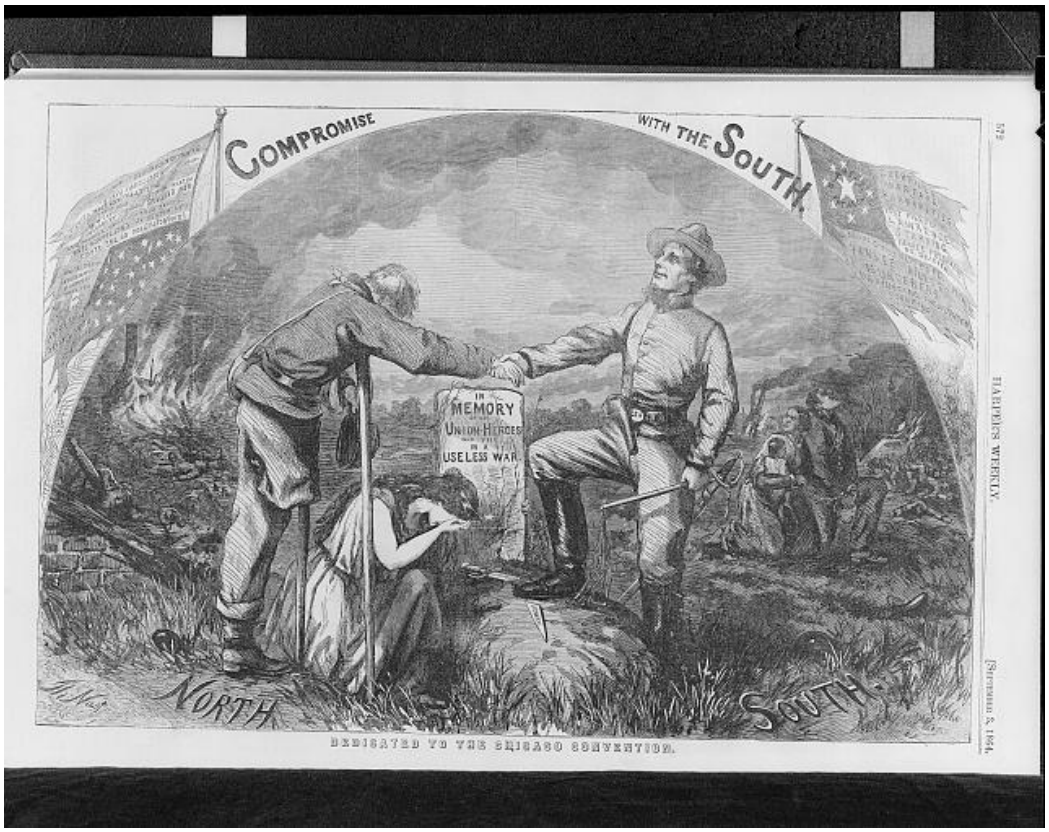


Figure 18, Thomas Nast, *Compromise with the South – Dedicated to the Chicago Convention,* wood engraving, 1864, in *Harper's Weekly*, September 3, 1864, Illus. in AP2.H32 1864 (Case Y), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[151] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 176.

Soldiers not only bought and read pictorial newspapers. They featured in them and produced them themselves within their companies and regiments. In exceptional cases, a regiment might find itself the subject of picture in a national newspaper. Alexander Downing of the 11th Iowa Infantry proudly penned in his diary in April 1865 that, "Our camp looked so fine that the staff artist of Harper's Weekly took a picture of it for the paper."[152] However, these instances were rare. Distrust of the wartime press urged others to create their own records. Tillotson wrote, "You cant tell much about the true sentiments of our soldiers by the army newspaper corrispondents but then they have to misrepresent us in order to have their corrispondence published… we shall have to write it ourselves."[153] Soldiers did not just write their own newspaper records of the war, they drew them as well. By doing so, combatants were able to exert agency over the production of the war narrative and place their experiences at the centre of it.

Many soldiers brought their peacetime occupational skills to the army. In January 1864, Albert Marshall found in Indianola, Mississippi, "in an abandoned condition… a printing office." The soldiers, some of whom "understood the printing business," took possession of the components and "printed a little army paper" on paper procured from the regimental sutler of the 33rd Illinois.[154] Even without access to a printing press, soldiers produced their own pictorial newspapers with pens and pencils. Pliny Jewett of the 1st Connecticut Cavalry took on the role of editor for his regimental newspaper, *The Blower*, during the war. Though crudely produced, his papers were alike mainstream pictorials. *The Blower's* masthead is an illustration of a large crossed-eyed moon-like face with a pipe clenched between its teeth, propped up by two well-dressed figures. The paper also refers to "Our artist and correspondent." A comic page is included, with

[152] Downing, *Downing's Civil War Diary*, 269.
[153] George Tillotson to Anne Tillotson, January 1, 1863, Collection of George Tillotson, GLI.
[154] Marshall, *Army Life*, 349-51. Sutlers were civilian merchants who sold provisions to soldiers in military camps or prisons.

caricatured figures and cartoons addressing a variety of war themes, including gambling cheats within the regiment, equipment-laden new recruits, freedom-seeking African Americans in the South, and the decline in value of Confederate currency.[155]

Two of Jewett's cartoons deserve further consideration (Figure 19). They appear together on the reverse of one of his surviving newspapers. The first takes up the top-half of the sheet. It depicts an enslaved woman conversing with a white Southern man, who is most likely the former's master. The woman holds out a clean shirt. He asks, "Is my washing ready Topsy?" She replies, "Yes, here am your shirt, Massa, but you see I doesn't take Confed'ate money any more. You see de Union sojers hab brought down de good ole stuff with dem, real gold, + I rader guess your shinplaster are about played out."[156] It is a complicated picture that, despite its blatantly racist framing, shows enslaved African Americans in the wartime South with a newfound agency. The woman's advantageous position is entirely dependent on the presence of Union soldiers. They have not only brought with them gold-backed currency, but their occupation of Southern territory emboldens the woman and permits her to reject racial and social protocol in her interactions. Though images of emancipation and new African American agency abounded in Northern popular culture during the Civil War, Jewett's cartoon assumes the contributions of Union soldiers' in elevating the status of formerly enslaved and enslaved individuals. Although undeniably racist in its representation, particularly with Jewett's employment of a plantation dialect, the image offers a soldier-centric view of the transformative societal shifts that occurred during the war.

Jewett's second picture, at bottom-right, is titled *A Raw Recruit* (Figure 20). A soldier appears in a prim uniform, with a full knapsack topped with blankets and adorned with camp equipment. His tall, stiff collar calls to mind the insult "paper-collar soldier," a derisive term used by soldiers against those who they believed to be untested and unable to endure the rigours of

[155] Pliny A. Jewett, *The Blower,* handwritten regimental newspaper, ca. 1863, Jewett Family Papers, section 2, Mss2J5565b, MCVMHC.
[156] Ibid.

army life.[157] The subject's exaggerated features are reminiscent of the stylistic devices employed by artists producing comic valentines, which were a popular art form during the war.[158] One popular valentine, *A Fancy Soldier*, mocked men on the home front who paraded in uniforms without enlisting in the army. An accompanying poem read, "Your swashing gate and vacant stare, Pleased fools in times of peace; But since afraid to go to war, Put off the duds and cease."[159] Men who played soldier in times of war were not worthy of sharing the celebrated figure of the citizen-soldier. Jewett's raw recruit must have had a little more respect in the eyes of his comrades, for he had at least taken the plunge and enlisted. He may have at least been a reluctant volunteer. Jewett's second cartoon is another soldier-centric newspaper illustration, and one that distinguishes between the different types of soldiers in the army. The raw recruit was perhaps not as disagreeable as the fancy soldier on the home front, or the more infamous bounty-jumpers and substitutes, but he still had not earned entry into the circle of veteran citizen-soldiers. The idealised citizen-soldier was the American warrior perfected, even if hard service meant that they eventually resembled the worn-down soldiers depicted in Reed's pictorial correspondence. In contrast, critical pictures of draft-dodgers and stay-at-home soldiers gave men a visual template with which to categorise those that they excluded from their circle. Jewett's rudimentary emulation of the Northern pictorial press offers a glimpse into how soldiers countered and supplemented mainstream media. These pictures demonstrate that soldiers craved a responsive record of the conflict that put their own experiences, perceptions, and attitudes at the forefront.

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[157] In his postwar memoir, Billings wrote of the "paper-collar young man." He noted that he was "not a shirk or a beat… [but] just from the recruiting station, with enameled long-legged boots and custom-made clothes." Such a soldier, despite his inexperience, wanted to be a "veteran amongst veterans." For soldiers who hailed from the Midwest, the paper-collar soldier was a term for volunteers from the Northeast whom they regarded as effete pasty-faced clerks and mechanics. Billings, *Hard Tack and Coffee*, 105.
[158] Gallman, *Defining Duty,* 81.
[159] *A Fancy Soldier*, Library Company of Philadelphia, in ibid.

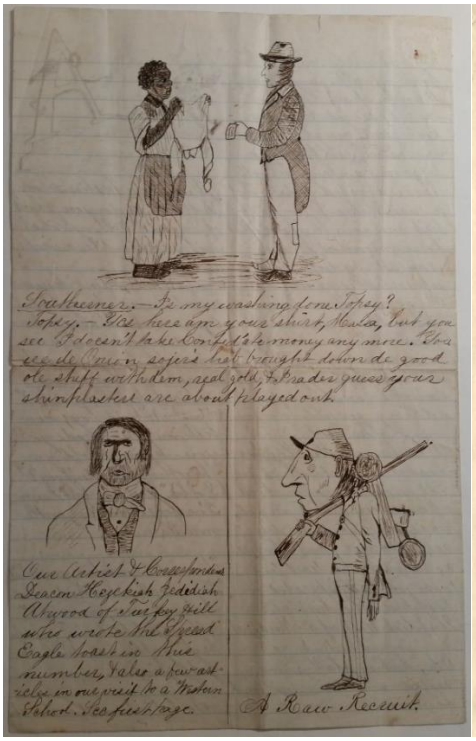




Figure 19 (left), Pliny A. Jewett, *The Blower*, handwritten regimental newspaper/pen sketch, ca. 1863, Jewett Family Papers, Mss2J5565b, section 2, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia; Figure 20 (right), *A Fancy Soldier*, Library Company of Philadelphia, in J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 81.

Conclusion: Relics of War

Union soldiers had a mixed relationship with print imagery during the Civil War. Army life regimented much of soldiers' lives, but they held agency when it came their private epistolary practices and countless numbers made conscious consumer decisions to purchase and employ patriotic imagery in their correspondence. Soldiers and civilians rarely commented upon the symbolic imagery that adorned their envelopes, but this was because their meaning was already so apparent to their audiences. They allowed soldiers to relay declarations of their loyalty even if they did not have time to muse on loftier ideals in their writing. However, this chapter has offered instances when soldiers laid claim to the ideals and figures featured on stationery, as well offering unique instances in which they produced their own representations. None of the

examples considered entirely rejected the spirit of patriotism so visible in the early-war period, but they did reformulate it. Idealised bandbox soldiers gave way to battered ranks carrying tattered flags, and when Union martial superiority was nowhere to be seen, soldiers instead recalled peacetime advances in science, commerce, and agriculture.

Patriotic icons littered soldiers' correspondence in the war's early years, but by 1863 it had become a rarity. Soldiers did not lose their sense of devotion to the Union. Instead, as the Northern war effort called for even greater exertion on the part of combatants, they were just less likely to express it through the gaudy symbols of the early-war period. Similarly, soldiers never stopped purchasing illustrated newspapers, even if they could not hold back their laughter when they saw the pictures inside. Northern troops saw through the idealised newspaper representations, but they invested themselves in keeping up to date with the war news and in producing their own bulletins. In the realm of print imagery, soldiers found themselves bound by the public functions of this pictorial culture, and few found soldier-made renderings influenced by wartime print imagery a suitable place to protest the mainstream representation of war. Yet, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, private pictorial creations offered a more suitable medium with which to engage with wartime taboos.

Union soldiers' archival records still teem with printed imagery that cast the war in a positive light. Printed pictures of the war were not just mere souvenirs, but relics of the war. As Peter Carmichael observes, soldiers understood that the materials they retained would help shape "historical memories and influence public meanings for years to come." As the war neared its close, and for years afterwards, their craving for the "things of war" became an obsession as they transitioned towards, and attempted to grapple with, a life without war.[160] Patriotic print pictures were not just tributes to wartime ideologies. They possessed incredible emotional power because they assigned meaning to one's life experiences.[161] Soldiers came to reject overtly patriotic icons

[160] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 267.
[161] Ibid., 281.

during the war, but their loyalty to the nation and their belief that war was the right course for the Union held strong. Thus, war-positive representations remained as potent triggers of emotion that helped veterans in the postbellum period recall the significance of their service. Though civilians celebrated veterans at social functions, particularly at veterans' reunions, romanticised pictures of able-bodied soldiers, embodying masculine virtues like honour, loyalty, and capacity for violence, were nostalgic reminders of their romanticised wartime representation. As veterans suffered from physical and mental ailments and wounds received in the army, positive representations of soldierly identities embodied the ideologies and virtues that had carried them to and through the war.

Chapter Two

"Reflections from their Faces:"

Photographic Portraiture, Identity, and Coping

"I wouldn't take the best farm in our county for that picture," a young sergeant exclaimed to his officer as his regiment withdrew from its defensive line at Chancellorsville in May 1863. He clutched an encased photograph of his mother with a bullet embedded in its centre. The sergeant had "carried it in the breast-pocket of his blouse, where lying over his heart it had undoubtedly saved the wearer's life." With a face blackened by powder, the "boyish-looking sergeant" threw open his shirt and revealed the imprint of the embossed case on his chest, "Mother always said she would pray for me, and this is an answer to her prayers. God bless her!"[1] The soldier interpreted the event as divine intervention, mediated by his mother through her picture.

Soldiers employed portraits to better manage the geographical separation and the heightened hazard of death during the Civil War. Soldiers also employed it as a self-representational medium with which to produce visual affirmations of their martial identities. In doing so, soldiers as a social group established the photographic portrait as a site of contestation over national identity in the Civil War. Their self-representational strategies revealed the tensions inherent in a popular and idealised imagining of the American citizen-soldier. Before the war, photographic portraits were already potent talismans that permitted citizens to "transmit their own distinct and recognisable images."[2] Through the democratisation of daguerreotypes and the advent of ambrotypes, tintypes, and *cartes-de-visite* in the 1850s, innovators made portraiture

[1] George Forrester Williams, *Bullet and Shell: War as the Soldier Saw It; Camp, March, and Picket; Battlefield and Bivouac; Prison and Hospital* (New York: Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, 1888), 162.
[2] David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 57-60.

accessible to the American populace. In a society marked by migration and transience, it was integral in affirming identity and in managing distance and death.[3]

Soldiers responded to the war's magnitude by imbuing photographic portraits with greater importance than they had before it. Writing in 1863, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. noted that "card-portraits" had become "the social currency, the sentimental 'green-backs' of civilisation, within a very recent period."[4] As Roland Barthes remarks, the photograph's "sovereign Contingency," its unique position in broader visual culture, centres on reference. It is never "distinguished from its referent (from what it represents)," at least not immediately, as is the case for every other form of image.[5] As documentary photographers recorded the war as a momentous national event by picturing statesmen, generals, and battlefield aftermaths, as well as masses of soldiers and civilians, they often rendered individual identities marginal and anonymous. Soldiers countered this representational relegation by using portrait photographs in three ways. They rushed to portrait studios to assert their newfound martial agency. They employed portraits as vessels of domesticity with which to remain connected to their home-circles.[6] Furthermore, they instituted new uses for portrait photographs as the war's violence revealed the fragility of life.

This chapter is divided into seven sections, which analyse these three uses. The first two explore self-representational strategies, whilst the third considers this theme but is inherently linked to the mediation of distance considered in the fourth and fifth. The remaining two sections examine the management of disability and death. There is overlap, for the common inquiry into portraiture's use to better cope with the unfamiliar circumstances of war ties all these concerns together. In examining these three uses, this chapter addresses two historiographic issues: first, that photography has not been incorporated into historical scholarship on the

[3] Ibid.
[4] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., "Doings of the Sunbeam," in *The Atlantic Monthly* 12, no. 69, July 1863, 8.
[5] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Flamingo, 1984), 4-5.
[6] This chapter will primarily analyse the uses of photographic portraiture by soldiers. It will also consider portraiture's employment in the domestic sphere by civilians, as exchange was a fundamental feature in their use.

common Civil War soldiers' experience, and second, that photographic scholarship seldom considers soldiers as subjects for examination.[7]

Union volunteers used portraits as exclamations of their new martial identities, and by doing so, affirmed their contribution to the war effort. Some went further, revealing the motivations that urged them to enlist through the exhibition of symbols and the adoption of varying pictorial strategies. The collective record is as divergent and idiosyncratic as its contributors are. Study of this neglected archive betters our comprehension of how volunteers perceived soldiering and national identity in the Civil War. To evidence this, I analyse case studies alongside a survey that I have conducted on 300 photographs from the Library of Congress's Liljenquist Family Collection of Civil War Photographs. My survey assesses the use of backdrops, props, and frames, amongst other devices, as well as the motifs discernible in the portraits. Photographic historian Geoffrey Batchen notes that photographs were nationalistic statements in the mid-nineteenth century but overlooks citizen-soldiers in that most nationalistic of episodes.[8] James McPherson demonstrates the importance of textual records in tracing soldiers' motivations but neglects the ways in which they exhibited these incentives through photographic performances. This chapter demonstrates that the photographic record contains nationalistic statements that aligned with popular conceptions of soldierly service, but also

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[7] Most scholarship devoted to photography renders the rank-and-file's experience with the medium peripheral. Notable photographers such as Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, and George Barnard continue to arrest the focus of historians, though some lesser knowns have caught their attention. Inherent in this focus on prominent photographers is a continued examination of their iconic subjects: portraits of celebrated figures, landscape views, and battlefield photojournalism. See, for example, William A. Frassanito, *Antietam: The Photographic Legacy of America's Bloodiest Day* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1996); J. Matthew Gallman and Gary W. Gallager, eds., *Lens of War: Exploring Iconic Photographs of the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), D. Mark Katz, *Witness to an Era: The Life and Photographs of Alexander Gardner* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1999); Anthony W. Lee and Elizabeth Young, *On Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2008); Roy Meredith, *Mr. Lincoln's Cameraman: Mathew B. Brady* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History – Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 1990); Bob Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2005). Lesser-known photographers who have received scholarly attention include George Houghton. See Donald H. Wickman, *A Very Fine Appearance: The Vermont Civil War Photographs of George Houghton* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2011).

[8] Geoffrey Batchen, "The Art of Business," Steven Kasher, ed., *America and the* Tintype (Göttingen: Stiedl, 2008), 19. Janice G. Schimmelman identifies the tintype as the soldiers' preferred choice of photograph, owing to its durability and affordability. But her consideration of the Civil War focuses on the form's commercial aspects and its use in circulating images of celebrity generals and statesmen. Janice G. Schimmelman, *The Tintype in America, 1856-1880* (American Philosophical Society, 2007).

subversive ones that destabilised the homogenous soldier figure. Here the cultural contest over the war's depiction emerges. Picture-makers circulated idealised depictions of soldiers through newspapers, pictorial stationery, and on recruitment posters.[9] Photography facilitated the widespread dissemination of images of prominent martial figures, whether they be generals or celebrity soldiers.[10] On the grassroots level, soldiers' portraits exhibited both an emulation and rejection of the martial virtues displayed in mainstream imagery. Despite wariness towards professional soldiers, volunteers had held a celebrated place in American society. White soldiers reimagined the homogenous vision of the citizen-soldier by producing a new figure that juxtaposed martial and domestic identities. Americans had always imagined the figure as a fusion of soldierly and civic virtues, but soldiers' portraiture shows that this union was not as seamless as mainstream images suggested. Whilst the native-born volunteers' emphasis on domesticity challenged the conventional qualities associated with soldiering, African Americans revealed the monolithic, white citizen-soldier figure as a fiction. The result was a national image, produced by an "unrehearsed and unscripted act of collective memory-making," that was fraught with pressure points resulting from the extensive mobilisation of American soldiers.[11]

Secondly, soldiers managed detachment from their home-circles by exchanging photographs between the martial and domestic spheres. Though Americans transported all pictorial forms during the Civil War, the significance of exchange was heightened with personal portraits. Americans traded pictures to better visualise the conflict, whilst the transfer of ideological symbols was inherent in the use of pictorial stationery. But the relationship between photographs and their subjects imbued portraits with a familial potency which made them talismanic compared to other visual media. The Civil War was the first time in American military

[9] William F. Thompson, *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1959), 35.
[10] Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth is one such example. A southern sympathiser killed Ellsworth on May 24, 1861, making him the first Union officer killed in the Civil War. He became a martyr for the Union cause and his image circulated frequently in 1861. Mazie M. Harris, *Paper Promises: Early American Photography* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), 217.
[11] Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 1.

history that a mass exchange of representations of kin was possible. Pictures of family figured prominently within soldiers' belongings, whilst their likenesses stood vigil in homes and postmasters reported the unceasing presence of photographs in the correspondence that flowed between armies and urban centres. Soldiers transformed the conventional correspondence that historians recognise as crucial to army morale by supplementing it with a new visual dynamic. Soldiers used portraits to battle against homesickness whilst civilians retained these tokens of affection as proxies for the soldier's presence in the home. Meanwhile, domestic symbols were a core feature of both soldier and civilian portraits. Though commercial picture-makers produced propagandistic imagery throughout the war, individual citizen-soldiers found a more effective means of enduring service with personal portraiture.

Finally, wartime portraits were *memento mori,* brimming with anxieties regarding death and injury. Soldiers responded to the war's violence by using the photographs they carried as proxies for absent kin and by creating their own portraits to immortalise their physical selves. A soldier could capture their full form in miniature, regardless of whatever fate befell them during the war. Historians note that the threat of injury and death drew "thousands of men and their families to portrait studios," but disregard soldiers' personal testimonies in which they evidence photography's uses in managing physical vulnerability.[12] Ron Field's *Silent Witness* (2017) echoes the point that pictures were a "source of comfort in the face of danger and possible death" but finds little confirmation of "individuals carrying family photographs into battle," something I rectify with adequate evidence.[13] Drew Faust remarks that many soldiers spent their last moments "communicating with… representations of absent loved ones."[14] I will exhibit the multitude of ways in which soldiers accomplished this. The use of photographic images to confront death and injury is itself closely related to the exchange of images between martial and

[12] Rosenheim, *Photography,* 46.
[13] Ron Field, *Silent Witness: The Civil War Through Photography and its Photographs* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2017), 131.
[14] Drew G. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 11.

domestic spheres; but is also distinct, and worthy of sustained consideration. As potential memorials, soldiers' portraits contributed to Walter Benjamin's "cult of remembrance." Soldiers exerted agency over the photographic process and focused it on the human countenance.[15] Furthermore, the alteration of portraits, particularly through painting, stemmed the decline of artistic aura that Benjamin recognised in photography.[16] It was a means for soldiers to confront their own mortality. If injured, the photograph endured as an icon of the antebellum self. If killed, the photograph remained as a visual memorial. Moreover, ordinary soldiers might expect burial in camps, hospitals, or on distant battlefields. Armament developments posed risks that meant casualties could be buried without identification or lost entirely. The home-circle employed photographs to retain bodies that they might never have returned to them. These images, alongside letters and other war souvenirs, acted as fragments of otherwise irretrievable lives. Ultimately, as a representational tool and as a means to better manage distance and mortality, the photograph's exceptional relationship to its referent prioritised it above all other forms.

"Here I Am, Ready for Duty:" Portrait Photographs as Exclamations of Martial Identity

Jack Sanderson could hardly believe his eyes when he caught sight of his own reflection. He had just collected his brand-new cavalry uniform. It had "brass buttons by the dozen glittering down the front" and was trimmed with yellow braid, though ill-fitting enough to be seemingly intended for some other soldier. Sanderson felt "stiff and awkward" in the uniform, and yet a "sense of pride and elation" washed over him. As he left the hotel he was confident that all who saw him

[15] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, reprint edition (New York: Shocken Books, 2013), 30, 32.
[16] Soldiers had their photographs painted to accentuate features such as their eye colour and cheeks, as well as the gilt of their buttons and buckles. Joseph Boggs Beale recorded the days on which he painted soldiers' photographs. Joseph Boggs Beale, October 19, 1861, diary, in Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Education of an Artist: The Diary of Joseph Boggs Beale, 1856-1862," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97, no. 4 (October 1973): 485-510, 503.

would be in admiration of his new garb.[17] He immediately made his way over to a photographic studio (Figure 1, the pictorial supplement to the account, offers a visual recognition of the significance of portraiture to soldiers).[18] His reflection urged him to seek out that which Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. termed the "mirror with a memory."[19] Gazing at the likeness before mailing it off to family in Pennsylvania, Sanderson recognised an "expression about the entire picture," that seemed to say:

> The country has been waiting for me, and here I am, ready for duty, accoutred for action, prepared to crush the rebellion at short notice, and thus save the land and the flag. The great object of my appearance on the scene is to quell the disturbance and summarily put an end to the hostilities of the war. This revolt will not last long after I commence active operations against the enemy. All I ask is a fair chance to get at him.[20]

These were brave words for a recruit who, as a child, had fled from the "horrible sound of a big black gun" fired off one Fourth of July. Sanderson was the pseudonym used by Jesse Bowman Young, a veteran of the 4th Illinois Cavalry, in recounting his war experiences. This vignette provides an exemplary introduction for an examination of the portrait as a self-representational tool for the volunteer soldier.[21]

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[17] Jesse Bowman Young, *What a Boy Saw in the Army: A Story of Sight-Seeing and Adventure in the War for the Union* (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1894), 29-30.
[18] Artist Frank Beard illustrated *What a Boy Saw in the Army*, contributing over 100 pictures for Young's memoir. Young's use of an alter ego negated the need for the use of his own portrait as he intended his story to be reflective of the universal experiences of Civil War soldiers. Peculiarly, Young titles Beard a soldier, when he was in fact a *Harper's Weekly* sketch-artist during the war. In fortifying the authenticity of Beard's pictures, Young notes that many of Beard's pictures were derived from "sketches of men and things as he saw them then." Young, *What a Boy Saw,* 4.
[19] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Soundings from the Atlantic* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864), 129.
[20] Young, *What a Boy Saw*, 30.
[21] Young noted, "[Jack] was a real boy, and not merely a character in a story manufactured out of somebody's head." Ibid., 13, 9.

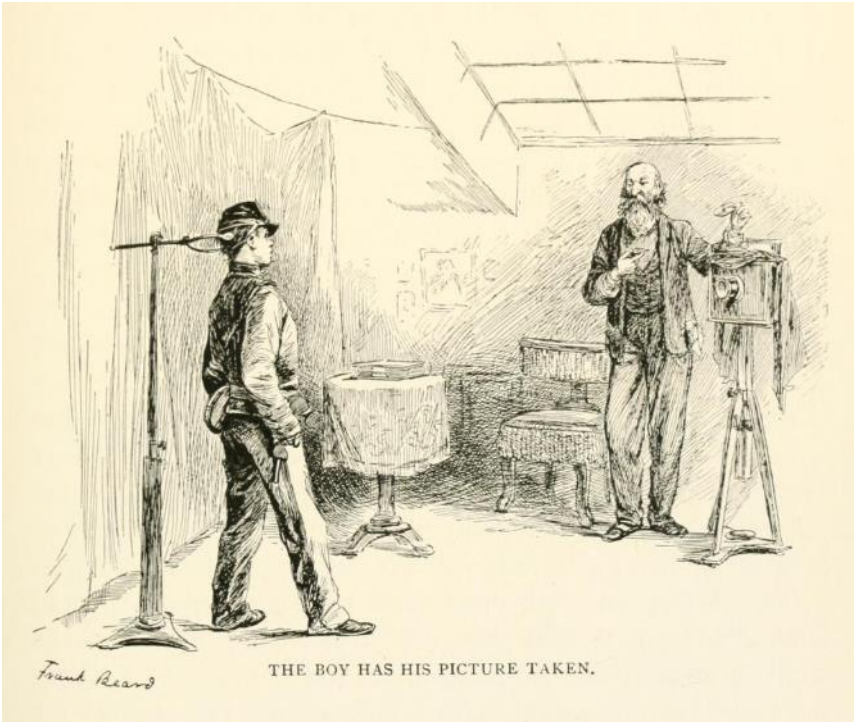


Figure 1, Frank Beard, *The Boy Has His Picture Taken*, in Jesse Bowman Young, *What a Boy Saw in the Army: A Story of Sight-Seeing and Adventure in the War for the Union* (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1894), 29.

Having a picture taken was a ritual for recruits. The taking of a photograph, whether described in correspondence during the war or reminisced about in a memoir, was a defining moment of the civilian's entry into the army. Sanderson's comments resonate with the sentiments of many volunteers both North and South at the start of the Civil War. *Rage militaire* swept through the towns and cities following the bombardment of Fort Sumter, causing them to "erupt into volcanoes of oratory and recruiting rallies."[22] The sense of self-agency amongst volunteers was heightened and many believed themselves capable of great feats on the battlefield. In these early stages of service, battle "seemed remote, and [a] lack of martial experience made its horrors incomprehensible."[23] Moreover, Sanderson's remarks that the portrait presents him as a defender of the Union and the flag, and as a destroyer of the Confederate revolt, equates with McPherson's recognition of the symbols and concepts that

[22] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 16.
[23] Franc B. Wilkie, *Pen and Powder* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1888), 15.

figured prominently into soldiers' explanations for enlisting.[24] Sanderson's anxiety that he might not fight was common, with one recruit acknowledging a "general fear that it will all be over before we have a chance to do anything."[25] That the portrait marks "his appearance on the scene," with the objective of ending the war, identifies him as an influential actor in the unfolding drama. Sanderson uses the photograph to affirm his new martial identity and to secure a place in the war's history.

We should take the theatrical metaphor further, for many considered the photographic studio "a natural extension of the stage."[26] Sanderson lays claim to a soldierly identity by donning a "costume" regardless of his inexperience. He speculates that it will present him as "a curious mixture of valorous discomfort, military ambition, uneasy vanity, and conscious awkwardness in his novel costume."[27] The statement affirms Roland Barthes' commentary on the portrait as an intersection of photographic repertoires, as Sanderson wonders how he will appear to those who view the picture. The photograph is at once "the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am," and "the one the photographer thinks I am."[28] That Sanderson experiences these thoughts in the studio suggests his uneasiness under the camera's gaze. This results from the subject suffering from a "sensation of inauthenticity, sometimes of imposture."[29] Essentially, Sanderson performs on the photographer's stage. Photographers often directed subjects, but the latter participated in the choreography. Furthermore, like the painted portraits from which photography's aesthetic cues derived, artists endeavoured to achieve idealised likenesses of their subjects. Careful posing, management of countenance, and the employment of props and backdrops were essential. By creating a new identity with a photograph, one could become that identity, to some extent. The subject remakes his self through a visual product with the intention

[24] Ibid., 21.
[25] Charles B. Haydon, July 12, 1861, diary, in *For Country, Cause and Leader: The Civil War Journal of Charles B. Haydon,* ed. Stephen W. Sears (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), 45.
[26] Peter Hamilton and Robert Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001), 46.
[27] Young, *What a Boy Saw,* 30.
[28] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 13.
[29] Ibid.

of that representation coming to define the subject.[30] The portrait produces an idealised representation of one's self, whilst belying other selves.

But portraiture offered more agency to the subject than one might first expect. [31] There was no instant snapshot in the 1860s. The photographer's skill largely dictated the creative potential of a studio (one historian described a professional studio as "a never-never world of make-believe with painted backdrops and fake accessories"), but even the most itinerant amateurs could offer rudimentary backgrounds and props. Most operators used plain backdrops that specialists derided for making their subjects appear "inlaid [and] cut hard against the ground."[32] Of the Liljenquist sample, 278 employ backdrops (ninety-three percent), of which 233 (eighty-four percent) are plain. These backgrounds offered a liminal space for the soldier to occupy. Soldiers could also bring personal effects to feature as props, such as pipes, instruments, mess equipment, and even other photographs. Though a soldier was the photographer's subject, they were able to influence the picture's content.

Though photographic portraiture emulated the traditions of both its painted counterpart and theatre, the visual transcription inherent in photography constrained its ability to misrepresent. The photograph as a transcript of reality is rooted in the camera's earliest function as a tool of recording. The subject stands in a necessary relationship with the resulting image. It is a "literal cross-writing."[33] As Sontag notes, one may conceive photographs not as "statements

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[30] Alfred I. Tauber, *Henry David Thoreau and the Moral Agency of Knowing* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001), 217.

[31] The subject's agency would range circumstantially. In the Washington camps, itinerant photographers operating in busy studio tents would likely urge their subjects to assume a common pose with little time for choosing props and backdrops. In one portrait, an African American soldier is notable waiting in line at the edge of another's picture. *Unidentified African American soldier in union uniform and gloves with musket; another soldier waits at the side,* 1863-1865, hand-coloured sixth-plate tintype, Liljenquist Family Collection of Civil War Photographs, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (hereafter PPLoC).

[32] Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits* (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993), 43.

[33] Mary Price, ed., "Introduction," *The Photograph: A Strange, Confined Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 4, 7-8. According to theorist Victor Burgin, the notion that the photograph is a flat, visual form is fiction. He asserts that the photograph is a text inscribed with a multifaceted discourse. The photograph is a site of complex intertextuality in which a series of previous texts merge at a cultural and historical juncture. They are object-texts. Victor Burgin, "Looking at Photographs," in Manuel Alvarado, Edward Buscombe, and Richard Collins, eds., *Representation and Photography: A Screen Education Reader* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 67.

about the world so much as pieces of it." They are "miniatures of reality."[34] The camera therefore captures fallibilities. Sanderson concedes the failures in his attempt to cement an idealised martial appearance, "sleeves two inches below wrist, coat collar pressing rigidly up against the chin," and trousers that appeared suitable for "some ungainly, bow-legged biped from another planet." But the picture still seemed to say, "I have any amount of latent courage, loyalty, strategic ability, and general military capacity hidden away under this new uniform."[35] Sanderson, like many recruits, claimed to be the embodiment of the values necessary to soldiering, despite having no military experience.[36] The picture illustrated his martial preparedness and his eagerness for combat. An Illinoisan explained that recruits were anxious "to be tried to see what they are made of."[37] The battlefield was a testing ground for manly virtue. If volunteers passed the test, then they lived up to the romanticised representations they disseminated through portraiture.

Young, the lived experience behind the alter ego Sanderson, devised an obvious inconsistency in the scene. The portrait exhibits a façade of martial capability despite its intended function as an exclamation of a soldierly status. Writing thirty-three years after his own enlistment, he recognises the absurdity of his boyish, misdirected confidence. The soldier might exhibit his preparedness to his loved ones, but it is also an attempt to ease his own anxieties towards the war. Despite Sanderson's assured declaration, his concern over his home-circle's sentiments towards the photograph and the sense of imposture he experiences bely his apparent confidence. Other recognised the inconsistency. Isaac Gause of the 2nd Ohio Volunteer Cavalry was more direct:

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[34] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Penguin, 1979), 4.
[35] Young, *What a Boy Saw*, 30. It is a nod to Sontag's recognition of the "ultimate wisdom of the photograph:" the ability to say, "There is the surface… feel, intuit – what is beyond it." Sontag, *On Photography*, 23.
[36] The constellation of values held courage at its centre. Manliness, piety, a sense of duty, honour, were amongst those other traits associated with the idealised citizen-soldier. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 8-13.
[37] McPherson*, Cause and Comrades*, 31; Joseph Stockton, November 10, 1862, *War Diary (1862-5) of Brevet Brigadier General Joseph Stockton* (n.p., 1910), 10, in ibid, 31.

> I was so proud of my saber that I borrowed a long knife, strung it on my belt also, stalked over to the picture gallery, and had my picture taken… The picture is in existence yet, but to an experienced eye it looks like anything but a soldier.[38]

With hindsight, Gause ridicules his former self for his conceited attitude. The issuing of sabres and revolvers ignited his pride in his supposed capabilities, though he conceded that these were "the most harmless instrument[s] in modern warfare."[39] Like Sanderson, Gause reached a new and visible stage in his service, and he had a portrait made to mark the occasion. It is notable that he also chose to attach a knife to his belt. This was a common symbolic strategy in the portrait studio, reinforcing its theatrical nature. Photographers carried props, often weaponry, to permit soldiers a more martial and masculine appearance.[40] Surveying the Liljenquist photographs of Union volunteers, it is notable that 237 (seventy-nine percent) exhibit props. 154 (sixty-five percent) of these carry weapons, tools, or instruments relating to their martial positions. Figure 2 illustrates a young cavalryman bedecked with weaponry, at least one of which likely belonged to the photographer. Gause's boastfulness is apparent, but this pride highlighted the naivety he recognised as a veteran.

[38] Isaac Gause, *Four Years with Five Armies: Army of the Frontier, Army of the Potomac, Army of the Missouri, Army of the Ohio, Army of the Shenandoah* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1908), 35.
[39] Ibid., 34-5.
[40] Rosenheim, *Photography*, 128.



Figure 2, *Unidentified soldier in Union uniform with gauntlets, shoulder scales, and cavalry Company K Hardee hat holding dual Colt Model 1855 Root sidehammer pistols and cavalry saber,* 1861-65, hand-coloured sixth-plate ambrotype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2220, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter PPLoC), http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2010648378/ (accessed 02/03/2018).

A Massachusetts soldier made a similar commentary. After a march in the "full garb of a warrior," John G.B. Adams had his picture taken for his sweetheart, "I arrayed myself in heavy marching order and went to an ambrotype saloon."[41] His image was likely reminiscent of Figure 3, depicting a soldier carrying a full knapsack laden in addition to his other equipment. The issuing of a uniform and equipment is again the inducement for a likeness: it is a means to lay claim to traits conventionally associated with the soldierly role. As photographic historian Michael Carlebach notes, regardless of a volunteer's previous occupation, "they each sought an image that conveyed their present military vocation."[42] As a veteran, Adams admitted the

[41] John G.B. Adams, *Reminiscences of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1899), 6.

[42] Michael L. Carlebach, *Working Stiffs: Occupational Portraits in the Age of Tintypes* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 33. Historian Earl Hess notes that soldiers often likened their martial service to their pre-war occupations. Perceiving one's duty as an accustomed job permitted a level of familiarisation with the unfamiliar routines and behaviours of the military. It bolstered the occupational framing of service by soldiers. Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 133.

portrait's failures in conveying his new role. Of the lateral reversal typical of photographs borne from the wet-collodion process, he wrote, "In an ambrotype everything is reversed, so my musket is at my left shoulder, haversack and canteen on the wrong side," before finally conceding, "I was wrong to in every respect."[43] In Figure 3, the subject has anticipated the reversal and has accoutred himself in such a way to counter it, but there are still indications (note the soldier's belt). The camera not only captured his novice state but also, through the technicalities of lateral reversal, emphasised it.



Figure 3, *Unidentified soldier in Union uniform with bayoneted musket, revolver, and knapsack*, 1861-65, hand-coloured quarter-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2896, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012646980/ (accessed 02/03/2018).

Each reminiscence is punctuated by a photographic encounter. The accounts emphasise the naivety of the wartime recruit as recognised by the postbellum veteran self. Recruits wanted

[43] Adams, *Reminiscences*, 5.

to appear confident in their pictures, but this outward appearance often belied anxieties about their lack of ability. Portraits were used to establish connections between the individual and the military tradition. Soldiers featured themselves dressed in martial regalia and assuming warlike poses, with some pictures being housed in thermoplastic union cases adorned with military symbolism that further emphasised the "splendour of army tradition."[44] It was a flawed theatrical performance that attempted to convey legitimacy, competence, readiness, and manliness. The portraits were an effort by inexperienced recruits to lay claim to the idealised social figure of the citizen-soldier.

"Our Braves:" The Conflicted Identity of the Citizen-Soldier

As established in Chapter One, volunteers knew what the ideal American soldier looked in the mid-nineteenth century. During the same period, which was marked by industrialisation, immigration, and "the chaotic expansion of the body politic," the notion of social typing emerged. Through a physiognomic lens, one could interpret the innate character and motive of a subject. Reading exterior physicality was the key to knowing one's interior substance. Americans could apparently use photography to master social and political difference in an increasingly disorderly nineteenth century.[45] Americans used photography to fix the characteristics of various social classes and define the distinctions between them. They constructed what constituted positive and negative social types.[46] Positive social typing manifested itself most explicitly with the American middle-class, who employed *cartes-de-visite* to reflect well-established white, middle-class gender roles, and so produced them as a social reality. The production and distribution of

[44] Union cases were so-called because they were a composite of various materials, not because they were associated with the Union cause. Rosenheim, *Photography*, 47; Bridget Ann Henisch and Heinz K. Henisch, *The Photographic Experience, 1839-1914: Images and Attitudes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 386.
[45] Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2006), 78-9; Andrea L. Volpe, "Cartes de Visite Portrait Photographs and the Culture of Class Formation," in Ardis Cameron, ed. *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), 53.
[46] Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 10.

generalised social types visually constructed a category of identity and a region of the social body that the aspirational could pursue.[47]

With the war's outbreak, there was an unparalleled dissemination of the martial ideal that assisted in fostering it as reality, as recruiting stations across the United States received thousands of volunteers. Soldiers like Young, Gause, and Adams continued the cycle when they exchanged their pictures and contributed to the culture of reverence surrounding it. Exhibiting the celebrated traits on the battlefield made victory inevitable, but it was a ritual to first lay claim to them through portraiture. The most common emulation of the figure consisted of the adoption of a soldierly stance, with the warlike aesthetic of the subject emphasised through associations with military tradition.

Figure 4 provides a typical example. The portrait depicts a private in the 33rd Missouri Infantry. The 33rd was organised at Benton Barracks, Missouri, where the soldier had his picture taken between August 29 and September 5, 1862.[48] He demonstrates his martial proficiency by adopting the position of "order arms," the most commonly used stance in the soldiers' manual of arms (see Figure 5).[49] The pose exhibits discipline, but his uniform is the most obvious indicator of his status. He wears an 1858 Dress Hat, which was associated with professional soldiering. One soldier described the alternative 1858 Forage Cap, which most volunteers received, as "shapeless as a feedbag."[50] The hat's brass badges place him in Company I, a unit from Laclede in Linn County, Missouri.[51] The insignia might appear insignificant, but it designates not only the soldier's place in the army's extensive organisation but also the home community in which he first enlisted. They were symbolic of the amalgamation of local pride and national patriotism inherent in the Union army's composition and offered a measure of

[47] Volpe, "Cartes de Visite," in Cameron, ed., *Looking for America*, 48-53.
[48] Kenneth E. Weant, *Civil War Records, Missouri Volunteer Infantry, Volume 5, Three and One Year Volunteer Regiments 31-33, 35, 38-40* (Arlington: K.E. Weant, 2011), 53-72.
[49] United States War Department, *U.S. Infantry Tactics: For the Instruction, Exercise, and Manoeuvres of the United States Infantry, including Infantry of the Line, Light Infantry, and Riflemen* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1861), 30.
[50] Abner R. Small, *The Road to Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Abner R. Small of the 16th Maine Volunteers,* ed. Harold A. Small (New York: Fordham University Press, 1939), 192.
[51] Weant, *Missouri Volunteer Infantry,* 53-72.

individuality within the uniformed masses. His clothing consists of a dark blue fatigue blouse and sky-blue trousers. The dress was drab. To observers, its "republican plainness" was consistent with American principles, but "highly inconsistent with the customs of military nations."[52] Though soldiers received frock coats (Figure 8 displays an example) more commonly in the early-war period, extensive mobilisation required practical garments on a large scale.[53] His dress reflects the status of a burgeoning army composed of volunteers, with its plainness reflecting a martial heritage that reached back to the Minutemen of the Revolution.



Figure 4, *Unidentified soldier of 33rd Missouri Infantry Regiment with bayoneted musket and revolver in front of painted backdrop showing weapons and American flag at Benton Barracks, Saint Louis, Missouri*, 1862-5, hand-coloured sixth-plate ambrotype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2882, LC-LOC, https://www.loc.gov/item/2012646966/ (accessed 20/03/2018).

[52] Richard Francis Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California,* reprint edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 541.
[53] In theory, a soldier would receive both: the frock coat for formal duties, such as dress parades and reviews, and the fatigue coat for fatigue duties.



Figure 5, *Order Arms (No. 147),* in United States War Department, *U.S. Infantry Tactics: For the Instruction, Exercise, and Manoeuvres of the United States Infantry, including Infantry of the Line, Light Infantry, and Riflemen* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1861), plate 4.

The backdrop is a scene crowded with indicators of Union martial superiority. Photographer Enoch Long, an innovative picture-maker who moved his studio to Benton Barracks following the war's outbreak, knew how to appeal to his customers' patriotic sentiments.[54] Artillery pieces, ammunition, small arms, and an ironclad warship are recognisable. A cartridge box hanging from the stack of rifle-muskets and the knapsack at the subject's right are both stamped with the letters U.S. and U.S.A., respectively.[55] The subject holds a rifle-musket with a fixed bayonet and carries a revolver in his belt. Moreover, his breastplate, belt-plate, and buttons have all been highlighted with paint. On the table at left is a map of Missouri watched over by an eagle-adorned inkstand: the contentious border state is under the Union's watch. The soldier associates himself with the Union cause by posing next to the symbol.[56] However, the

[54] William Garrett Piston, *Portraits of Conflict: A Photographic History of Missouri in the Civil War* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2009), 2; Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 47.
[55] Cartridge boxes featured plates adorned with the letters U.S., but knapsacks had no such marker. It was a decision by the backdrop's artist to ensure repeated devices, both symbolic and textual, that alluded to the United States.
[56] The Confederate Congress had admitted Missouri as the twelfth Confederate state on November 28, 1861, but Unionists exiled the fledgling state government shortly after. Approximately three-quarters of Missouri's white male population fought for the Union. James M. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 293.

subject was not an immediate enlistee. The date of the 33rd Missouri's organisation correlates with President Lincoln's July 2, 1862 call for volunteers to serve for "three years, or the duration of the conflict."[57] Despite any hesitation in the war's first year, his emulation of an idealised martial figure affirms his loyalty to his country.

The citizen-soldier's celebrated position dated back to the Revolution. But rank and file soldiers never had widespread access to a representational means to emulate and reconfigure the figure as they did in the Civil War. As volunteers visited studios, they composed a collective yet varied vision of the figure. Idealised imaginings of soldiering jarred with the realities of service. Broadly, commonalities are evident across soldier portraits. Figures 6 and 7 (as well as 8 and 9, which feature African American subjects) illustrate these similarities, such as the inclusion of flags and weaponry, and the highlighting of symbols and features through the application of paint. Over-painting was a means to emphasise particular features in nineteenth century portraiture, and during the Civil War it was a conventional to foreground national identity and allegiance through the highlighting of flags and uniforms. Industrialisation permitted a level of uniformity and standardisation in the Union army that assisted in the creation of a generalised type in which an individual could stand for the masses. These generalisations reflected American notions of service, but the idiosyncrasies and transcription inherent in portraiture reveal it as a pictorial form imbued with tension. They reveal the limitations of an analytical framework associating individuals with a generalised and normative type.

[57] William Blair, "We Are Coming, Father Abraham – Eventually: The Problem of Northern Nationalism in the Pennsylvania Recruiting Drives of 1862," in Joan E. Cashin ed., *The War Was You and Me: Civilians in the American Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 185.



Figure 6 (left), *Unidentified soldier in Union uniform with bayoneted musket in front of American flag*, 1861-5, hand-coloured sixth-plate ambrotype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2086, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/item/2010648814/ (accessed 03/03/2018); Figure 7 (right), *Unidentified soldier in Union uniform with Colt Army Model 1860 revolver, sword, and American flag*, 1861-5, hand-coloured sixth-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 5013, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/item/2010650862/ (accessed 03/03/2018). Note the martial case at right, which surrounds the subject in patriotic devices and the United States' motto. Thirty-one (ten percent) of the sample are housed in cases decorated with military symbols.

From 1863, African American soldiers destabilised the homogenous figure. Sporadic units of African Americans had been organised in the early-war period, but the formation of the United States Colored Troops in May 1863 facilitated the establishment of 166 regiments of black soldiers.[58] The resultant photographic archive appropriated an idealised figure that had been previously located exclusively within the domain of white masculinity.[59] One white soldier interrogated his father about the use of black troops, "Woud you love to se the Negro placed on equality with me?... If you make a soldier of the negro you can not dispute but he is as good as me." According to some, black men were incapable of fulfilling the role and their inclusion devalued white soldierly service. Another agreed, writing that arming enslaved African

[58] Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson: McFarland Books, 2003), x.
[59] Black soldiers produced an extensive wartime visual record despite the racial obstacles they faced. Until 1864 they received three dollars less a month than white soldiers and they were given inferior instruction, poor equipment, and often made to work excessive fatigue duties. Herbert Aptheker, "Negro Casualties in the Civil War," *The Journal of Negro History* 32, no. 1 (January 1947): 10-80, 38, 31.

Americans would be "a confession of weakness, a folly, an insult to the brave Solder."[60] White soldiers were anxious about sharing the role, but many African American activists welcomed black soldiers. Frederick Douglass recognised that martial service permitted the opportunity to "rise in one bound from social degradation to the place of common equality." Of the aesthetic power of uniformed African Americans, Douglass stated:

> Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S., let him get an eagle on his button… and there is no power on earth… which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States.[61]

Black soldiers conveyed discipline and preparedness through the exhibition of martial symbols to dispel widespread beliefs that African Americans suffered from "inherent mental and physical impairments that rendered them incapable of enjoying the benefits of equality with white men."[62] Figure 8 shows another of Long's subjects, an unknown black soldier laden with weaponry against the same backdrop considered in Figure 4. Mainstream white society associated representations of black masculinity with the spectre of enslaved resistance and the spectacle of unfettered black violence. Through the subject's restrained and disciplined bearing and the inclusion of the flag, Figure 8 establishes such violence as a tempered force devoted to the national interest. Martial portraits identified African American men as patriots loyal to the Union cause and affirmed their status agents of their own liberation.

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[60] Aaron J. Benton to his father, March 2, 1863, MHI; Symmes Stillwell to his mother, February 21, 1863, Stillwell Papers, FLPU, in McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 126.
[61] Frederick Douglass, "Men of Color, To Arms!" Rochester, New York (March 2, 1863); Douglass, "Should the Negro Enlist in the Union Army?" Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (July 6, 1863), in *Frederick Douglass on Slavery and the Civil War: Selections from his Writings*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), 45.
[62] Douglas Baynton, "Slaves, Immigrants, and Suffragists: The Uses of Disability in Citizenship Debates," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 120, no. 2 (2005): 562-67, 562.



Figure 8, *Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with a rifle and revolver in front of a painted backdrop showing weapons and an American flag at Benton Barracks, Saint Louis, Missouri,* 1863-1865, hand-coloured quarter-plate tintype, LC-LOC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/lilj/item/2010647218/ (accessed 18/03/2018).

Historian Deborah Willis notes that one of the first gestures in proving their worthiness as soldiers was to be depicted as men who "had made a choice – a choice of freedom."[63] Like white troops, black soldiers used their portraits as affirmations of their martial vocation. The pictures stood in stark contrast to the generally racist depiction of the black population by white image-makers. Even at the grassroots level, white individuals used pictures to express prejudiced views. Joseph Fiske of the 43rd Massachusetts Volunteer wrote home, "I think I'll send you a daguerreotype of… one of our negroes who is the picture of laziness. The negroes are pretty much all lazy and shiftless."[64] Believing this individual encapsulated his discriminatory

[63] Deborah Willis, "The Black Civil War Soldier: Conflict and Citizenship," *Journal of American Studies* 51, no. 2 (2017): 285-323, 287.
[64] Joseph E. Fiske, *War Letters of Capt. Joseph E. Fiske [Harvard, '61]* (Wellesley: Maugus Press, 1900), 22.

assumptions about African Americans, he intended the image to stand as a negative type representative of liberated blacks in the South. One portrait incriminates the entire population. However, black troops employed portraiture to counter the stereotypes. In 1864, a black soldier was seen "in a photographic establishment in Philadelphia… inclosing a full length card portrait of himself in uniform… for the benefit of his master's family in Dixie."[65] The formerly enslaved individual humiliates his former-master with a self-reflexive use of portraiture, dispelling negative representations of his race whilst simultaneously affirming the contribution of black soldiers. Figure 9's upright posture and central positioning stand in striking contrast to the white soldiers depicted lounging peripherally in the camp scene behind him. Black martial portraiture confronted false notions of passivity by disseminating images of masculinity and agency. Moreover, they offer visual records for a people whose identities could go unrecorded in written sources.[66] Their existence resists the reconciliationist and white supremacist framings of the war that overwhelmed the contributions of African Americans in the late-nineteenth century.[67] Despite this, continued discrimination towards African American soldiers during and after the war highlighted the reality of sustained black exclusion from sharing in the celebrated figure.

[65] Henry Monford, Jacob G. Frick, and William H. Armstrong, *Red Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals: As Seen from the Ranks during a Campaign in the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Carleton, 1864), 317.
[66] Deborah Willis and Barba Krauthamer, *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 59.
[67] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 2.



Figure 9, *Unidentified African American soldier in Union artillery shell jacket and shoulder scales in front of a painted backdrop showing military camp with flag,* 1861-1865, hand-coloured quarter-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 5023, PPLoC, www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/lilj/item/2010650770/.

Soldiers' portraiture destabilised the normative conceptions of military service in countless other ways. Foreign-born soldiers constituted twenty-five percent of Union servicemen, and more were the sons of immigrants. Many served in ethnically designated regiments, which, particularly in the early-war period, wore distinctive uniforms that ran counter to the exceptionally American character of the citizen-soldier.[68] At the front, contemporaneous military and medical technology and theory contributed to the large number of amputees, of whom 45,000 survived surgery (seventy-five percent of the total number of operations performed).[69] Portraits of wounded white soldiers might illustrate a man's sacrifice, but also "demonstrated how fragile and how ordinary white ability was."[70] American emphasis on

[68] McPherson, *Battle Cry,* 606. For more on immigrant groups in the United States Army during the Civil War, see Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 131-148.
[69] Laurann Figg and Jane Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War: Physical and Social Dimensions," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 48, no. 4 (1993): 454-75, 454.
[70] David Roediger, *Seizing Freedom: Slave Emancipation and Liberty for All* (Memphis: Verso, 2014), 82.

volunteer armies denied a full transformation from civilian to soldier, in part due to the localised make-up of Civil War regiments. A soldier's comrades were often men he had known all his life and communities were organised into components of the national army. It was a unification of civic pride and national patriotism that reflected how many imagined the Union should function.[71] As new units, they were constantly forming their histories.[72] The volunteers were more "intimately involved in the creation of these traditions," and so they held significant agency in the conception of their martial identities. This ran counter to conventional military theory, which taught that the army should be a terrifying institution fraught with unfamiliar traditions that would bind the initiate to service.[73] These variables meant that even white volunteers' self-representational strategies often conflicted with the depictions circulated by mainstream image-makers.

"My Household Gods:" Union Volunteers Picture Home

Most volunteers had portraits made that associated them with their martial vocation. However, a significant number made pictures that emphasised their pre-war selves rather than their martial identities. White Union soldiers' portraits reveal the limitations of a citizen-soldier figure that Americans considered at once a match for professional soldiers and yet never fully capable of transitioning into that role. Portraits exhibit a constant juxtaposition of military and civil identities, ranging from outright rejections of martial deportment to portraits in which domestic and martial themes blend seamlessly. Of the 300 photographs of the Liljenquist Collection, thirty-one exhibited props relating to civil life or articles discouraged within service. A further

[71] Reid, *Vacant Chair*, 21-22.
[72] The Union army raised new regiments to replace numbers lost in the field, which denied the entrenchment of tradition within regiments. General William T. Sherman recalled that the "old and experienced battalions [dwindled] away into mere skeleton organisations." William Sherman, *Memoirs of W.T. Sherman,* reprint edition (New York: Library of America, 1990), 879. Conscription and bounty-induced enlistment was also a threat to American soldiering traditions. However, they were largely ineffectual in garnering recruits, and those who did serve were less likely to have portraits made than volunteers were. For more, see McPherson, *Battle Cry,* 600-606.
[73] Reid, *Vacant Chair*, 22.

forty images contain subjects who blend martial and domestic props, meaning that in total twenty-four percent feature domestic, or at least non-military, symbolism. These range from the inclusion of family members to props relating to leisure activities, such as pipes and instruments. To include domestic props or those that represent some form of protest against military regulations bolster the claim that the transition from civilian to soldier was rarely complete.

Furniture held sentimental significance relative to domesticity in addition to its practical function in the studio (exposure times were long, and it assisted in steadying subjects). Of the sample, 162 (fifty-two percent) contain domestic furniture. Soldiers rarely enjoyed such luxuries on campaign, but chairs were significant from a cultural perspective. In November 1861, composers Henry Washburn and George Root published *The Vacant Chair*. The song resonated with Americans who realised that the conflict would not be short. It is a striking departure from the nationalistic tunes of the early-war period and relates to the significance of a chair at home left empty by a soldier's death. It relays a patriotic message, "noble Willie" falls as he bears the flag through "the thickest of the fight." But the lyrics largely concern his home-circle's mourning and how joyful Willie was before the war.[74] Ultimately, only the soldier's empty chair remains. Subjects photographed occupying chairs place the soldier in the domestic sphere doubly. The pictures fix the soldier in an imagining of the household created in the photographer's studio. In turn, the family can place this domesticated image in the home. There it exists as both a pseudo-presence for the absent soldier and as the incitement to reverie that Sontag recognises: the soldier will return to retake his place on his temporarily vacant chair.

[74] Steven Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War Era* (Santa Barba: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 55-6.



Figure 10 (left), *Young George Wingate Weeks of Company D, 8th Maine Infantry Regiment with drum in front of painted backdrop showing shoreline with house and lighthouse,* 1862-1865, hand-coloured half-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 5018, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/lilj/item/2010650867/ (accessed 17/03/2018); Figure 11 (right), *Unidentified soldier in Union uniform with bayoneted musket in front of painted backdrop showing a window with curtains*, 1861-65, sixth-plate ambrotype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2971, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012649112/ (accessed 18/03/2018).

Soldiers employed backdrops to picture themselves in different places. However, plain backdrops were most common, which placed the subject in a liminal space. In the survey, 275 (ninety-two percent) of the images feature backdrops, and only forty-five (sixteen percent) of these are decorated.[75] Seventeen (thirty-nine percent of the decorated backdrops) feature natural or domestic scenes, with no martial symbolism evident. Figures 10 and 11 employ backdrops that bear domestic symbolism. Figure 10 exhibits a coastal scene featuring a home and a distant lighthouse. The fourteen-year-old subject, George Weeks, was a drummer in the 8th Maine Volunteers. His regiment was organised in Augusta, Maine and drew in enlistees from Kennebec County, a region close to the coast. In his correspondence home, Weeks had written about

[75] Considering the difficulties in transporting cumbersome baggage, often a plain sheet functioned as the most suitable background for the roving photographer. In March 1862 Coleman Sellers reported, "One of the camp photographers tells me that his dark box folds up so as to be readily carried on horseback." Those who followed the armies had to adopt a minimalist approach. Coleman Sellers, letter of March 1862, in Davis, "Terrible Distinctness," in Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth Century America,* 143.

working out at sea after the war.[76] The portrait is not dated but Weeks likely had it taken in Augusta before his regiment departed. Hometown studio photographers understood their customers' desire to include backdrops reminiscent of their home communities. It is unlikely that an operator at the front, unless well established, would carry such an extensive inventory. The image's size (half-plate) further supports that the photographer took the picture away from a military base: sixth- and ninth-plate sized images were more affordable and easier to mail home. The backdrop permitted Weeks's loved ones to visualise his continued presence in Maine. Whilst his uniform signified his current army service and his national obligation, the backdrop recalls his home community. The image affirms devotion to nation and home.

Figure 11 is similar. It is an ambrotype (a picture made on glass), produced in a hometown studio or in a fixed military camp. The ambrotype's fragility suited it to established photographic studios and they were particularly delicate in the mail. Ambrotypes were popular in America between 1856 and 1857, after which their popularity departed "as rapidly as it came." From 1861 to 1866, Robert Taft notes that *cartes-de-visite* dominated American photographic culture with its only competitor being the tintype.[77] Ambrotypes thrived where photographers enjoyed more manageable studio conditions. Their vulnerable nature made them unsuitable for the unforeseen circumstances inherent in following a campaigning army. An early-war letter from Coleman Sellers noted:

> The majority of the pictures made for soldiers in camp, or as they pass through any town, are ambrotypes… many of them have a liking for the fancy cases in which their portraits are enclosed – and… they are *so cheap.*[78]

[76] Ann Tyler Moses, "Glimpses of Soldiers' Lives: George Wingate Weeks," *Library of Congress*, July 2012, https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/SoldierbiosWeeks.html (accessed 25/04/2018).
[77] Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History*, 1839-1889 (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), 126, 148.
[78] Sellers, letter of March 1862, in Davis, "Terrible Distinctness," Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 143.

Ambrotypes were prevalent in the early-war period, though photographers made them throughout the war's duration. It is probable that the portrait exhibits a soldier photographed in his hometown or a camp of instruction. The soldier occupies a domestic scene: he stands next to a chair and before a backdrop depicting a window facing a natural landscape, which curtains adorned with leaf-like patterns flank. Behind the backdrop, a blurred floral pattern can be discerned, possibly another of the photographer's backdrops but potentially the studio's interior wall. The image juxtaposes the soldier with a domestic scene vacant of martial themes. The case itself forms a window through which the spectator can peer. Photographic case frames featured a range of pictorial themes derived from literature, mythology, famous paintings, patriotic sentiments, religious symbolism, and the social scene, but Figure 11's is a generic floral pattern (which account for ninety-two percent of the cases surveyed). Their popularity indicates a preference amongst soldiers for cases unadorned with martial symbols.[79] The physical bordering of a volunteer's martial identity was often civil. As Mitchell notes, domesticity shaped the volunteer's service.

Other images alluded to home communities without relying on the use of elaborate domestic backdrops. They featured subjects or objects that made unequivocal association with civilian life. Soldiers posed with loved ones, displayed gifts such as handkerchiefs from home, or were pictured leisurely indulging in tobacco and alcohol. Such images evidence how individuals pictured the fusion of civil and martial identities inherent in their transformation into citizen-soldiers, but also how they mediated the distance between themselves and their distant home-circles. The presence of domestic symbols challenges the martial nature of the citizen-soldier. But it is not wholly destabilising, for the "volunteer/militia mind-set" that Americans held in the mid-nineteenth century rested on an incomplete transition from civilian to soldier, no matter

[79] When examining photographic cases, it is important to remember that individuals might have rehoused the portraits in new cases following the initial taking of the picture.

how much popular imagery might try to romanticise the citizen-soldier as a martial professional.[80] A complete transition to soldier meant that volunteers risked becoming detached from their home communities: they might become a force distinct from civil society, the tool of the tyrants that the Founding Fathers most feared. The archive's juxtaposition of civil and martial themes reflects mid-nineteenth century American conceptions of the military. It blends the domestic and the patriotic, symbolising the army's composition of localised, civic units into a national force. As American volunteers used portraiture to interpret the figure of citizen-soldier, they then employed the resulting images to manage their detachment from home. In representation and function, portraits fused the army and the home.

Northern soldiers and civilians established photographs as an important tool in managing the war's trying circumstances. For departing soldiers entering the unfamiliar South, images from home combined with conventional forms of correspondence to mediate the gap caused by their absence. It is unsurprising that one soldier on his return home titled his own portrait one of his "household gods."[81] That they were so accessible and transportable gave ordinary Americans from a range of social, economic, and racial backgrounds a means to interact with stable images of personal identity in a transient, ever-changing society. Even those from the military's lowest rungs transmitted their own complex and idiosyncratic portraits, in some cases superseding the conventional written forms of correspondence that necessitated literacy to disseminate traces of one's identity. Portraits raised soldiers' morale by sustaining their support for the war and their willingness to fight, assuaging homesickness, and allowing them to oppose military constraint. For civilians, photographs permitted a semblance of the departed soldier to remain in the home. Though soldiers and civilians employed photographs to manage separation, they emphasised

[80] The "militia/volunteer mind-set" further complicates nineteenth century American attitudes towards martial service. Although republican principles demanded that volunteers respond to national crises, the loyalty held by citizens to their local communities was as strong and many hoped they would serve as close to home as possible. Blair notes that community defence was "a paramount concern." Blair, "We Are Coming, Father Abraham," in Cashin, ed., *The War Was You and Me*, 188.

[81] Frederick L. Hitchcock, *War from the Inside, or Personal Experiences, Impressions, and Reminiscences of One of the "Boys" in the War of the Rebellion,* (Philadelphia: Press of J.B. Lipincott Company, 1904), 174.

distance as well. But when considering most of the testimony relating to portraiture it is undeniable that they served a positive purpose. They fortified familial intimacy in a nation Frederick Law Olmsted titled a "republic of suffering."[82] Family and friends employed portraits to retain hope that these figures represented on-going realities: the soldier would return to take the place of the photograph that stood vigil in the home.

"All to Be Sent to Friends at Home:" Portraiture and the Mediation of Distance

Union soldiers employed portraits not only as expressive tools but also for functional purposes relating to the management of the war itself. In November 1861 Alfred Castleman, a surgeon in the 5th Wisconsin, observed a new practice amongst volunteers:

> The Regiment received two months' pay to-day... To-morrow, all who can get passes to go, will be in Washington buying presents and sitting before a camera to "stain the glass" with reflections from their faces, all to be sent to friends at home.[83]

Union soldiers employed photographs as an innovative component in their correspondence to mediate distance between themselves and their homes. The images are authentic "reflections" that civilians used to envisage the departed soldier's presence despite his absence, whilst the phrase "stain the glass" attests to the photograph's longevity despite the original sitter's fate. Securing the absent soldier's portrait in the domestic sphere allowed the home-circle to retain semblances of friends or kin who departed for war. It is no coincidence that portraits contain repeated symbolic devices alluding to domesticity. Balladist E.W. Locke noted that the

[82] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Hospital Transports: A Memoir of the Embarkation of the Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1863).
[83] Alfred Lewis Castleman, *The Army of the Potomac, Behind the Scenes: a Diary of Unwritten History* (Milwaukee: Strickland & Co., 1863), 51.

volunteer's picture was "the last and most precious memento the home-circle has." "These mementos exist in every town and hamlet in our country," he added.[84] Sontag identifies key facets of photographs that explain their significance to soldiers and civilians. She asserts that photographs are "clouds of fantasy and pellets of information," a "pseudo-presence and a token of absence." They are "incitements to reverie" that civilians employed to "contact or lay claim to another reality."[85] Civilians treasured soldiers' portraits in the hope that the actuality remained: that the image was an authentic miniature of an on-going reality. The soldier's absence urged him to ensure that a physical likeness remained even if the original body did not. Portraits were tools of connectedness between the martial and domestic spheres in periods of detachment and uncertainty.

It worked both ways. Portraits of family and friends comforted soldiers. New Yorker Caroline Richards noted in her diary in May 1863, "Abbie Clark and I had our ambrotypes taken to-day for two young braves who are going to the war."[86] The veteran author of *Corporal Si Klegg and his "Pard,"* a partly fictionalised war memoir, noted that the final preparation of a soldier's loved one was to have a picture made. This was "enclosed in a pretty locket, with a wisp of her hair." Si took with him his sweetheart's likeness, coupled with a corporeal fragment.[87] Absent soldiers used civilian portraits to fantasise about realities far removed from their own. One soldier sent home one of three images he carried of his sweetheart, Lizzie, for safekeeping but to also literally "lay claim to it" on his return. He stipulated that Lizzie must "take care of it & original for me," alluding to the potency of the relationship between the photograph as a reflection of the original body it represented.[88] The pictures did not cure soldiers of their homesickness, but they helped in managing it. An 1863 *Harper's Weekly* image by Thomas Nast

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[84] E. W. Locke, *Three Years in Camp and Hospital* (Boston: Geo. D. Russell & Co., 1870), iv.
[85] Sontag, *On Photography*, 69, 16.
[86] Caroline C.R. Clarke, *Village Life in America, 1852-1872* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1913), 152.
[87] Though Hinman noted that "[Si and his pard] are imaginary characters... their prototypes were in every regiment." Wilbur F. Hinman, *"Corporal Si Klegg and his "Pard:" How They Lived and Talked, and What They Did and Suffered, While Fighting for the Flag* (Cleveland: N.G. Hamilton Publishing Co., 1900), 38, v.
[88] Alfred Cranston to Lizzie, January 29, 1863, Cranston Family Papers, 1861-1919, series 1, #7, box 1, 1994.013, Brooklyn Historical Society (hereafter BHS).

(Figure 12), depicting a civilian and her soldier-husband separated from one another on Christmas Eve, literally shows them occupying separate spheres. Photographs are the means by which they remain connected: the soldier's picture hangs watchfully over their sleeping children in the home, whilst on the picket line he gazes longingly at her image. Jane Welsh Carlyle declared in 1859 that newly-accessible photographic forms superseded chloroform in its healing ability, "it has given more positive pleasure to suffering humanity than anything else… even the poor can possess themselves of tolerable likenesses of their absent dear ones."[89] Soldiers utilised these intimate tokens in managing the extended durations they spent from their home-circles.



Figure 12, Thomas Nast, *Christmas Eve*, 1863, relief print and electrotype, in *Harper's Weekly,* January 3, 1863, 29.88.4(8), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/429263 (accessed 04/06/2018).

Visual indicators of domestic ties were physically present in the soldier's belongings *en masse* for the first time in American military history. Ansel Nickerson of the 11th Rhode Island

[89] Jane Welsh Carlyle to Mrs Stirling, October 21, 1859, in Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850 – 1880: The Age of Collodion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), 28.

Volunteers recounted the naïve recruit who carried a great fare. Amongst the various articles were "photograph and autograph albums, ambrotypes, daguerreotypes."[90] Soldiers soon rid themselves of the load, but they kept their pictures. At the war's end, Lewis Roe of the 50th Illinois Volunteers wrote home that his knapsack contained "a likeness of a certain woman & her baby."[91] Photographs were a key component of the veteran's necessities that the recruit's baggage gave way to. Moreover, portraits superseded other forms of sentimental connectedness with the home-circle. John Billings of the 9th Massachusetts Battery recalled soldiers breaking camp prior to the spring campaign. As one soldier packs, he "takes a collection of old letters… These he looks over one by one and commits to the flames with a sigh." Yet, he "tucks his little collection of photographs, which perhaps he has encased in rubber or leather, into an inside pocket." To Billings and his comrades, letters were of lesser emotional value than portraits.[92] They were a prize possession of the volunteer.

This visual exchange was largely a private affair. The most visible indicator to an outsider was the boom in the photographic business and an unprecedented transmission of images between military camps and urban centres. In February 1862 the innovator Coleman Sellers wrote:

> …with the professional operators the war has been quite a source of profit. What countless numbers of sun-pictures exchanged at the anxious parting of friends from those whom the chances of battle may keep from ever meeting again on earth!

[90] Ansel D. Nickerson, *A Raw Recruit's War Experiences* (Providence: The Press Company, 1888), 11-13.
[91] Lewis Roe to Louisa Roe, January 30, 1865, in Lewis Roe, *From Western Deserts to Carolina Swamps: A Civil War Soldier's Journals and Letters Home*, ed. John P. Wilson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 183.
[92] John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith & Co., 1887), 333.

Three months later Sellers found one photographer "driving a brisk business in the camps below Washington… making fifty dollars a day with the ambrotype alone."[93] Their lucrative business in military camps is evidence of civilians' desire for soldiers' portraits. In February 1862, *Humphrey's Journal of the Photographic Arts* observed that "large number[s] of soldiers get their 'pictures' taken and send them to their friends… Not infrequently a number of bags go out from the Washington office entirely filled with sun pictures."[94] Approximately 140,000 letters passed through Washington, DC and Louisville, Kentucky on a daily basis for, and from, soldiers.[95] It is impossible to gauge the exact number that carried pictures, but the figure must have been in the hundreds of thousands throughout the war.[96] Soldiers recorded their participation in this rapid transmission. George French of the 11th Vermont noted in one letter that he had sent "4 melaintypes" in one week.[97] One officer, despite not giving a "fig" about having his picture taken, sent twenty photographs home in a week in December 1862 from Fairfax County, Virginia.[98] Officers generally had better access to studios, but ordinary soldiers overcame various impediments to send portraits home.

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[93] Coleman Sellers, letter of February 1, 1862, published in the *British Journal of Photography* 9, March 1, 1862, 95; Sellers, letter of May 25, 1862, published in the *British Journal of Photography,* June 16, 1862, 239 in Davis, 'Terrible Distinctness,' Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 142-3.

[94] Charles A. Seely, "Photography in the Army," *Humphrey's Journal of the Photographic Arts* 13, no. 20 (1861-62), 319, in Schimmelman, *The Tintype in America,* 55.

[95] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 94.

[96] The tens of thousands of Civil War portraits existent in the twenty-first century cannot reflect the full range of pictures taken during the war. The *New York Daily Tribune* estimated that photographers took 3 million daguerreotypes in 1853. A decade of progress in affordability and accessibility surely multiplied this figure. 2.2 million soldiers served in the United States Army throughout the war and their relationships connected them to the breadth of the population. The Postmaster General's report of 1863 noted that there were 10,000 undelivered letters and packages containing "daguerreotypes," and in 1864 the number of undelivered "photographs, daguerreotypes, and articles of jewelry" was 45,389. The term daguerreotypes would apply to daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and tintypes, or any glass- or metal-backed image, especially those in cases. It is unlikely that photographs on paper or card were considered in these figures. The Nashville Post Office reported that in one year 100,000 cased photographs had been processed. One transportation issue led to the accumulation of "thirty bushels of daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in ten days." "Synopsis of the Postmaster General's Report: The Dead Letter Office." *New York Times*, December 12, 1863, 2; "The Departments: Report of the Postmaster-General," *New York Times*, December 7, 1864, 2; "The Nashville Post Office," *Chicago Tribune,* February 9, 1864, 2.

[97] A melainotype was another term for a tintype. George Oscar French to his friends, August 31, 1862, French Letters.

[98] Charles Cummings to Elizabeth Cummings, December 4, 1862; Cummings to Elizabeth Cummings, December 10, 1862, Cummings Papers.

Soldiers repeatedly met obstacles when engaging with photography. Long queues were common around studios and photographers would detach from armies before campaigns. Delays in pay were common, sometimes as long as six months. Federal soldiers received thirteen dollars a month until May 1, 1864 when pay rose to sixteen dollars.[99] Soldiers report purchasing photographs for as little as twenty-five cents and as much as six dollars, though a dollar appears to be the average cost. Charles Musser of the 29th Iowa wrote that he wanted to send enough portraits for all his family, but "it costs too much to Send so many unless taken in groups of four or five." The pictures cost a dollar a piece.[100] For African American soldiers the limitations were greater. Black troops earned seven dollars a month (following a deduction for clothing) when the USCT was established in 1863. It was not until June 1864 that pay was equalised with white soldiers following a lengthy battle for equivalent remuneration.[101] Soldiers often assured their loved ones that they would send pictures as soon as circumstances allowed. Musser wrote to his sister in January 1865 that though he wanted to send a picture, "it has been a good while since I last saw the Paymaster." But he was quick to affirm, "As soon as I can, I will send some home to all of you."[102] Some soldiers were unfortunate and faced additional obstacles.[103] Despite the trying environs the soldiers occupied, their resolve in the face of a myriad of obstacles attests to

[99] "War Department Adjutant General's Office General Orders, 1864, No. 216," in Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union,* updated edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 49.
[100] Charles O. Musser to John Musser and Caroline Musser, April 29, 1863, in Charles O. Musser, *Soldier Boy: The Civil War Letters of Charles O. Musser, 29th Iowa*, ed. Barry Popchock (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008), 50. Eason Bull of the 154th New York wrote home in November 1861, "I would get my likeness taken and sent it home but it costs a dollar and dollars is scarce here." Eason W. Bull to Wyman Bull, November 1, 1862, Eason W. Bull Letters, 2013.22.8.0061, Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey Collection, box 1, 2013.22, Friedsham Memorial Library, St. Bonaventure University (hereafter FMLSBU).
[101] Herbert Aptheker, 'Negro Casualties in the Civil War.', *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1947): 10-80, 21, 28.
[102] Charles Musser to Mary Musser, January 19, 1865, in Musser, *Soldier Boy*, ed. Popchock, 50.
[103] James Willson of the 13th Vermont failed repeatedly to have a satisfactory picture taken, highlighting that it was not just a lack of wages that prevented pictorial expression, but the labours of martial life. In October 1862, he wrote, "I have had my picture tookin to send home and went out on drill... the [knapsack] strap came across it and being so warm that it turned white." Four months later, he had another picture taken, but walked so fast back to camp that "it turned white and most spoiled it." Willson did not have time to allow his pictures to dry properly, and his exertions spoiled them. James Willson to Rosaline Willson and his sister, 10 October, 1862; Willson to Melville Eaton, 5 February, 1863, in James Willson Papers, 1856-1883, MSA 483, VHS.

their determination to send photographs home. The portrait was a powerful bridge between separated spheres.

Photographs as tools of connectedness transcended the micro-familial level to encompass the wider national family. Americans considered their families as microcosms of the nation. To fulfil one's martial obligations to the nation was to defend one's immediate family, and soldiers often spoke of fighting for the Union in familial terms. Rice Bull of the 123rd New York explained that for the nation to endure in a way "planned by our fathers, it rested with us children to finish the work they had begun."[104] A portrait displayed in the home was a visual confirmation of a citizen's devotion to his household, his community, and the national family. Photographs presented by the home-circle not only assuaged homesickness amongst soldiers but reinforced their devotion to duty.[105] Linderman notes that the "vehicles of home influence were many: letters, army chaplains, visiting relatives, hometown newspaper correspondents, relief workers, hospital volunteers." But photographs were a significant form of domestic influence, too. Soldiers were acutely aware of the civilian community's "claim to exercise oversight over their lives."[106] This surveillance figured significantly into soldiers' ability to withstand the challenges inherent in the war. The photograph looked upon by the soldier figured as a reminder of the incessant gaze of the home-circle. Civilians mediated the soldier's conduct in service.

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[104] K. Jack Bauer, ed., *Soldiering: The Civil War Diary of Rice C. Bull, 123rd New York Volunteer Infantry* (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977).

[105] Soldiers collected portraits of politicians and generals. The celebrity portrait was a popular cultural item that permitted one to have the "famous mingled with the family in private albums." An early-war advertisement in *Harper's Weekly* offered portraits of Generals Scott, McClellan, Banks, Fremont, and others, sold by "the Thousand, Hundred, or Dozen." In one case a Michigan corporal tucked behind his own image an engraving of Abraham Lincoln, leaving "no doubt of his support for the commander-in-chief."[105] Another soldier kept a picture of General Ulysses S. Grant until 1864, when necessity overcame him in a southern prisoner-of-war camp, when he traded the picture "for a little cooked rice." Edmund Randolph of the 27th Indiana recalled, "Pictures of [Lincoln] were so common that any one of us would likely have known him anywhere." Robin Campbell & Norton Lynton, *"From Today Painting is Dead:" The Beginning of Photography* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), 10; *Harper's Weekly,* August 3, 1861, 495-96; Field, *Silent Witness*, 73; John Worrell Northrop, *Chronicles of a War Prisoner in Andersonville and other Military Prisons of the South in 1864,* (Wichita: J.W. Northrop, Wining Printery, 1904), 186; Edmund Randolph Brown, *The Twenty-Seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Monticello: n.p., 1899), 300-301.

[106] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 93.

"I Would Have Rather Lost My Musket:" Portraiture and the Endurance of Service

"Your picture would inspire me to unheard of efforts," wrote Washington Roebling of the 83rd New York to his fiancée Emily, as he blended familial responsibilities with his obligations to the nation.[107] They were not parallel duties, but entwined ones. His devotion to Emily brought him the courage necessary for heroic deeds on the battlefield. Others agreed. Benjamin Harrison, who served as colonel of the 70th Indiana for much of the war, wrote, "Dear domestic ties... were only the stronger incentive to [acquit] myself well in the fight."[108] Scholars have identified numerous motivations that sustained volunteers: patriotism, ideological conviction, personal ambition, amongst others. As the war continued, small-unit cohesion became a significant factor too.[109] Veteran Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain summed up the latter motivation when he explained men's willingness to withstand battle, "bond[s] of comradeship," essentially, "'Here is Bill; I will go or stay where he does.'"[110] But McPherson notes that whatever their principal motivations, "without a firm base of support in the homes and communities from which [they] came, [soldiers'] morale would have crumbled."[111] One soldier wrote of the home-circle's ability to diffuse tensions resulting from army life, "we get back to camp, and a big mail awaits us... Those who were ready to shoot one another a few hours before are seen... walking together, sometimes with their arms around one another."[112] As Mitchell identifies, the military company

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[107] Washington A. Roebling to Emily Warren, February 1864, Washington A. Roebling Family Letters, box 1 (OS), 2-6-D, 1992.020, BHS.
[108] Benjamin Harrison to Caroline Scott Harrison, in Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865* (Chicago: H. Regnery Company, 1952), 246.
[109] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades,* 4; Leif Torkelsen, "Forged in Battle: The Evolution of Small Unit Cohesion in the Union Voluntary Infantry Regiments, 1861-1865," PhD diss. (Princeton University, 1995).
[110] Joshua L. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 20.
[111] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 131.
[112] G.T. to unknown, December 20, 1862, in Mary Livermore, *My Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years Personal Experience* (Hartford: A.D. Worthington and Company, 1889), 660. Conversely, one Pennsylvanian soldier, Milton McJunkin, receiving fewer letters than he sent home, wrote home frustratedly, "Well friends I will still write a little if you wont I have only received 3 letters from home since I left Uniontown... I will write a big letter this time and if you dont do a little better I will forsake you." Milton McJunkin, January 9, 1862, *The Bloody 85th: The Letters of Milton McJunkin, a Western Pennsylvanian Soldier in the Civil War*, eds. Ronn Palm, Richard Saunders, and Patrick A. Schroeder (Lynchburg: Schroeder Publications, 2000).

"functioned as an extension of the soldier's home community."[113] Rank and file soldiers habitually knew each other as schoolboys or workmates, whilst those in authoritative positions had been prominent in civilian life. Correspondence from home urged soldiers to reflect on their shared communities.

Portraits were an integral domestic tie that sustained soldiers. The receipt of tokens of affection, which in soldier studies has mostly focused on letters, included photographs as well. To the soldier, they illustrated the home-circle's confidence in his abilities and the cause he for which he fought. Portraits fortified domestic ties that were liable to strain under the demands of modernising, prolonged warfare. Soldiers made it clear that without pictures they would suffer. Ambrose Arnold of the 154th New York wrote of his need for a portrait, "I wish I had yours and the childrens they would be a great comfort to me in many a lonely our."[114] Mitchell rightly states that letters and furloughs provided the soldier and the civilian with the best means of communication, but soldiers' testimony evidences that photographs themselves were an innovative component of correspondence that sustained the volunteer and affirmed the support of civilians.[115]

Soldiers utilised portraits to reinforce their bond with the domestic sphere, particularly with women. Mitchell notes that for many soldiers leaving home was a "precondition for knowing home." Soldiers regularly claimed that it was "suffering through army life and the violence of war that they learned domesticity's true value."[116] One soldier wrote home, "If I am spared to ever get home again I think I shale know how to appreciate [it]."[117] The absence of women figured significantly. Women oversaw the domestic realm, "not just the daily chores of the household but also the moral well-being of family members." Soldiers attempted to tame the

[113] Mitchell, *Vacant Chair*, 21.
[114] Ambrose F. Arnold to his wife, April 29, 1864, Ambrose F. Arnold Letters, 2013.22.8.0012, Dunkelman and Winey Collection, box 1, 2013.22, FMLSBU.
[115] Mitchell, *Vacant Chair*, 26.
[116] Ibid., 34-5.
[117] Abram F. Conant to wife and daughter, January 9, 1863, Abram F. Conant Papers., Library of Congress, in ibid., 35.

"male world of the camp," but warfare gradually "wore away domestic habits."[118] For many volunteers the Civil War was their first prolonged detachment from home and so they used portraits as touchstones to their kin, "I look at [my Julia's Photograph] every night before retiring," stated Owen Hopkins. Noting the loss of one treasured image, he quickly affirmed, "I did not lose yours through neglect. I would have rather lost my musket."[119] Hopkins defines the portrait as a gesture of familial intimacy and as a coping tool for the almost incessant yearning for home.

John Pardington of the 24th Michigan wrote constantly to his wife Sarah about her photographs. But his correspondence also identifies the limitations of portraiture. There were no true substitutes for the original body. Pardington admitted in November 1862, "Sometimes I get so lonsome. But I will drive it away again Kiss your picture and Babys and then feel all right. But then it wont Kiss me Back again. So it is not like you for you will kiss me when I kiss you."[120] The doubling of an individual's self through a photograph creates a surrogate towards which soldiers could direct physical intimacy, but static images cannot return closeness. Sarah too acknowledged the limitation. Pardington noted, "You said you kissed it but it did not kiss you back again. I wish I had been in the case. I would have kissed you good."[121] The affect Pardington's experienced when interacting with pictures illustrate the portrait's ability to maintain connections, but his desire to transport himself within the case affirms that they were not all-powerful. In his last letter, the portrait made an ominous appearance, "But dear Sarah you are in my thoughts all the time and your Picture I cover with kisses But it wont kiss me Back again. But never mind dear you will kiss me when I get home *God Willing* wont you."[122] He

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[118] Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff, *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854-1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 214-5.
[119] Owen Johnston Hopkins in Otto F. Bond ed., *Under the Flag of the Nation: Diaries and Letters of Owen Johnston Hopkins, a Yankee Volunteer in the Civil War* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 202 & 152, in Floyd Rinhart, Marion Rinhart, & Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 81.
[120] John H. Pardington to Sarah Pardington, November 27, 1862, in Coralou Lassen ed., *Dear Sarah: Letters Home from a Soldier of the Iron Brigade* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 40.
[121] Pardington to Sarah Pardington, March 30, 1863, in ibid., 91.
[122] Pardington to Sarah Pardington, June 22, 1863, in ibid., 132.

envisioned his post-war self at home, a notion catalysed by his interaction with her photograph. Within two weeks, Pardington had died at Gettysburg. Homesickness permeates armies in all wars, but especially so in those composed of unprofessional volunteers. Civil War portraiture did not significantly intensify the existing nostalgia for family and home. Their prevalence provided soldiers with a dynamic means of interaction with the home-circles, allowing them to manage detachment better than their forebears.

Soldiers not only used photographs to reinforce their bonds with home but to extend them to those they did not know. War was an opportunity for the soldier to prove himself to women at home. Linderman notes that a "woman's love was a stimulus that… would propel the soldier's combat performance."[123] Combat was the greatest test, but the absent soldier equally required such an incentive to cope with the daily rigours of army life. Wartime organisations enabled available soldiers to forge connections with unattached women at home. Women understood "the dispensation of moral support to be one of their key wartime roles."[124] The pairings would exchange letters and photographs and sometimes romance would blossom. In developing these relationships, the soldier utilised his photograph to ensure his presence within a removed civilian society. Volunteers resisted their containment in a male-dominated establishment and continued to interact socially despite disruption to their civilian life. Soldier and sailor Edward Bacon used his image to establish relationships with various women at home. Bacon desired to create within his photograph album a record of the women who inhabited his home community. Addressing his sister Kate's engagement with the Bouquet Society (an organisation "at work for the soldiers") he noted that if "any of the young ladies are bold enough to ask if I have any photographs to spare, I give you full authority to exchange as many as you can." He accumulated these images for the exceptional purpose of mentally transporting himself

[123] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 89.
[124] Phyllis Thompson, "The Domestic Sphere," in Maggi M. Morehouse, Zoe Trodd, eds., *Civil War America: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 36.

home. The consultation of his albums was "as good as a walk through Chapel St."[125] Others used photographs similarly. John Beatty of the 3rd Ohio Infantry wrote of a soldier who would use photographs from home to allow his "thoughts skip off five hundred miles or less, to a community of sensible, industrious, quiet folks."[126] Uniquely, soldiers used portraits to cross the physical and temporal boundaries enforced by martial regimentation. Holmes, Sr. recognised the potential to cross boundaries with the stereographs in 1859. Gazing upon an unfamiliar scene, the viewer's mind could feel "its way into the very depth of the picture."[127] Within their exceptional circumstances, soldiers were able to transcend Holmes' phenomenon. Using portraits, not three-dimensional stereoscopic landscapes, soldiers visualised their return home and populated these civil scenes with both familiar and unknown individuals. In doing so, they instituted new uses for portrait photographs in warfare. Nevertheless, soldiers fretted over a divide greater than that caused by mobilisation and campaigning. As the Civil War extended into a prolonged and violent struggle, the heightened presence of death and injury further imbued the photographic portrait with referential significance.

"Sent to Sarah Jane a Picture or Memorial:" Portraiture as *Memento Mori*

The final two sections of this chapter will consider portraiture's employment in the management of death and disability. Though strategies of using photography to mediate distance and to manage bodily injury intersect, the latter theme is distinct enough to warrant separate consideration. As Pennsylvanian William Haberlin enclosed his picture (Figure 13) into a photographic case, he penned a short poem to accompany the image:

[125] Edward W. Bacon, April 26, 1864, in Edward W. Bacon, *Double Duty in the Civil War: The Letters of Sailor and Soldier Edward W. Bacon*, ed. George S. Burkhardt (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 95-6.
[126] John Beatty, *The Citizen-Soldier: or, Memoirs of a Volunteer* (Cincinnati: Wilstach, Baldwin & Co., 1879), 316.
[127] Holmes, Sr., "Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Soundings*, 148.

Now to the feild again I'll go

For the union to defend

Until Jeff Davis is made to know

His kingdom is about to end

And now if I would not live

To hear f[r]eemen shout for joy

This miniature to you I give

In memory of a soldier boy.[128]

The recipient is unknown, but the photograph's intended use was clear. The second stanza affirms its use as a memorial by the home-circle in the event of Haberlin's demise. It explicitly twins patriotism and sacrifice. The poem is vacant of any reference to the management of geographical distance so prevalent in the previous section's correspondence. The first line, which contains the signal word "again," infers that Haberlin had the photograph taken during a suspension from active campaigning (during a furlough, or time spent in a military hospital). The use of the image as a prospective memorial would then correlate with Haberlin's veteran status, standing in stark contrast to Young's, Gause's, and Adams' optimistic use of portraiture as recruits. His premonition was realised when he was killed at the Battle of Nashville in December 1864.[129]

[128] William P. Haberlin, poem found with photograph, 1861-1864, Liljenquist Collection, LOT 13044-3, no. 18, PPLoC.

[129] "History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865 (1870)," American Civil War Research Database*, Alexander Street Press,* http://alexanderstreet.com, in Ann Tyler Moses, "Glimpses of Soldiers' Lives: Private William P. Haberlin," *Library of Congress,* August 2012, https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/SoldierbiosHaberlin.html (accessed 23/04/2018).

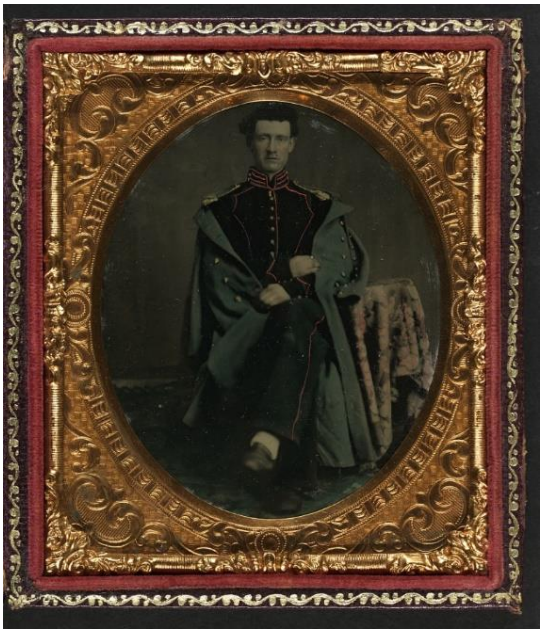


Figure 13, *Private William P. Haberlin of Battery B, Pennsylvania Light Artillery in uniform with shoulder scales and great coat,* 1861-1864, hand-coloured sixth-plate ambrotype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2261, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2010650791/ (accessed 22/04/2018).

Americans had used portraits to manage death long before the conflict. Photographer James Ryder reminisced that in photography's early days, Americans took portraiture seriously:

> It was more the parents having likenesses taken for the children, a matter more seriously considered; something more in the way of duty, possibly a last duty – certainly a sacred one – from parents to children, a legacy of love.[130]

Americans employed photographs to manage mortality by keeping the dead close.[131] The Civil War not only heightened Ryder's recognised use of portraits, it upturned it. Young Americans took up the same sacred obligation as the buoyant days of 1861 soon gave way to the realisation that the conflict would be costly. Though many soldiers were confident, evident in the patriotic portraits made after their enlistment, some observers saw a more solemn reason for their studio

[130] James Fitzallen Ryder, *Voigtländer and I in Pursuit of Shadow Catching: A Story of Fifty-Two Years' Companionship with a Camera* (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing and Publishing Co., Imperial Press, 1902), 85.
[131] Jo C. Tartt, Jr., *Taken: Photography and Death* (Washington, DC: The Tartt Gallery, 1989), 2.

visits. Charles Seely wrote, "The photographic galleries are thriving: the wise soldier makes his will, and seeks the photograph as possibly the last token of affection for the dear ones at home."[132] A month after President Lincoln's July 1862 call for volunteers, Coleman Sellers noted:

> The photographic galleries are crowded with soldiers and their friends. What a blessing it is that they who go to the war can not only leave behind them their images, but take with them the semblance of those the leave at home![133]

In the Civil War, loss became widespread and commonplace. Americans frequently faced death in the extensive lists of casualties that filled newspapers, and photographers pictured it in the "wrecks of manhood, thrown together in careless heaps or ranged in ghastly rows for burial" that characterised their battlefield aftermath scenes.[134] Moreover, the war intensified anxieties over the blurring of distinctions between men and animals as they simultaneously eroded by the advancement of nineteenth century science.[135] As Davis writes, death was an unavoidable reality, and "many soldiers sat repeatedly for portraits in order to ensure the longevity of at least their image and memory."[136] One soldier in the 128th New York Infantry, sending a group portrait home, noted privately in his diary that he had "Sent to Sarah Jane a picture or memorial of the regiment."[137] The familial nature of portraiture confronted the dehumanisation inherent in the momentous task of recording the dead. Cultural historian Shirley Samuels states that portrait photography "left behind an intact body that might be returned to [the family] in pieces."[138] Photographs were a form of doubling, "a formatting of identity than can be relocated," but,

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[132] Charles A. Seely, April 27, 1861, letter in the *British Journal of Photography* 8 (May 15, 1861), 191, in Davis, 'Terrible Distinctness,' Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 143.
[133] Sellers, August 25, 1862, letter in the *British Journal of Photography* 9 (October 1, 1862), 375, in ibid.
[134] Holmes, Sr., "Doings of the Sunbeam," *Soundings*, 267.
[135] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, xvii.
[136] Davis, 'A Terrible Distinctness,' Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 143.
[137] Joseph W. Crowther, March 13, 1864, diary, Joseph W. Crowther Diary, 1864, MS-0330, Virginia Military Institute Archives.
[138] Many ordinary families could not ensure the return of their loved ones' bodies, whether in pieces or not. Shirley Samuels, *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 74.

"classically, to be doubled is to be dead: your appearance cannot go on living without you." At its most striking, to have a likeness taken was to conjure one's own doppelganger, but even to preserve the body the portrait is permeated with anxieties over death and mutilation. If the soldier photographed did not return, then the portrait would serve as a trace of memory and an evocation of trauma. If he did, then the fixing of desire to an artefactual representation was realised: the intact body the picture represented resembled the body called home.[139] The act of making a photograph was a statement of hope.[140] It was a "testimony to time's relentless melt:" they attest to "mortality, vulnerability, [and] mutability."[141] Haberlin's ominous signal to his recipient encapsulates the photograph's use as *memento mori*.

"Daguerreotypes on the Faces of Dead Soldiers:" Photographic Portraits and the Management of Death

Although Union soldiers used portraiture to fix and preserve their full forms, some had pictures taken to document the wounds they received in battle. Photographers took many of these pictures in urban centres where convalescent soldiers recuperated or nearby the sprawling hospitals behind the lines. Military surgeons and doctors commissioned medical portraits of wounded soldiers, creating visual archives that would act as didactic tools for future medical procedures and operations. The photographs were organised by the bodily location of the wound and the clinical gaze of the physician was evident.[142] Though the soldiers themselves engaged in the same practice, they used the pictures for strikingly different purposes. They were exhibitions of bravery and of sacrifice that acted as testimonies not only to their perseverance,

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[139] Ibid., 74-5.
[140] Stephen R. Moriarty, *Darkness and Light: Death and Beauty in Photography* (Notre Dame: Snite Museum of Art, 2009), 82.
[141] Sontag, *On Photography*, 15.
[142] For more on Civil War medical photography, see Stanley B. Burns, *Shooting Soldiers: Civil War Medical Photography by R. B. Bontecou* (New York: Burns Archive Press, 2011) and Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

but also of war's suffering and the fragility of the body. Holmes, Sr. wrote of heightened presence of broken bodies resulting from the Civil War:

> It is not two years since the sight of a person who had lost one of his lower limbs was an infrequent occurrence. Now, alas! there are few of us who have not a cripple among our friends, if not in our own families… War unmakes legs.[143]

Soldiers matched the public presence of those who had endured amputation privately as they affirmed their contributions to the Union through the exhibition of wounds in portraiture. In Figures 14 and 15, two soldiers present the amputations resulting from their wounds with resolute countenances. Notable in each are references to the cause of their injuries. A cannonball, most likely a photographer's prop, rests upon the table in Figure 14, whilst in Figure 15 a painted backdrop displaying an artillery piece and a pile of ammunition is obscured by the defiant presence of the soldier. A patriotic case houses the latter photograph, flanking the soldier with flags, stars, drums, and guns, whilst the words "The Union Now and Forever" caption the portrait. Soldiers attempted to reframe physical impairments as honourable scars borne from patriotic service. In doing so, they revealed the vulnerabilities of the American volunteer.

[143] Holmes, Sr., "The Human Wheel, Its Spokes and Felloes," *Soundings,* 306.

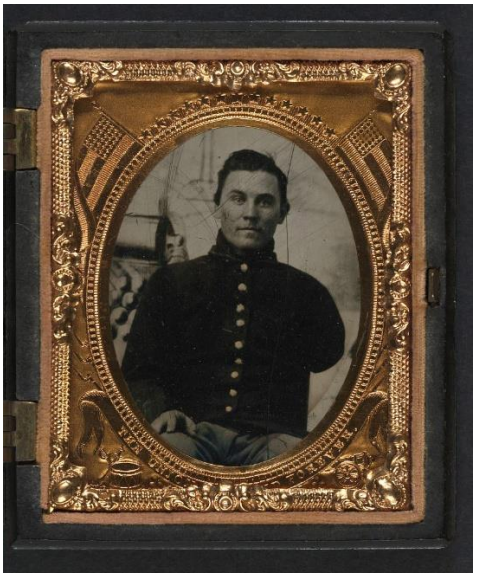



Figure 14 (left), *Two unidentified soldiers in Union private's uniforms sitting next to table with cannon ball on top; one soldier has an amputated leg and holds crutches*, 1861-65, hand-coloured quarter-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2979, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/lilj/item/2012648229/ (accessed 12/03/2018); Figure 15 (right), *Unidentified soldier with amputated arm in Union uniform in front of painted backdrop showing cannon and cannonballs,* 1861-65, hand-coloured ninth-plate tintype, Liljenquist Collection, AMB/TIN no. 2504, PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/lilj/item/2010650306/ (accessed 12/03/2018).

Soldiers used images of their kin to manage their own passing. They brought reassurance in their dying moments. The Good Death dictated the conventions of *ars moriendi* in the mid-nineteenth century. A key component was that death should occur with family and friends in observance. They would provide "solicitude, emotional comfort, and some reassurance for the departing."[144] The act of dying gave importance to a person and those present listened to their last words with care.[145] The death of Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) was the most famed example of a Good Death in antebellum popular culture. In contrast, "an unattended death sparked terror and signified a great spiritual and emotional loss."[146] In a fictional account of the Battle of Gettysburg, intended as an "indictment of war," one author wrote:

[144] Lewis O. Saum, *The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1980) 94-95, in Mitchell, *Vacant Chair,* 142.
[145] Barbara P. Norfleet, *Looking at Death* (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, 1993), 12.
[146] Saum, *Popular Mood,* 94-95, in Mitchell, *Vacant Chair,* 143. For more on the erosion of the Good Death in the Civil War, see Faust, *Republic of Suffering,* 9-12.

> Here is a captain. In his stiffening fingers, a woman's photograph, spattered with blood; on his face, a look of love and yearning tenderness… Here is a baby's likeness, smeared with the blood of bruised and bleeding lips.[147]

Tangible photographic representations ensured some semblance of the home-circles presence in circumstances where a wound left little time to prepare for one's fate, or where the ebb and flow of battle meant that a dying soldier might find himself alone. Faust identifies portraits as "proxies for those who might have surrounded their deathbeds at home."[148] Though the above account is fictional, the report made regarding the reinternment of Federal dead into the Gettysburg National Cemetery included a list of the objects recovered from 275 of the bodies. Of these bodies, the surveyors found twenty with photographs on their immediate person.[149] Moreover, Union veterans themselves left abundant testimony for the portrait's use in managing death in battle and beyond.

[147] J. Frank Hanly, *The Battle of Gettysburg: from the "World Disarmed"* (Cincinatti: Jennings and Graham, 1912), 75.
[148] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 11.
[149] Soldiers often dropped their knapsacks before entering combat and burial parties would gather them from the dead for redistribution, meaning that the surveyors searched the pockets of the dead. Other dying soldiers might have had their images secured by comrades; others had their pictures stolen. The list is not reflective of the number of soldiers carrying photographs on their immediate persons at Gettysburg, which would have been higher. Two of the soldiers listed were carrying more than one portrait. Samuel Weaver, "List of Articles Taken from the Bodies of the Soldiers," *Revised Report Made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg* (Harrisburg: Singerly & Myers, State Printers, 1867), 144-153.



Figure 16, *An incident of Gettysburg – the last thought of a dying father,* 1863-4, wood engraving, in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 2, 1864, Illus. in AP2.L52 1864 (Case Y), PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002709419/ (accessed 20/04/2018). Amos Humiston dies with a portrait of his three children against his breast. Amos actually died against a fence in the town. In this engraving, his sunken features, the carrion birds, and the detritus of battle surrounding him all serve to stand in stark contrast to the focal point of the photograph clutched in his hand.

In their recollections of a campaign with the Army of the Potomac, three Union officers recounted a vignette of a "raw recruit," John, preparing to enter the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862:

> "Hear 'em! Oh, Hear 'em!" exclaimed an earnest-looking country boy, hastily closing a daguerreotype case, into which he had been intently gazing… as the booming of a heavy siege gun… broke upon the ear like volleyed thunder.

As his potential demise becomes apparent, John assuages his nerves by fixing his gaze on the likeness of a loved one contained within the case. Turning to his corporal, John asks a favour, "I

want you, in case I fall, to take the daguerreotype that you will find in the inside pocket on the left side of my blouse." He informs the corporal that he will also find a sealed letter there and asks that both are sent home. The corporal at first teases John about his anxieties, but John's replies emphatically, "It is not fear Corporal… I'm looking at danger squarely in the face, and am ready to meet it, and I want to be prepared for it."[150] John uses the daguerreotype and accompanying letter to enter combat with virtue and courage. The picture is assumedly of the intended recipient, figuring as evidence of his sustained devotion to them. John died in the subsequent battle, and the picture twinned with his letter to sound his death-knell.

Portraits provided ease even in the most painful circumstances. New Jersian Ira Dodd found a soldier so badly wounded during the fighting in the Wilderness in 1864 that his lungs protruded. He and his comrades propped the soldier against a tree before obeying his request to find in his pocket a portrait of "some loved one at home, which he grasped with both hands and held before his dying eyes." As he passed, the soldier seemed "satisfied, he wanted nothing more."[151] When the firing had ceased, evidence abounded of the soldiers' investment in their portraits. James Stone of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry found a slain soldier following the Battle of Antietam "holding in his hand a photograph of a group of children." He mused that the soldier had "evidently found himself mortally wounded," and had used the image to "take a last look at the likeness of those he loved so dearly and had died with the picture in his hand."[152] Warren Goss of the 2nd Massachusetts Heavy Artillery recalled finding a comrade after the Battle of Williamsburg in 1862, "Near one of his hands was a Testament, and on his breast lay an ambrotype of a group of children and another of a young woman."[153] With his religious

[150] Henry Morford, Jacob G. Frick, and William H. Armstrong, *Red-Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals: As Seen from the Ranks during a Campaign in the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Carleton, 1864), 227-8.
[151] Ira Seymour Dodd, *The Song of the Rappahannock; Sketches of the Civil War* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1898), 235-6.
[152] James M. Stone, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War: By One Who Took Part in it as a Private Soldier in the 21st Volunteer Infantry from Massachusetts* (Boston: n.p, 1918), 91.
[153] Warren Lee Goss; *Recollections of a Private: A Story of the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1890), 42.

book and photographs of his family upon his chest, the soldier had expired surrounded by tokens of the figures necessary to ensure a Good Death at home.

The story of Sergeant Amos Humiston of the 154th New York Infantry (illustrated in Figure 16) illustrates the photograph's potency in offering some semblance of comfort to both the dying soldier and his bereaved family. Two months before Gettysburg, Amos Humiston received a letter from his wife Philinda bearing an image of their three children, "I got the likeness… and it pleased me more than anything that you could have sent me. How I want to see them and their mother is more than I can tell."[154] But Humiston died in the momentous battle against a fence with no means of identification other than the cased ambrotype of the anonymous children in his hand. The *Philadelphia Enquirer* published an article on October 19, 1863 entitled "Whose Father Was He?" and reproduced the image in *carte-de-visite* format for widespread distribution, sparking a quest throughout the North to identify the children and bring finality to his family's uncertainty. The incident was popularised in poetry and sheet music. When Philinda saw the image and contacted the newspaper, the proceeds from the sale of the *cartes-de-visite* went to her.[155] The portrait on Humiston's body was able to provide recognition of an unknown soldier, and, in doing so, brought closure to Philinda's anxieties over his ambiguous fate. By 1863, Americans were familiar with the repeated casualty lists sent northwards after each battle and were painfully aware of the now-fatherless families they often represented. Humiston's story emerged as a microcosm of the grief the nation was grappling with. It resonated deeply with the civilian population and forced a national response to express empathy and solidarity with his family.

The portrait carried by the soldier did not lose its significance outside of combat. Wounded soldiers were borne to the medical centres, whether hastily made triage centres on the fringes of battlefields or expansive military hospitals in urban centres. Images were often present

[154] Amos Humiston to Philinda Humiston, May 9, 1863, in Mark H. Dunkelman, *Gettysburg's Unknown Soldiers: The Life, Death and Celebrity of Amos Humiston* (Westport: Prager Publishers), 104.
[155] Dunkelman, *Gettysburg's Unknown*, 161-3.

at the bedsides of soldiers, delivering an additional layer of comfort to that provided by nurses, stewards, and the visits and care-packages from family and friends at home. One entry in an 1864 United States Christian Commission death register from Virginia records the presence of portraiture. These registers included a section with space for an assessment of the deceased's religious state and the disposition of his body.[156] The Christian Commission worker noted one George Besse to be a "good boy" who "spoke tenderly of his friends [and] expressed some religious feeling." In his assessment was a notation evidencing that "by his pillow was the likeness of mother and sister."[157] The observer evidently recognised the portrait as an important feature in Besse's passing. Although they would not be aware of the fact, his mother and sister were present in his dying moments. The nurse Jane Swisshelm recorded the portrait's defining role in another soldier's passing. As she comforted him, he grasped at his photographic case, attempting to open it:

> I took it and opened it; found the picture of a young, handsome woman, and held it and a candle, so that he could see it. His tears fell on it, as he looked…
> "Is it your wife?" and he replied,
> "No! but she would have been."[158]

The dying soldier's response to Swisshelm identifies the picture as a tool with which he was able to envisage his postbellum identity: in marriage to the woman photographed. His attempt to open the case and view the image illustrates his desire for this long-awaited, counterfactual future. The fact that he could not implies the impossibility of this prospect. The soldier's interactions with the portrait identify it as the vessel which retained a semblance of this hope.

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[156] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 109.
[157] U.S. Christian Commission, death register, November 3, 1864, RG 94 E797, National Archives and Record Administration, in ibid.
[158] Jane Grey Swisshelm, *Half a Century* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Company, 1880), 340.

The soldier who became a prisoner-of-war after a battle could be less fortunate. Oftentimes, Northern soldiers entering Southern prison camps were at the mercy of Confederate personnel who searched prisoners for any forbidden articles. The captors often took advantage of their disadvantaged victims. Corporal Charles Chapin of the 1st Vermont Calvary noted in his diary on May 6, 1864 that he was searched at Gordonsville, Virginia, "They had several searchers there, some of whom took photographs."[159] Adams, the Massachusetts soldier who optimistically sent his image to his sweetheart when he enlisted recalled, "From the men they took everything; pictures of friends at home, and when it was a picture of a lady, coarse remarks would be made."[160] The *New York Times* reported the practice in December 1864 for propagandistic purposes when it described Southerners as "men who are utterly lost to decency."[161]

For those who managed to retain their pictures they were still vulnerable to loss. A New York volunteer recalled that he had traded "pictures of my lady friends… for bread."[162] Those pictures that soldiers kept were of heightened importance in the prison's confines. Reverend J.J. Marks noted that soldiers who "had lost everything, and were without shoes, coat, shirt or pants," frequently "bore with them the picture of wife and children." In Libby Prison's hospital in Richmond, Virginia, one could find "the letters of wives and mothers lying on the bosoms and their daguerreotypes upon the faces of dead soldiers."[163] John Northrop of the 76th New York Infantry recorded several instances in which photographs figured in the demise of his comrades. Like the soldier in Swisshelm's account, "Williams of the 111th N.Y." showed his comrades a picture of a "beautiful girl, remarking that he never expected to see her again, and wept bitterly." In two other cases, the dying gave portraits of their partners and their personal papers to their comrades, asking that they return them home. Willie Eggleston of the 7th Michigan stipulated

[159] Charles Chapin, May 6, 1864, diary, Charles Chapin Diary, 1864, MSA 561:14 VHS.
[160] Adams, *Reminiscences,* 166.
[161] "Necrology of Southern Prison Pens," *New York Times,* December 20, 1864.
[162] Thomas R. Aldrich, "The Experience of Thomas R. Aldrich Late of Co. B. 154th New York vols. While a prisoner of war from May 8, 1864 until February 22, 1865," Thomas R. Aldrich Papers, 2013.22.8.003 Dunkelman and Winey Collection, box 1, 2013.22, FMLSBU.
[163] J.J. Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia: or, Incidents and Scenes on the Battlefields and in Richmond* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1864), 420.

that he wanted his comrade to take his mother's picture back to her, "Tell her the bright side of a dark story," he added.[164] Of his personal belongings, the likeness was his prized possession, figuring prominently as an object of finality in the event of his death. Even in the prisoner-of-war camp's confines, soldiers used portraits to traverse boundaries and ensure the present of their distant home-circles at the moment of death.

Conclusion: "Everybody is Bothering Me for a Portrait"

In 1855, British photographer Roger Fenton wrote a letter to his wife from the Crimean Peninsula as he worked to document that unwelcome conflict.[165] In his missive, he noted with frustration that, "Everybody is bothering me for their portrait to send home… were I to listen to them & take the portrait of all comers I should be busy from now to Chrismas & might make a regular gold digging in the Crimea."[166] Wherever he parked his photographic van, crowds of soldiers would soon surround it and clamour for portraits. But Fenton's duties to the British government made widespread commercial portrait photography amongst the ordinary soldiery an impossibility.

Six years later, the American Civil War was the perfect crucible for an explosion of grassroots photographic representation by ordinary soldiers. The democratisation of portrait photography, the proximity of the burgeoning armies to urban centres of supply, and the persistent spectre of death entwined to drive volunteers to photographic studios. British soldiers in the 1850s struggled to attain likenesses to send home, but within a decade, their American counterparts marched to war laden with portraits. At home, civilians treasured the images that absent soldiers left behind. Together, Americans instituted new uses for portrait photographs,

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[164] Northrop, *War Prisoner in Andersonville,* 106.
[165] Timothy Sweet, *Traces of War: Poetry, Photography, and the Crisis of the Union* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), 85.
[166] Roger Fenton to Grace Fenton, 4-5 April 1855, in Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography*, 28.

and developed existing ones, on a scale never experienced before in military history. Northern soldiers created portraits to affirm their contribution to the Union whilst those of their kin served as palpable representations with which to mediate the divides inherent in conflict.[167]

In representational terms, Union soldiers created portraits both to fix to their antebellum identities and to capture the reverberations of the social changes that the war brought. Whether a photograph of a volunteer seizing upon his pre-war self, an African American envisioning freedom and citizenship, or a devoted veteran documenting a broken body suffered in service of his country, the archive of wartime portraits reveals the heterogeneous nature of Civil War soldiers in opposition to the fixed image produced and disseminated by mainstream picture-makers. Historians might pursue other inquiries to provide a fuller understanding of the many representational functions of portrait photography. Immigrant soldiers produced an eclectic envisioning of American soldiering as they fused their own ethnic identities with the broader American mainstream cultures that they were assimilating into, and, though small in number and with much greater archival challenges to tackle, photographs inevitably captured women's efforts to pass as male soldiers in portrait photographs. Though the mainstay of the Union army was the white native-born male, examination of its many component demographics will further affirm this force as a diverse one, composed of a multitude of peoples whose martial cultures blended and conflicted as individuals attempted to picture soldiering throughout the Civil War.

America in the mid-nineteenth century was an increasingly image-based society. Pictorial media recorded and disseminated representations of the figures and events charting the nation's transformation, but the "inescapable connection between the photograph and what it represent[ed]" resonated with Americans in the context of war, for it was a means to keep near

[167] However, regional cultures were divergent across the Union states, and scholars might tap new avenues of research by conducting comparative analysis on these dissimilar areas. Though the Chapter Four considers Confederate soldiers' photographic culture, rituals of photographic exchange and self-representation differed in urban New England, where centres of photography were centred, to the less developed and transient Midwestern states, even though both cast their lot with the Union. It has been at first necessary to compose an understanding of citizen-soldiers' collective experience concerning martial cultures as demonstrated through photographic portraiture, before investigating at regional and state levels.

those separated by distance or death.[168] The personal portrait photograph reverberated most with ordinary Americans for, as Castleman recognised, the pictures were reflections from the faces of those who war rendered distant, whether temporarily or without end. Civil War soldiers and civilians cemented photographic portraits as tokens of identity, survival, and memorial in modern warfare in ways that endure to the present day.

[168] David Green, "Assessments," in James Elkins, ed., *Photography Theory* (London: Routledge, 2013), 246.

Chapter Three

"Appointed Regimental Artist:"

Soldier-Artists Paint and Sketch the War

On June 16, 1863, Joseph Boggs Beale recorded the hum of activity in Pennsylvania following the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia's invasion of the North. From Philadelphia, he wrote, "The New York & Boston troops are here to repel them & recruits are being drummed up."[1] Though not been compelled to serve prior to General Robert E. Lee's Northern excursion, the next day Beale enlisted into military service for "6 months or until the danger was over." Ten days later, Joseph awoke to find his presence had been requested by his "Colonel at Head Quarters."[2] He had been "appointed regimental artist, & [was] relieved of all duties except drill & dress parade."[3]

Beale had talent. He painted before the war and was Philadelphia Central High's first professor of drawing from October 1862. During his two-month service, Beale recorded his regiment's contributions to Pennsylvania's defence. Oftentimes, the sketches were supplied to newspapers for publication. On 28 June, Beale grew tired of waiting to be "cut to pieces" in a rifle pit and sketched the "pits with the men in & Millers battery with us & the Cumberland valley in the distance." His captain submitted the drawing to the *New York Herald*.[4] On July 3, after his first meal in three days, Beale drew a burned out "Barracks & sent it to Harpers in New York." The only notable lull in his sketching was when he was separated from his knapsack

[1] Joseph Boggs Beale, June 16, diary, Arthur Colen Collection of Joseph Boggs Beale Papers, vol. 6, Dec. 1862 – Oct. 1864, 2007, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP).
[2] Beale, June 17; June 27, 1863, diary, Beale Papers.
[3] Beale, June 27, 1863, diary, Beale Papers.
[4] Beale, June 28, 1863, diary, Beale Papers; Joseph Boggs Beale to his family, July 3, 1863, Beale Papers, box 1, folder 1, 2007, HSP.

containing "the Sketch book."[5] In Hagerstown, Maryland, Joseph secured a military pass and went to a recent "skirmish ground &... sketched it on two ½ sheets of fools cap given me by Lieutenant Naylor." Wet weather proved a difficulty, for "The rain wet the paper so that the pencil went through several times," but the next day he was creatively occupied again: "sketching the Quartermasters tent for Quartermaster Sargent Stein."[6] Whether drawing for his comrades, the illustrated press, or his own enjoyment, Beale quite often had a pencil in hand.

Beale was not the only soldier preoccupied with making pictures. With print imagery and photography as the foci of the previous two chapters, Chapter Three will explore soldiers' graphic artworks. Painted and drawn war art formed a more private record of citizen-soldiers' wartime experience, disconnected, especially at the point of production, from the public and commercial contexts of printed and photographic imagery; it was therefore more likely to be unbounded by considerations of audience and popular sentiment. In these media, soldiers still often aligned with patriotic depictions of the war but had greater creative freedom with which to directly explore the war's taboos. The "darker side of soldiering," which can be difficult to uncover in letters and reminiscences because of "self-censorship in the ranks," particularly in the more sentimental and formulaic narratives employed by educated soldiers, is more often found in private drawn and painted works.[7] Therefore, though an outpouring of war-positive imagery occurred in these media, as it did in all others, it is also where soldiers most frequently made emphatic challenges against the popular representation of the Civil War.

Soldier-artists who created painted or drawn works were also more likely to depict a greater range of subjects and scenes than troops who had their photograph taken. Soldiers' portraits were self-representative forms that could offer a view of comradery, domesticity, and soldierly material culture, but the authoritative role of the photographer in the studio and the practical limitations of photography not only reduced the individual soldier to that of a subject

[5] Beale, July 8, 1863, diary, Beale Papers.
[6] Beale, July 17, 1863; July 18, 1863, diary, Beale Papers.
[7] Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 117.

(with some influence over creative process), but limited the potential subject matter of the photographs. Ordinary soldiers were less likely to have camp scenes photographed for personal keeping, and marches and battles were out of the question. In relation to print culture and the soldiers' pictures it inspired, the range of subject matter was much broader, even if the stylistic strategies employed could be strikingly different. This chapter will explore and examine the extensive range of subjects that soldiers pictured from the ranks, as they depicted, narrated, and commented upon enlistment, martial hierarchies and discipline, marches, sanitation, race and slavery, battle, and most often, themselves.

Soldier-artists still encountered a number of limitations that hindered their creative work. Like some of the men introduced previously, many were likely to have held some image-making occupation before the war. Charles W. Reed, whose sketches were examined in Chapter One, was known for his artistic talent in the years before the war. Robert Knox Sneden of the 40th New York Volunteer Infantry entered the army with an architectural education, whilst Alfred Bellard of the 5th New Jersey Volunteers was raised by a skilled engraver and coppersmith.[8] Those who served in the army as engineers and mapmakers, alongside those men like Beale who were designated as regimental artists, had greater access to creative resources. John H. Westervelt of the 1st New York Volunteer Engineers and Captain Adolph Metzner of the 32nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry, who was detailed to work as a topographical engineer in 1863, both produced extensive catalogues of wartime imagery.[9] Soldiers who were constantly marching, digging entrenchments, and fighting enjoyed fewer chances to sit and sketch their surroundings

[8] Charles Wellington Reed, *"A Grand Terrible Dramma": From Gettysburg to Petersburg – The Civil War Letters of Charles Wellington Reed,* ed. Eric Campbell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 4; Robert Knox Sneden, *Eye of the Storm: Written and Illustrated by Private Robert Knox Sneden*, eds. Charles F. Bryan and Nelson D. Lankford (New York: Free Press, 2000), xi; Robert Knox Sneden, *Images from the Storm: 300 Civil War Images by the Author of Eye of the Storm,* eds. Charles F. Bryan, Jr., James C. Kelly, and Nelson D. Lankford (New York: Free Press, 2001); Alfred Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard*, ed. David Herbert Donald (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), ix.

[9] John H. Westervelt, *Diary of a Yankee Engineer: The Civil War Story of John H. Westervelt, Engineer, 1st New York Volunteer Engineer Corps*, ed. Anita Palladino (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997); Michael A. Peake, ed., *Blood Shed in this War: Civil War Illustrations by Captain Adolph Metzner, 32nd Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2010).

and observations than those in training camps, garrisons, and in prolonged sieges. But even those who lacked formal training or who were not raised in an artistic environment felt compelled to sketch, regardless of their lack of skill. Milton McJunkin of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry and an unknown soldier in the 44th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry pictured the war in blunt but insightful terms in their diaries and correspondence.[10] The war art of all of these soldier-artists has been previously published, but never before have historians attempted to apply visual analysis to their images or to contextualize them within the United States' broader wartime visual culture.

This chapter, like the broader thesis, also features unpublished works that have been uncovered through archival research. But even those images that have been published have received only superficial historical and critical interpretation. We hear little more than the fact that Alfred Bellard believed his pictures would be interesting to look at after the war was over, or that Metzner chronicled the war first with humour and then with stark reality, in works that exhibit their art.[11] A serious consideration of soldiers' war art is due, particularly with regards to Union soldiers. As Peter Carmichael notes, an ironic predisposition positioned many Northerners to "read life with a degree of critical detachment." Union troops recognized the fundamental antagonisms between the self and society, which increased their capacity to explore and even make light of the horrors of combat, bombastic authority, and the political hypocrisy of the Union war effort.[12] This chapter will reveal the full spectrum of Northern soldiers' war art, from the sentimental to the taboo, and from the conventional to the avant-garde. In doing so, it

[10] Milton McJunkin, *The Bloody 85th: The Letters of Milton McJunkin, a Western Pennsylvanian Soldier in the Civil War*, eds. Ronn Palm, Richard Saunders, and Patrick A. Schroeder (Fredericksburg: Schroeder Publications, 2000); Robert E. Bonner, *The Soldier's Pen: Firsthand Impressions of the Civil War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).
[11] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier*, ix; Peake, *Blood Shed*, 2.
[12] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 244. In *Weirding the War*, Carmichael muses more on this subject, "A Union soldier was more capable and willing to take a position antagonistic to the army, to his community, and to the nation than what a Southern soldier was cognitively predisposed to do, since Confederates were hemmed in by honor, with its unyielding demand for community allegiance and approval… By 1861, [a] humanitarian sensibility had infused much of Northern society… [which] encouraged mental flexibility and expansiveness through imagination." Peter S. Carmichael, "Soldier-Speak," in Stephen William Berry, ed., *Weirding the War: Stories from the Civil War's Ragged Edges* (Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 274-275.

will demonstrate the multitude of ways that Northern soldiers aligned with and rejected the heroic framing of the Civil War in popular culture.

It is not possible to consider all of the aspects of army life that Union soldiers pictured with varying stylistic strategies in this chapter, and so its structure will trace volunteers' visual expression of three major themes in Civil War soldiering: self-representation, slavery and emancipation, and the battle experience.[13] The first section considers how soldiers generally made themselves and their comrades their most frequent subjects, foreshadowing the efforts of professional artists' efforts to restore "compassion for combatants" through thoughtful pictorial studies. Historians generally recognise Winslow Homer as the first civilian to take this approach, particularly with the publication of his 1863 series *Campaign Sketches* (Figure 1).[14] But soldier-artists pictured themselves from the moment they entered service, sometimes in ways that excluded the typical self-representational strategies found in photographic portraiture. Many white volunteers were so unused to military life that they felt like service had turned them into automatons and slaves; such sentiments were put into striking contrast with the actual conditions of black enslavement that Northern troops encountered in the wartime South. The second section demonstrates that when Union troops traversed the Confederacy, they drew moments of African American resistance and emancipation. When black men joined the Union ranks, white Northerners generally responded to their presence, and their own anxieties about how black inclusion would devalue their own service, by depicting African Americans as entirely unsuited to army life. Though white and black Union troops shared the experience of battle from May 1863

[13] Other fruitful areas of study include the depiction of military justice. The popular press pictured executions to emphasise the authority of the army and to detract from the intimate violence of the killing. "There was no place in Northern print culture for soldier ambivalence about the execution of deserters," writes Carmichael. Images of executions emphasised order and justice. Anonymity characterises executors and the executed die without blood on their shirts. Execution images conveyed a controlled violence witnessed by a disciplined soldiery. Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 198. Soldiers were more sensitive in their depiction of rule-breakers, producing light-hearted depictions of insubordination. When they pictured punishment, they avoided executions. Oliver Norton Willcox of the 83rd Pennsylvania avoided describing an execution to his sister in August 1863, and instead said that, if he could, he would send an illustrated paper, as he had seen "Frank Leslie's and Harper's men both sketching it." Oliver Willcox Norton to his sister, August 30, 1863, *Army Letters, 1861-1865* (Chicago: O.L. Demming, 1903), 179.
[14] Eleanor J. Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 113.

onwards, white troops didn't depict black men in combat. In the third section, this chapter examines the way that soldiers depicted themselves and their Confederate adversaries in battle, in ways that ranged from the sentimental, censored, and idealistic to the blunt, harrowing, and traumatic. Whilst most continued to picture battle through a positive lens, many others found that a "newly mechanized and impersonal form of warfare left symbolic languages of heroic struggle and patriotic commemoration untenable."[15] And from the wreckage of battle came surrender and captivity, and wounding and death, themes that were taboo unless represented in the most domesticated and sentimentalised terms. In the privacy of their sketchbooks and diaries, some soldiers ventured towards this subject matter in direct – even nihilistic – terms. Paintings and sketches, because they were more private, confronted the darker aspects of war – suffering, injury, and death – more readily; and reflected a deeper theme in citizen-soldier art: the need to take control of the larger narrative of the war experience.

[15] Ross Barrett, *Rendering Violence: Riots, Strikes, and Upheaval in Nineteenth-Century American Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 105.

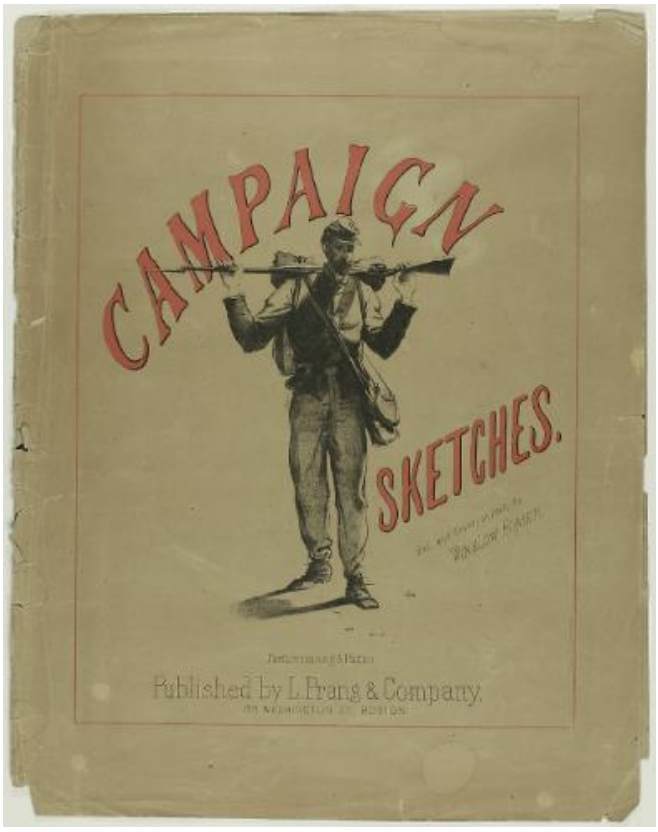


Figure 1, Winslow Homer, *Camp Sketches: Part 1 – Cover,* 1863, colour lithograph on tan wove paper, Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection, 2013.804, Art Institute of Chicago, https://www.artic.edu/artworks/129465/campaign-sketches-part-i-cover (accessed 15/02/2019).

"Here Comes Old Ad with His Gun:" Soldierly Self-Representation

Most men generally maintained an affirmative view of their role as Union soldiers, but that is not to argue that soldiers were incapable of being critical of themselves or their comrades. Responding to appeals of patriotism, Union, masculinity, vengeance against the South, and the promise of martial excitement, many Northern men viewed volunteer service as a positive duty.[16]

Soldiers generally pictured military service favourably too, particularly in the early years

[16] For more than a year, the Union army was able to rely entirely on volunteers. J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 66. Historian Michael Barton provides statistical analysis of the virtues expressed by Civil War soldiers in their diaries. Union soldiers employed a core value system to express the virtues of soldiering. In a sample of 100 soldiers, 72% recognised honourable qualities in themselves or comrades, whilst 60% identified or described others as "moral." Michael Barton, *Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1981), 36-38.

of civil war when antebellum war imagery still dominated. Ohioan James A. Connolly, who enlisted in 1861, wrote home after three years of arduous service and reminisced about his boyhood impressions of soldiering:

> I used to read stories about the Mexican war, and earnestly wished I was a man, so that I could go to war like the men in the pictures, wearing a nice blue coat and red pants, flourishing a great yellow sword over my head, and dashing into the thickest of the fight on a furious, coal black horse.[17]

Connolly's preconceptions centred on dutiful soldiers and their unerring courage. But having experienced "the sober reality," he found service "very unenchanting." He now looked "so much like a beggar man" and his hat was "the very picture of misery and dilapidation."[18] When he learned that his son's "military ardor [had been] evidently aroused" by contemporaneous representations of soldiers, he hoped that he would never have to serve so that the "rose tinted fancies of drummer boys and war should [never] be effaced from his mind."[19] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. was similarly deceived, and went to war assuming the soldiers were older men: "I remembered a picture of a revolutionary soldier… representing a white-haired man with his flint-lock slung across his back." Only after much service did Holmes appreciate that war was largely the business of the young.[20] Whether imagining heroic individuals engaging in miraculous feats of courage or by picturing soldiers as the ancient vanguard of the Revolution, popular imagery had misled American men about what made a soldier.

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[17] James Austin Connolly, *Three Years in the Army of the Cumberland,* ed. Paul M. Angle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), 253, in Thompson, *Image of War,* 15.
[18] Connolly, *Three Years*, 120-121, in ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., *The Occasional Speeches of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes,* ed. Mark DeWolfe Howe, Jr. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1962), 78-79, in Hess, *Union Soldier*, 3.

Connolly eventually conceded that appearance "doesn't make any difference in the field, for a fine uniform does not make a soldier."[21] But even as late as 1864, some still rested upon idealised representations. Veteran Theodore Lyman wrote paradoxically of his comrades in 1864, "The more they serve, the less they look like soldiers and the more they resemble day laborers who have bought second-hand military clothes." To appear as a soldier, one had to look like a recruit on dress parade, not like a veteran who had done much soldiering. However, the writer maintained that he "associate[d] good troops with dusty, faded suits," and he looked with "suspicion on anyone who has a stray bit of lace or other martial finery."[22] The grandiose appearance of Connolly's imagined soldier became an outsider to be wary of amongst battle-tested veterans.

In the early years, quotidian pictures of ordinary soldiers were rare. Popular culture was rife with glamorous cavalrymen and striking Zouaves, to the extent that it appeared that common soldiers were portrayed in proportion to the "sartorial imagination of the regimental tailors." Historian William Thompson notes that it would not be until Winslow Homer sketched Army of the Potomac troops in 1862 that the ordinary soldier found an artist who preferred him to dazzling Zouaves and well-publicised officers.[23] But volunteers' own creative output reveals that there were already innumerable soldier-artists engaging in soldierly self-representation. Private Alfred Bellard of the 5th New Jersey Volunteers was one. Along with his letters home, he often enclosed "sketches taken by myself on the spot" and urged his parents to preserve them, for they would be "interesting to me in after years to look at if I get safe out of this war."[24] He

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[21] Conolly, *Three Years,* 121, in Thompson, *Image of War*, 15.
[22] Theodore Lyman, *Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman from the Wilderness to Appomattox* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), 163.
[23] Ibid., 35.
[24] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), xi. It is in an important admission that Bellard's letters and sketches were compiled into a memoir after the war, and some evidence of self-censorship exists. James J. Broomall echoes what many scholars have long posited, that by the 1880s "Civil War soldiers turned to paper and to speeches to recount the triumphs, and sometimes tribulations, of their youth… Most memoirs, recorded after the conflict from memory and scattered notes, ordered past events to create meaningful accounts for the present." James J. Broomall, *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 153. However, Bellard had access to a comprehensive collection of his wartime letters and pictures, and he did not seek publication or public

initially drew well-dressed volunteers, camp scenes, and pastoral landscapes, but before long he was making pictures of dishevelled soldiers and the broken bodies that surrounded him.[25] One of his earliest images was an amusing departure from his initially positive perspective and apparently the first to depict him as soldier. Entitled *My first guard duty* (Figure 2), he sketched it near Trenton, New Jersey and it ironically showed a "pretty state of affairs:"

> First night in camp, no uniform, no experience, and ordered out for guard… I was handed an old Harpers Ferry musket without a lock and placed on my post. As I was in citizens' dress and no overcoat, I can safely say that when I was relieved from duty, after standing two hours in a drenching rain, I was anything but a contented mortal.

Bellard's visual and textual accounts capture the enlistment period in one of its most transitional stages: fully engaged in soldiering, but not appearing soldierly at all. Bellard marches by a Sibley tent whilst carrying his musket at the position of "Secure – ARMS."[26] He is dressed in a sack coat and wheel cap. Despite already having passed his medical examination, declared "fit for a soldier and in good condition," sworn into service, and even asserting himself that he and his comrades were "full fledged soldiers, in the pay of Uncle Sam," he readily admits that they "only wanted our uniform and arms, to make us feel as if we were something more than the common run of mortals."[27] Bellard figures the attainment of his regimental blues as more of the mark of a

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presentation of his memoir. Whilst many memoirs were produced in a world of "conversions, metamorphoses, and rebirths," a "world of reinvigorated myth," this was not so much the case for Bellard. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Sterling, 2009), 140. Bellard's memoir instead seems better sited in David Blight's recognition of the soldiers' attempts to find "ways to express the trauma of their personal experiences as well as its larger legacies," in the first fifteen years after the conflict had ended. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 170.

[25] Alan Brinkley, "Preface," in Harry L. Katz and Vincent Virga, *Civil War Sketch Book: Drawings from the Battlefront* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), xi.

[26] That Bellard adopts secure arms is important, for this was a position intended to secure the weapon in inclement weather. The working parts of the weapon are kept dry under the armpit. It illustrates that he was familiar with the manual of arms despite not having received his uniform yet. Silas Casey, *Infantry Tactics, for the Instruction, Exercise, and Manoeuvres of the Soldier, a Company, Line of Skirmishers, Battalion, Brigade, or Corps D' Armée,* Vol. I (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1862), 34.

[27] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier*, 5.

true soldier than taking an oath of service. Having entered service in the infantry, a branch less celebrated than that of dashing cavalry or calculating artillery, Bellard considers his role-defining apparel as something to raise him above the common citizenry.



Figure 2, Alfred Bellard, *My first guard duty*, ca. 1861-1864, pencil sketch, in *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard*, ed. David Herbert Donald (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 7.

When he received his uniform, Bellard was "very anxious to show myself off in Hudson City." He flaunted martial regulation by escaping the camp without a military pass to achieve this.[28] The attraction of the appearance of uniformed soldiers, embedded into American youths through mainstream pictorial media and through corporeal displays at martial events, superseded

[28] Ibid., 9.

an adherence to duty. Other soldiers used military equipment and iconography to emphasise their temporary martial identities. W. H. Dunham of the 20th Ohio Volunteer Infantry avoided picturing himself but used flags and the weapons of war to spell out the title page to his 1864 diary (Figure 3). But reality struck for Bellard when his uniform was ridiculed, "I was in such a hurry to have it on my back, that I got an overcoat that was about two sizes too large for me, and the tails loosely flopped round my heels as I walked."[29] For Bellard and many others, the wearing of a uniform signified the attainment of the role of the citizen-soldier. As seen in the previous chapter, numerous accounts exist of volunteers rushing to photographic portrait galleries to be pictured in their new garbs. Fine martial regalia, so prominent in antebellum and mainstream wartime representations of soldiers, would seemingly imbue volunteers with the traits necessary for soldiering, even the insubordinate. Soldiers soon realised their mistakes. Lyman was wary of finely dressed droops and many looked back on their first martial portraits and saw naïve recruits. Bellard's first effort at self-representation reveals that even for volunteers already familiarised with the monotony of army life, romantic antebellum images still influenced their perceptions of soldiering. Drill, making camp, and standing guard all seemed secondary to the uniform. But as Bellard and other inexperienced soldiers progressed in service, these notions were increasingly destabilised.

[29] Ibid., 10.

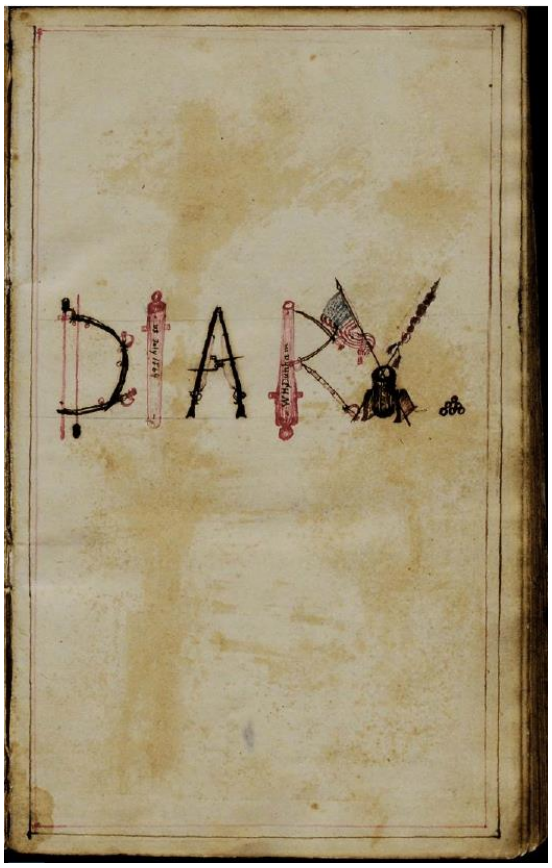


Figure 3, W.H. Dunman, *Diary,* pen sketch, 1864, Diary of soldier W.H. Dunham, with drawings, GLC03351, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc03351 (accessed 21/02/2017).

Bellard's next picturing of himself was made after he was furnished with a "regulation frock coat for street duty" (Figure 4). The frock coat was a "singlebreasted frock of dark blue cloth," with "sky-blue [piping] for Infantry." It was intended for formal military occasions, such as parades and reviews, whereas "For Fatigue Purposes – a sack coat of dark blue flannel" was required.[30] A transformation had apparently taken place. Stood in the position of "parade rest," Bellard composed himself with a soldierly bearing: rifle-musket and knapsack displayed, "Belly in. Chest out and such other positions as tend to make a full fledged veteran out of a raw recruit."[31] Notably, Bellard had adopted an imperial moustache, popularised by Napoleon III and

[30] United States War Department, *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861* (Philadelphia: George W. Childs, Publisher, 1862), 463-464.
[31] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier,* 4.

emulated by celebrated figures such as General George B. McClellan. In addition to making a sketch, Bellard had his "likeness taken in this uniform and a fine looking burlesque it made."[32] The implication echoes the aforementioned sentiments of other Union soldiers when reviewing their early efforts at self-representation. The "brass scales for the shoulders" that he was issued with, one of the most conspicuous articles he was required to wear, he described as the "abomination of a soldier as it keeps us continually digging away with our vinegar bottle and whiting to keep the tarnish off."[33] Bellard found the tedium of polishing brass enough to detract from the fine appearance they permitted. To appear as the imagined worthies from their youthful days required much care and provision, but the toils of service left little time for such vanities.



Figure 4, Bellard, *We were furnished with the regulation frock coat for street duty,* 1861-4, pencil sketch, *Gone for a Soldier,* ed. Donald, 22.

Bellard continued to depict himself and his comrades in varying states of martial dress. As his service wore on, he had to face that soldiers could resemble common labourers in soldier's clothes, or worse, during long periods of campaigning. One sketch drawn following the

[32] Ibid., 22.
[33] Ibid.

Second Battle of Bull Run (Figure 5) displays a dishevelled infantryman supporting himself on his gun:

> Our uniforms at this time would have disgraced a beggar. Our pants had worn away so much that they hardly reached the knee, and the bottoms were in tatters. Our overcoats were not much better being burnt here and there in the skirts, by laying too near the fire. The whole uniform being pretty well stained up with mud and ashes. The shirt that I had on had seen active service for some 3 or 4 weeks and needed washing.[34]

Excuses could be made for such an appearance when engaged in active campaigning, when new uniform issues were rare and doing one's laundry might amount to nothing more than fording a river. Bellard pictures and describes himself more earnestly than Connolly, and yet still placed importance on pictorial self-presentation. Like other Civil War soldiers who found themselves ragged, Bellard's destitute appearance caused an abjection of the self. His self-representation is devoid of the "cultural pull of sentimentalism." There is nothing romantic in his depiction, and no pride in his bearing: his rifle-musket appears more as a crutch than as a weapon.[35]

[34] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier*, 147.
[35] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 121.



Figure 5, Bellard, *After Bull Run*, 1861-4 pencil and wash sketch, *Gone for a Soldier,* ed. Donald, 148.

Bellard found his squalid appearance evidence of dehumanisation rather than of the endurance required for great martial feats. Soldiers' autonomy was violated by a loss of control over their own bodies. In camp, men were forced to live amongst large numbers of soldiers with varying levels of personal cleanliness, whilst on the march filth was inescapable because men could not wash their clothes or bodies. Though such deprivation was felt more keenly by middle-class soldiers, all found the absence of cleanliness and neatness defiling.[36] Bellard might complain about keeping his brass tidy, but he constantly references his clothing. Though he was no "paper-collar" soldier, he valued his personal appearance, believing his soldierly identity rested on the appearance of his uniform.[37] Bellard associated the imagery of well-dressed warriors with the role of the citizen-soldier. Even as he revelled in his martial appearance and

[36] Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 59-60.
[37] Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 104-105.

showed disdain towards his destitution, as his service wore on, he was willing to forego the expected appearance of the celebrated soldier. Whilst stationed in Washington, Bellard bought a "fancy cap and store boots," despite being "under strict military rule not being allowed to wear anything that was not issued by the government, even to our shoes."[38] Bellard prized additional comfort and a small measure of singularity within the drab blue mass he was absorbed by, even if it meant a rejection of a regulation appearance.



Figure 6, John H. Westervelt, *Portraits of destinguished Zouaves,* 1863, pencil sketch, in *Diary of a Yankee Engineer: The Civil War Story of John H. Westervelt, Engineer, 1st New York Volunteer Engineer Corps*, ed. Anita Palladino (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997).

Alfred Bellard's three forays into self-representation give insight into what soldiers thought about their changing appearances in military service, and how they attempted to picture these shifts. Whilst the popular press obsessed over gaudily dressed regiments, ordinary soldiers engaged in self-portrayal before they had even received their uniforms. But even in the war's final years, some veteran soldiers like John H. Westervelt still thought the Zouaves worthy of special attention (Figure 6).[39] As was also seen in Chapter Two, soldiers were particularly driven

[38] Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier*, 261-262.
[39] Westervelt noted in his diary, "They look tough, rough and weather beaten. There is no other regt in or out of the field that has done harder or better service. It is a fact admitted by all." He makes an important distinction, prizing these soldiers for their service rather than their appearance. It is notable that his depiction of the Zouaves is

to picture themselves after receiving their first uniforms, for this was the most visible and public marker of their martial initiation. Similarly, they looked back on these representations and saw exaggerated imitations of soldiers. Whilst soldiers like Lyman came to recognise that a dusty uniform implied experience and a picturesque one indicated greenness, to descend into filth and lose complete control over one's public exterior signified a loss of dignity, almost to the extent that men felt as though they had plummeted from their pedestals as volunteers down beneath even the most impoverished of persons.

As many pictured themselves in uniform as an exclamation of their attainment of a martial identity – much like in portrait photography – some soldiers engaging in self-representation focused on the removal of the military tools and equipment as a means to express their enthusiasm to end their service. In 1864, Private Adam Porter of the 194th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment included a pen and ink sketch of himself in a letter (Figure 7), and penned alongside the drawing:

> Hear coms old Ad with his gun and Knapsack on my back but it will soon be of and then it may stay off for my part and if i go agane i dont want to cary the Knapsack and gun twenty four day yet to stay and then we will be free agane but then the next thing will be hard for me to find home i am lost for once but i think that i can find it.[40]

Picturing himself marching home to be "free agane," Porter bemoaned the exertions of army life but noted that he liked the service and would take up arms again if necessary, "i like it very well and would like to stay hear for one year Or untill the damd rebles [are] banished from the erth."[41] Soldiers created practical relationships with the materials of war that were soaked in memories of

particularly warlike, reflecting their fighting reputation, illustrating them crossing bayonets as a shell explodes between them. Palladino, ed., *Diary of a Yankee Engineer,* 153.

[40] Adam Porter to his sister Mary, October 7, 1864, Adam Porter Papers, 1864, SC 00359, Special Collections Research Center, College of William & Mary.

[41] Ibid.

violence and hardship.[42] Contemplation over these objects through pictorial and written expression prompted soldiers to muse on their own personal relationship to the war at large. Even though Porter didn't like to tote his knapsack and gun, he was prepared to enter service again if necessary. The final relinquishing of the tools of war meant for him that victory had been achieved.

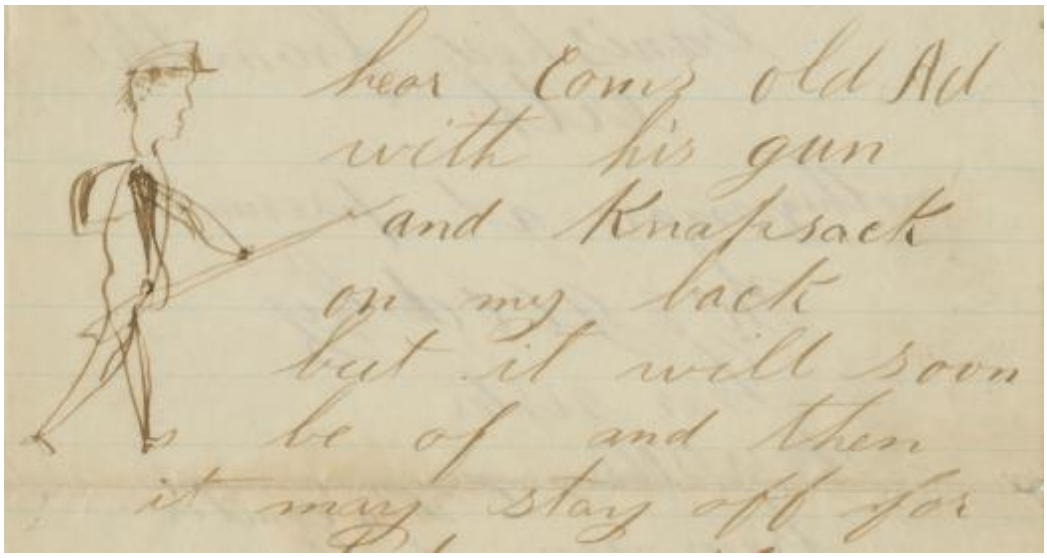


Figure 7, detail from *Adam Porter to his sister Mary, October 7, 1864*, pen sketch, Adam Porter Papers, 1864, SC 00359, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

"Contrabands" and "Kullered Regiments:" White Soldiers Depict African Americans in Slavery, Freedom, and Soldiering

For many white Union soldiers, African American subjects became a common feature of their war art. As Chandra Manning observes, scant numbers of white Union soldiers had ever laid eyes on an enslaved African American, and most harboured prejudices against black people.[43] Many soldiers held enslaved African Americans as responsible for the war, believing that their presence

[42] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 289.
[43] Manning posits that in many cases interactions with enslaved peoples were the first many white Union soldiers had with black people at all. Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 4, 12.

had helped unsettle American institutions.[44] Few Union soldiers professed to fight for racial equality, and historian James McPherson asserts that Bell I. Wiley's claim that even one in ten "had any real interest in emancipation" is likely exaggerated.[45] Over the course of the war, however, a conversion generally occurred amongst soldiers, particularly in their attitudes towards black soldiers. At first, the notion of black men wearing the same uniform as whites carried "disturbing implications." This view declined when it dawned on white troops that black soldiers might meet bullets otherwise intended for them. The actions of the United States Colored Troops at the battles of Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, and Fort Wagner began a process of converting doubters into advocates. It is crucial to recall that when President Abraham Lincoln campaigned on a presidential platform promising a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery in 1864, he received nearly eighty percent of the soldier vote.[46] Even if a white Northern soldier did not hold black freedom centrally in his reasons for enlisting, slavery, enslaved peoples, emancipation, freedom-seekers, and black soldiers were all central to his war experience.

Engagement and experiences with African Americans constantly informed the white Unions soldiers' comprehension of the conflict, but soldiers' perceptions were filtered through a cultural lens that encouraged racist attitudes towards African Americans and viewed them as inherently inferior to whites. Cultural and political energies engendered prejudice towards African Americans, which would in turn maintain prevailing government and economic interests. White Union soldiers' visual culture featuring black subjects consistently demonstrates such prejudices, even when the pictures express sympathy with the cause of black freedom. Historian

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[44] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 123.
[45] Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union,* updated edition (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 2008), 40. James M. McPherson, *Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 117. Manning pushes back against this claim, contending that as many as three quarters of Union soldiers came to the conclusion that winning the war required the destruction of slavery, though she accepts that hostility to slavery certainly did not equate to support for racial equality, with many keeping the two issues separate. By the end of the war, white Union troops' opinions about slavery, racial equality, and civil rights had become far more malleable and vulnerable to self-scrutiny. For Manning, emancipation paralleled – or even transcended – Union as a worthy war aim. Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over,* 47, 50, 12. For a comprehensive study in which Union is firmly established as the central goal of the war, see Gary W. Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[46] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades,* 126-129.

Michael Barton notes that the "imagined personalities" of African Americans in white mainstream media and in soldiers' expressive culture reveal less about black subjects and more about white soldiers.[47] Many soldiers' pictures were crudely racist, but are valuable materials for a more comprehensive knowledge of white Union soldiers' perceptions of slavery and emancipation.

Thomas Place of the 1st New York Mounted Rifles centred several pictures on the representation of African Americans he encountered while campaigning in the South, whilst he never once pictured a white Southern civilian.[48] Place compiled his wartime art, along with photographs of his comrades, in a scrapbook devoid of text, other than captions and testimonies from comrades which attest to his good character.[49] The soldier-artist employed pencils and what he termed "'Poker Painting,' for it is made with a hot poker," to make his drawings.[50] Like many others, Place apparently found African Americans a constant source of wonder and bemusement, which was expressed in condescending terms and characterised black people in stereotypical and minstrel-like terms. His discriminatory renderings are characterised by gaping mouths, wide eyes, and woolly hair, paralleling the depiction of many black figures in popular culture. Place depicted those he encountered through prevailing cultural prejudices, even as some of his drawings attempted to picture African Americans in new roles as freed people.[51]

The first rendering of an African American to appear in Place's scrapbook is titled *Tossing Darkey from Blanket. (Camp Sports)* (Figure 8). It depicts fifteen mounted servicemen (notable by

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[47] Barton, *Goodmen*, 71.
[48] The 1st New York Mounted Rifles were a relatively fortunate regiment. They participated in over fifty battles and skirmishes during the conflict, whilst suffering comparatively low casualties: 32 killed or mortally wounded in combat, while 128 succumbed to disease. Roswell P. Flower, *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York for the Year 1893*, Vol. VI (Albany: James B. Lyon, State Printer, 1894), 746; *The Union Army; A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States 1861-1865 - Records of the Regiments in the Union Army – Cyclopaedia of Battles – Memoirs of Commanders and Soldiers,* Vol. 2 (Madison: Federal Publishing Company, 1908), 200-201.
[49] Thomas Place, *War Reminisces of Thomas Place,* Thomas Place Scrapbook, Mss5:7 P6902:1, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture.
[50] Ronald Coddington, "The Art of Union Veteran Thomas Place," *Faces of the Civil War*, December 6, 2011, http://facesofthecivilwar.blogspot.com/2011/12/art-of-union-veteran-thomas-place.html.
[51] William R. Trotter, *Ironclads and Columbiads: The Civil War in North Carolina – The Coast* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1991), 160.

their short-fitting cavalry jackets, and likely from Place's unit) clutching onto a blanket and surrounded by their cheering comrades in a camp scene, as they throw an African American man skyward. In addition to the racist characterising of the black subject's face, the victim of the soldiers' "sport" is dressed in a pair of striped trousers, furthering his minstrel-like depiction. The activity was by no means confined to Place's regiment and appears a commonplace exercise amongst white Union soldiers. The author of the 24th Massachusetts' regimental history wrote of the practice:

> The men had a spell of that almost universal horse-play known in those days as tossing "niggers" in a blanket. While it was fun for the tossers, and very likely did not hurt the tossed, it was for the latter a period of most intense fear, not to say horror. Of course the poor victims screamed and yelled, but the louder the cries, the greater the fun for the lusty fellows at the blanket's edge, and the higher went the contraband.[52]

Though the writer expresses some pity for the victims of this "horse-play," the juvenile activity is intended to intimidate and aggravate the intended target. Another soldier recalled taking a black child with his comrades and tossing him in a blanket until an officer intervened.[53] Place depicts a racist act in overtly racist terms.

White Northerners' constant exposure to racist, denigrating representations of black individuals, coupled with their recent entry into the high-stress conditions of soldiering, allowed stereotypes of African Americans to overwhelm the realities that soldiers witnessed. Moreover, it is reminiscent of the boisterous tests of manhood that took place in Union camps. White

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[52] Alfred S. Roe, *The Twenty-Fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-1866, "New England Guard Regiment"* (Worcester: Twenty-Fourth Veteran Association, 1907), 134.

[53] Charles Crook Hood, December 17, 1862, diary, Library of Congress, in Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 122. William H. Crook, a personal bodyguard to Lincoln during his visit to Richmond at the war's end, recalled this activity, but attempted to represent it as an initiation ritual for newly emancipated African Americans. He reminisced: "we saw some soldiers not far away 'initiating' some negroes by tossing them on a blanket." Apparently, "when they came down they were supposed to be transformed into Yankees." William H. Crook, "Lincoln's Last Day: New Facts Now Told for the First Time," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 115, July-December, 1907, 521.

soldiers were sometimes subjected to similar hazing rituals. These were largely conducted by what Lorien Foote terms "roughs," but they were accepted by men who valued gentility and moral character. These were centred on admitting white men to the brotherhood of soldiers, but the activity in Place's depiction is characterised by the isolation of the black subject.[54] As white soldiers gather about the blanket, every one of them smiling and cheering, the African American is thrust out of this circle of comrades with an expression of horror upon his face.



Figure 8, Thomas Place, *Tossing Darkey from Blanket. (Camp Sports),* in Thomas Place Scrapbook, Mss5:7 P6902:1, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture (hereafter MCVMHC).

Place's two other images of African American subjects, *The "Old Aunty" Washwoman of Va* (Figure 9) and *Virginia turn-out and driver, worm fence and Persimon tree* (Figure 10) are similarly problematic in their depiction of race. They are reminiscent of genre paintings, illustrating an African American wagoner on the road and a washerwoman at work outside of her cabin. The

[54] Lorien Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army* (New York: New York University Press, 2010, 72-73. Historian Reid Mitchell notes that "racism is an insufficient explanation for this kind of cruelty." He emphasises that the experience of war hardened soldiers and prevented them from seeing these acts as anything but a source of amusement. Additionally, such acts allowed soldiers to release the pent-up frustrations that they felt towards the enemy, their own army, and to civil society in general. African Americans, especially in the South, occupied such a low social position that it made them "safer and more accessible" targets for white soldiers. After Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, some men holding such opinions were likely to become resentful that they were risking their lives for supposedly underserving African Americans. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers,* 123.

pictures are characterised by the basic means by which they are rendered. Although Place's depictions of human figures, white or black, are generally of low quality, African Americans are dealt with in a noticeably cruder style. In *Virginia turn-out and driver*, the animal pulling the wagon is represented with more care and attention to detail than the driver himself. It is clearer still, when examining *The "Old Aunty,"* for Place attempts to categorise the individual he has encountered as the widespread type of the African American "Mammy" in white popular culture.[55] Black archetypes were flagrantly displayed in the minstrel shows of mid-nineteenth century America, established by whites to redeem the relationship between white men and black women in the slaveholding South. White picture-makers generally depicted this figure as a black woman wearing an apron around her waist and a kerchief on her head.[56] She was an expert in all domestic matters, known for her reliability, and highly regarded in the hierarchy of enslaved persons in the South.[57] Although Place's caricature aligns with some imaginations of the "Mammy" figure, there also are some evident departures.

[55] Other soldiers explored the archetype in their drawings, like Pliny A. Jewett, whose rendering of an African American washerwoman appeared in Chapter One.
[56] Onimi Wilcox, "Communications Media," in Abdul Karim Bangura, ed., *Culpability of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Multidisciplinary Primer* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 4.
[57] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 47-48.



Figure 9, Thomas Place, *The "Old Aunty" Washwoman of Va.,* in Place Scrapbook, Manuscript Collections, MCVMHC.

Place represents the "Old Aunty" as the skilled matriarch of the domestic sphere, simultaneously supervising children and busily engaged in her laundry work. Unlike popular imaginations of the "Mammy" figure who usually operates in the white family's plantation house, she is confined to an enslaved persons' cabin. The pipe in her mouth complicates Place's attempts to categorise visually the individual according to his preconceptions about enslaved people. Union soldiers found the sight of white Southern women smoking tobacco a novelty. To them, it provided evidence that Southern femininity was unrefined and inferior to that in the North. Because Northern soldiers presumed Southern women lacked moral decency, they also thought that women had failed to inculcate the required patriotism to prevent rebellion in the South.[58] Surgeon Henry H. Seys was surprised to admit "evidence of considerable cultivation" amongst white Southern women in Triune, Tennessee despite the fact that supposedly nine out of ten women used tobacco"[59] Whilst observations of white Southern women smoking affirmed

[58] Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 86.
[59] Henry H. Seys to Harriet Seys, February 17, 1862, Henry H. Seys Letters, Schoff Collection, Clements Library, University of Michigan, in Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 108.

the Union image of Southern degeneracy and Northern superiority, it evidenced African Americans' uncivilised nature and justified their bondage. Despite recognising the depravity of the Southern slavery, soldiers often interpreted the degradation of black communities as a reason for their inclusion in the system, not because of it.

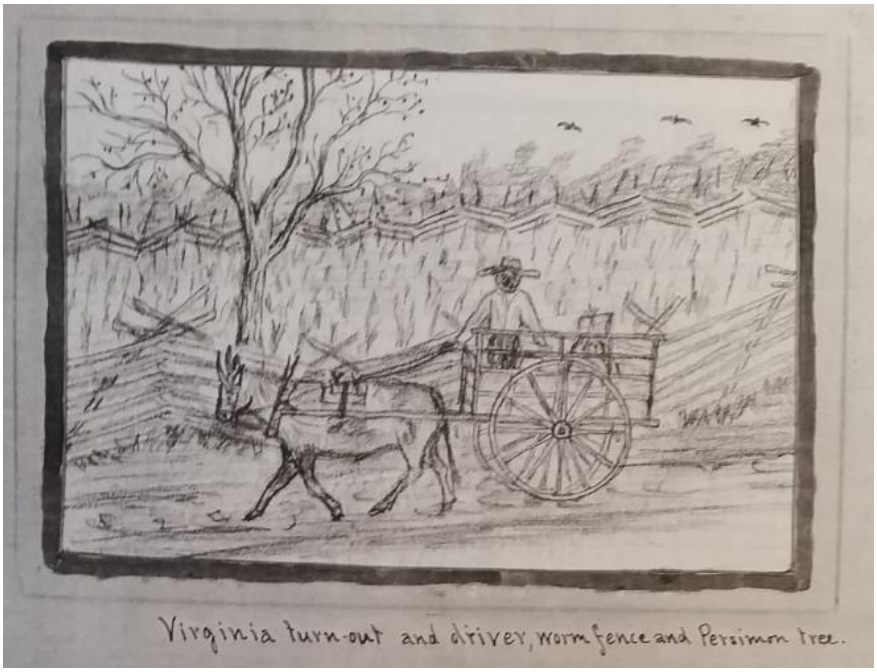


Figure 10, Thomas Place, *Virginia turn-out and driver, worm fence and Persimon tree,* in Place Scrapbook, MCVMHC.

Place's artistic focus on African American subjects was driven more by his curiosity towards the novel sight of enslaved African Americans, rather than by any malicious determination to mark the race as suitable for slavery, even though his representations were filtered through racist imagery. The 1860 United States Census lists Place's home county of Queens, New York as having a free black population of approximately 6 percent. Conversely, estimates of Virginia's black population stand at approximately 34 percent.[60] Figure 8 pictures Union soldiers' disparaging behaviour towards enslaved peoples, but his other images, regardless of the prejudiced lens through which he pictured African Americans, represents them as

[60] "U.S. Census, Race Demographics, 1860," *Social Explorer,* https://www.socialexplorer.com/ (accessed 10/02/2017).

autonomous. The "Old Aunty," as she carries out domestic task and supervises children – suggesting a family unbroken by slavery – is depicted with self-rule within the confines of her quarters. Wagon driving, as historian Melvin P. Ely writes, was an occupation in which African Americans dealt with white clients and spent much time without any supervision at all. Their occupation required "physical strength, mental sharpness, technical skill, initiative, flexibility, and the ability to organize."[61] Though Place's simple depictions of African Americans are inherently racist, such prejudiced imaginings of free and enslaved blacks were commonplace.[62] It is therefore expected that even when recreating scenes of the small displays of autonomy of enslaved peoples, Place could not represent them without bowing to the mainstream prejudiced perceptions of the period.

To gain a fuller understanding of white Union soldiers' artistic renderings of African American subjects in the South, it is necessary to draw comparison between Place and an infantryman of the 44th Massachusetts. All that survives of the latter soldier's war record is a small-notebook-turned-cartoon book entitled *A Few Scenes in the life of a "Sojer" in the Mass 44th, 1863*. There is no record of the author's identity, with only one reference to "the compiler of this Book."[63] The author's cartoon protagonist is named "Gorge" or "George," but with about hundred men by that name serving in the regiment, identification is not easy.[64] The soldier's cartoons are highly exaggerated – even absurd – depictions of everyday activities. Soldiers employed comedy as a means to cope with the high-pressure, unfamiliar circumstances of

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[61] Melvin P. Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s through the Civil War* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010), 145.

[62] Even a professionally trained artist like Homer, who was praised for his realist approach and for "painting what he saw," still found himself bound to the racist imaginings of African Americans so characteristic of the period's popular culture. Elizabeth Jones, *Winslow Homer: The Nature of Observation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1.

[63] *A Few Scenes in the life of a "SOJER" in the Mass 44th*, diary/artwork, 1863, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLC08200, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (hereafter GLI).

[64] The 44th had their share of graphic talents. Paul S. Yendell of Company G illustrated their record of service whilst Corporal James G. Brown provided the maps and plans. James Gardner Brown, *Record of the Service of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Militia in North Carolina, August 1862 to May 1863* (Boston: n.p., 1887), v-vii. Zenas T. Haines, another corporal in the regiment, sporadically sent home sketches drawn by his comrade, George W. Hight. Zenas T. Haines, *Letters from the Forty-Fourth Regiment M.V.M.: A Record of the Experience of a Nine Months' Regiment in the Department of North Carolina in 1862-3* (Boston: Herald Job Office, 1863), 103.

combat. As McPherson states, joking – particularly gallows humour – was an extremely important means of discharging nervous tension, whether soldiers recognised its cathartic function or not.[65] An Ohioan private noted, "on the battlefield, men joke and laugh just the same as they do in other places," whilst a New Yorker affirmed that "solemn jokes are very common in camp."[66] But it was as important for soldiers to manage the mundane monotony of camp with humour as it was to cope with the anxieties of entering battle. Technically, camp confines were the most dangerous place for a soldier: twice as many Civil War soldiers succumbed to disease as of battle wounds.[67] Humour was one of many coping mechanisms employed by soldiers. Though references to comedy appear frequently in volunteers' letters and diaries, the unknown cartoonist has created one of the most potent testimonies to humour's role in supporting absent soldiers.

[65] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 37.
[66] George H. Cadman to Esther Cadman, Cadman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, in McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades,* 37; Edward Wightman to brother, Oct. 1, 1862, in Edward Wightman, *From Antietam to Fort Fisher: The Civil War Letters of Edward King Wightman, 1862-1865,* ed. Edward G. Longacre (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), 47.
[67] Drew G. Faust, *Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2008), 4.



Figure 11, *More Contrabands*, 1863, pencil sketch, in *A Few Scenes*, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLC08200, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York (hereafter GLI), https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc08200 (accessed 15/09/2016).

The soldier's depiction of African Americans goes beyond attempts to portray unfortunate events in a humorous style. *More Contrabands* (Figure 11) illustrates an African American freedom-seeker, carrying her baby and urging a half-naked infant towards Union lines. The young boy protests in an exaggerated minstrel dialect, "I'se afeared ob de Sojers," his mother alleviates his concerns by replying, "don't be afeared, I'm gwine to make a 'Lectrotyper out of you, for de Black lead wont show on you."[68] The scene is no more than a juvenile attempt, depicted in a minstrelesque style, to mock the fears of "contraband" slaves and their optimism for freedom in areas under Union control, whilst simultaneously expressing his disdain for darker complexions of skin. Conversely, the two remaining images are more enlightening for a consideration of his perception of service. The cartoonist's first picture of an African American appears on the front-page of his sketchbook bearing the same racist imagery as all his depictions

[68] *A Few Scenes*, GLI.

of black subjects (Figure 12). As the contents soon evidence, the front-page figure is not the George the reader will soon be familiarised with.

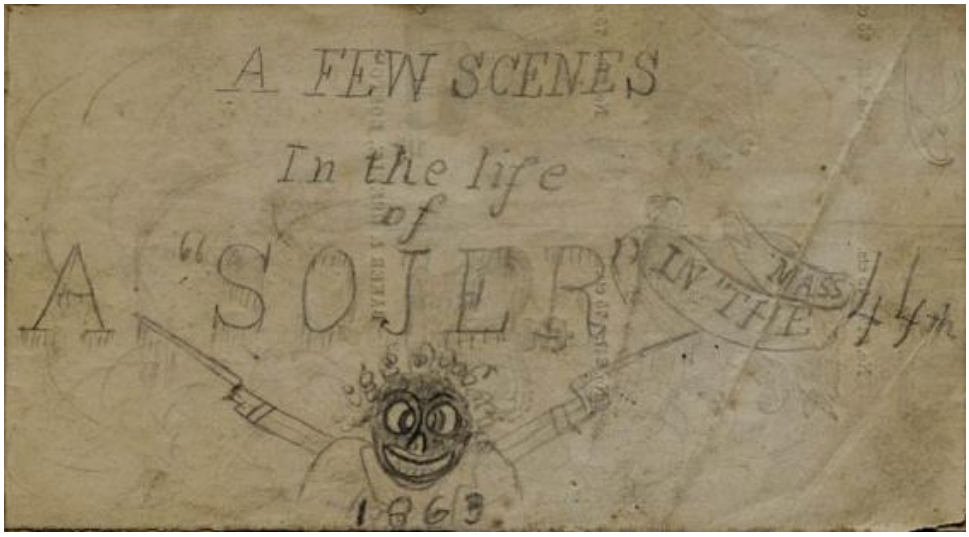


Figure 12, *A Few Scenes in the life of a "Sojer" in the Mass 44th,* 1863, pencil sketch, in *A Few Scenes*, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLI, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc08200 (accessed 15/09/2016).

The cover indicates what the author thought soldiering meant to him: servitude. As Mitchell Reid notes, military service, especially the experience of war, affects men in such a way that they undergo a psychological transformation. Civilians turn into volunteers, volunteers into soldiers, and soldiers into veterans. Even if they escaped death, Civil War soldiers often felt more like victims than they did killers. Additionally, the transformation meant a separation from home. The cycle was vicious. As they were isolated from familiar pre-war patterns of life, men made new identities borne from the military life that threatened to degrade them. But to immerse one's self in this temporary identity too extremely brought fears that it might succeed the previous identity of the civilian.[69] Soldiers' reduced autonomy, resulting from military regimentation and separation from their home-circles, infringed on the notions of individual freedom that they were fighting to preserve. Northerners and Southerners could both feel the comparison between

[69] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers,* 56-57.

the soldier and the slave, even if it was experienced more keenly by white Confederates. Recall that Adam Porter looked forward to his discharge so that he might be "free agane," whilst Allen Geer of the 20th Illinois concluded after enlistment, "yesterday a freeman – today a slave."[70] The cartoonist's sketchbook reveals its creator had much to loathe about army life in addition to its physical dangers: scant rations, cramped quarters, exposure to the elements, the pomp of officers, hard labour, the propaganda circulated by the popular press, and the supposedly heartless work carried out by surgeons. With his recent exposure to the South's enslaved population and his realisation that the role of the soldier was one of monotony and drudgery, it is comprehensible that he did not see soldiering as a pedestaled role, but a path to slavery.

But if he thought that the white soldier could be likened to a slave, he did not believe that black men could serve as soldiers. In *First North Carolina "Kullered" Regiment* (Figure 13), the cartoonist pictures a regiment composed of formerly enslaved black men. He depicts them as a motley assortment of invalids and martial novices. Their clothing is not at all uniform: an officer is dressed in an outdated regalia whilst the enlisted men look generally destitute: one is shoeless, another shirtless beneath his dress coat, another has a peg leg, while the colour-bearer, who carries an unimpressive banner stuck into his rifle's barrel, is depicted as a child. That the regimental flag has been entrusted to a child is particularly striking, as the role of colour-bearer was one of the most esteemed – and dangerous – positions in a regiment. The soldiers appear completely oblivious to the requirements of martial deportment. Each man carries his rifle in a different manner and no two bear themselves alike, rendering them incapable of standing at attention in an ordered formation. As the officer marches by, he is unaware that his sword catches one of the recruits in the face.

[70] Allen Morgan Geer, *The Civil War Diary of Allen Morgan Geer, Twentieth Regiment, Illinois Volunteers,* ed. Mary Ann Anderson (Tappan: R.C. Appleman, 1977), 2.



Figure 13, *First North Carolina "Kullered" Regiment*, 1863, pencil sketch, in *A Few Scenes*, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GLI, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc08200 (accessed 15/09/2016).

Such imagery was commonplace in wartime popular culture and was effective means of shifting popular sentiment against the inclusion of black men in the military. As early as October 1861, Northern newspapers mocked African Americans' suitability for soldiering. One *Frank Leslie's* cartoon, entitled *Dark Artillery; or, How to Make the Contrabands Useful* (Figure 14), suggested that black men might be employed as gun carriages for cannons. The African Americans carry dumbfounded expressions, seemingly delighted with their role. None of them are permitted to wear United States uniforms. Though loaded with the barrels, they are in no way involved in their operation: that is reserved for white soldiers. The implication is clear. They cannot be entrusted with weaponry unless operated and supervised by white men. At best, they are rendered as beasts of burden, at worst, as moveable objects to haul the guns. Such a depiction is perhaps unsurprising, considering *Frank Leslie's* early-war attempt to retain the custom and confidence of its Southern subscribers, as well as its tendency to critique the policies of the Lincoln administration.

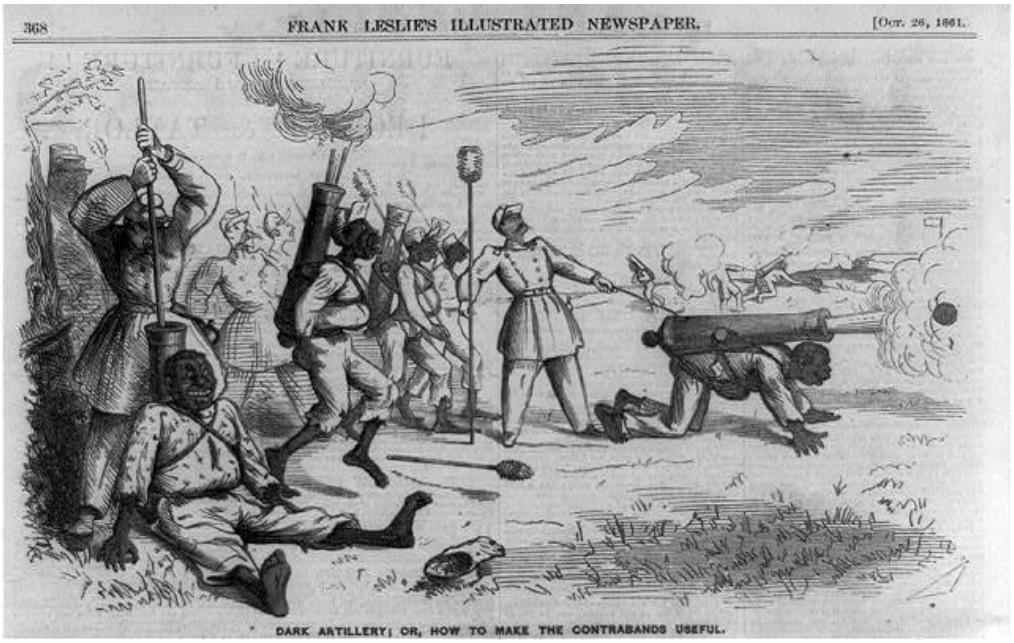


Figure 14, *Dark Artillery; or, How to Make the Contrabands Useful,* 1863, wood engraving, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* October 26, 1863, Illus. in AP2.L52 (Case Y), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter PPLoC).

Whilst *Frank Leslie's* mocks the suggestion of black soldiering in 1861, the "sojer" artist's illustration critiques the black troops he saw in 1863. But records reveal a much different regiment than that imagined by the cartoonist. Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts, inspired by the success of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts in 1863, had urged the recruitment of black soldiers from the recently emancipated population in the occupied regions of North Carolina. The formation of the 1st North Carolina Colored Volunteers was meant to provide the model for future black regiments recruited from the fugitive slave population.[71] Much of the work engaged in by these fugitive slaves was laborious, which freed up white troops to be more engaged in active combat. But the 1st attained a good record of service. Pioneers of the 1st were able to efficiently rebuild damaged bridges that facilitated successful Federal raids in North

[71] Although the cartoon is a scathing attack on black soldiers, the report of the Superintendent of the Poor under General Ambrose Burnside, Vincent Colyer, states that those refugees who came into Union lines following the Battle of New Bern in 1862 were of huge benefit to the Union forces in the area. They were "good carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, &c.," served "regularly as crews on about twenty steamers," built "three first-class earth-work forts" which were the "chief reliance for defence against the rebels," and "the best and most courageous" were employed as scouts, guides, and spies, which they considered "a religious duty." Vincent Colyer, *Brief Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina, in the Spring of 1862* (New York: V. Colyer, 1864), 9-10.

Carolina. Colonel James C. Beecher, commander of the regiment, noted that he was amazed at their "promptitude… to learn military drill." He bragged that "there is an amount of muscle which no regiment in the service can boast of" and stated that "in less than three weeks I shall have a battalion which any man might be proud of." In closing, he wished "doubtful people at home could see my three week's regiment. They would talk less nonsense about negro inferiority."[72] The cartoonist's rendering of the flag bears no resemblance to the banner of dark blue silk, fringed with gold, that on one side bore the image of Liberty trampling on a serpent, and on the reverse was adorned a golden sun, bearing the word "LIBERTY" in its centre.[73]

Zenas T. Haines, the cartoonist's regimental associate, noted that the freedmen who composed black units had "noble aspirations." The sight of fugitive slaves and black soldiers affirmed to him that "the inspiration of human liberty is with us," despite stating these same individuals were the "unoffending people who are the innocent cause of this war."[74] Haines' letter is by no means an endorsement of the capabilities of the recently-emancipated, for aspiration does not necessarily translate into competence. But in comparison to the "sojer's" cartoon, it provides indication of the varying perspectives held by the members of the 44th Massachusetts towards black soldiers. In the cartoon, African Americans have no place in the American military. But as the picture protests the notion of the black soldier, it simultaneously raises concerns about the social status of white soldiers. Picturing slaves-turned-soldiers in such a prejudiced manner emphasised white insecurities about military service. As McPherson notes, the policy was alarming to many white soldiers.[75] To the cartoonist, if the celebrated role of the volunteer soldier could be shared by the cartoonist's imagined degenerates, invalids, and incompetents, there appeared to be little honour in soldiering. And when this depiction is considered alongside his renderings of the white soldier George's experiences, it is apparent that

[72] Frances Beecher Perkins, "Two Years with a Colored Regiment," *New England Magazine* 17, January 1898, 543.
[73] Col. Beecher to Frances Johnson, July-August 1863, in Milton Rugoff, *The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1981), 535.
[74] Haines, *Letters from the Forty-Fourth*, 59.
[75] McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 126.

he saw little positive about military service. That recently emancipated African Americans were able to enlist cemented his perception that it was an unappreciated role.

Soldiers' depictions of African Americans reveal more about their creators than they do about the subjects. Ordinary troops without artistic training, like Thomas Place and the unknown member of the 44th Massachusetts, were likely to upon the racist imagery of popular culture when picturing black identities and experiences. Place's renderings were more sympathetic towards African Americans, with two attempting to picture moments of black freedom and autonomy in the Civil War South. His sketch of white Union soldiers' hazing ritual for black men does not necessarily imply that he partook in this intimidating and discriminatory practice, but his description of it as a camp sport is uncritical. But the unknown soldier's cartoons, even considered in a collection of absurd drawings depicting all aspects of army life, expose his overtly prejudiced attitudes. They are beneficial in illustrating white Union soldiers' alignment with negative mainstream depictions of black bodies. White volunteers not only acted out, spoke, and wrote of their discrimination towards African Americans, but pictured it as well. His rendering of a black regiment protests army policy towards the employment of black soldiers and – coupled with his larger focus on the hardships endured by white troops – reveals his dejection with military service, illustrating how white Northerners' pictures of African Americans could actually stand as commentaries on white soldiering too.

"They Can't Picture a Battle:" Soldier-Artists and the Depiction of Combat

For soldiers North and South the most impactful and yet infrequent experience they had in the Civil War was combat. Gerald Linderman maintains that "every war begins as one war and becomes two, that watched by civilians and that fought by soldiers." As combat and service changed soldiers, conceptions of war retained vitality for civilians long after soldiers rendered

them remote or false.[76] Linderman's focus on a composite of the Civil War soldier is problematic because it ignores that for some soldiers, earlier conceptions of war held their original urgency even after others found that lived experience entirely shattered them. As tenets of the heroic depiction of war lingered in some soldier-artist's imaginations, they entered a cultural contest with those who rejected them as they pictured battles. This cultural debate over the representation of one of the war's most striking elements did not just take place between the soldier and the society at large, but amongst soldiers themselves.

Advocates of the idealised narrative contested the war's representation with their critics. Those who rejected domesticated war images paralleled a small number of professional artists who broke with accepted convention and created a new pictorial language with which to engage with the "complexities of historical 'truth.'"[77] A small but significant number recognised that impersonal warfare – accelerated in its intensity by mechanisation – left "symbolic languages of heroic struggle and patriotic commemoration untenable."[78] Like notable professionals such as Winslow Homer, these soldiers understood that ambiguity and irony were key to depicting a war that lacked clear cut and decisive action.[79] However, they were distinct from the professionals and do not deserve such a simple affiliation. Civilian artists owed much of their artistic output to

[76] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 1.
[77] Steven Conn and Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1, *Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War* (2001): 60-81, 79-80.
[78] Ross Barrett, *Rendering Violence: Riots, Strikes, and Upheaval in Nineteenth-Century American Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 105. Lucretia Hoover Giese and Roy Perkinson recognise Alfred Bellard's straightforward *Sharpshooter firing at the gunners* as evidence that sharpshooters gained attention from those fighting alongside them. Bellard's rendering is like Winslow Homer's *Sharpshooter,* even though Giese and Perkinson state Bellard's lacks "concentration or danger." They posit that the reason that it lacks these elements is due to Bellard being a private soldier, not an artist. Apparently, one cannot be both. Although death lies "safely outside the picture edge," Bellard's sharpshooter pulls the trigger, unlike Homer's. Alfred Bellard and Donald, ed., *Gone for a Soldier*, 60 in Lucretia Hoover Giese and Roy Perkinson, "A Newly Discovered Drawing of Sharpshooters by Winslow Homer: Experience, Image, and Memory," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 61-90, 77.
[79] Steven Conn, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why are These Pictures So Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41, no. 4 (December 2002): 17-42, 38; Sarah Burns, "Cartoons in Color: David Gilmour Blythe's Very Uncivil War," in Patricia Johnson, ed., *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 66-67.

their embeddedness within the ranks. But soldier art focusing on battles was borne from the soldiers' experiences of directly engaging in combat (rather than spectating, albeit closely).[80]

Others continued to buy into the tenets of popular print culture, where accelerated image production meant a steady stream of visualisations of battle that celebrated courage and patriotism at the "expense of terror, blood, and the general disorder produced by combat."[81] Northern men were generally expected to display coolness in battle and civility in social interactions, and an ability to remain cheerful appeared to many as a way to survive. They were considered essential qualities of manliness that would emanate naturally from men who "possessed the holy grail of sentimental culture" – moral character.[82] Even as morale sagged amongst Union troops in November 1862, one Pennsylvanian cavalry captain was seen making "pictures of gallant cavalry encounters, in which the enemy was invariably represented as being defeated and our troops victorious."[83] Creating war-positive depictions of battle demonstrated that a soldier had not been unmanned by the supreme test of manliness.[84] This was especially the case for those soldiers who circulated their renderings amongst the civilian population, with whom they had to speak to in a familiar sensory language despite the fact that so many soldiers

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[80] William Howe Downes observes that Homer's wartime catalogue was an immediate and undiluted response to the war. The same was true for soldier-artists, but they were still distinct from Homer. Homer admitted so in a post-war letter. He reminisced about the Siege of Yorktown which he accompanied with a crude sketch of a Confederate soldier as seen through a telescopic sight, "I looked through one of their rifles once … this is what I saw – I was not a soldier – but a camp follower & artist, the above impression struck me as being as near murder as anything I ever could think of in connection with the army." Sharpshooters were particularly infamous, even amongst rank and file soldiers, but Homer's observation recognizes a fundamental difference of perspective between civilian artists and soldier-artists. William Howe Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer,* reprint edition (New York: Dover, 1989), 8, in Giese and Perkinson, "A Newly Discovered Drawing," 61.

[81] Carmichael notes that the Currier and Ives print of the Battle of Fredericksburg showed General Ambrose Burnside atop a white stallion supervising the battle. Such pictures ignored the slaughter of Union soldiers. Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier,* 158.

[82] Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs,* 64; Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 84.

[83] *History of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, Sixtieth Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the American Civil War, 1861-1865* (Philadelphia: Franklin Printing Company), 173.

[84] Scholars recognise the multitude of ways that soldiers became hardened to death and the battle experience. Linderman refers to "simmering down," noting that a series of shocks compelled soldiers to abandon or modify beliefs that proved useless in battle. Mitchell notes that "hardening" was a painful process, for "being a man meant risking horrors that might unman a man… by making him inhuman." McPherson acknowledges an estrangement that occurred between soldiers and civilians, "the impossibility of describing what war is really like to the folks back home creates a vast gulf between those who have been in combat with those who have not," but posits that patriotic values of duty and honour remained with troops at the front until the war's end. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 115; Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair*, 10; McPherson, 141-142.

conceded that the sights, sounds, smells, tastes, and touches of war were indescribable. A pre-war *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* article established that the senses were "powerful agents in life" that acted as "our perpetual bodyguards." The author warned that the eyes should not be "injured by resting on a vulgar confusion of colors, or clumsy, ill-proportioned forms," and that "each sense should be preserved in its purity." By producing pictures that suggested a soldiers' mastery over the combat experience that used a visual vocabulary familiar to civilians, soldiers evidenced fortified antebellum sensory notions and that they had not been broken by war.[85] Soldier-artists positioned themselves creatively according to how they had been affected by the battle experience; some reformulated their own sense of masculinity in response to combat whilst others clung to pre-war ideals to exhibit self-control.

To demonstrate this representational contest, this section will focus on two pictures produced by two Union soldier-artists who weighed the war's costs and gains through their dissimilar battle pictures. The two soldier-artists considered are musician Alfred Mathews of the 31st Ohio Volunteer Infantry and Captain Adolph Metzner of the 32nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry, who both made pictorial reflections on an engagement at the Battle of Stones River (fought 31 December 1862 – 2 January 1863).[86] One commonly finds a multitude of written accounts concerning a specific event in a battle, but it is more difficult in the pictorial record. Whilst Mathews transformed a grisly stalemate into a propagandistic depiction of a sweeping Union victory, devoid of violence and chaos for commercial sale, Metzner privately produced an ambiguous representation of war's universal suffering which centred on broken bodies and war's universal suffering.

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[85] If the sense were jarred, then that might "weaken the character of man and, by extension, that of the nation." Antebellum Americans enjoyed an aura of sensory stability. The Civil War shattered refined sensibilities and effaced notions of civility. "The Cultivation of the Senses," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 6, no. 31, December 1852, 81, in Mark M. Smith, *The Smell of Battle, The Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1.

[86] Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer give a short examination of Mathews's lithograph and conclude that it was more accurate than other mainstream prints, but popular conventions greatly influenced Mathews's depiction of the battle. Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer, *The Union Image: Popular Prints of the Civil War North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 70-77.

Alfred E. Mathews was born in Bristol, England in 1831. His family emigrated to the United States two years after his birth. He learned his first occupation, typesetting, whilst working for the *Ohio Democrat* in New Philadelphia, Ohio.[87] Mathews made a living as an itinerant landscape delineator and bookseller before the war. Letters sent by Mathews during this period present him as an "artist in feeling," who was observant and shrewd.[88] He was a Unionist, and opined that a "reign of terror" operated in the South: "slavery is a power that *controls all – is feared by all*; and men can and do commit deeds of outrage and violence in the name of slavery with impunity."[89] Mathews was designated the regimental artist of the 31st Ohio. He was ambitious, submitting two sketches to *Harper's Weekly* during the first year of his service that were published in its 23 November 1861 edition. A surgeon in the 16th Ohio recorded meeting the soldier-artist, and wrote of his pictures, "They are all good. His lithograph view of 'Boon's Knob' where the turnpike crosses the Kentucky River, is very beautiful and true. He has his drawings lithographed in Cincinnati."[90] There was a consensus that Mathews's work was realistic.[91] Mathews's wartime catalogue does not exhibit any significant change in his artistic style. He generally neglected camp scenes and studies of common soldiers. As Taft observes, Mathews's "sense of perspective and proportion was none too good… his human figures are all too frequently stiff and formal." He instead favoured extensive battle depictions in which he could use his skills in landscape representation to his advantage. His final war art project was a panoramic series depicting significant events in the western theatre, which was well received by veterans "who were in many

[87] Nolie Mumey, *Alfred Edward Mathews (1831-1874): Union Soldier, Illustrator of Civil War Battles, Author, Traveler, Map Maker, and Delineator of Western Scenes, Especially Those of the Territories of Colorado and Montana* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1961), 1, 4-5.
[88] Robert Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West: VII – Alfred E. Mathews," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (May 1949): 97-121, 104.
[89] Alfred E. Mathews, *Interesting Narrative: Being a Journal of the Flight of Alfred E. Mathews, of Stark Co., Ohio* (n.p., 1861), 7-8, 33, original emphasis.
[90] B.B. Brashear to the *Tuscarawas Advocate*, letter, *Tuscarawas Advocate*, March 28, 1862.
[91] Even General Ulysses S. Grant commended Mathews, writing in 1863 that his views of the Siege of Vicksburg were "the most accurate and true to life I have ever seen. They reflect great credit on you as a delineator of landscape views." Ulysses S. Grant, "Unidentified newspaper clipping in the Western History Department, Denver Public Library," *Daily Miner's Register*, December 1, 1865, 3. Robert Taft also uses the quote, and notes that the Grant letter is "included in the Charles H. Mathews material." Taft, "Pictorial Record," 106.

of the battles represented."[92] Mathews's biographical fragments establish him as a Unionist, an enemy of slavery, and as an itinerant driven by a love of nature.

Adolph Metzner was born in Lorrach in Baden-Württemberg, Germany in 1834. He earned a degree in prescription pharmacy at the University of Freiburg and established a pharmacy in Louisville, Kentucky in 1856.[93] He enlisted in the 32nd Indiana four months after the war broke out in 1861 and was a devoted soldier. He completed his term of service, despite receiving a bullet wound to his right leg at the Battle of Chickamauga in 1863. Though he painted in his leisure time before the war, he apparently held no formal graphic occupation until his assignment as a topographical engineer in the Army of the Cumberland's Second Division after the Battle of Stones River.[94] Metzner's artwork was initially typified by a light-hearted outlook, quite in line with the positive attitudes carried by untested soldiers in the early war period. He depicted screaming officers, marches without purpose, camp comedians, and lounged enlisted men. Following the loss of comrades at the Battle of Rowlett's Station in December 1861, his war art took a dark turn.[95] By the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862, where Metzner's comrade William G. Mank noted that regiment "slept on the battlefield that night among the dead and wounded," the elements of comedy that punctuated his earlier work disappeared.[96] By the war's end, death had become such a common aspect of his service and his art that soldiers coolly smoke pipes as bullets ricochet about them.[97] Metzner's works were private reflections of his war experience: he never exhibited them to the public or attempted to profit from them, though it is probable that he shared his caricatures with his comrades in the early war period.

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[92] Ibid., 105, 108, 106.
[93] Unlike many German-born soldiers in the Civil War, the failure of the 1848 revolutions did not urge him to the United States. He was only fourteen at the time. Though few textual records relating to Metzner are available, one might infer that his motives for serving centred more on a desire to prove himself worthy of American citizenship rather than on viewing the Civil War as an extension of the mission for unity, justice, and freedom begun in Europe over a decade earlier.
[94] Peake, *Blood Shed,* 2-3.
[95] Ibid., 2.
[96] William G. Mank, "Battlefield near Pittsburg Landing, 9 April 1862," *Louisville Anzeiger*, April 19, 1862, in Joseph R. Reinhart, ed., *August Willich's Gallant Dutchmen: Civil War Letters from the 32nd Indiana Infantry* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006), 77.
[97] See Metzner, *Captain Hubert Dilger at Resaca, Georgia, May 1864,* 1864, watercolour, in Peake, *Blood Shed*, 104.

Unlike Mathews, Metzner was comfortable creating close studies of human forms, which his medical training likely facilitated.

A shared experience at Stones River united the two soldier-artists as they attempted to depict that battle.[98] In visually recording a Union charge on the evening of 2 January and its aftermath, Mathews and Metzner exhibited the creative spectrum along which soldier-artists positioned themselves in their depictions of the war. The assault came after a Confederate attack routed a Union division occupying a hill east of Stones River, but the Confederate gains left them exposed to enfilading fire from fifty-eight pieces of Federal artillery. Union infantry later made a counterattack, with Metzner a participant and Mathews a spectator. The Union soldiers swept the Confederates from the hill and, twinned with bombardment, slaughtered 1,500 in an hour. One of Metzner's comrades recalled that the Federals dealt the enemy a "murderous fire" as "our cannon played delightful music." As night fell, the German regiment charged once more on another enemy position, forcing the Rebels to retreat. They left their dead and wounded behind.[99] Mathews's depiction illustrates a portion of the Federal charge carried out by his brigade; Metzner's image, though not fully identified, depicts Confederate casualties resulting from the Union cannonade and the first charge, or from the 32nd Indiana's second assault later that evening.

[98] Between 31 December 1862 and 2 January 1863, Union Major General William S. Rosecrans's Army of the Cumberland challenged Confederate General Braxton Bragg's Army of the Tennessee at the Battle of Stones River in Tennessee. Both armies attempted to strike at each other's right flanks, but the Confederates struck first at dawn on 31 December. Repeated charges and stubborn resistance characterised much of the fighting. It was the deadliest battle of the war in proportion to numbers engaged. The result was technically a victory for Rosecrans, but the Confederates so crippled his army that it could not resume offensive operations for months. The Union's close victory added weight to President Lincoln's January 1, 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 579-83; Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 10.
[99] 'Z,' "Camp near Murfreesboro, Tenn., 7 January 1863," *Louisville Anzeiger,* January 15, 1863, in Reinhart, ed., *Gallant Dutchmen*, 127-28.



Figure 15, Alfred Mathews and Middleton, Strobridge, & Co., *Charge of the First Brigade, Commanded by Col. M. B. Walker, on the Friday Evening of the Battle of Stones River, January 2nd, 1863; in Which the Rebels Were Repulsed with Heavy Loss, and Driven behind Their Breastworks,* 1863, lithograph, PGA – Middleton, Strobridge & Co.—Charge of the first brigade… (D size), PPLoC, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003665201/ (accessed 27/06/2016).

Mathews's depiction exists in a lithographic format (Figure 15), which is vital to its interpretation. Mathews supplied his depictions to Middle, Strobridge, & Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio, a lithographing and engraving firm that would convert his sketches for commercial sale.[100] It was reproduced in a "small folio" size. Imagery of this nature was generally domesticated, as it was anticipated to be displayed on interior walls.[101] Because of the print's intended function, engravers censored negative aspects of images to make them more palatable for civilian

[100] Jeffrey Weidman, *Artists in Ohio, 1787-1900: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2000), 277.
[101] Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Boundaries of American Political Culture in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 13.

consumers.[102] Mathews's might have included violent features in his initial draft but it is unlikely, considering his distant perspective.[103] Besides, soldiers were aware of the role of public images in shaping national sentiment. Daniel Wait Howe of the 7th Indiana Volunteers noted that the illustrations of *Harper's* exercised a powerful influence in shaping Northern sentiment, which was "loyal to the Federal government" and "zealous for a vigorous prosecution of the war."[104] Soldiers who made pictures for public circulation had to deflect war-weariness by creating positive pictures. Regardless, the interventions of the engravers complicate the authorship of his pictures. They could easily stifle artists. But Mathews's biographical information and pictorial catalogue do not suggest that he subscribed to any avant-garde. He held a similar perspective to his lithographers and they evidently saw commercial value in his works.

The picture presents the spectator with an extensive battle view that combines features of both the popularised wilderness aesthetic of American landscape views and those of traditional European history painting.[105] It is essentially a wilderness scene populated with martial figures, and reflects the stylisations of conventional, commercialised war imagery. But Mathews's aptitude in depicting landscapes draws him away from relaying a soldierly experience. His contemporaries recognised his creative prowess, but the competing and emergent mode of artistic realism practiced by soldiers like Metzner highlights the limitations of Mathews's methods. The latter faced a similar challenge to professional artists depicting the war. Landscape

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[102] Engravers were detached from the war as experienced by its combatants. They would often censor images for civilian consumption to the extent that soldiers barely recognised their depictions. The engravers would take frontline sketches and, by combining them with reports of battles, turn them into marketable images of war. Thompson, *Image of War*, 83. Even in peacetime, editors and engravers generally directed the content of images. Marc Simpson, *Winslow Homer: The Clark Collection* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, 2013), 128.

[103] Although no record exists of Mathews's wartime engagement with his lithographers, a letter regarding a postbellum work notes that it was "all spoiled by the lithographers… Lithographers seem quite free to make promises, but do not fulfil them. I shall do all my work myself, as then I cannot lose… they do not print them well." Mathews undoubtedly faced similar frustrations during the war, but he continued to work with his engravers until at least mid-1863. Alfred E. Mathews, letter in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library, in Nolie Mumey, *Alfred Edward Mathews,* 46.

[104] Daniel Wait Howe, *Civil War Times, 1861-1865* (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company Publishers, 1902), 4-5.

[105] Harvey defines history painting, in the traditional sense, as monumental canvases depicting elaborate battle scenes and heroes" that were prominent in European art. But history painting had gained, at best, a tenuous foothold in the United States. Even grand-manner history paintings by artists such as Benjamin West and John Trumbull never garnered the same celebrity as the wilderness aesthetic. Harvey, *Civil War and American Art,* 5.

painters of the Hudson River School, who visualised the ideologies of national identity by looking west, increasingly found their methods incapable of representing the internal crisis unfolding in the East.[106] Through landscape representations, professionals "expressed human emotions metaphorically… convey[ing] the intensity of emotion usually reserved for the human narrative."[107] But there is no storm gathering above the view, and the gently rolling terrain implies tameness. Mathews's use of gently curving horizontal lines to delineate the ground emphasise calm. Tree stumps and a few severed tree limbs are noticeable in the woods as the only obvious indicators of the damage to the landscape caused by the engagement.[108] In the foreground the skeletal nature of the trees alludes to death, but such subtle references would not resonate with all viewers. Their foremost use is didactic: they place the battle in its wintry context. Regardless, the verticality of the woods overwhelms these scattered references to destruction by giving a sense of stability. It is no coincidence that their uprightness parallels the posture of the Union soldiers.

As the brigade charges, every foot steps forward together and every soldier levels his rifle in a uniform position. The rear regiment, notable by their annotation as the 82nd Indiana Infantry, carry their weapons in an upright position so that they are perpendicular to the woods.[109] Mathews's employment of a diagonal arrangement for the Union troops accentuates their sweeping charge towards the Confederate line. But linear warfare as experienced in the Civil War was rarely so efficient. The landscape of the majority of battlefields was characteristically

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[106] David Holloway and John Beck, eds., *American Visual Cultures* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2005), 13. Other soldier-artists who had worked as landscape painters in the antebellum era included Captain James Hope of the 2nd Vermont Infantry. Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, 6-8.

[107] Ibid., 19.

[108] For environmental studies of the Civil War, see Andrew McIlwaine Bell, *Mosquito Soldiers: Malaria, Yellow Fever, and the Course of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); Megan Kate Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Lisa M. Brady, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes during the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Kathryn Shively Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Joan E. Cashin, *War Stuff: The Struggle for Human and Environmental Resources in the American Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[109] The soldiers in the rear regiment carry their weapons at "Right Shoulder Shift Arms," a position employed during hastened manoeuvres due to the additional stability it offered. "Right Shoulder Shift Arms. – No. 219," Plate 13, in Casey, *Infantry Tactics,* 55-56.

rolling and rugged, often denying regiments visibility and cohesion.[110] Larry J. Daniel notes in his study of the battle that Brigadier General James S. Negley's Second Division, of which the First Brigade was a part of, was badly intermingled in the "large, if not somewhat disjoined, counterattack."[111] Union soldiers testified that the picture-makers exaggerated their abilities. Colonel Walker, commander of the First Brigade, had his soldiers go prone to reload. But this feature was ignored by Mathews for it did not fit the "heroic conventions of battle art." A Pennsylvanian soldier noted that during his four years' service he had only witnessed one assault "that was like the pictures in the newspapers."[112] Moreover, Mathews's distant perspective, though useful for providing an overview of the terrain and for making a comprehensive statement regarding the effective discipline of the Union forces, ultimately denies the observer any opportunity to relate to the soldiers' perception of the fighting. These vital participants are rendered as miniature figures in a homogenous mass. It is a marked departure from the majority of soldier-artists' wartime work, which are notable for their efforts at self-representation and for offering a sympathetic view into the minutiae of soldiers' lives and routines.[113] J. Nep Roesler, an artist serving in the 47th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, produced numerous depictions (Figure 16) of ordinary soldiers, even if he worked with engravers and emphasised the landscape above all else.[114] Although Mathews's depiction departs from the traditional emphasis on individual action in warfare, he renders ordinary soldiers unidentifiable and instead affirms the combined power of the Union forces as a whole.

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[110] Hess, *Union Soldier,* 55-56.
[111] Larry J. Daniel, *Battle of Stones River: The Forgotten Conflict between the Confederate Army of the Tennessee and the Union Army of the Cumberland* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 193-194.
[112] Gilbert Adams Hays, *Under the Red Patch: Story of the Sixty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-186* (Pittsburgh: Sixty-Third Pennsylvania Volunteers Regimental Association, 1908), 422. Even the son of Reverend A. M. Stewart of the 102nd Pennyslvania, a visitor to the Army of the Potomac and a recent observer of the battles of Williamsburg and Fair Oaks in 1862, threw down a copy of *Harper's Weekly* and exclaimed, "Pshaw. It's no use, they can't picture a battle," after seeing the published illustrations of those engagements. A.M. Stewart, *Camp, March and Battle-Field; Or, Three Years and a Half with the Army of the Potomac* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers, Printer, 1865), 188.
[113] Though Mathews's work was distinct from many other soldiers, his works bear resemblance to those of Robert Knox Sneden, who also favoured panoramic depictions.
[114] For more on J. Nep Roesler, see Neely, Jr., and Holzer, *The Union Image*, 60-67.



Figure 16, J. Nep Roesler and Ehrgott, Forbriger and Company, *Pickets in the Woods / After the Engagement near the Drill Ground, C Andrsn,* 1862, lithograph, in Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer, *The Union Image: Popular Prints of the Civil War North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 65.

But Mathews's superiors receive recognition. His focus on the officer class, which is achieved through captioning, and the centrality of the national flags further the lithograph's alignment with heroic-war traditions. Captioning was a popular means of contextualisation alongside the testimonial and one that artists used to affirm the authenticity of their images.[115] However, this method cements Mathews's lithograph as a didactic overview of the action 2 January. In attempting to authenticate the image with instructive captions, Mathews fails to recognise ordinary soldiers. Instead, they only bear significance when considered as components of their designated regiment. The only notables are the officers: the first annotation allows one

[115] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Beyond Comparison: Picture, Text, and Method," in Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 83-101, in Elizabeth Young, "Verbal Battlefields," in Anthony W. Lee and Elizabeth Young, *On Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 52-94, 57. In other works Mathews coupled his images with reports from Union officials, further stressing the authenticity of his depictions.

to identify the left-most regiment as the 31st Ohio Volunteers, "Lieut. Col. F. W. Lister, Command'g." The officer leading the charge of the supporting regiment, pictured at centre right with his sword drawn, was hardly a common sight. Such occurrences became so rare following the early war period that its inclusion would invite criticism from veterans. Reverend A. M. Stewart, chaplain of the 102nd Pennsylvanian Volunteers, noted following the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 that pictures of "officers with drawn swords riding *before* their men into battle" led soldiers to "shout out with mocking irony; *all played out*."[116] The officers are minute figures, but captioning allows spectators to identify particular officers based on their unit's position. Furthermore, the image centralises two American flags. The flag borne by the leading regiment rises triumphantly from the smoke before the engagement has properly begun. Regulations dictated that flags be carried at the centre of a regiment, but soldiers soon learned that flags did much to draw fire from the enemy.[117] The centrality of the flags and the invincibility of the bearers is reminiscent of the idealised lithographs of the US-Mexican War.[118] The distant nature of that earlier conflict invited a more imaginative depiction by artists, but the Civil War's immediacy to huge numbers of civilians-turned-soldiers revealed such imagery as fictitious.

Mathews's rendering of the Confederate opposition is different, but equally imaginative. Those in the woods are a minute and distant enemy, even though the annotation describes them as "in force." The closest soldiers stand in a skirmish line, which, although commonly employed, stands in stark contrast to the ordered discipline of the Federal regiments.[119] Whilst the Union

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[116] Stewart, *Camp, March, and Battle-Field*, 280.
[117] It was not unheard of for every member of a ten-strong colour guard to be shot down before a battle was over. Linderman, *Embattled Courage,* 157-78.
[118] For example, see N. Currier, *Battle of Monterey – The Americans Forcing Their Way to the Main Plaza Sept. 23th 1846,* 1846, lithograph, PGA – Currier & Ives – Battle of Monterey (A size); N. Currier, *Battle of Cerro Cordo April 18th 1847,* 1847, lithograph, PGA – Currier & Ives – Battle of Cerro Cordo April 18th 1847 (A size), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.
[119] For white Southerners, battle was ennobling: the "necessity for discipline strengthened character." Mathew's renders them an irregular force, unwilling to face their Northern adversaries except from the relative safety of the skirmish line or the woods. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 38-39.

troops are represented as invincible, there are several casualties notable on the Confederate line. But they are peripheral. The lithograph's caption informs the viewer that the "Rebels were repulsed with heavy loss," but the image depicts none of that carnage. Instead, it provides suspense, illustrating the charge in its initial stages and calling upon the viewer's imagination to visualise the ensuing combat. For soldiers this was possible. But for those unfamiliar with combat, the tenets of the heroic-war tradition would figure in their visualisation of the ensuing fighting.

The image romanticises and sentimentalises the battle, erasing the realities that caused soldiers to question "many of the war's initial tenets" and the "idealism [they] brought with them into the army."[120] The result is a sanitised depiction of one of the bloodiest battles of the war that spectators would consider inoffensive to refined sensibilities. By relegating ordinary soldiers to the role of parts of a warring machine, Mathews neglects their experience of battle. Instead, the image is propagandistic as it emphasises the sweeping power of the brigade as it is about to wash over its adversary. Though useful insofar as the image educates the spectator on the brigade's order of battle, it consequently serves more as a mapping of the engagement rather than as an opportunity to relay a soldierly experience. In a broader sense, Mathews's triumphalist depiction was in conversation with a watershed moment in the war. At a time when Northern war fervour lagged due to repeated battlefield failures, the two, albeit close and costly, victories at Antietam and Stones River ballasted Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Although the Proclamation proved decisive, its initial impact was uncertain.[121] Mathews's lithograph makes no reference to the transformative war policy but instead celebrates the ability of those white soldiers whose recent battle performances legitimated it. Whether he wanted to explicitly celebrate white soldiers' facilitation of the Proclamation, or to instead focus on their ability to gain victory without it, is unknown. Despite any higher intentions, the triple influence of

[120] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 240.
[121] Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New Haven: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), 369, 251-55.

Mathews's background in landscape art, his intention to offer his print for commercial sale in the public sphere, and the engraver's domestication of his war art hindered his ability to communicate the battle experience through the experiences of soldiers. In contrast, Metzner, uninfluenced by creative conventions and unburdened by commercial considerations, produced a private and distressing depiction that mused on the shock of battle as experienced by its combatants.



Figure 17, Adolph Metzner, *Stone River [Rebel Line],* or *The Rebel Line at Stones River, (Murfreesboro), Jan. 1863. "A Cozy Corner,"* 1863, watercolour, Adolph Metzner Civil War Collection, DRWG/US – Metzner, no. 47 (A size), PPLoC, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2017646976/ (accessed 03/07/2016).

Metzner's depiction of Stones River (Figure 17) is strikingly different to Mathews's and illustrates the ways in which soldier-artists could protest the traditions of heroic war and destabilise prevailing artistic conventions. Unlike Mathews's lithograph, the watercolour is devoid of any text other than the title *Stone River Rebel Line.*[122] The extended title, featured on the

[122] *Stone River* was the originally intended title, for Metzner evidently added "Rebel Line" as an afterthought. He applied these words with softer brush strokes and without adequate spacing, so much so that the Library of Congress has mistakenly titled the picture *Stone River Rebellion*.

mat, tinges the picture with irony as it titles the scene a "Cozy Corner." His watercolour, which is considerably smaller than Mathews's, depicts casualties in a portion of the Confederate breastworks that the 32nd Indiana assaulted on 2 January. Although the watercolour focuses on Southern war dead, indicating that the Union had won the field at Stones River, there is no triumphalism about the rendering. Other Union soldiers depicted engagements ambiguously, reflecting the uncertain nature of the Union war effort until mid-1863. 5th New Yorker William McIlvaine's book of wartime watercolors includes several battle scenes in which clear cut or decisive action is absent. His depictions of skirmishers around Chancellorsville in 1863 show his comrades peering hesitantly into woods that hide an invisible enemy, whilst an untitled watercolour (Figure 18) pictures his regiment in line of battle receiving fire from an enemy masked by rifle and artillery fire. Metzner did not reproduce the painting for sale, or circulate it within the confines of his regiment or his home circle. Judging by its content and format, it was a private reflection of his recent exposure to the violence of battle. His depiction does not fit neatly into the confines of his composition. Instead, the faint outlines of bodies stretch into the distance, gore spills off the canvas at centre right, and at bottom left a surprised expression characterises one living soldier's face as he gazes down along the line towards the viewer. Metzner's rejection of a formal border expresses the magnitude of the violence he was witness to.



Figure 18, William McIlvaine, Jr., ca. 1863, watercolour, in Camp Views of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1864, BD525M188, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Suffering and carnage are Metzner's core subjects. The dead and dying Confederates lie strewn over a split-rail fence. The rendering is particularly emphatic as it flagrantly illustrates death and wounding at the moment of happening. Officers, non-commissioned officers (NCOs), and privates lie pell-mell in heaps. An officer's or NCO's sword, a symbolic of martial authority and Southern honour and chivalry, notably protrudes from the mass of the dead. At left, a sergeant's body presses against the barricade. There is no formal hierarchy in this death scene. Martial discipline, responsible for drilling volunteers into a cohesive force that could withstand and inflict such carnage, is the cause of its own obliteration. Union soldier John W. Mansfield produced a pencil and ink drawing of the Battle of Antietam (Figure 19) which potentially shows the morning fighting that swirled around the West Woods and the Dunker Church. His rendering is also a scene of battlefield chaos. A flag is obscured in smoke, shells burst in the air, and wounded soldiers writhe on the field as stretcher-bearers and soldiers wander in every direction. Whilst Mathews employs photographs to affirm martial hierarchies, Metzner forces the

viewer to search through the dead to distinguish between the ranks. His graphic focus renders soldiers anonymous as they die facedown and as their wounds mask them. At right, a cannon's shell has met with a soldier, offering an illustration of the destructive potency of the fifty-eight gun barrage that preceded the counterattack. The bombardment decimated the Southern ranks: one shell exploded in the midst of a Kentucky company, hurling eighteen dead and wounded men in every direction.[123] Ordinary soldiers' deaths rarely received special attention from Civil War artists, but officers and generals were likely to be depicted dying in manners reminiscent of Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770), with symbolic devices that emphasised the heroic virtue of the deceased. Metzner's illustration is striking in that it throws together soldiers of all ranks in one chaotic and unpretentious death scene.



Figure 19, John W. Mansfield, *Field of Antietam*, 1865, pencil and ink drawing, in Book of Military Scraps by John W. Mansfield, GLC09041, GLI, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc09041 (accessed 23/03/2017).

[123] Daniel, *Battle of Stones River,* 190.

Metzner's scene resembles photographer Alexander Gardner's Antietam photographs, though it lacks the level of detail arrested with the camera's documentary lens. Metzner employs a multitude of symbolic devices to affirm suffering in his picture. All but one of the subjects are blemished with a yellowish-green colouring. Excepting the one soldier in the bottom left corner, Metzner tinged those pictured with their eyes open with the yellowish hue. The employment of yellow shades traditionally alludes to cowardice in martial cultures. Historian Peter Cozzens notes that the "suddenness and completeness of the Confederate collapse" following the barrage surprised the Federals, with one Illinoisan writing to his mother that many Rebels fell to their knees and begged for mercy, claiming to be conscripts forced to serve.[124] But one of Metzner's comrades noted that the Confederates at Stones River were "bold fellows and were not embarrassed at all to march freely against our breastworks under a violent fire," so the coloring may not infer cowardice.[125] Metzner represented one soldier, his eyes closed, with darker shades, verging on blackness. Unlike Mathews, who was relieved from combat duty in order to record his regiment's role at Stones River, Metzner was unable to produce an on-the-spot sketch during the battle. His proximity to the scene is strikingly different to Mathews's distant and panoramic perspective. Initial sketching must have taken place whilst surveying the aftermath of the engagement. Sergeant William Newlin of the 73rd Illinois wrote of the unburied dead on another portion of the Stones River battlefield:

> Some… looked as though they had just fallen asleep… Others appeared as if their last moments had been spent in extreme pain – eyes open, and apparently ready to jump

[124] Cozzens, *No Better Place,* 192; United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Vol. 20, part 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887), 588, quoted in ibid., 194.
[125] 'Z,' "Camp near Murfreesboro," quoted in Reinhart, *Gallant Dutchmen*, 128.

from their sockets; hands grasping some portion of their garments and their features all distorted and changed.[126]

Had Metzner produced the picture later, decomposition would be in heightened stages so that all the bodies would be blackened. Metzner's use of red to accentuate bleeding is exceptional not only for its rarity in the popular depiction of the war, but also for the fact that it emphasises to the viewer that they are witnessing soldiers in the act of dying. This was an aspect that soldiers were more likely to depict, with soldiers like Bellard repeatedly centring their depictions on graphic scenes (Figures 20 and 21). The blood apparently still flows as Metzner depicts the scene. In particular, its employment to highlight particularly graphic wounds, such as the mangled soldier at centre right, could only find a similarly arresting rival in the detail captured in photographs of the war dead. The most significant aspect of Metzner's use of colour is that he only employs it to underscore suffering, wounding, and mortality. In direct contradiction to prevalent sensibilities, Metzner highlighted that which was taboo in the exhibition of heroic war.



Figure 20 (left), Bellard, *Dead Reb in a Cracker Box*; Figure 21 (right), Bellard, *One in particular was lying under the head of a Union soldier who had been shot in the head and was a horrible sight,* pencil and wash sketches, in *Gone for a Soldier*, ed. Donald, 85, 141.

[126] William Newlin, in D.F., Lawler, Newlin, and J.W. Sherrick, *A History of the Seventy-Third Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers: Its Services and Experiences in Camp, on the March, on the Picket and Skirmish Lines, and in Many Battles of the War, 1861-1865* (Springfield: n.p., 1890), 143-44, quoted in Cozzens, *No Better Place,* 171.

A subtler reference to suffering exists in the inclusion of faint lines delineating carrion birds as they gather above the wounded in the distance. It is a reference to the lack of appropriate treatment for the casualties. Antebellum comprehensions of death noted that in the corpse remained "something of the former selfhood," and "in the prevailing Protestant doctrine, something of the future and immortal selfhood as well."[127] As one Confederate wrote, "It is dreadful to contemplate being killed on the field without a kind hand to hide one's remains from … the gnawing of animals and buzzards."[128] With the heightened fragility of the body on the battlefield, Civil War soldiers doubted how their essential selves could remain if their bodies were destroyed or lost. In an even greater departure from the traditions of heroic war, Metzner's scene suggests anxieties over the futility of such deaths, despite the fact that the casualties are his adversaries. Metzner's representation of the Confederate soldiers is negative but vacant of the propagandistic devices employed by the mainstream press. Most image-makers operated in some way to create "an unfavourable image of the enemy," but they were far removed from the battles and with a propagandistic agenda to tow, wanted the American citizenry to "believe the worst about the Confederates."[129] Artists in the field, particularly soldier-artists, generally moved away from these exaggerated depictions as the war progressed. The sketch-artist Edwin Forbes noted that Northern soldiers regarded their enemy with a "wholesome respect, even a reasonable fear."[130] Metzner's negative depictions are condemnations of the war and its suffering more broadly, rather than of the South specifically. Metzner's close studies of the soldiers' destroyed forms are contemplative and mournful reflections of recent traumas, and, though focused on Southerners, depict fates universal to all combatants. Other soldiers, like Frank E. Park of the 6th Massachusetts echoed Metzner's anxieties by picturing how erosion had revealed the hastily

[127] Henry Raymond, "Editor's Table," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 8, April 1864, 691; quoted in Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 62.
[128] Thomas J. Key, in Key and Robert J. Campbell, *Two Soldiers: The Campaign Diaries of Thomas J. Key, C.S.A., December 7, 1863-May 17, 1865 and Robert J. Campbell, U.S.A., January 1, 1864-July 21, 1864,* ed. Wirt Armistead Cate (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), 182.
[129] Thompson, *Image of War*, 86.
[130] Edwin Forbes, *Thirty Years After: An Artist's Memoir of the Civil War* (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1890), 173.

buried dead of the Antietam battlefield (Figure 22). By emblazoning the neglected flag with the word "Repose," he emphasises to the viewer that this rude burial scene is the final resting place for the loyal soldiers who fought there. Whilst Mathews avoided depictions of violence, and image-makers more broadly attempted to depict death through heroic and virtuous symbolism, Metzner exhibited mortality and agonizing wounds as a core feature of his war art. The universality of war's suffering is most acute with Metzner's employment of a pietà at centre left.



Figure 22, Frank E. Park, *Antietam Plains*, in Sketchbook of Civil War Experiences, 1864, GLC 3537, GLI.

The two interacting subjects bear religious and sacrificial symbolism. Metzner emphasizes the ambiguity and uncertainty of war as he represents their deaths without an apparent reference to the motives that bore them to battle. The pyramidal composition, which artists traditionally employ to represent order and stability in conventional artworks, is that which draws the spectator's eye to the unfortunate pair. It is no coincidence that the two subjects form a pietà, particularly in view of the similarity in the location of the bullet wound on the officer's right breast and Christ's chest wound as caused by the Holy Lance. But in this representation Metzner reveals such sacrifice as useless, for the only reward is to face an impending and

unheroic death in his paradoxically cosy corner, and to hope for mercy from unfamiliar adversaries and the ravenous animals. Even so, Metzner renders the soldier's desperate attempt to grasp at his commander the most humane act in this depiction of battle, making the depiction an ironic statement on the conventions of the Good Death. Ira Owen of the 74th Ohio left a poignant description of one dying soldier on the Stones River battlefield who longed for his family's care:

> One poor fellow who was near me was wounded in the head. He grew delirious in the night, and would very frequently call his mother … The poor fellow died before morning with no mother near, to soothe him in his dying moments, or wipe the cold sweat from his brow.[131]

His account underscores the anxieties of a passing unattended by kin. Sudden, violent deaths on distant battlefields eroded the conventions of the Good Death during the Civil War. Metzner fully exhibits war's irony by showing the desperate attempt by the Confederates to provide reassurance in their passing. In Metzner's scene, it is the closest to a Good Death that a soldier can attain.

Metzner suggests empathy rather than any hatred for the enemy. This is no exhibition of Union military triumph, but instead a mournful scene illustrating the traumas of modernising warfare. Civil War soldiers had a very different relation to killing than those of subsequent wars with "levels of impersonality and anonymity that reduced the burden of individual responsibility endured by Civil War infantry."[132] The use of outdated tactics, coupled with advanced weaponry, rendered many Civil War engagements indecisive. On the surface, Stones River was no

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[131] Ira S. Owen, *Greene County in the War, Being a History of the Seventy-Fourth Regiment, with Sketches of the Twelth, Ninety-Fourth, One Hundred and Tenth, Forty-Fourth, and One Hundred and Fifty-Fourth Regiments, and the Tenth Ohio Battery, Embracing Anecdotes, Incidents and Narratives of the Camp, March, and Battlefield, and the Author's Experience While in the Army* (Xenia: Torchlight Job Rooms, 1872), 34-35, quoted in Cozzens, *No Better Place*, 171.
[132] Faust, *Republic of Suffering,* 40.

exception, though it would have far-reaching consequences. Tactically, Cozzens identifies Stones River as a draw whilst Daniel notes that it accomplished little more than an enormous body count. One Rebel wrote in frustration after the battle, "I don't think [the war] will ever be stopped by fighting, the Yankees cant whip us and we can never whip them."[133] In another allusion to Gardner's series, Metzner's deceased and disfigured Confederate soldiers exhibit the destructive power of nineteenth century armaments. Though innovations in armament development occurred in the antebellum era, increasing the range and accuracy of infantry small arms, most combat continued to occur at a range of about a hundred yards, meaning that it was impossible to facilitate emotional distance from destructive acts.[134] Pennsylvanian soldier Milton McJunkin included an elementary pencil sketch of a close combat scene in a letter home to a family member (Figure 23), made in the weeks after he had been into battle. He accompanied it with a caption, "Fierce Encounter Between a yankee and three rebs. You see he has shot one in the head pierced another with the bayonet and about to fix the other in the same way you see the 1 1/2 ball just fired at him missed."[135] McJunkin mingled the heroic potential of the individual Union soldier with the realities of close fighting. Though lacking in technical skill, McJunkin pictured combat by focusing on the violent acts soldiers had to commit to survive. The destructive intimacy of Civil War battlefields not only eroded the possibility of one's own Good Death, but also distorted the lines between justified killing and cold-blooded murder.

[133] Cozzens, *No Better Place*, 10; Daniel, *Battle of Stones River,* 7; 2 January 1863, letter, in ibid.
[134] Hess, *Union Soldier,* 55; Faust, 41. For more on the destructive power of rifled weaponry, which caused ninety-four percent of Union casualties in the war, see Earl J. Hess, *The Rifled Musket in Civil War Combat: Reality and Myth* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).
[135] Milton McJunkin to Melville McJunkin, October 11, 1862, McJunkin, *The Bloody 85th*, 66.

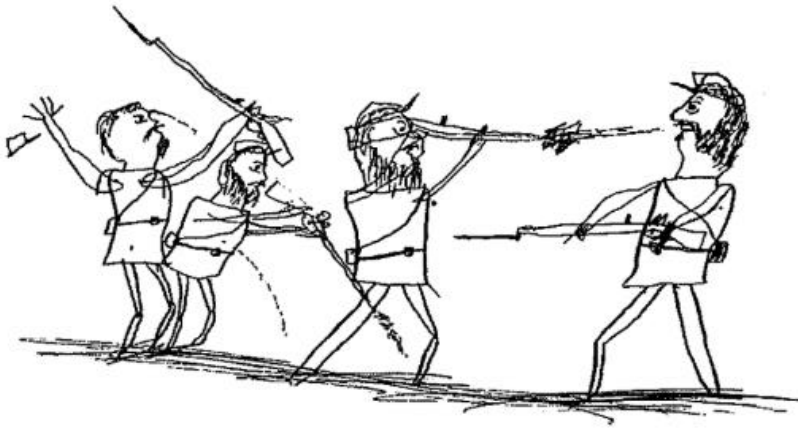


Figure 23, detail from *Milton McJunkin to Melville McJunkin, October 11, 1862*, pencil sketch, in *The Bloody 85th: The Letters of Milton McJunkin, A Western Pennsylvanian Soldier in the Civil War,* eds. Ronn Palm, Richard Sauers and Patrick A. Schroeder (Lynchburg: Schroeder Books, 2007), 66.

Metzner's work reveals the internal struggle that countless soldiers battled with, as the work of killing marked a significant departure from their understandings of themselves as human beings and Christians.[136] The bodies are a microcosm of the violence of a war that left at least 620,000 dead and a further 130,000 disfigured for life.[137] That Metzner's artwork was a private reflection, not a sanitized depiction for concerned family members or commercial sale, meant that he could grapple more graphically with the battle experience than any textual correspondence or public artwork would permit. This is not to argue that this meditation on war characterised the totality of his service, nor that mortality and suffering typified his visual record. But, as Faust observes in her study of death in the war, many soldiers were "never quite the same again after seeing fields of slaughtered bodies destroyed by men just like themselves."[138] Metzner's watercolour offers an opportunity to analyse soldiers' hardening to death in two ways: he wrestled with the prevailing assumptions regarding life's value whilst destabilising the

[136] Orestes Brownson, *The Works of Orestes Brownson,* ed. Henry F. Brownson (Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, Publisher, 1882), Vol. 27, 214.
[137] More recent estimates, based on careful statistical analysis of census data, consider the death toll to be as high as 750,000. J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (December 2011), 307-48.
[138] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 60.

romantic images that enticed countless volunteers to service. Other soldiers, like the unknown soldier of the 44th Massachusetts considered earlier in this chapter, characterised battle and the possibility of death by focusing on its chaos and randomness (Figure 24). Noting that his sketch was "From Harpers Weekly," the cartoonist showed a battle scene entirely wreathed in smoke where the unfortunate protagonist is flung into the air by an exploding shell. It is a complete departure from the battle scenes of the illustrated press: all of the figures appear blinded by the fog of war, marching soldiers trample on fallen comrades, and there is no way of knowing who will be hit next, or where the enemy is. The artist makes no attempt to make sense of the randomness with which men were "indiscriminately shot down on the battlefield," which suggested the absence of an "orderly universe based on divine selection." Instead, with the gallows humour commonly found amongst the ranks in battle, he rendered the spontaneous chance of wounding and death as an absurd but very real prospect.



Figure 24, *Battle of Goldsboro. (From Harpers Weekly) Gorge gets blown up by a Shell*, 1863, pencil sketch, in *A Few Scenes*, GLI, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/glc08200 (accessed 15/09/2016).

Metzner's picture is one of the most emphatic departures from the mainstream visual narrative of the Civil War. In contrast to the popular, published images of the period, Metzner

confronted the war's inherent anxieties (death, wounding, and subsequent care for the body) in thoughtful pictorial studies. By titling the useless breastworks a cozy corner and by questioning the sacrifice of his enemy, Metzner recognizes the ambiguity and irony of war, specifically the incompatibility of romantic images of war with unheroic, unrecognised deaths. His work is a visual anticipation of the suffering wounded of Bierce's literary realism: it gave visual form to what soldiers privately penned in their letters and diaries, and cemented as core features of his war art taboos that even established writers were wary of employing.[139] Moreover, there is an immediacy to Metzner's wartime art that is lacking in Bierce's postwar writings. For Metzner, the war was his artistic stimulus. Unbound by artistic convention, his images are a direct response to his lived realities. Metzner's watercolour is not a visual assault on the Confederate soldier, but a distressing representation of the fate that frequently befell victims on both sides of the conflict. A visual *memento mori*, it signals both the impermanence of a soldiers' life and the fragility of the Good Death in war.

Mathews's and Metzner's Stones River pictures give insight into the differing ways in which combatants pictured Civil War combat. Their images stand in almost total opposition to each other, permitting us to consider the Civil War soldier-artist as an individual who could ally with a particular artistic interpretation of the war, or straddle varying perspectives. Mathews's lithograph validates his alignment to the mainstream envisioning of the war, whilst Metzner's watercolour demonstrates how others abandoned popular visual conventions in search of new ways to represent that which their contemporaries so often deemed indescribable. Through comparative analysis, this section has revealed how soldiers employed varying stylistic strategies in order to circulate, or privately mediate, reflections from the battlefield. Despite acknowledging how the romanticised notions of heroic war could limit soldier-centric representations of

[139] Bierce's "Chickamauga" describes a wounded soldier with a "face that lacked a lower jaw – from the upper teeth to the throat was a great red gap fringed with hanging shreds of flesh and splinters of bone." This short story concerns the annihilation of a child's innocence as he happens upon the wounded of the Battle of Chickamauga. Ambrose Bierce, *The Civil War Short Stories of Ambrose Bierce* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 56-57.

combat, it should not be read as a denigration of Matthews's work. It is important to recall that his work, even after the war, resonated with soldiers who had fought in the battles he represented. There was a seditious element to the heroic framing of the war, but this same romanticism evidently permitted soldiers to manage their experiences by providing a positive lens through which to remember them. As Neely and Holzer note in their brief consideration of Mathews's print, the lithograph anticipated the gaudier battle scenes concocted in the post-war era.[140] Metzner was the outlier, even by the war's end. Many soldiers had rejected propagandistic depictions by 1863 and graphically explored the war's taboos in both their visual and textual records, but few went to the extent that the German-born captain did in depicting the war's suffering and violence.

Conclusion

White Union soldiers experienced an inevitable separation from civilians back on the home front. Carmichael notes that, with a few exceptions, soldiers never ceased to remind those in their home communities that their opinions were "fanciful creations imagined within the isolated comforts of home." Although soldiers undoubtedly formed "unbreakable emotional communities," they did not necessarily express their experiences of the war in uniform ways pictorially. In their private renderings, soldiers like Metzner were able to admit their anxieties about the effects of battle, even if they could not picture these through the bodies of their comrades. By rendering Confederates realistically, Metzner extended feelings of sympathy to the enemy. These were men who, despite being the adversary, at least had shared in the lived realities of soldering. Such perceptions of combat had to be expressed in private records because admitting fear and a lack of cheerfulness in the face of battle would be a violation to pre-war

[140] Neely and Holzer, *Union Image*, 77.

conceptions of masculinity. In written correspondence, soldiers wrote "with an eye for how they might be perceived by loved ones," and a similar self-censorship occurred amongst soldier-artists who wanted to disseminate their war renderings in the channels of popular media, like Mathews.[141]

Taken together and considered alongside the handful of other Union soldier-artists considered in this chapter, insight is given into how the key themes and considerations of the broader thesis were manifested in ordinary soldiers' renderings of their war experiences. The comparison between Mathews's and Metzner's Stones River depictions is particularly potent. Mathews created a public-facing, nationalistic depiction intended for American society at large through the commercialised and mechanical processes of lithographing which averted death and offered an indication that witnessing battle had no shattered preconceived notions of manliness. Metzner's foreshadowed the attempts of his contemporaries by producing a private watercolour that mused on the omnipresence of death in mechanised warfare.[142] He was not unmanned by the war experience, but reformulated pre-existing notions of masculinity and employed an unconventional visual language to face war's suffering in blunt terms.

Both avoided connecting their experience of Stones River to the Emancipation Proclamation it facilitated. Soldiers who did picture African Americans did so with varying degrees of sensitivity, even if most were represented through the prejudiced popular imagery of the period. These soldiers' artistic talents were rudimentary at best but, as historians have noted in reference to the letters of semi-illiterate soldiers, the cultural production of those unversed in high art and literature can be "more powerful than ones by educated counterparts."[143] Those who self-depicted in sketches did so in ways alike the representations found in portrait

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[141] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 130-31.
[142] Although Metzner was not producing art for public channels, Faust surveys several American writers and their responses to the suffering of the Civil War, noting that Ambrose Bierce, Emily Dickinson, and Herman Melville all held a significant "understanding of war's destruction." Bierce's war stories are credited with being the "beginnings of modern war literature." She concedes that they had little influence upon popular thought and published either late in the nineteenth century or earlier but with little success. Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 193-210.
[143] Michael Ellis, Michael Montgomery, and Stephen Berry, *Private Voices: The Corpus of American Civil War Letters*, 22 July, 2017, http://altchive.org/private-voices, (accessed 22/06/2019).

photographs. But the greater freedom of expression permitted outside of photographic studios allowed them to picture themselves more freely when on active campaign and in moments of destitution, even if such deprivation upturned all their idealised notions of soldiers and sent them crashing down from the celebrated pedestals they occupied as volunteers. As soldiers found themselves pulled against their wills by army regimentation, challenging environments, battle, and their involvement in the implementation of the policy of emancipation, they could at least retain some mastery over the war's depiction through their own visual renderings.

Chapter Four

"A Decade Behind her Northern Sisterhood:"

Overcoming Creative Limitations in the Wartime Confederacy

"Tell Mama that it is true that I did promise to send her my likeness… but it is entirely out of my power for there is nobody to do it, so I cannot send it," wrote William Casey of the 4th Virginia Heavy Artillery Regiment from Camp Gloucester Point, Virginia on July 9, 1861.[1] A year later, Casey assured his mother that "the likeness you shall have if I can possibly get to Richmond."[2] Still under pressure in December 1862, he again broached the subject, "I expect to go to Richmond in the later part of this week… then I will try and have my likeness taken and send it to you."[3] The following week, Casey finally reported to his mother: "had my deguorotype taken for you… I had to pay ten dollars $10.00 for it." An expensive gesture, but the cost was not entirely out of Casey's control, for he "could have had it taken for five $5.00 but I did not like the case, and I thought I would have it taken well while I was about it." It had taken Casey a year and a half to have his picture taken. But when all was said and done, he was hardly satisfied. "I think that I am better looking than the likeness," he conceded.[4]

Casey's photographic odyssey was not typically experienced by Southern soldiers, but it affirms two broader points regarding Confederate visual culture. First, Southern pictorial production during the war was limited, particularly in comparison to the North.[5] This reduced

[1] William Thomas Casey to his brother, July 9, 1861, William Thomas Casey Papers, 1861-1864, Mss1C2686a, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture (MCVMHC).
[2] William Thomas Casey to his mother, August 30, 1862, Casey Papers.
[3] William Thomas Casey to his mother, December 10, 1862, Casey Papers.
[4] William Thomas Casey to his mother, December 22, 1862, Casey Papers.
[5] I will use the terms Confederacy and the South interchangeably, in reference to the territories that seceded from the United States in 1860-61 and those white individuals who supported and participated in the Confederate project. However, is important to recognise that the Confederacy never encompassed the entirety of the geographical region of the South, nor that the people living in the seceded states were one homogenous group. Notably, enslaved and free African Americans and white Unionists were no less Southern than their Confederate counterparts, despite their exclusion from, and resistance to, the project for Confederate nationhood.

the availability of images and, by extension, limited the South's ability to create and sustain a war-positive pictorial culture. When mainstream imagery did emerge, it shared broad similarities with the Northern mainstream but often carried a distinctly Southern aesthetic, being a component of a cultural project that intended to legitimise the Confederacy. Popular pictures emphasised chivalry, representing the war through depictions of heroic, individualised combat that avoided self-scrutiny. Second, despite this pictorial scarcity, white Southerners in the Confederate military surmounted obstacles to engage with self-representation and the broader depiction of the war itself. Much like Northerners, Southern soldiers mostly identified with heroic war representations, having grown up with shared antebellum representations of conflict in pictures and books. This is not to argue that Northern and Southern martial cultures were entirely alike in the antebellum era. Antebellum white Southerners subscribed to an honour-based culture that fostered the creation of "distinct expressions of Southern manliness based on Christian gentility, physical prowess, and ideological principles."[6] Yet within this dominant culture, notes of resistance to the romantic image of war could also be heard. Although more marginal than in the North, Southern soldiers' visual culture served a similar function of undermining heroic ideals with moments of blunt realism. Some rebuked popular media's focus on the knightly feats of Southern generals in favour of more introspective imagery. Historian Peter Carmichael notes that Union and Confederate soldiers critiqued their respective war efforts in dissimilar ways. Generally, Northerners were prone to self-mockery whilst Southerners were reluctant to joke at their own expense and about their cause.[7] But some Confederate soldiers made pictures that

[6] James J. Broomall, *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 5. Cultural dissimilarities had existed in the antebellum era and were emphasised when secession and war came. For instance, the perception of Northerners as oppressive "Saxons" had gained traction in the South before 1860, but with secession, it was accelerated to rationalise the new nation. More broadly, the cultivation of special features of Southern national character helped to justify political independence. Drew G. Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 10-11.

[7] Carmichael notes that, in contrast to Northerners, Southerners were trapped in their own interiors by the "need for a life structured by absolutism." Absolutism was founded upon a need for honour which was at the centre of the South's white male power structure. Confederates perceived the war experience in binary terms and struggled to see their complicity in the war's follies. Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War Armies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 233. For more on the cultural

displayed critical distance by demonstrating how the war turned their worlds upside down, shattering and reformulating notions of Southern masculinity in the process.

The wartime limitations on Southern pictorial production is echoed in present day archives. The Virginia Museum of History and Culture holds more Union imagery and references to that media than Southern visual culture. Most Southern imagery held in the museum relates to military innovation (see Figure 1). Given the South's embattled situation and limited materiel, available creative resources were generally directed towards war necessities. Artistic enterprise was devalued in favour of martial invention. Northern engineers exploited their positions to create artistic works, but this was less the case for Confederates. When it came to making pictures, the Southern soldier stood in a marginal position compared to his Northern counterpart. Confederate soldiers lacked access to the creative tools necessary to engage with, and produce, visual culture. Moreover, logistical issues frustrated the transmission of imagery and the changing tides of war placed greater martial responsibility on an ever-diminishing pool of white Southern men. In frequent cases, Southern soldiers used Union stationery, sought out Northern pictorial weeklies, and had greater access to image production in the confines of Federal prisoner-of-war camps than they did as free men in their own armies. Southern soldiers acknowledged the North's advantage in image making and some recognised this superiority as a contributing factor to the Union's eventual victory.

similarities and differences between Northerners and Southerners, particularly in their responses to the war experience, see ibid., 232-245.

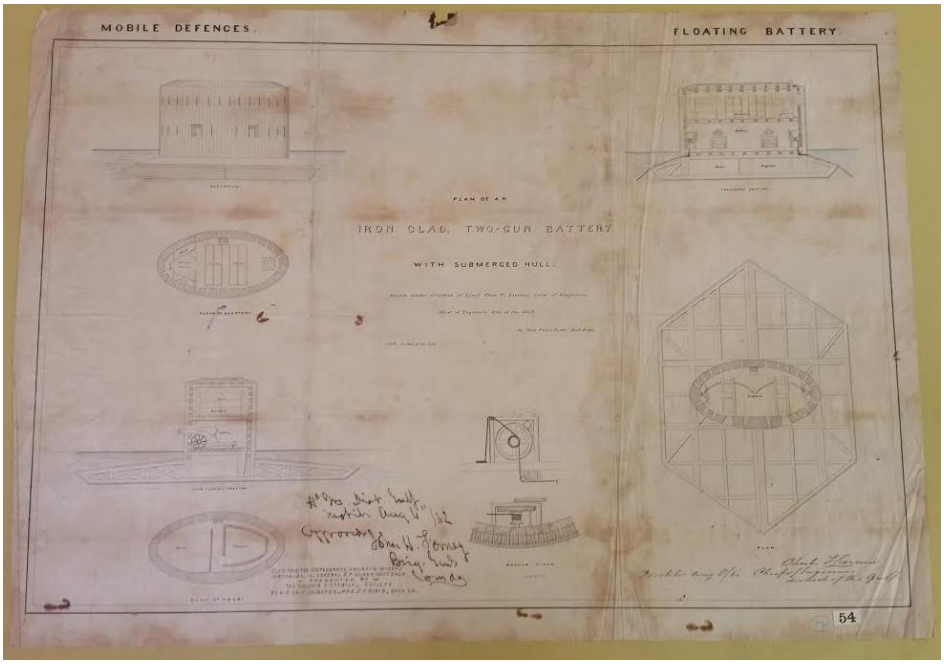


Figure 1, Confederate States Army, Engineer's Office, Topographical Department, *Plan of an Iron Clad, Two-Gun Battery with Submerged Hull,* 54, August 1862, drawings, 1861-1865, Mss4C7d oversize, Manuscript Collections, Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter MCVMHC).

Yet Southerners still seized upon the self-representational functions of imagery and documented the striking societal changes that the war wrought. Mainstream image-makers focused on battlefield victories, the chivalrous virtues of the officer-class (and, more broadly, the masculine qualities of white Southern volunteers), the support offered by white Southern women, and the supposed faithfulness of enslaved African Americans. Such images resonated with rank and file soldiers as they relayed morale-boosting martial successes, provided virtuous figures to aspire to, and offered the notion that those on the home front would remain loyal despite the scarcity of white men. But some ordinary Southern soldiers rejected the positive framing of the war, casting celebrated generals as brooding figures and portraying Confederates languishing in Northern prisons under black soldiers' surveillance. As with Union volunteers, ordinary Confederates pictured the war in ways strikingly different to the makers of popular imagery. But its scarcity has caused scholars to generally neglect Southern wartime visual culture,

particularly that which was produced at the grassroots level. There is little to consider, and its impact is difficult to measure.

This material should, nonetheless, not be disregarded. Southern imagery provides new ways to consider the wartime construction of Confederate identity and nationalism.[8] Mainstream and grassroots Southern visual studies nuance our understanding of cultural fissures amongst Confederates. Even the most comprehensive examinations of Confederate visual culture render wartime imagery marginal. Lauralee Trent Stevenson's *Confederate Soldier Artists* (1998) surveys enlisted Confederates who produced art exploring Civil War themes. But Stevenson's study focuses largely on works produced after 1865.[9] Some were based on drafts made whilst in service, but few initial works survive for historical analysis. *The Confederate Image* (1987) categorises and criticises the Southern body of graphic art, focusing predominantly on postbellum Lost Cause visual culture, which revived and sustained Southern identity after the Confederacy's collapse in 1865. Despite examining numerous post-war works relating to Southern experiences of the conflict, many were by Northern image-makers.[10] The most significant archive of Confederate-related imagery was produced by Northerners, after the war was already lost. Early Civil War visual studies began the trend of overlooking Southern image production. Fletcher Pratt's *Civil War in Pictures* (1955) claims to be biased towards Northern imagery as it could supposedly be nothing else: Southern visual culture was too scarce to be seriously considered. Almost sixty years later, *Civil War Sketch Book* (2012) echoed the neglect by focusing almost entirely on *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* in its examination of

[8] Some scholars argue that white Southern identity only truly emerged after the Civil War. During the war, local allegiances remained strong and soldiers often spoke of fighting specifically for their home state. James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 59-61.
[9] Lauralee Trent Stevenson, *Confederate Soldier Artists: Painting the South's Civil War* (Shippensburg: White Mane Publishing Company, 1998), viii.
[10] Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 3.

wartime pictorial journalism. The authors did at least acknowledge, albeit briefly, that a Southern counterpart to these illustrated weeklies existed.[11]

Much like their Union adversaries, Confederate soldiers-artists and consumers of pictorial media rarely receive scholarly attention. When their images are employed, they act as illustrative descriptors that are offered alongside textual narratives about a soldier's service. Ronald S. Coddington's *Faces of the Confederacy* (2008) puts a human face on the Confederate rank and file but does little to signal the important relationship between soldiers and photographic portraits. *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures"* (2014) exhibits 80 of 290 wartime watercolours of Private John J. Omenhausser of the 46th Virginia Infantry. Despite offering some comparison to other soldier-artists and acknowledging that Omenhausser's work "reflects the early manifestations of cartoon art," the authors' main intention is to "marry the art to the artist." The text is largely biographical, with visual supplements.[12] Others fare better. Ben Bassham's study of Conrad Wise Chapman (1998), the foremost Confederate soldier-artist, positions Chapman's art in its Southern context.[13] But as a professional who received an artistic education in Europe, his works are notable for their idealism, with many being "filtered through the sensibility of a landscape painter."[14] They stand in striking contrast to those produced by Omenhausser, who was detached from prevailing aesthetic conventions. By considering a number of soldier-artists and consumers of visual culture in relation to popular Southern imagery, this chapter will demonstrate the diversity of creative perspective held by Confederate soldiers.

This chapter is comprised of five sections. The first contextualises pictorial limitations in the South, whilst the remaining four consider different media by pursuing two inquiries: how did each form depict war in the mainstream, and how did ordinary soldiers engage with these forms

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[11] Harry L. Katz and Vincent Virga, *Civil War Sketch Book: Drawings from the Battlefront* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), 72-73.
[12] John Jacob Omenhausser, *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures:" The Civil War Art and Letters of Private John Jacob Omenhausser, CSA*, eds. Ross M. Kimmel and Michael P. Musick (Annapolis: Friends of the Maryland State Archives, 2014), 4.
[13] Ben Bassham, *Conrad Wise Chapman: Artist and Soldier of the Confederacy* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1998).
[14] Eleanor Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 133.

and modes? The second section will examine portrait photography. Though portraiture was scarcer than in the Union, its self-representational and functional uses were shared by both belligerents. The third section considers Southerners' emulation of Northern printed imagery to project a vision of Confederate nationalism centred on martial themes through printed materials such as illustrated newspapers and patriotic stationery. Union troops generally rejected these overtly propagandistic materials by 1863 (leading to decreased demand and a subsequent decline in production), whilst Confederate print industries simply lost the ability to produce them by the same year. I will also consider how print material was compiled by Confederate scrapbookers. The final section considers graphic arts and paintings. Professional picture-makers depicted the war positively, centring on individualistic clashes and chivalric virtue. But many Confederate soldier-artists shunned these modes in their own image production.

"Art Culture was a Myth:" Pictorial Limitations in the Antebellum and Wartime South

Southerners' ability to create visual representations of their wartime experiences, both within the realm of popular culture and at the grassroots level, was limited. Professional image-makers viewed patriotic visual culture as key to sustaining the white public's support of the war effort, but creative restrictions in the South would reduce the Confederacy's ability to rally the body politic around the secessionist project. And yet, despite the obstacles, Southerners serving in military roles at the front attempted to document and explore the transformative war through visual means. Such impediments included a scarcity of artistic resources, technological deficiencies, constraints on Southern infrastructure, and more generally, a relatively limited artistic precedent in the South when compared to that which existed in the North. The South was unable to mass-produce the nationalist iconography necessary to establish a new patriotism devoted to Southern independence. The Southern elite's inability to facilitate the production and

maintenance of popular nationalist sentiment through visual imagery reflected their inability to exert control over the population of the fledgling Confederate States.

Southerners could not be "anesthetise[d] to the injuries of class, [and] race" and directed more determinedly towards the fundamental requirements of the Confederate war effort. Such necessities included the ability to "exploit natural resources, increase productivity, keep order, [and] make war," which image production accelerates, as Susan Sontag notes.[15] Missing the dependable and efficient picture industry that operated in the North, the South lacked an important component in its ability to project visualisations of national interest to maintain the continued commitment of the Southern citizenry. Though "democracy within the master, white race" unified antebellum Southerners, race as a bond would lose its cohesive power when the Confederacy warred. Though Confederate elites established armed forces, passed laws, and administered justice through courts, effective nationalism requires more than the structural frameworks of government: it depends upon shared belief and ideology. Ideological nationalism was crucial to South.[16] But government actions such as the 1862 Conscription Act and the subsequent 'Twenty Negro Law,' which exempted those who owned more than 20 slaves from conscription, undermined the Southern peoples' sense of shared community and their loyalty to the Confederacy.[17] The Confederate leadership increasingly faced army desertion and starvation-induced food riots from the civilian population. Furthermore, except for Texas, not a single secession convention submitted their ordinance to voters for ratification. This led to accusations of a disunion conspiracy acting against the will of Unionist citizens in the Southern states to maintain slaveholding interests.[18]

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[15] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 178.
[16] She South as a geographical region was not the same as the Confederate nation. The endeavour for Confederate nationhood necessitated transforming the South (or large parts of it), a place that did not necessarily share climate, pursuit, or institutions, into the Confederacy. But this was dependent on ensuring its inhabitants had sufficient strength and devotion to meet the challenge of nation-building in wartime. Mark E. Weitz, *More Damning than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 16-17.
[17] James M. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Second Session of the First* Congress (Richmond: R.M. Smith, 1862), 77-79; Weitz, *More Damning than Slaughter*, 17-18.
[18] James M. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press 2003), 235.

The dissemination and subsequent accessibility of visual culture in the antebellum South was restricted. The centres of art and publishing were predominantly Northern (New York, Boston, and Philadelphia) and graphic centres in the border states, like Baltimore, Maryland, remained in the Union after the war began. New Orleans was a hub of visual production but by April 1862 the city had fallen to Admiral David G. Farragut's Union fleet. In a demonstration of the contemporaneous recognition of the power of pictures, the Southern artist J. E. Mondelli was arrested by Union authorities when they learned that he was painting a portrait of General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson.[19] The North could draw from a deeper pool of talented artists to cover the war for the illustrated newspapers and to produce popular prints.[20] Southern artists who could afford a creative education in the North did so and almost always settled in Northern cities. Thomas Cooper de Leon, brother of the Confederate diplomat and propagandist Edwin, noted that the South was, "in all art matters… at least a decade behind her northern sisterhood. Art culture – beyond mild atrocities in crayon and water-color… was a myth."[21]

Moreover, Southern authorities discouraged the circulation of images, particularly considering its Northern origins in the pre-war period. South Carolina's 1860 secession ordinance outlined that the presence of Northern emissaries and the circulation of "books and pictures" had led to "servile insurrection" amongst the enslaved African American population.[22] In another blow, Southern subscribers to the Northern illustrated newspapers found their subscriptions cancelled with the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861. But secession and the initial formation of the Confederate States brought with it a brief and celebratory surge in print-based image production. Secession ordinances were fêted as the Declaration of Independence was during the Revolution and President Jefferson Davis was lauded as a new Washington. Ironically,

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[19] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 3.
[20] Jennifer Raab, "Painting and Illustration," in Maggi M. Morehouse and Zoe Trodd, eds., *Civil War America: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 222.
[21] Thomas Cooper de Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals: An Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy* (Mobile: Gossip Printing Co, 1892), 299-300.
[22] *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union* (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1860) 9, in Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 30.

Southern secession ordinances framed uprisings of enslaved African Americans as insurrections, whilst their own affront to the Federal government was idealised as a revolution.

The South's inefficient logistical infrastructure hindered the movement of pictures that were produced. Antebellum industrialisation and an efficient transportation system had an advantageous effect on Northern citizens' reception, dissemination, and consumption of visual culture. The North had twice the density of railroads per square mile as the Confederacy and dominated the South in terms of the mileage of canals and macadamised roads. The South's circulation of visual culture suffered further when war came. The Confederate Commissary-General Lucius B. Northrop's incompetence in transportation issues, coupled with the South's lack of replacement capacity, crippled the movement of food and supplies, let alone imagery.[23] The Confederacy lagged behind the Union in the minimisation of the effects of decay, delay, and botched transmission of goods. Consequently, in the South, communication and a sense of collective identity were constrained without the efficient transmission of imagery and text.[24] This constraint was only heightened by the increasingly efficient Union blockade during the war.[25]

Confederate soldiers often noted a lack of reliable transportation infrastructure. Fletcher Moore of the 30th Virginia Cavalry decried the Southern mail system as early as November 1861, writing: "I wrote you a letter a few days a goe but the mail are soe unsurtain that I dint know whether you get it or not."[26] Another, Franklin Burns of the 18th Virginia Cavalry wrote of his brother after the Battle of Gordonsville in December 1864, emphasising the effects of a poor transportation system and his inability to source paper and paints. Franklin lamented:

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[23] McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 318-319.
[24] Jennifer L. Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 4-5.
[25] A major component of Union strategy during the Civil War was to blockade the Confederacy's Atlantic and Gulf ports to force it to stagnate commercially. For more, see Kevin Dougherty, *Strangling the Confederacy: Coastal Operations in the American Civil War* (Philadelphia: Casemate Publishers, 2009) and Andrew F. Smith, *Starving the South: How the North Won the Civil War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).
[26] Fletcher Benson Moore to his Father, November 13, 1861, Moore Family Papers, 1861-1865, Mss2M7877b, MCVMHC.

> [Warwick] always requested me that if he got killed that he wanted me to have his body taken home but I could not. He was buried in a very plane coffin. It was not painted… I would have written oftener than I have but I could not git paper.[27]

The same issues limited cooperation between professional image-makers. Art historian Jennifer Roberts notes that in the nineteenth century the new technology of telegraphy was "impotent in the face of visual inscriptions," for it would not become possible to send an image by wire until 1921.[28] Though the telegraph did not permit the direct movement of imagery, Northern engravers were able to translate "telegraphic reports into vigorous illustrations" by blending these textual accounts with available imagery.[29] Northern illustrated newspapers relished the benefits of the Associated Press (founded in 1848), which pooled resources to manage telegraphic dispatches.[30] As in the North, nationalist visual culture was necessary in sustaining devotion to the war effort, and yet infrastructural restrictions in the South reduced the ability of Confederates to rally around a martial nationalism founded upon the dissemination of patriotic iconography and rhetoric.

"Little Photography in Jeffdom:" Photographic Scarcity in the Embattled Confederacy

The South was also unable to match the North in photography, despite having a photographic tradition that remains in the extensive present-day archive of Confederate photographic portraits. Centres of photography were located invariably in Northern metropolises, alongside artistic institutions and printmakers. The tintype, a uniquely American photograph, was

[27] Franklin Crawford Burns to Sarah Margaret (Carpenter) Burns, December 31, 1864, Burns Family Papers, 1864, Mss2B9375b-1, MCVMHC.
[28] Roberts, *Transporting Visions,* 141-142.
[29] William F. Thompson, *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1959), 32.
[30] McPherson, *Battle Cry,* 13.

developed in Ohio.[31] Following the 1860 election, in which photography featured prominently with the introduction of tiny tintype badges of the candidates, *Humphrey's Journal of the Daguerreotype and Photographic Arts* mused on the South's political and photographic future:

> There may spring up another demand by-and-by from the South, for they will have to get melainotypes of their candidates for the Presidency of the Southern Confederacy, should our Glorious Union be so unfortunate as to be split in twain…[32]

The nation split. But an increased demand for political photographs did not arise, hindered in part by the absence of the two-party political system that remained in the Union. Without established political organisations vying for power, producers of ideological imagery were dissuaded from seeking profit from political contests. An outburst of competing political pictures did not arise prior to the election of Jefferson Davis.[33] By 1862, *Humphrey's Journal* observed that "the Photographic Art down South has completely died out in consequence of the war."[34] This was an overstatement, for pictures were made by Southern photographers throughout the entirety of the Civil War. Charleston photographer George S. Cook's was still conducting a busy trade, even amongst soldiers, in 1864.[35]

But Northern image-makers delighted in the disadvantaged position of their Southern competitors, even as these markets slipped from their grasp. Photography declined in the Confederacy, but not as intensely as *Humphrey's* wanted Americans to believe. Chemicals for photographic development, such as silver nitrate, collodion, and cellulose nitrate were a priority

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[31] Janice G. Schimmelman, *The Tintype in America, 1856 – 1880* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2007), 37.
[32] *Humphrey's Journal of the Daguerreotype and Photographic Arts* 12, December 1, 1860, 9, in Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839 – 1889* (New York: Dover Publications, 1938), 158.
[33] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image,* 6.
[34] *Humphrey's Journal* 13, January 1, 1861, in Smith and Tucker, *Photography in New Orleans,* 104-105, in Keith F. Davis, "A Terrible Distinctness: Photography of the Civil War Era," in Martha A. Sandweiss ed., *Photography in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 147.
[35] George S. Cook, *Account Book of George S. Cook*, 1863-1864, folder 9, box 1, George S. Cook Papers, Mss10108, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

for the army. They were components in medicine and munitions production. In 1863, Charles Seely wrote in the *American Journal of Photography:* "There has been little photography in Jeffdom… It is only in Charleston and perhaps Richmond that any photographs are made."[36] Seely was right that Charleston and Richmond were prominent photographic centres, but the claim is another exaggeration, disputed by the substantial photographic portrait archive of statesmen, soldiers, and civilians that remains scattered in a multitude of regional Southern archives. Confederates enjoyed a considerable photographic culture, even if it paled in comparison to the Union's.

But it was still difficult to have a picture taken in the Civil War South. Confederate soldier Edwin Penick substantiates Seely's claim, writing: "I will have my likeness taken as soon as I can get to Richmond."[37] Penick wrote from Drewry's Bluff, a fort less than 10 miles from Richmond's centre. Whereas photography studios were commonplace in the Union camps surrounding Washington, they were not readily available in military camps peripheral to the Confederate capital. Randolph Harrison of the 46th Virginia Infantry validated the difficulties in obtaining pictures, but those sent from home to soldiers on the frontlines. From western Virginia, on July 28, 1861 he wrote to his wife Elizabeth: "I have never yet received your precious, beautiful likeness which I long so much for, I shall wear it next to my heart for the rest of my life."[38] He pleaded for it again on August 1 and 6, 1861, but he noted that he "was always supplied with a flower from my wife to wear in my breast."[39] The photograph's referential and indexical value was recognised: Penick's sought her image as a surrogate presence. Due to her inability to attain a picture, she instead sent flowers to pin on his chest in the way he had planned

[36] Charles Seely, "Editorial Department," *American Journal of Photography* 6, no. 6, 1863, 143, in Welling, *Photography in America*, in Schimmelman, *The Tintype in America*, 57.
[37] Edwin Anderson Penick to Mary M. Penick, July 31, 1862, Edwin Anderson Penick Letters, 1862, Mss2P3778a1, MCVMHC.
[38] White Sulphur would become part of West Virginia with that region's re-admittance into the Union in 1863. Randolph Harrison to Elizabeth Williamson Harrison, July 28, 1861, Randolph Harrison Papers, Mss2H2477b-26, 1860-1865, VHSMC.
[39] Randolph Harrison to Elizabeth Williamson Harrison, August 6, 1861, Harrison Papers.

for her portrait. But his repeated requests for a visual proxy demonstrate that floral keepsakes and other familial gestures were no match for photographs.

Soldiers who were able to receive a loved one's images treasured them, employing them in the management of the psychological stresses of war in ways identical to Unionists. Captain Roberts Coles of the 46th Virginia Infantry, wrote poignantly to his fiancé Jeannie before the Battle of Roanoke Island, North Carolina on February 7, 1862. His regiment was sent to reinforce an embattled Confederate garrison but would arrive only in time to surrender to victorious Federals. The note read:

> The battle has commenced. In five minutes we will be on Roanoke Island. The sight is beautiful. Our gun boats & batteries are engaging the enemy in full view & the shot and shell are whistling around us. If I fall God grant you a happy life, as happy a one as I would have tried to have made it. Be assured my last thoughts on Earth will be of you my dearest Jennie. Your picture will be the last sight I shall see if time imparts me to look once more upon it… Yours forever, Roberts Coles... I have just a moment to write the shells fly thick.[40]

Coles died the next day. Whether he was able to look at Jeannie's photograph is unknown, but he made its significance explicitly clear in his letter. The image would conjure her presence and offer comfort by permitting him to see his fiancé once last time in life before "meet[ing] in the world to come if denied that blessing again here."[41] The difficulties Southerners faced in getting photographs were worthy obstacles as they employed them to better manage distance and dying. Soldiers used them to indicate their preparedness to risk their lives for a just cause in war and they signalled to others that when they died, they would be calm and confident that they would

[40] Roberts Coles to Jane Cary Fairfax, February 7, 1862, Letter, Feb 7, on board transport, to Jeannie C Fairfax, Richmond, Va., 1862, Mss2C6799a1, MCVMHC.
[41] Ibid.

enter Heaven. Like Union soldiers, Confederates had a sentimental aspiration to die with Christian dignity.[42]

In Richmond the photograph was an expensive gesture. The scarcity of supplies and rising inflation in the Confederacy drove up costs. At the same time, the symbolic props and backdrops commonplace in Union soldiers' pictures were not as easily attained in the Confederacy.[43] Robert Haile of the 55th Virginia Infantry wrote privately of Richmond's "exhorbitant" prices: "I bought very few things, had my daguerreotype taken and got some candy and toys to send home to my little daughter."[44] Having a picture taken demonstrates Southern servicemen's desire to engage with self-representation and to transport their images home.[45] Haile's time in Richmond moved him to act, as he witnessed countless wounded soldiers. Distance and family entered his thoughts when he looked upon them: "Some perhaps thousands of miles from those whom they have most dear on earth. How they must long to have them near, to nurse and care for them."[46] Haile's photograph was a means to narrow this divide.

Southern martial portraits bear similarity to their Northern counterparts. Subjects assumed soldierly poses, exhibiting weaponry to emphasise their masculinity whilst also displaying items of sentimental and spiritual significance. William Moore of the 1st Tennessee (Turney's) Infantry Regiment sent a photograph home with a letter in which he explained its

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[42] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 39.
[43] Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 47, 128.
[44] Robert Gaines Haile, June 7, 1862, diary, Robert Gaines Haile Diary, 1862, Mss5:1H1252:1, MCVMHC.
[45] Despite the popular post-war imagining of dishevelled Confederates, self-image was important to Southern soldiers. They took pride in their appearance, tailoring their uniforms for decorative and practical reasons. The New Orleans *Daily Crescent* noted soldiers painting pictures and scrawling mottos on their hatbands in 1861. In the winter of 1863-64, Virginian William Dame noted that his comrades lacked a "soldierly appearance." But these "aesthetic souls" devised unique patches with red flannel. When they assembled, Dame counted "figures of birds, beasts and men – a spread eagle, a cow, a horse, a cannon. One artist depicted a 'Cupid' with his bow, and just across on the other hip a heart pierced with an arrow." Another had a "large patch in the shape of a heart transfixed with an arrow." The company presented an "art gallery" and were admired by a nearby general. The soldiers' maintenance of their uniforms offered respite in the winter months, but it was also a humorous act that permitted soldiers from the extremes of the martial hierarchy to bond with one another. By employing the uniform as a projection surface for the exhibition of symbols, whether ideological or decorative, soldiers were able to retain individualism within the regulated environs of the military. *New Orleans Daily Crescent,* May 29, 1861, in Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, updated edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 112; Meade, *From the Rapidan to Richmond*, 36-37.
[46] Ibid.

intended meaning, evidencing the rank and file's awareness of martial iconography in portraiture. The letter to his fiancé Martha read:

> As I wish you to have my ambrotype, I had it taken on last Saturday… that you may have something to remember me… And if it is consistent with your desire that I have yours, you can have it taken and sent to me at Harper's Ferry… I had [my picture] taken as I expect to be in the field of battle in the position of a soldier with my uniform on, my gun in the position of Carry Arms, my Coults Repeater and Buoy Knife by my side, and to support me and to back my implements of War in time of Battle, and all danger, I hold in my hand a precious book, my Bible, that will support me if I obey its teachings, wherever I go, or in whatever condition of life I may be placed. And I hope that I may ever put my trust in that all wise Being, that can always protect me from my enemies. May the God of Battles protect and save us all is the prayer of the writer of this.[47]

Moore defines the photograph as a keepsake. It is "something to remember" him. There is an implication that this picture may also figure as a memorial should Moore die. Moreover, commissioning the photograph implies the instigation of an exchange with Martha. Symbolically, Moore claims a temporary military identity and emphasises his martial proficiency with a warlike pose. His deportment reflects how he will bear himself in battle, and his weaponry pronounces his capacity for violence. But Moore is quick to ground his soldierly capabilities with religious justification by displaying his Bible. Moore shared in American religious thought on the eve of the war: if he remained a devoted Christian and obeyed the Bible's teachings, divine providence would sustain him.[48] Like Unionists, Confederates formulated martial identities regardless of

[47] William Henderson Moore to Martha Woodson Criner, June 3, 1861, Pauline Grandud Papers, 555, folder 19, box 3989a, William Stanley Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama.
[48] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 68.

their soldierly experience. For Moore, the ideal white Southern volunteer was a disciplined, well-prepared combatant, supported by the holiness of their cause and by loved ones at home.

But some Southern soldiers lacked access to photography that Northerners enjoyed more freely. In exceptional instances, Southerners patronised Northern photographers in their endeavour for pictures. Tennessean Marcus Toney recalled his departure from the Northern prisoner-of-war camp Elmira, New York along with 28 other captives in June 1865. Waiting at the train depot, a photographer set up his camera nearby: "Boys, you should take a picture home to show the folks how you looked the day you got out of prison. I will only charge you a quarter." Being the only one with 25 cents, Toney took centre stage in the photograph. Writing of the picture, he drew attention to his comrades' deterioration:

> One has lost his teeth and has his jaw tied up with a rag, another is as pale as a ghost… One poor fellow can be seen on the right with a blanket twisted and thrown around him; he is too weak to stand… The old slouched hats that had seen hard service were quite noticeable.[49]

The photograph exhibited the weakened prisoners-of-war, more like the Northern pictorial archive of Confederate prisoners, which exhibited Confederates in degraded states to demonstrate their inferiority, than a portrait of proud volunteers.[50] Though Northern representations exaggerated the destitution of Southern soldiers, images such as *Homeward Bound* (Figure 2) illustrate how the imaginative depictions of Northern sketch-artists could edge towards reality in unique circumstances. However, Toney's photograph highlights the physical

[49] Marcus B. Toney, *The Privations of a Private* (Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, Smith & Lamar, 1907), 119-20.
[50] Thomas Nast created an overstated composite Southern character in the realm of printed imagery: clothed in rags, scrawny in body, with a face twisted from dissipation. Thompson, *The Image of War*, 96-97. Though obviously exaggerated, in cartoons, faces, bodies, and gestures were exaggerated to ridicule and emphasise foibles. Fiona Deans Halloran, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 88.

trauma the conflict wrought upon prisoners-of-war, not the supposedly inherent moral and physical destitution of Southern combatants. Though stylistically similar to the Unionist tradition of Confederate prisoner-of-war images, Toney's photograph is a statement about the Union's lack of care for its prisoners, not an admittance of Southern physical inferiority.

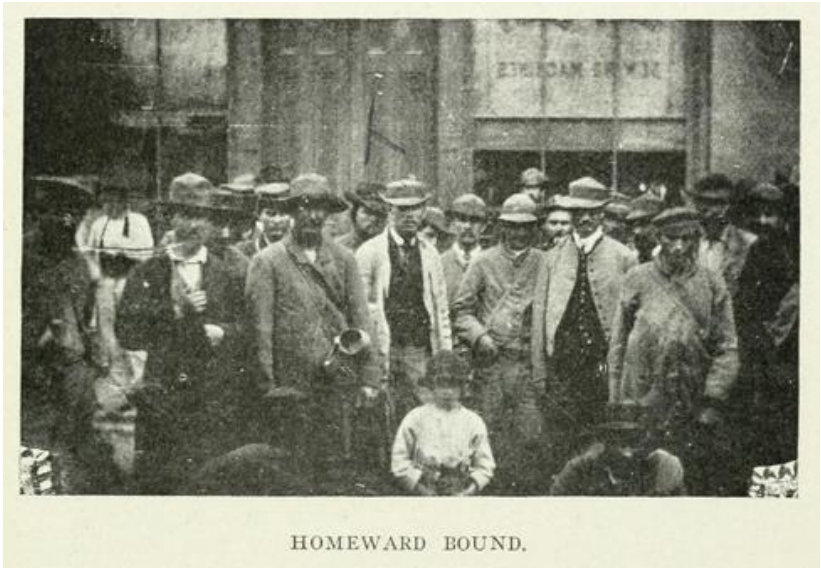


Figure 2, *Homeward Bound*, June 1865, photograph, in Marcus B. Toney, *The Privations of a Private* (Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South Smith & Lamar, 1907), 119.

Other soldiers produced portraits in spite of the scarcity of photographs. Benjamin Blackford of the 11th Virginia Infantry sketched his comrades during an extended period in camp in 1862. His pictures include a seated portrait of one R.C. Sibley (Figure 3), an assistant-adjutant general, as well as a profile bust of an individual known only as "Qrmaster Sergeant" (Figure 4). That Blackford made these in his personal sketchbook infers that he was collecting a personal record of his comrades, rather than giving them to the subjects themselves, although Conrad Wise Chapman sketched a dying friend as he thought his mother would find comfort in a "resemblance of him no matter how insignificant."[51] Whilst Federals were better able to

[51] Conrad Wise Chapman, April 1862, in Ben L. Bassham, *Conrad Wise Chapman: Artist & Soldier of the Confederacy* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1998), 74.

procure photographs to produce war albums, Confederates sometimes relied on pencils to amass such familial representations.[52] In the realms of popular culture, the situation could be as desperate. In December 1862, *Southern Illustrated News* admitted a shortage of models and asked its readers to submit photographs of Confederate generals on which to base the newspaper's engravings.[53] The comparatively affluent editors of the Richmond press had to appeal to their readers for photographs. With both Southern elites and ordinaries pleading for pictures, photography could be limited at the grassroots level and in the mainstream for Confederates. But the substantial present-day archive of personal portraiture attests to ordinary agents' efforts in overcoming photographic scarcity.



Figure 3 (left), Benjamin Lewis Blackford, *R.C. Sibley – a.adjt Genl*; Figure 4 (right), Blackford, *Qrmaster Sergeant*, 1862, pencil sketches, Benjamin Lewis Blackford Drawings, Mss5:10 B5644:1, MCVMHC.

"Our Journal Makes Its Appearance:" Illustrated Newspapers and Printed Ephemera in the Civil War South

[52] Although Civil War soldiers valued photography for its indexical and referential qualities, exceptional circumstances could dictate that any representation was better than no representation whatsoever.
[53] *Southern Illustrated News*, December 13, 1862, 2*,* in Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 26.

The difficulties faced by *Southern Illustrated News* in procuring photographs for reproduction in print was not the only difficulty that Southern news consumers faced. With the war's eruption, the Union press cut much of the South off from Northern newspapers. Whilst illustrated newspapers were commonly available in the North and were avidly consumed by enlisted men, Southerners found themselves without a regular pictorial paper. In September 1862, Ayers and Wade of Richmond created *Southern Illustrated* to counter this additional dearth of war-related news imagery. Its masthead read: "Not a luxury, but a necessity," inferring that it was not to provide Southerners with imagery for entertainment or leisurely consumption, but for a more practical purpose.[54] It emerged when Southern hopes for Confederate nationhood ran high. On September 4, General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, having bested the Union's Army of the Potomac at the Second Battle of Bull Run a week earlier, forded the Potomac River and invaded Maryland.[55] The paper was intended to be a nationalistic journal, full of heroes and patriotic symbolism that told the South's martial narrative through its successes. In their inaugural comments the editors reported:

> From the dark gloom of despondency, our people have been elevated into the clear sunlight of hope. Light has literally come out of darkness… In such a condition of the public mind our journal makes its appearance, like an emanation from an atmosphere brilliant with anticipations of prosperity yet to come.

The journal was inextricably tied to the Southern cause. With Southern militarism a necessity in the Confederate endeavour for recognised nationhood, militarism permeated the *Illustrated News*. It was necessary to demonstrate that, as a nation arising through conflict, a strong military was

[54] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 23
[55] Ian Binnington, "Promoting the Confederate Nation: The *Southern Illustrated News* and the Civil War," in eds. Peter Wallenstein and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Virginia's Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 114.

essential to defend national interests. Thus, Confederate forces required the continuous support of the white Southern population. The newspaper would herald Southern successes, and in doing so, engender greater devotion from the citizenry. But as militarism was a central theme of the journal, it also permeated all aspects of life in the Confederacy. Military fortune facilitated the emergence of *Southern Illustrated,* but this same militarism would cripple the journal. *Southern Illustrated* lacked sketch-artists, engravers, and die-makers because of conscription. Paper, ink, and presses were scarce by 1862. The Post Office, Treasury Department, and the armed forces had more need for these resources and means of production.[56] In July 1863 the editors ran a desperate advertisement in its quest for professional engravers:

> Engravers Wanted. Desirous, if possible, of illustrating the 'News' in a style not inferior to the 'London Illustrated News,' we offer the *highest salaries* ever paid in this country for good engravers.[57]

There were no takers and illustrations were rare in the *Illustrated News*. Oftentimes, other than the front page's decorative masthead, the only picture was a general's portrait on the frontispiece. The first engravings were mostly nothing more than small headshots. The paper did develop briefly, but to no lasting effect. Starting with an image of General Turner Ashby in the sixth issue, the *Illustrated News* presented the occasional view of a cavalier-like pose on horseback. From the nineteenth issue, the *Illustrated News* offered full-page portraits of generals, wreathed amongst battle flags and artillery pieces.[58] Unlike *Harper's* or *Frank Leslie's* in the Union, the ordinary soldier was neglected in this Southern journal.

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[56] Thompson, *Image of War*, 23.
[57] Lamont Buchanan, *A Pictorial History of The Confederacy* (New York: Crown, 1951), in ibid.
[58] "General Turner Ashby," *Southern Illustrated News* 1, no. 6, October 18, 1862, 1; "General Robert Edmund Lee," *Southern Illustrated News* 1, no. 19, January 17, 1863, 1, in Binnington, "Promoting the Confederate Nation," in Wallenstein and Wyatt-Brown, eds., *Virginia's Civil War,* 116-17.

But much like in the Union, Confederates established their own weeklies, with some featuring soldier-made drawings, or they attempted to have their sketches published in established newspapers. Lacking proficient sketch-artists like those embedded within Union armies, Confederate personnel depended on their own creativity to depict soldierly experiences or looked northwards for war imagery. A Union veteran who traded with Southern soldiers during the Siege of Petersburg in 1864 recalled, "With the rebels the illustrated weeklies… were in great demand, and ruled high in the price-list."[59] It made sense, for the *Southern Illustrated* never assigned an artist to the front to match the sketches-from-life of *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*[60] Confederate officer Richard Corbin recorded seeing one professional sketch-artist during his service, but it was Frank Vitzelley, an *Illustrated London News* correspondent.[61] Corbin believed Vitzelley's objective was to produce images for "the special amusement and edification of those indifferent John Bulls." Writing in June, during General Ulysses S. Grant's 1864 Overland Campaign, Corbin hoped: "I trust that he will be… sending to his paper the sketch of many a Yankee stampede."[62] Corbin's mistrust of Vitzelley's intentions were engendered by Britain's wartime neutrality. Though Union losses were tremendous, the Confederates were pushed back towards Richmond whilst suffering casualties they could not replace. Corbin's hope that Vitzelley would document repeated Union failures reveals his bias and his inability to gain critical distance in his commentary. He could not trust a foreigner to depict Southern fortunes, even as the Confederacy was coming apart.

Artists and printers were conscripted from April 1862 due to a shortage of manpower. Far-reaching mobilisation of the Southern white male population devalued all personal skills unrelated to military service.[63] In one instance, *Southern Illustrated* gained the "valuable services of

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[59] Thomas Chamberlain, *History of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Second Regiment, Bucktail Brigade* (Philadelphia: F. McManus, Jr. & Co., Printers, 1905), 270.
[60] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 23.
[61] Vitzelley originally followed the United States Army but was forbidden access to Northern forces following his negative coverage of the Union defeat after the First Battle of Bull Run in 1861.
[62] Richard Corbin to his mother, June 5, 1864, *Letters of a Confederate Officer to His Family in Europe during the Last Year of the War of Secession* (New York: William Abbatt, 1913), 24.
[63] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 7.

that excellent artist, Mr. [John W.] Torsch" after the 1st Maryland Infantry, disbanded in August 1862.[64] But by November Torsch had resigned, having become a captain in the 2nd Maryland Infantry. He had sketched some 1862 battle scenes near Richmond whilst at the *News*, but was too much absorbed by the work of illustrated newspapers to publish them.[65] He was replaced by "Mr. Wm. B. Campbell, late of Savannah" who previously worked for *Frank Leslie's* and had come south after secession to serve in the Confederate Army. But Campbell was similarly too preoccupied to publish his pictures.[66] *Southern Illustrated* was its closest to printing frontline war imagery when it received a sketch of General Turner Ashby's death. William Caskie, a soldier-artist under Ashby, worked from memory after witnessing the scene first-hand. Proclaimed a "more accurate likeness of rider and horse" than could "have been obtained from the Camera itself," the picture was one of few battle images exhibited by the newspaper.[67] But one contemporary noted that Caskie was renowned for producing pictures that were "the extreme of caricature," whilst Neely, Holzer, and Boritt deem Ashby's portrayal romanticised.[68] There is no suggestion, for example, that the scene takes place on a battlefield, nor that it depicts a death. Soldier-artists practiced their creative skills in service, but their output was constrained by manpower and resource shortages across the South. When their work was published, it was through the idealistic lens that guided professionals on the home front.

As with the Northern press, journalistic pictorial depictions of the war "never entirely caught up with reality."[69] But in the North a gradual shift towards less propagandistic depictions of conflict occurred, led by correspondents like Winslow Homer. *Southern Illustrated*'s fixation on generals inhibited their ability to depict war in ways that resonated with ordinary troops. Though

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[64] *Southern Illustrated News*, September 13, 1862, 8 in ibid., 24; W.W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865*, (Baltimore: Press of Guggenheimer, Weil, & Co., 1900), 65.
[65] *Southern Illustrated News*, November 8, 1862, 3, in Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 26, 24.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 24-26.
[68] Thomas Cooper de Leon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the '60s* (New York: G.W. Dillingham Company, 1909), 282; Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 27.
[69] James M. McPherson, "'Spend Much Time in Reading the Daily Papers:" The Press and Army Morale in the Civil War,' *This Mighty Scourge: Perspectives on the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 159.

officers were exposed to the battlefield dangers and featured in the casualty lists, common soldiers' experiences were neglected. From mid-1863, four soldiers in a camp scene were featured on the right of the revised masthead, but were small, obscured figures.[70] The actions of the rank and file were secondary to the performance of the generals in the visual realm. Ultimately, *Southern Illustrated* did not reflect the Union illustrated papers' success, which effectively offered a stream of pro-war imagery that galvanised Northern consumers to the war effort. Pictures that did appear in *Southern Illustrated*'s pages were mostly reproduced from outdated photographs or even copied from Northern newspapers.[71] Of the decline of the Southern press, the *Memphis Appeal* noted that a newspaper could be "short enough for a pocket handkerchief one day, and big enough for a tablecloth another. They assume as many hues as Niagara in the sunshine."[72] Frank Leslie delighted in mocking the "whitey brown wrapping paper" and the "wonderfully bad woodcuts" of his Southern competitor.[73] Without an established picture industry uninhibited by wartime constraints, Southern soldiers did not benefit from the war-positive imagery that Federals enjoyed. Carlton McCarthy of the Richmond Howitzers featured image scarcity in his explanation of the Confederacy's defeat:

> The Confederate soldier fought bounties and regular monthly pay, the "Stars and Stripes," the "Star Spangled Banner,"… and all the fury and fanaticism which skilled minds could create… He fought good wagons, fat horses… gunboats… [and] illustrated papers, to cheer the "Boys in Blue" with sketches of the glorious deeds they did not do.[74]

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[70] *Southern Illustrated News*, July 25, 1863, 1, News VA Rich Sout, Newspapers, 374073, American Antiquarian Society.
[71] Raab, "Painting and Illustration," in Morehouse and Trodd, eds., *Civil War America*, 222.
[72] Henry T. Malone, "Atlanta Journalism during the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 37 (September 1953): 210-219, 216, in J. Cutler Andres, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 42.
[73] *Frank Leslie's*, September 27, 1862; January 31, 1863, 299, in Thompson, *Image of War*, 23.
[74] Carlton McCarthy, *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865* (Richmond: B.F. Johnson, 1908), 6.

McCarthy recognised propaganda's power: images in the Northern press were exaggerated to stress Union gains and suppress their failures. By contrast, *Southern Illustrated* ceased production by 1864's end. Its demise reflected the waning hopes of the Confederacy.

The Confederacy's lack of visual imagery not only rendered the press unable to represent the conflict effectively to both its military and the home front. It also left Southerners unable to circulate effective symbols of Confederate belief. Soldiers were unable to claim symbolic ideological touchstones and to disseminate them to represent their motives for service. As previously demonstrated, the citizen-soldier held a celebrated place in the American mind-set. Northerners frequently used patriotic ephemera, such as letter-heads and envelopes, to exhibit their service as a conscious fulfilment of duty. The soldiers pictured on such media were loyal, masculine, disciplined, and courageous. The notion was shared in the South, but not reflected in pictorial media.[75] Carlton McCarthy acknowledged the "constellation of values" that historian Gerald Linderman identified in his study of Civil War soldiers' combat experiences. McCarthy wrote: "In a thousand ways he is tried… every quality is put to the test. His courage must never fail. He must be manly and independent."[76] Soldiers had to show through their conduct that they were the personifications of such values, but it was as important to lay claim to them in textual correspondence and visual imagery.

At the war's beginning, Confederates could procure decorated envelopes and sheets bearing patriotic insignia, slogans, and poetry.[77] Printers of Confederate stationery included A. Dapremont of New Orleans, Louisiana, William and Julius Bonitz, two German immigrants in Goldsboro, North Carolina, and J. W. Randolph of Richmond, Virginia. As with all Confederate pictorial endeavours, Southerners were outnumbered by profit-driven Unionists, some of whom

[75] Some Northerners contested the idealised notion of the citizen-soldier. In rare instances, and despite the scarcity of romanticised pictures of soldiers in the Southern mainstream, some Confederates also engaged in self-representational strategies that destabilised conventional understandings of masculinity and soldiering.
[76] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 8; McCarthy, *Soldier Life,* 208.
[77] Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 194.

even produced Confederate stationery for Southern markets in the war's early stages.[78] In the first comprehensive examination of the Confederate soldier, historian Bell Wiley features a decorative envelope uncovered in his research project. Used by Ruffin Thomson of the 18th Mississippi Volunteers, it features patriotic imagery and was specifically designed for his company, the "Brown Rebels." It included an emblem showing a cotton bale, a steamboat, a cannon, a fort, and a spray of stars. At its centre was a flag-draped portrait of Jefferson Davis.[79] The device bore symbols of Southern militarism and agriculture. The steamboat suggested the strength of Southern commerce. That the regiment commissioned their own stationery attests to the greater accessibility of pictorial media in the early-war period. It is also reflective of the buoyant public sentiment in the early-war period, when soldiers made bold declarations of their abilities before they had been tested in battle.

Southerners used imagery to affirm their patriotic commitments, even when their letters only referenced their daily activities. One Confederate-sympathiser in Missouri concluded an August 1861 letter by referring to the envelope: "Notice the Confederate flag." A woman in Mississippi wrote on a cover embossed with a Confederate flag, claiming it as "our flag."[80] Southern printed ephemera was part of a cultural project that aimed to legitimise the fledging nation by affirming the Confederacy's exceptionalism. Southerners employed Revolutionary lore to identify as the heirs of this American legacy. It helped that many prominent Founding Fathers were Southerners. Iconographic ephemera facilitated the dissemination of Southern iconography and pictures of Confederate leaders. The ancestral fathers were important, but it was as crucial to recognise new leaders for the Confederate nation. As Neely, Holzer, and Boritt observe, a recurring theme of this media was to establish Jefferson Davis as the nation's father, and a

[78] Ibid., 4-5.
[79] Envelope containing letter written by Ruffin Thomson to his father November 5, 1861, from Kingsville, S.C., manuscript in private collection, in ibid.
[80] Steven R. Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 7.

substantial amount of early-war images glorified the Confederate president.[81] But the attempt to form Davis's cult of personality did not resonate with Southerners as the image-makers had hoped, and his declining popularity as Confederate hopes waned only exacerbated his deterioration in public opinion. In one incident, Davis was approached by a North Carolinian soldier in Richmond who asked, "Sir… be'ent you Jefferson Davis?" Davis confirmed, and the soldier replied: "I thought so… You look so much like a Confederate postage stamp."[82] The proliferation and transmission of highly-politicised ephemera attempted to reframe American heroes and traditions around Southern figures and symbols. Although this reframing was achieved in one sense – the individual recognised the president – the comparison of Davis to an ephemeral item of Confederate culture implied he held little reverence for his nation's president.

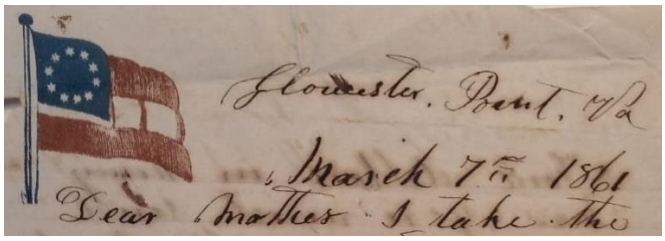


Figure 5, detail from *James William Muire to his mother, March 7, 1861*, illustrated lettersheet, Muire Family Papers, 1861-1916, Mss2M8957b, section 1, MCVMHC.

Though popular in the early months, extravagant stationery was rarely used after 1861. As with *Southern Illustrated*, diminishing Confederate fortunes can be traced in the degeneration of soldiers' stationery. By the spring of 1863, some resorted to writing on wrapping paper and wallpaper.[83] Northern nationalistic stationery declined and was used less after 1863, but this largely resulted from soldiers' eventual rejection of overly patriotic iconography, which caused a decline in the market. In the Confederacy, it simply became too difficult to produce and transmit

[81] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 11.
[82] Hermam Hattaway & Richard E. Beringer, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002), 136.
[83] Wiley, *Johnny Reb,* 196.

such material. Confederate battlefield failures and loss of territory contributed to the lack of patriotic stationery. Following the 1862 Battle of New Bern, North Carolina, Union soldier George Whitman wrote home on a Confederate lettersheet, "This is some of the paper we found here. It is first rate to write accounts of Union victories on."[84] Northerners took Confederate stationery as trophies on which to declare their victories. But rare instances of decorated stationery being used after 1863 occurred. Richard Corbin expressed his "ecstasies" after receiving a "pretty little letter" from his nephew in December 1864. Attached, and of equal cause for delight, was a drawn picture of a Confederate flag.[85] But its sender was living in Europe, where artistic materials were readily accessible.

Not all popular imagery was intended to sustain soldiers with nationalistic themes. Satirical or comedic prints were offered to identify villainous characters, whether in the enemy's ranks or on the home front. An 1863 series printed by George Dunn & Co. of Richmond, Virginia lampooned cowards and extortionists who had not devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the conflict.[86] Carmichael notes that such caricatures attributed problems with the war effort to individuals, not society as a whole.[87] But comedic pictorial matter was rarer than its sober counterparts. *Southern Punch* had a brief career and was described by historian Frank Luther Mott as a sad comic.[88] Adalbert J. Volck, a German dentist in Baltimore, produced imagery that was ardently secessionist. His only biographer titled him the "Confederate War Etcher" and claimed that what Thomas Nast did for the North, Volck did for the South.[89] It is an association without foundation. Volck's work never enjoyed mass circulation (and no circulation in the South until

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[84] George Washington Whitman to Louisa Velsor Whitman, March 16, 1862, *Walt Whitman Archive*, www.whitmanarchive.org, in Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War*, 7.
[85] Richard Corbin to his mother, December 29, 1864, *Letters of a Confederate Officer*, 94.
[86] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 37-41. Examples from the same series are included in Stevenson, *Confederate Soldier Artists*, 88-89. Stevenson attributes the drawings to William Ludwell Sheppard, a soldier-artist who rose to prominence after the war. However, no evidence is given that Sheppard produced the original drawings and *Confederate Image* does not attribute them to him. Stevenson includes another character in the series, who was intended to act as foil to disreputable types. It depicts a well-armed, moustachioed soldier in a prim uniform standing to attention in a camp as a Confederate flag waves behind him.
[87] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier,* 245.
[88] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 155.
[89] George M. Anderson, *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck* (Baltimore: Salt House Press, 1934), viii.

the post-war era). Disseminated to no more than two hundred Northern subscribers, his images lacked wartime impact. He was a Copperhead artist: a Northern picture-maker with Southern principles.[90] A 1917 article comparing Volck's work to First World War prints noted that his compositions were "redeemed by a wholesome touch of humour from being mere pictures of hate."[91] Humour was evidently strained in during the First World War, for some of Volck's artwork foreshadowed that war's atrocity images.[92] But Southern soldiers proved resourceful and turned Northern prints into objects of ridicule. Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Fremantle, a British observer to the Army of Northern Virginia, witnessed retreating Confederate soldiers after Gettysburg in July 1863:

> They had got hold of coloured prints of Mr. Lincoln, which they were passing about from company to company with many remarks upon the personal beauty of Uncle Abe. The same old chaff was going on of 'Come out of that hat – I know you're in it – I sees your legs a-dangling down,' &c.[93]

Even on the retreat from Gettysburg in inclement weather, where Confederates suffered approximately 28,000 casualties, soldiers employed images to make light of their circumstances and to rejuvenate their morale ahead of further fighting.[94] Confederate absolutism prevented soldiers' self-criticism. Instead of gaining introspection, they mocked prints of Lincoln. Carmichael notes that such humour "got soldiers laughing, but probably not thinking," as their nation plunged into disaster.[95] Nevertheless, such humorous incidents constituted a fraction of those that occurred amongst Northerners, where anti-Confederate cartoons and self-mocking

[90] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 44-45.
[91] "A Baltimore and a Holland Cartoonist Compared," *Baltimore Sun,* February 4, 1917, clipping in the Maryland Historical Society, in ibid., 45.
[92] George Bellows, *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983).
[93] Arthur J.L. Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States, April – June, 1863* (New York: John Bradburn, 1864), 279.
[94] McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 664.
[95] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier,* 234, 239.

imagery flowed regularly to the armies. Satirical and denunciatory representations of the enemy cultivated a sense of moral and martial superiority but were tempered by pictures that encouraged self-critical thought. But by exerting temporary control over Lincoln's representation, Confederates transformed the victorious Northern leader into an object of ridicule. Soldiers who controlled the imagery could, on a micro-level, control the narrative, albeit for a moment. But white Southerners would prove to be pragmatic and adaptable. Even with the pictorial industry in full decline, they found ways to gather self-affirming imagery.

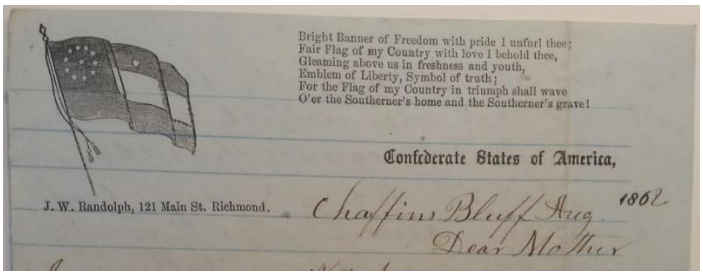


Figure 6, detail from *James William Muire to his mother, August 1862,* Muire Family Papers, 1861-1916, Mss2M8957b, section 1, VMHC.

Americans used scrapbooks to compile and collate text and imagery. In doing so, they exhibited and preserved records pertaining to their lived experiences and expressed their ideological and political views. They were often individual or familial endeavours and although the pasted material was largely authored by others, the formatting and structuring was in the hands of the scrapbookers. Scrapbooks were common cultural records North and South. In the Confederacy they occupied a heightened position, being a component of the smaller pictorial arsenal available to ordinary Southerners. Conversely, Northerners enjoyed unprecedented access to scrapbooks as well as other means of compiling imagery, such as photographic albums. These performed a similar collective function, permitting Northerners to organise photographs of their kin whilst laying claim to national heroes and their virtues. They were distinct from scrapbooks

as a means of ordering one's lived experiences, but their relative scarcity in the South made scrapbooks a common form of compiling pictures.

White Southerners used scrapbooks to enter themselves into the historical record by "finding, sifting, analysing, and recirculating" text and imagery that resonated with them.[96] Ella Gertrude Thomas, a civilian who kept both a wartime diary and scrapbook, found that her clipping collection "displaced her journal writing, in parallel to the large events of the war displacing her accustomed domestic life." She found it easier to manage the torrent of war-related media by pasting accounts in her scrapbook than by alluding to them in her journal.[97] Another Confederate, a member of the Moses Solomons household in Savannah, Georgia, transformed a ledger book into a mammoth scrapbook that documented various wartime experiences in the South. One 1862 section, titled "Books and Letters Found in the Federal Camps," exhibited Union stationery and contains an inference of Southern opinion towards the Union's "abundant access to paper for propagandising":

> All the letters and envelopes, as well as those used by the soldiers as those received from home, were embellished with some motto or device, the object of which is to inculcate devotion to the Union and hatred of the South. I brought away a number of letters, envelopes, and sheets of paper, not one of which is without the ever-present Federal flag.[98]

Gathering mass-produced Union material urged this individual to comment on the North's superiority in propaganda production. Considering the shared characteristics and functions of

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[96] Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4.
[97] Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, *Secret Eye: The Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, 1848 – 1889*, ed. Virginia Ingraham Burr (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) in Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, 93.
[98] "Army Correspondence of the Savannah Republican: Books and Letters found in the Federal Camps, Memphis, April 25 [1862]," M. J. Solomons Scrapbook, 1861 – 1863, Duke U. Special Collections Library, Manuscripts 2nd 78:G c.1 Box 1, 201, no date, no publication information, in ibid., 96.

patriotic stationery, both North and South, it can be inferred that Southern material similarly engendered devotion to the Confederacy and hatred of the North. Second, that Northerners had "abundant access to paper" recognises that resource limitations made the South unable to match Northern propagandising. Virginian soldier Carlton McCarthy's comment that the Southern rank and file had to contest all the "fury and fanaticism which skilled [Northern] minds could create" is again echoed here.[99]

George Barksdale, a wealthy merchant owning as many as 98 enslaved individuals in Henrico County, Virginia, produced a wartime scrapbook that featured a portrait of General Lee and a representation of the Confederate National Flag.[100] Images rarely appeared in his scrapbook, suggesting that even elites faced great obstacles in procuring pictures. Barksdale was a subscriber to the journal *De Bow's Review* and would not have been inhibited in subscribing to a newspaper like *Southern Illustrated*.[101] The image of Lee (Figure 7), appearing as a full-page portrait, infers that Barksdale was a subscriber to the *London Illustrated*, for the image was initially published there in June 1864. The caption identifying Lee as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Confederate States of America" is distant from the moniker "rebel general" as Northern journalists were prone to use, as they avoided recognising the legitimacy of the rebelling states.[102]

Barksdale's inclusion of the Second National Flag (Figure 8) – a white banner emblazoned with the Army of Northern Virginia's battle flag at top-left – exhibits the intermeshing of Southern national symbols with the institution of slavery. William Thompson, co-founder of the *Savannah Morning News*, wrote explicitly about the symbolism of the "White Man's Flag:" "As a people, we are fighting to maintain the heaven-ordained supremacy of the white man over the inferior or colored races. A White Flag would be thus emblematical of our

[99] McCarthy, *Soldier Life*, 6.
[100] George Ainsley Barksdale, scrapbook, George Ainsley Barksdale Scrapbook, 1858-1865, Mss5:7B2473:3, MCVMHC, 124, 130.
[101] John F. Kvach, *De Bow's Review: The Antebellum Vision of a New South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 204.
[102] *Harper's Weekly* reproduced the image from the *London Illustrated News*, using it as its front-page picture a month after its appearance in the English newspaper. *Harper's* captioned the portrait, "The Rebel General Robert Edmund Lee." Lee's middle name was Edward. *Harper's Weekly,* July 2, 1864, 417.

cause."[103] The Confederate flag's evolution marked an aesthetic separation from the United States. The First National Flag, with stars representing the seceding Confederate States and red and white horizontal bars, closely resembled the "Stars and Stripes."[104] Thompson welcomed the transformation, believing all objected to the first flag "on account of its resemblance to that of the abolition despotism against which we are fighting."[105] To Confederates like the slave-owning Barksdale, the Second National Flag, with its blending of white supremacist and militarist visions of the South, offered the best representation of Confederate national identity. The revised banner emerged in the spring of 1863. The inclusion of the Army of Northern Virginia's banner reflected the recent string of Confederate victories. Barksdale's record of the war employed images of two of the Confederacy's most potent icons: Lee as the revered embodiment of Southern chivalry, gentility, and idealised masculinity, and the Second National Flag as a symbol of white supremacism, Southern martial capability, and national legitimacy. Barksdale was no soldier but his scant use of imagery, despite his relatively privileged position on the Southern home front, is telling of the difficulties faced by ordinary soldiers when engaging with visual culture.

[103] William T. Thompson, "Proposed Designs for the 2nd National Confederate Flag," *Savannah Morning News*, April 23, 1863, in James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta, eds., *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause"* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 195.
[104] McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 342.
[105] Thompson, "Proposed Designs," *Savannah Morning News*, in Loewen and Sebesta, eds., *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader,* 195.



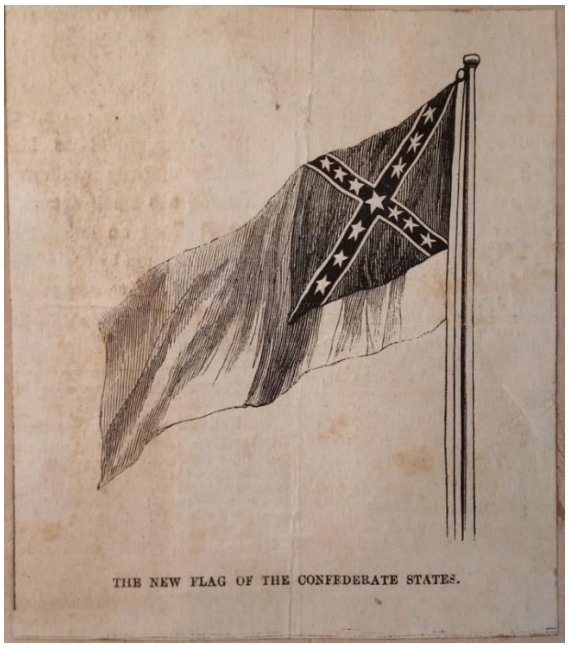


Figure 7 (left), *General Robert Edmund Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Confederate States of America,* June 4, 1864, engraving; Figure 8 (right), *The New Flag of the Confederate States,* engraving, George Ainsley Barksdale Scrapbook, 1858-1865, Mss5:7B2473:3, MCVMHC.

Like other Southerners in this chapter, one soldier had to rely on Unionist images and text. Daniel Hundley, a Confederate officer turned prisoner-of-war in Sandusky, Ohio, bought a scrapbook in 1864 and "propose[d] to fill it with the newspaper history of the times, which… will be of incalculable service to me." He would escape the prison before the war's end, presumably forfeiting his cumbersome record in the attempt.[106] Richard Dwight, a Charlestonian who had fought in Holcomb's Legion of South Carolina, filled a scrapbook following the war by pasting over a receipt book for ration deliveries to Richmond hospitals. He began with a decorative cutting of South Carolina's Declaration of Secession, adorned with the Confederate flag and the South Carolina state flag and seal.[107] Emblems of Confederate nationalism recount Dwight's motives for service, but these same icons divert attention from the war's more distressing aspects. By using a hospital receipt ledger, Dwight improvised to engage with pictorial

[106] Daniel Robinson Hundley, October 21, 1864, diary, *Prison Echoes of the Great Rebellion* (New York: S.W. Green, 1874) 168.
[107] Richard Yeadon Dwight, 1837 – 1919, "Independence: An Ordinance," Scrapbook, 1860 – 1866 (34/655 OvrSz), South Carolina Historical Society, in Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, 112.

culture. Moreover, pasting over ration receipts censored the monotonous realities of hospitals with idealised Confederate icons. But scrapbooks were cumbersome and therefore more suitable on the home front than in the knapsack of a campaigning soldier. Dwight's endeavour was a postbellum one, whilst Hundley was unable to produce a scrapbook other than in the confines of a Northern prisoner-of-war camp.

"Well Executed Original Drawings:" Graphic Arts and Painting in the Civil War South

If Southern soldiers could not rely on publishers and the press to supply war images, they could make their own pictures based on their own experiences. Like many of their Union counterparts, Southern soldiers realised that mainstream depictions of the Civil War were often misleading. So too were antebellum images of conflict, which, set against the cultural backdrop of Southern chivalry, did much to disseminate romanticised notions of warfare. Though Northerners and Southerners shared broad similarities relating to the broader American culture of war in the antebellum era, the preoccupation with chivalry and the absolutist lens were distinct features in how white Southern men understood conflict. But the obliteration of preconceived notions of war was mutual North and South. Southern soldiers testified that sanitised depictions only heightened the psychological shock of what they experienced in combat. A private in the 6th North Carolina wrote home after the First Battle of Bull Run:

> Sutch a day the booming of the cannon the ratling of the muskets you have no idea how it was I have turned threw that old Book of yours and looked at the pictures and read a little about war but I did not no any thing what it was.[108]

[108] James Overcash to Joseph Overcash, August 11, 1861, Joseph Overcash Papers, PLDU, in James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 33.

Luther Hopkins of the 6th Virginia Cavalry recalled in his post-war memoir that if Southern men had been exposed to realistic representations of war, they might never have enlisted:

> Had these boys any conception of what they were rushing into? Suppose just at this time the curtain had been lifted, and they could have seen... Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville… The Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor… And if they could have seen a picture of their homes and fields as they appeared in 1865, would they have rushed on?[109]

Many soldiers found it difficult to put their involvement in combat into words. A North Carolinian stated his inability to "describe a battle" to his mother after Antietam in September 1862. Even if he could communicate the experience, it would be no use, because "No one can imagine anything like it unless he has been in one."[110] Many soldiers found that combat, as the supreme test of their masculinity and as a coming-of-age ritual, was something incomprehensible to civilians who had only viewed it through the popular media's sanitised lens.[111]

Perceptions of chivalry were prevalent in the antebellum South. Historian Bertram Wyatt-Brown notes that an "insistence upon valour was especially evident in moments of crisis when outside forces threatened Southern integrity," aligning with Southern framings of the conflict as one between two vastly different cultures.[112] Through warfare, white Southerners could overcome hardship and enhance white fellowship. Battle was "ennobling, and the necessity for discipline strengthened character."[113] One soldier in Nashville recorded that "nothing else is

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[109] Luther W. Hopkins, *From Bull Run to Appomattox: A Boy's View* (Baltimore: Fleet-McGinley Co., 1908), 24.
[110] Walter Clark to his mother, Sept. 26, 1862, in *The Papers of Walter Clark,* ed. Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1948-50), I: 79, in McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 12.
[111] It is notable that the North Carolinian's use of a gendered identifier further excluded female civilians from the possibility of comprehending battle.
[112] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviour in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 38-39; Daniel Kilbride, *An American Aristocracy: Southern Planters in the Antebellum Philadelphia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 1.
[113] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 38-39.

talked of anywhere but War… the scum of the North *cannot* face the chivalric spirit of the South."[114] John Robertson of the 3rd Alabama Infantry claimed a chivalric spirit that harked back to antiquity, noting Southern soldiers to be "as Chivalous as wer the Romans." He boasted that he and his comrades would "spill the last drop of lifes blood on the altar of freedom before they weill yield an inch of their ground."[115] Chivalric culture was uniquely Southern. On the eve of the Civil War, those belonging to "the circle of honour [in the South] were much greater in number than in any other traditional society."[116] Furthermore, Southerners' fascination with duelling emphasised "the attractiveness of individualised combat," a fictitious imagining of combat that contrasted strikingly with the linear tactics employed in the early-war period, the trench warfare of the war's final years, and the Union shift towards the strategy of directed severity against non-military targets.[117] In popular Confederate illustrations of the war effort, just as the pictures of the *Illustrated News* demonstrated, the focus on officers and their valiant traits was a recurrent theme.

[114] Henry Ewing to Harry St. John Dion, May 1, 1861, Dixon Papers, SHC UNC, in McPherson, *Cause and Comrades*, 17.
[115] John S. Robertson to Jim, September 6, 1861, Moore Family Papers.
[116] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 61.
[117] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 16; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Towards Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For more on how the war was fought, see Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence: How Americans Fought the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018). For more on total war strategies, see Stig Förster & Jorg Nagler, *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Grimsley rejects the notion that total war strategies were adopted during the Civil War, but both texts offer insight into the breakdown of the conciliatory strategy employed at the war's outbreak.



Figure 9, John R. Lemon, *The Valley with the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Distance*, ca. 1861-1865, pencil sketch, Theodore T. Fogle Letters, MC No. 436, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

Fewer Southern soldier-artists attempted to depict battle than their Union counterparts. As previous chapters demonstrate, the idea that words were not enough to convey wartime experiences was widespread, and so soldiers employed images to bolster their assertions about the war. In the North this encompassed the totality of the soldiers' experience. By contrast, Southern soldiers generally avoided combat depiction but still used imagery to record other aspects of their service. Pictures bore the "travellers' implicit claim to have encountered scenes of interest to friends and family back home."[118] One Georgian described himself as a "Special Artist to the 4th Ga Vols" and sent home a sketch (Figure 9) produced in the Shenandoah Valley "with the Blue Ridge Mountains in the distance taken from the Camps… one mile from Orange County Court House Virginia." The sketch, which appears to be the product of an individual trained in topographical drawing or cartography, was sent "especially for his Wife."[119] His rendering, which centralises a plantation in an idyllic landscape, offers a direct picturing of what

[118] David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 130.
[119] John R. Lemon, *The Valley with the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Distance,* ca. 1861-1865, pencil sketch, Theodore T. Fogle Letters, MC No. 436, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

many Confederates believed to be fighting for: their homelands.[120] But in fighting in defence of hearth and home Southern soldiers also fought for the preservation of slavery, even if it was not explicitly stated. Confederate society was dependent on the system of slavery, and both had to be defended. The sketch pictures a tranquil landscape established and tilled by the labour of enslaved people, but without including enslaved figures at all.

Images authenticated soldierly observations and experiences. In mid-1861, an officer stationed near Manassas, Virginia described the view from "the top of our earth entrenchment." He noted "The angular tents of the privates in groups, with here and there the round pointed Sibley tents of the officers." But words were not enough, "I cannot do justice with my pen." The officer included a sketch, believing it to be the most "accurate" way to capture his surroundings. The sketch was subsequently published in the 15 June 1861 edition of the *Charleston Mercury*.[121] Benjamin Blackford, who sketched his comrades' portraits whilst idling in camp, produced several pencil drawings in 1862. In one camp scene featuring cannons, he noted in a blank space that "two additional caissons and four pieces are to be understood – being troublesome to sketch."[122] He was no professional. His camp scenes expurgated the ravages of sickness and soldiers' immoral behaviour, which were affronts to chivalric ideals. But they still focus on army tedium. In a picture of the surgeon's tent (Figure 10), one individual, presumably the surgeon, slumbers against a wagon as a convalescent lies by the tent's entrance. In another sketch, two officers share a meal, using a supply box as a table (Figure 11). For volunteer officers, sharing rations atop a cracker or ammunition box was a striking contrast to the indulgences afforded in civilian life. Southern soldiers may have been deterred from picturing battle scenes, the traumas

[120] For more on the depiction of landscapes in the South, see John Michael Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
[121] "Extract of a Private letter, Camp Beauregard, Bull's Run," *Charleston Mercury,* June 15, 1861, in Mark M. Smith, *The Smell of Battle, The Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 51.
[122] Benjamin Lewis Blackford*, Camp of the Howitzers*, 1862, drawing book, Benjamin Lewis Blackford Drawings, Mss5:10 B5644:1, Library Collections, MCVMHC.

of which "suffering exceeded language and understanding," but they did not make a determined effort to visualise the war in heroic terms.[123]



Figure 10 (left), Benjamin Lewis Blackford, *Camp near Richmond – Surgeon's quarters*; 1862, pencil sketch, Figure 11 (right), *Officer's Dinner*, 1862, pencil sketch, Benjamin Lewis Blackford Drawings, 1862, Mss5:10 B5644:1, MCVMHC.

It is important to recall that artistic supplies were often scarce in Confederate armies. Those unable to create pictures often noted that particular experiences were worthy of visual representation, suggesting their dismay that there were not more artists in the ranks to record their military experiences. William Dame of the Richmond Howitzers recalled an unusually fine wintertime meal and noted: "The picture of that formal dinner is worth drawing."[124] Soldiers in camps and on garrison duty, where the demands of military routine were less keenly felt and creative resources more readily available, were afforded the opportunity to compose their own newspapers in response to the scarcity of official illustrated weeklies. They imitated the press, including ornate mastheads on their frontispieces, accompanied in some instances by decorative shields and mottos. One soldiers' newspaper, *The Pioneer Banner*, contained a "well-executed

[123] Drew G. Faust, *Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2008), 209.
[124] William Meade Dame, *From the Rapidan to Richmond and the Spottsylvania Campaign* (Baltimore: Green-Lucas Company, 1920), 31.

original drawing of Fort Barrancas by one of the 'staff artists.'"[125] These newspapers did not circulate far from the regiments that produced them, but they suggest the soldiers' desire to create transmittable visual records of service over which they could exert agency. Soldiers' understanding of events beyond their immediate horizons could be limited, but soldier-made newspapers allowed them to produce and disseminate their own martial narratives.

Soldiers compensated for journalistic scarcity, but their emulation of the stylistic strategies and rhetoric of the press affirms their familiarity with professional practices. Without a successful illustrated national newspaper, Confederate soldiers' comprehension of national events was constrained. *Southern Illustrated*'s failures forced servicemen to bear responsibility for producing visual and textual records of the Civil War. Some soldiers bypassed popular channels and circulated images regardless of the limitations, but such endeavours required much exertion. John Omenhausser noted that a picture of camp life he produced was "such a true picture… [that] I had to draw a great many of them for members of our company and others of the regiment." He boasted that the pictures had "been sent to different parts of the Southern Confederacy, as far South as New Orleans." His associates called him "Our Artist."[126] In the mainstream realm, Dame's camp sketch that was printed in the *Charleston Mercury* is one of the few instances of war imagery by amateur soldier-artists circulated through popular channels.

[125] W.W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army. A Journal Kept by W.W. Heartsill, for four years, one month, and one day: or, Camp life; day-by-day, of the W.P. Lane Rangers, from April 19th, 1861, to May 20th, 1865* (Marshall: W.W. Heartsill, 1876), 86, in Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 171.
[126] John J. Omenhausser to Annie Howle, November 10, 1861, *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures,"* 13.

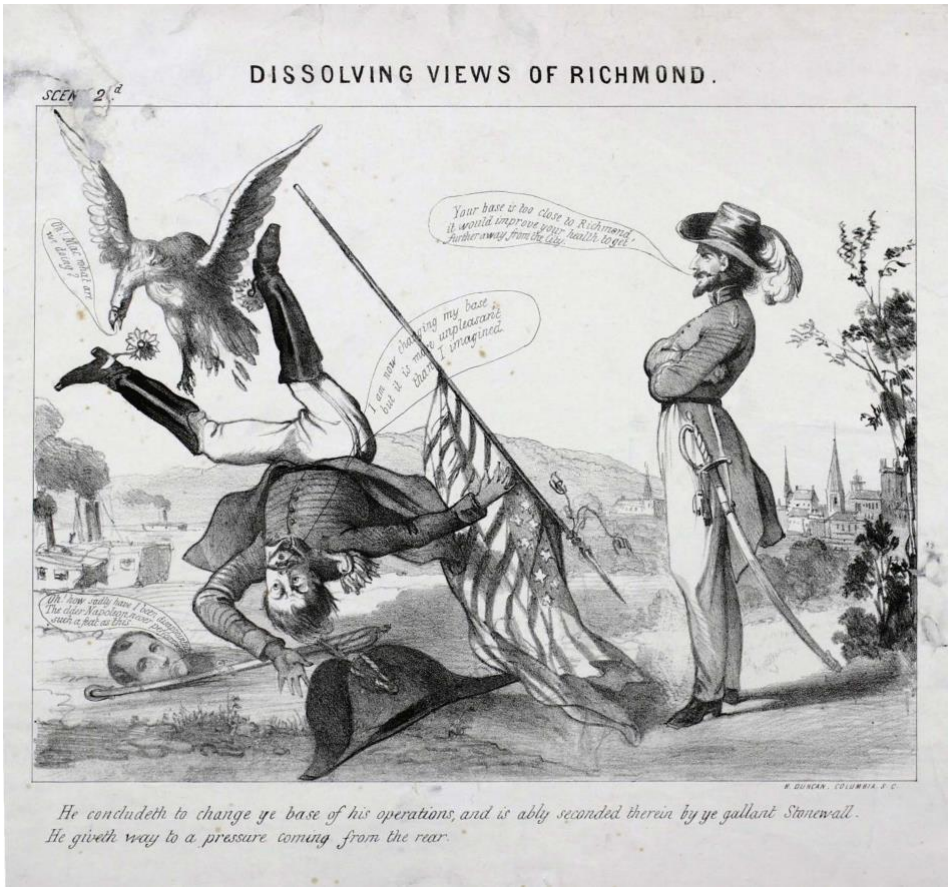


Figure 12, W.J. or J.W., *Dissolving Views of Richmond / Scene 2d,* ca. 1862, lithograph, Blanton Duncan (publisher), Columbia, South Carolina, in Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 33.

Clearly, some Confederate soldiers were able to make war pictures that both entered into the mainstream and rejected the chivalric aesthetic of popular visual culture, but they were overwhelmed by propagandistic imagery. In 1862 Blanton Duncan, a Columbia, South Carolina publisher, printed four lithographs in his series *Dissolving Views of Richmond* series. Union General George B. McClellan was the object of ridicule. The series centred on his failed attack on Richmond, Virginia during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign.[127] The series displayed the romanticised self-image of the Confederacy. A cavalier-like General Jackson personifies the South and repeatedly bests McClellan (Figures 12 and 13), depicted as a caricature of Napoleon

[127] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 31.

Bonaparte.[128] The campaign is represented through individual duels. But as Neely, Holzer, and Boritt state, "the general looked nothing like the figure in the cartoon."[129] Even as a target, McClellan's likeness is superior to Jackson's. It is likely that Duncan had better access to Northern depictions of McClellan than he did of Southern representations of Jackson. Jackson's wide-brimmed plumed hat, his sabre, and his upright posture are distinctive in 'Scene 2d,' as he relishes McClellan's retreat. His uniform is like those featured in European military uniform plates of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 'Scene 3d' McClellan attempts another withdrawal, which he terms a "Strategic movement." Jackson taunts McClellan: "Let me help you a little friend Mac… I think you are a little slow." Jackson has traded sabre for a rifle-musket, with which he prods McClellan. Though Jackson retains his chivalrous aesthetic, the details on his uniform are of lower quality compared to those in 'Scene 2d.' Nor do his facial features entirely match those in previous scene. Such inconsistencies suggest a rushed engraving process by multiple inexpert printmakers.

But Jackson's recorded performance during McClellan's Peninsula Campaign was nothing to celebrate. Exhausted from intense campaigning in the Shenandoah Valley, Jackson's forces rushed to Richmond's defence where he was disadvantaged by a lack of military intelligence. Jackson's forces struggled and his sluggishness was controversial.[130] His dashing appearance, which in reality was "customarily modest, even somewhat seedy," is an idealised imagining. It represents what Confederates thought their military leaders should look like, not what they necessarily were.[131] But Jackson earned his celebrity with his successes prior to the

[128] McClellan was known as "the Young Napoleon," owing to his ascendency to high command in the United States Army. In photographs he struck poses that were alike Napoleon's in portraiture. His repeated battlefield failures and strategic and tactical indecision made him a target for criticism both North and South. However, he was a highly effective army organiser. Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 101.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Jerry H. Maxwell, *The Perfect Lion: The Life and Death of Confederate Artillerist John Pelham* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 103.
[131] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 31.

Peninsula Campaign, making him a predictable choice for the position of Confederate defender, even if his recent performances and outward appearance were the antitheses of his portrayal.[132]



Figure 13, W.J. or J.W., *Dissolving Views of Richmond / Scene 3d,* ca. 1862, lithograph, Blanton Duncan (publisher), Columbia, South Carolina, in Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 34.

Southern soldiers portrayed Jackson in ways strikingly different to Duncan. Two of the three sketches below were made from life by Lieutenant William Williamson at "the ford of the Shenandoah at Alma… Virginia, after the battle of Sharpsburg" in September 1862 (Figures 15 and 16). Colonel Alexander Robinson Boteler produced the other during the Peninsula

[132] The Confederates were led by General Lee during the Peninsula Campaign after the wounding of General Joseph E. Johnston on 31 May 1862 at the Battle of Seven Pines (or Fair Oaks). Prior to his promotion, Lee earned the moniker "King of Spades" after fortifying the line of defences east of Richmond. His soldiers considered this labour fit only for enslaved African Americans. In 1861, during a failed campaign in western Virginia, Lee was known as the "Great Entrencher." Meanwhile, Jackson earned fame at the First Battle of Manassas (or Bull Run) in 1861 and had won victories against superior forces in the Shenandoah Valley. Digging fortifications did not fit the cavalier aesthetic devised by popular image-makers. Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014) 138, 154-155; Peter Cozzens, *Shenandoah 1862: Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

Campaign (Figure 14).[133] Captain Jedediah Hotchkiss, a topographer on Jackson's staff, added revealing captions to the sketches. The Peninsula Campaign drawing of Jackson presents him "leaning against a plank seat fastened between two trees… considering a dispatch that he had just received" following a withdrawal.[134] Jackson is in deliberative thought over the missive or perhaps even in the lethargic demeanour that characterised his performance during much of the campaign. In comparison to Duncan's representation, Jackson's facial hair is unkempt and his forage cap (not a cavalier's hat with a protuberant plume) is pulled over his eyes. The inclusion of a sabre is the only similarity with the popular print.

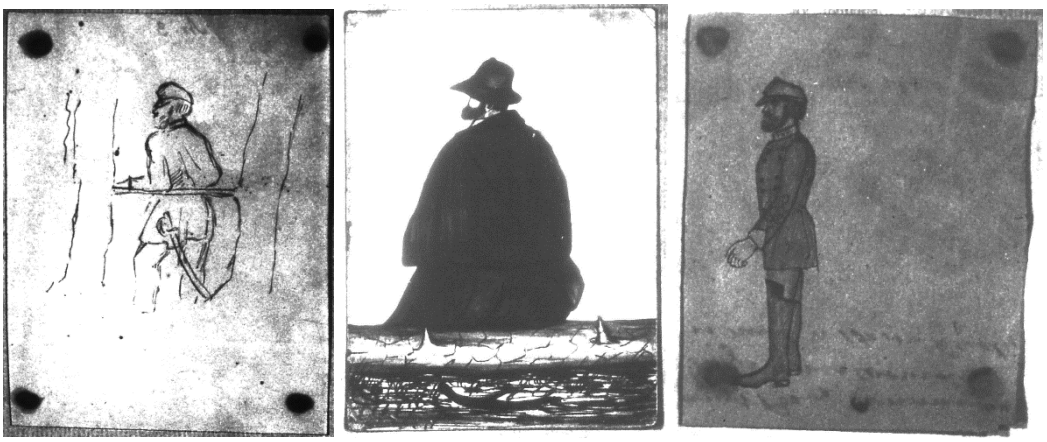


Figure 14 (left), Alexander Robinson Boteler, *Sketch of Stonewall,* 1862, pencil sketch, microfilm reel C598; Figure 15 (centre), *Seated on a pine log, in the rain*; Figure 16 (right), *An attitude that he often took when standing alone apparently lost in thought,* William G. Williamson, 1862-63, pencil sketches, microfilm reel C598, MCVMHC.

Williamson's sketches reveal Jackson's gracelessness. The first depicts Jackson "seated on a pine log, in the rain… awaiting the crossing of the army." Jackson wears a wide-brimmed hat, dissimilar from Duncan's plumed cover, to shield himself from the elements. Only the thick beard indicates his identity. The second portrays him in "an attitude that he often took when standing alone apparently lost in thought. It strikingly recalls one of his awkward appearances."[135]

[133] William G. Williamson, *Sketches of Stonewall Jackson*, ca. 1862-63; Alexander Robinson Boteler, *Sketch of Stonewall Jackson,* 1862, microfilm reel C598, MCVMHC.
[134] Jedediah Hotchkiss, caption for Boteler sketch, 1862, microfilm reel, C598, MCVMHC.
[135] Williamson, *Sketches of Stonewall Jackson*, 1862-63, microfilm reel C598, MCVMHC.

Though dressed in formal attire, with riding boots and a frock coat bearing rank-defining adornments, Jackson wears the same drooping forage cap seen in Boteler's sketch (Figure 14). To further reject a cavalier aesthetic, the notation that Jackson appears awkwardly distances him from the idealistic Southern envisioning of self-assured leaders. The pictures of Jackson, produced on the one hand by an established printmaker and on the other by soldier-artists, evidences the clash between the imagined romances espoused on the home-front and the perceptions of those witness to the drudgeries, blunders, and introspective moments within the Southern high command.

Other soldiers shunned heroic representations of white masculinity to picture peripheral subjects. One soldier-artist, known only as "Rebel" Perry, left several undated wartime sketches.[136] The sketches are difficult to contextualise because only scant captions accompany them. But they focus on figures who received less attention from picture-makers than ordinary soldiers did: white women and African American men. The first image (Figure 17), dated 1862, is a close study of a young woman who asks: "Is there any news from the front, Sir?" Titled 'Sally at the Post Office,' it captures women's anxieties as they fretted over departed volunteers. Sally receives no response, drawing the audience into her predicament as both subject and viewer wonder about the fate of those at the front. Whether Perry witnessed such a scene whilst on furlough or whether it was produced as an affirmation that he was being remembered by his loved ones is unknown.[137] The picture comments upon women's support in wartime, a key feature of Civil War visual culture both North and South. However, it does so by exhibiting Sally's anxieties over departed soldiers, not by showing her busily mending clothes or parcelling

[136] One item is a map exhibiting the Confederate order of battle at Fredericksburg. Its preciseness suggests that it was produced after the war, when soldiers could gain better comprehension of the engagements they participated in by accessing reports and communicating with other veterans. Conversely, its material condition indicates that it was made in environs where preservation was difficult. Though it is uncertain who "Rebel" Perry was, he identifies a feat performed by the 60th Georgia Infantry on his Fredericksburg map, and four men with the name Perry belonged to this unit. "Rebel" Perry, *Map of the battle field before Fredericksburg of Sat. Dec. 13th 1862 – By Rebel Perry*, ca. 1862, Rebel Perry Drawings, 1974-0215M, Georgia State Archives.

[137] Most soldiers were connected to their homes by fragile communication lines. When these tenuous bonds broke down, soldiers were isolated from their loved ones and became depressed, which spurred desertion. Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier,* 184.

food items. As printmakers attempted to guide the citizens' behaviour in the popular realm, images of women dispensing aid to soldiers became a recurrent theme. *The Burial of Latane* (1864), which will be considered later, is a prime example of popular Southern imagery employing the trope. As evidenced in the examination of photographic portraits, men required the continued support of those at home.

Perry's other drawing (Figure 18) is complex and problematic, depicting an African American named Josh wearing what appears to be a Confederate military-style kepi and carrying a rifle at the position of "Present, Arms;" a military salute when one carried a weapon.[138] The idea that any substantial number of black men served wilfully as Confederate soldiers is fantasy, employed by subscribers to Lost Cause ideology to divert attention from the fact that the institution of slavery was the leading cause of the war. But such images force scholars to confront that, however rarely, African Americans did serve in active Confederate military roles.[139] Josh's jacket is of a civilian pattern, whilst his trousers have torn hems and his toes protrude from a hole in his shoe. Perhaps Josh served in one of the two companies of black soldiers hastily organised in Richmond in war's dying days, who never saw combat.[140] Or, considering the soldier-artist used his name, Josh may have been a hometown acquaintance marshalled for guard duty as the demands for white male soldiers at the front increased. For white Southerners, even a partially uniformed African American bearing a weapon was the antithesis of the South's martial culture. Another Georgian, General Howell Cobb, had noted: "If slaves will make good soldiers our whole theory of slavery is wrong."[141] By Confederate definition, black men could not be soldiers. Their existence called into question the exceptional nature of white combatants.[142] But his dishevelled appearance is not synonymous with being unfit for service. Logistical issues in the

[138] William Joseph Hardee, *Hardee's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics* (Memphis, TN: E.C. Kirk & Co., 1861), 8.
[139] Numerous books of varying quality have been published on Confederate emancipation and the subject of arming enslaved African Americans, but for the finest, see Bruce Levine, *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[140] McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 837.
[141] Russell Howard Cobb in *O.R.,* Ser. IV, Vol. 3, 1009-10, in ibid.
[142] Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2008), 160.

South meant that shortages in quality uniforms and equipment were commonplace at some point during most soldiers' service.[143] The specificity with which each subject is represented is significant. Sally is depicted with detail as an attractive and youthful woman, whilst Josh is represented in a racist caricature style with his features less defined and obscured, inferring that white women were more deserving of respectable depictions in comparison to African American men, even when the latter participated in military service. Pictorial depictions of white women and black men by a Confederate soldier-artist are a rarity in the broader wartime archive, but they illustrate that soldiers were invested in the depiction of agents that could both sustain and destabilise their notions of military service.





Figure 17 (left), "Rebel" Perry, *Sally at the post Office,* ca. 1862, pencil sketch; Figure 18 (right), "Rebel" Perry, *Josh,* ca. 1861-1865, pencil sketch, Rebel Perry Drawings, 1974-0215M, Georgia State Archives, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

[143] This ragged envisaging of the Confederate soldier would be marshalled to great effect as Lost Cause ideology emphasised Southerners as a logistically disadvantaged force in the postbellum era.

Another neglected subject in the Confederate visual archive was the Southern prisoner-of-war. But the Virginian soldier Omenhausser produced 278 known pictures housed in five separate sketchbooks during his incarceration at Point Lookout, Maryland, forming a comprehensive visual diary.[144] He focused on prison structures, the prison economy, and the irony of well-equipped African Americans serving guarding dishevelled white Southerners. Though Southerners struggled to obtain creative resources in their own armies, there was a licensed sutler at Point Lookout who sold goods to prison inmates. Omenhausser also had Northern kin who provided him with art supplies. Sketching was not only a way to record his confinement, but to improve it as well. One sketchbook, owned by a descendent of the prison camp's commander, contains an affidavit that states that Omenhausser "made a business of his work & sold several of the books."[145] Omenhausser drew prisoners producing goods such as jewellery and fans to trade for necessities. Prisoners unable to capitalise on their creativity would have to resort to other means to sustain themselves, something that Omenhausser depicted unashamedly: four of his drawings are renderings of prisoners catching and eating rats.[146] That Omenhausser employed comedic elements is surprising, particularly for a Southerner. Carmichael presents the case of Wright Vinson of the 57th Georgia, a soldier broken down by disease and hardship. Seeing his own reflection, he felt as though he had lost his true self and wrote ashamedly to his wife that he was an unworthy father and a failed soldier. In Omenhausser's *Rats*, one soldier interrogates another as he skins a rat, "you aint a going to eat them Rats are you?" The other, notably barefoot, replies confidently: "Certainly I am, they are

[144] Few watercolours survive from prior to Omenhausser's incarceration, but James Broomall ably analyses *Wise Brigade*, a camp scene probably made in 1863. It shows "the competition for resources and battles over controlling labour" in the "confining atmosphere of camp." As Broomall notes, the picture contrasts with Conrad Wise Chapman's painting of the same brigade around the same period. The trained artist's picture implies familiarity and kinship between the men. The scenes are domesticate camp life, invoking both nineteenth century pastoralism and genre paintings. Broomall, *Private Confederacies*, 55-59.
[145] Omenhausser, *"I Am Busy Drawing Pictures,"* eds. Kimmel and Musick, 49, 39.
[146] Ibid., 52.

good as squirl, and if a fellow did not look out for himself in this place he'd starve."[147] The dreadfulness of eating rats to survive is tempered by the respondent's assuredness and his amusing precedent: at least they taste like squirrel. Omenhausser approached the war's ironies and more harrowing aspects with a humour that was rare amongst Confederate soldiers.

The most arresting pictures depict the "black-white role reversal that enraged Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout."[148] African American soldiers order white Southerners away from the prison's limits, ride on Confederate inmates' backs, and coerce them into praying for Lincoln, the "colored people," and the United States (Figure 19), in most cases at gunpoint. In several Omenhausser images, white Southerners take on trickster roles as they deceive guards to procure supplies and money. Historian James Broomall notes that even as many soldiers reeled from the military's subordinating effects, many Confederates defined their independence through the dehumanisation of African Americans. But the pictures are a reversal of the Southern racial hierarchy, which rested on a worldview that equated whiteness to privilege and blackness to slavery.[149] Turning from soldier to prisoner-of-war did enough to undermine Southerners' self-image as virtuous individuals, but being under the surveillance of a supposedly inferior race disgraced white Southern masculinity. Like his watercolours of trickster Confederates, Omenhausser redeems his distressing representation with humour, albeit prejudiced. Although forced to pray for black emancipation, the Confederate's initial use of a racist slur is a minute act of defiance. He had not surrendered all agency. Omenhausser's artwork is unique in the body of Southern wartime pictorial culture not only because it emerged from a Northern prison, but because it revealed Confederates at their most destitute. Yet despite Omenhausser's introspection, the humour amid the absurdity illustrated that prisoners retained some mastery over their circumstances.

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[147] John J. Omenhausser, *Rats*, watercolour, Conner sketchbook, Americana Collection, Special Collections, Pelletier Library, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, in ibid., 53.
[148] Ibid., 91.
[149] Broomall, *Private Confederacies*, 5.

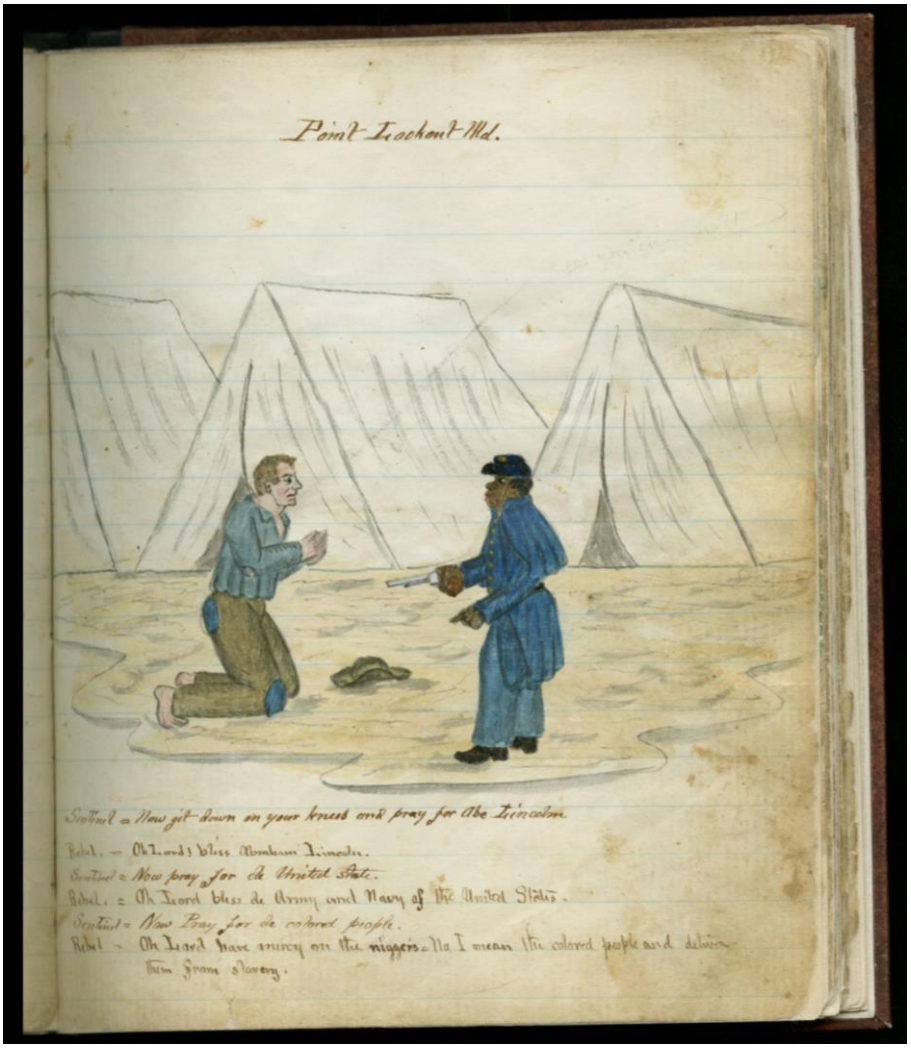


Figure 19, John J. Omenhausser, *Point Lookout Md.,* 1864-65, Lingamfelter sketchbook, item 5213, Special Collections, Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

Considering the scarcity of Southern wartime visual culture, it is necessary to consult post-war representations to gain a fuller comprehension of artistic modes practiced by Confederate soldiers during the war. Allan Redwood was a soldier-artist in the 55th Virginia Infantry who produced realistic war art in the postbellum era. Redwood travelled to Virginia at the war's outbreak to volunteer, having received his artistic education in New York and Baltimore. Redwood was twice wounded and suffered from disease.[150] His images, formulated as

[150] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, 213.

sketches during his service, give a blunt soldier's view of the Civil War. The battle's ambiguity, death's presence, and soldiers' destitution are recurrent themes. Though refined in the 1880s and for the illustrated historical series *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, the images owe their directness to Redwood's personal observations. '"Carry me Back to Old Virginny," Goodbye!' (Figure 20) is a sombre depiction of retreating Confederates after Gettysburg. The title is a manipulation of a popular Southern minstrel song in which an enslaved African American sings of his desire to die in his home state. Two dishevelled Southerners, one with an exposed arm revealing a wound, bid farewell to a comrade with a head injury in an ambulance wagon. His features are sunken as he clasps the hand of his comrade, a familial gesture performed at the picture's centre. The wagon will carry him to Virginia but it is uncertain whether he will survive. The darkened rear of the wagon into which he recedes suggests that death is near. The trio are a microcosm of the "vast procession of misery" that stretched for seventeen miles bearing approximately 8,500 wounded men on uneven roads during the Confederate retreat.[151] In the driver's seat sits a shrouded figure with his back turned. For the wounded soldier a painful, even fatal, passage home in a stranger's company awaits.

[151] Stephen W. Sears, *Gettysburg* (New York: First Mariner Books, 2003), 471-72; John D. Imboden, "The Confederate Retreat from Gettysburg," *Battles and Leaders,* 3:422-25, in ibid., 471.



Figure 20, Allen C. Redwood, *"Carry me back to Old Virginny," Goodbye!,* in Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War: Retreat from Gettysburg,* Vol. 3 (New York: Century Company, 1887), 420.

The image rejects war-positive imagery. Though more marginal than in the North, Southern soldiers' visual culture could undermine heroic ideals with moments of blunt realism. Redwood presents bodily sacrifice for one's country without reward. Redwood's picture is in alarming contrast to the sanitised representations of soldiers' deaths in the nineteenth century. Popular wartime representations of soldiering, and Lost Cause mythology in the postbellum era, required the Southern soldier to be a "model of masculine devotion and courage."[152] Redwood's subject is undoubtedly loyal; the picture shows the neglect that those who bore sacrifices in the war endured. Contrastingly, William de Hartburn Washington's 1864 *The Burial of Latane* (Figure 21) exhibited the 1862 burial of Southern cavalryman William Latane.[153] The picture depicts

[152] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 266.

[153] Neely, Jr., Holzer, and Boritt, *Confederate Image*, xi. Faust notes that *The Burial of Latane* was characteristic of the popular late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century "grand style" history paintings, and that Washington drew influence from Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770). Such images celebrated virtue, personal sacrifice, and heroism as the essence of national greatness. But *Latane* reflects a distinct Confederate sentiment: at once

Latane's body beside a grave dug by enslaved men as white women hold his funeral, offering wartime example of a typical theme in postbellum Southern imagery. It illustrates the commitment of white women, exhibiting them as idealised embodiments of Confederate domestic virtue. Artists fabricated the cheerful compliance of enslaved African Americans. Operating within an idealised Southern domestic scene, the plantation's grounds, Latane's burial is contained within fixed antebellum gender spaces. The figures are not confined as spectators to the publicly-framed, masculine exertions of the war: they are agents in ministering the injured Southern body politic.[154] The image was propagated in the postbellum era and captured the mass mourning over Southern white male youth, whilst simultaneously celebrating white women's devotion and suggesting harmonious master/slave relations.[155] Latane actually died amongst strangers and encircled by Union forces, prohibited from contacting clergy or family to preside at his last rites.[156] Washington's painting engendered a fiction about care for Confederate bodies by white women and African Americans. As Redwood demonstrates, the immediacy that Southern soldiers had to frontline deaths led to distinct visualisations of mortality between the rank and file and professional picture-makers.

showing "common Christian sacrifice in the face of northern cruelty," but also commenting on wartime racial hierarchies. Faust, *Confederate Nationalism*, 69-71.

[154] Cynthia Wiedemann Empen, "Visualising Women in the Civil War: Unsexed Amazons and Desperadoes: Imaging Public War Women and Imagining Female Warriors in the American Civil War," in David Holloway and John Beck, eds., *American Visual Cultures* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2005), 32.

[155] Ibid., xiii. One in five white Southern men of military age died during the Civil War. James David Hacker, "The Human Cost of War: White Population in the United States, 1850-1880," PhD diss. (University of Minnesota, 1999), 14.

[156] Faust, *Confederate Nationalism*, 69.



Figure 21, A. Gilchrist Campbell, *The Burial of Latane*, 1868, engraving, Popular Graphic Arts Collection, PGA – Campbell – Burial of Latane (D size), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/pga.00456/ (accessed 10/11/2015).

After enduring extraordinary hardship in service, only to suffer inevitable defeat, it made sense that Southern veterans idealised the war retrospectively. James Dinkens of 18th Mississippi recalled in his memoir that he had seen a major rally his troops by facing "the enemy's lines, with [the] flag above him" despite the fact that "shot and shell filled the air with shrieks and other wicked sounds." The sight was "a picture for an artist."[157] Envisioning conflict through a romanticised lens allowed Dinkens to revisit the war more easily. Recalling General Nathan B. Forrest's cavalry charge during his raid on Memphis in 1864, Dinkens noted: "No artist's brush will ever paint such a scene as that, and no pen will ever… adequately describe it." The Federals "thought the devils dropped out of the clouds."[158] Dinkens was not criticising Forrest's assault,

[157] James Dinkens, *1861 to 1865, by an Old Johnnie: Personal Recollections and Experiences in the Confederate Army* (Cincinnati: The R. Clarke Co., 1897), 111.
[158] Ibid., 182-83.

but it was so far removed from conventional tactics that it defied representation through established artistic practices. Charging officers carrying flags deserved artistic attention, but Forrest's attack defied recreation with the paintbrush. Thus, Redwood's illustration defied both wartime and postbellum representations, casting the Southern soldier as a crippled figure who would be rewarded for his exertions with defeat and disability.

As with Northerners, preconceptions of conflict held by Confederates were worn away during the war's course. Confederate soldiers were no different from Union soldiers in the general sense that they were drawn from a male civilian population preoccupied with manly virtues but largely unaccustomed to conflict. They found that war jarred awkwardly with the imagined representations they had been familiarised with in their youth and the positive war imagery they encountered during the Civil War. Southern soldiers used graphic and painted artworks as the preferred choice of representation when exploring non-conventional war subjects. But their expressive responses to this shift were different than those of Union soldiers. They were less likely to produce self-critical representations and even those that edged towards self-reflexion retained traces of an absolutist worldview. Though they rejected the overtly romanticised framing of the Civil War, they were hesitant to be introspective in their imagery.

Samuel Tenney of the 3rd Georgia Infantry made a rare admission when he wrote home in 1863 that, "There are very few men really eager for a battle… at this stage of the war… Perhaps you will think this is a rather unchivalrous sentiment for a Southern soldier."[159] As Tenney relayed his comrades' fatigue with battle, he acknowledged that this was a departure from Southern models of chivalrous masculinity and admitted his own moment of weakness. But at the same time, he wrote from an informed position: he knew better than the folks at home. Though Southern soldiers shunned chivalric representations as the war dragged on, they still tempered their introspective visualisations of the war with a self-assuredness that retained some

[159] Samuel F. Tenney to Alice Toomer, April 18, 1863, in "War Letters of S. F. Tenney, a Soldier of the Third Georgia Regiment," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57 (1973): 293, in McPherson, "'Spend Much Time in Reading the Daily Papers,'" *This Mighty Scourge*, 159.

semblance of Southern pride. Redwood's pictures bucked the trend. Like several Union soldiers considered in this project, he was more comfortable exploring the vulnerability of white soldiers' bodies in war. But as projects completed in the post-war era, it is difficult to be certain how his sketches of wounded comrades appeared during the war itself. But as Omenhausser attempted to demonstrate, even the broken-down Confederate soldier, captive as a prisoner-of-war and under the surveillance of African Americans troops with his world turned upside down, could retain some authority over his environment and circumstances.

Conclusion: The Lost Cause of Confederate Imagery

The producers of popular imagery in both the Confederacy and the Union used similar modes to represent the conflict. The idealisation of war and a censoring of its graphic violence and inaction were key to both. This approach had been commonplace during the antebellum era, when the two sections shared some semblance of a joint martial culture prior to disunion. Though it generally remained consistent throughout the war, it diverged in several ways. Most importantly, when the war began the limitations of Southern image-making became immediately apparent. Whilst Northern publishers had created imagery for Southern consumption in the pre-war years (in some cases, for some months after secession and even after the firing on Fort Sumter), the links were quickly cut and would not be revived until post-war reconciliation. Southerners were left to their own devices. But Confederates were unable to match the North in image production, owing to a lack of artistic centres and creative infrastructure in the South, the strangling effect of the blockade, and the increasing demands of the war effort. Whilst the North had a bustling and extensive image-making industry throughout the war's course, the South became an image-starved society.

Southern war representation took on its own modes as Confederates distinguished themselves from their Northern counterparts. Both sides vied to inherit the Founding Fathers'

legacy and claimed to be the true heirs of the Revolution, but Southerners were also invested in developing new icons such as President Davis, to stand as figureheads for the second Revolution. Therefore, Southern pictorial expression was further strained by the fact that Confederates were establishing their founding figures and mythologies as the war played out. The creation of a mainstream war narrative and the establishment of these icons was, like the endeavour for nationhood itself, centred on the military fortunes of the fledgling Confederacy. Both proved to be lost causes. Another major distinction emerged from the pre-war cult of chivalry in the South. The Confederate focus on chivalry and the cavalier figure led to romanticised representations, but they still shared characteristics evident in Union war imagery. One discrepancy was in the Southern focus on individual military personalities. Southern wartime popular culture centred on leaders, portraying them as dashing cavaliers who always bettered their adversaries. In the North, repeated reshuffles in the Union command deterred a cult of personality focused around generals, instead giving way to the broader depiction of the Union army as a collective fighting force. Northern picture-makers had also acknowledged the agency of the rank and file soldier by 1862. In the South, generals and officers came to represent the martial virtues of the Confederacy as a whole. Of course, the neglect of ordinary soldiers in the Confederate pictorial record was not wholly responsible for breakdowns in Southern morale. But, as Carlton McCarthy and the Southerner who sifted through Union patriotic stationery after the Battle of Shiloh demonstrated, Confederates identified the propagandistic value of positive depictions of the Union cause.

Confederate popular pictorial culture would not recognise the ordinary soldier, and so troops overcame increasing limitations to ensure their own self-representation. They experienced even greater restrictions than those of the established artists and publishers, and yet they produced a body of soldier-centric visions of the war. But a recurrent theme of Confederate soldiers' interactions with visual culture was a reliance on Union imagery. When they produced their own pictures, they rejected chivalrous envisionings of the Southern citizen-soldier. Some

still focused on the idealistic and the picturesque, rather than on the monotony of martial regimentation. But the most striking of Southern soldiers' pictorial representations concerned those that focus on those individuals excluded from the Southern model of masculinity. Omenhausser's watercolours are the most forceful: his images trace an inconceivable shift for Southerners, as white prisoners-of-war transition from being personifications of Southern virtue to passive figures that are held captive by African American soldiers. Such occurrences were inconceivable in 1861, and this helps to explain why Omenhausser felt compelled to record them. Perhaps the greatest distinction from the Northern soldiers' archive is the lack of images depicting combat, although it has been impossible to consult all available Civil War archives for Southern imagery. As it stands, the wartime Confederate pictorial archive is limited. It is ironic that the most prominent outburst of visual culture centred on Southern identity and the Civil War came after the war had already been lost, and often as a result of the efforts of Northern picture-makers.

Conclusion

Thirty-one years after the Civil War had ended, the realist novelist and literary critic William Dean Howells wrote a treatise on the persistence of idealism in American culture. He expressed his hope that a time was near when "the common, average man, who always 'has the standard of the arts in his power,' will have also the courage to apply it, and will reject the ideal... wherever he finds it... because it is not 'simple, natural, and honest."[160] Howells was calling upon ordinary Americans to take advantage of their familiarity with the arts and recent developments in creative democratisation to depict the world and their experiences in realistic terms, and not through the idealistic lens that guided professional artists and authors.

Long before Howells made his plea, ordinary American soldiers were engaged in the clash between the real and the ideal in pictorial culture during the Civil War. As volunteers shouldered muskets and donned uniforms to enter armed conflict with their enemies, so too did they take up pencils and paintbrushes and pose for photographs. Soldier's own reflections on the mainstream imagery of the Civil War, and the long-neglected illustrative, photographic, and artistic works they produced, have been central to this dissertation's analysis of the visual culture of the Civil War. This thesis has analysed the cultural trends relating to volunteer service that emerged as soldiers entered themselves into the war's pictorial record, and into a representational contest with mainstream image-makers. It has demonstrated that, as soldiers' lived realities wore away at preconceived and sentimentalised notions of warfare, their responses to popular war imagery ranged from a wholehearted embrace of the idealistic representation of conflict to a complete rejection and reformulation of war art. Soldier-artists and audiences of pictorial culture in the ranks experienced the war first-hand whilst those on the home front marshalled the romanticised and patriotic depiction of war to an extent unprecedented in American history.

[160] William Dean Howells, *Criticism and Fiction and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), 11-12.

Howells, by contrast, had been absent in Europe during the war years.[161] He did not observe the multitude of volunteers who quietly sketched and painted their impressions of the Civil War, and who cheered, and then grumbled, when the illustrated newspapers came into camps.

The American insistence on fielding a limited professional army, which volunteer citizen-soldiers would supplement in times of national emergency, swept up draughtsmen, printers, publishers, artists, engineers, and photographers from their peaceful pursuits and thrust them into challenging and oppressive environs of the military during the Civil War. Even those who had not worked in graphic arts occupations had grown up in an antebellum society increasingly familiar with visual culture. Collectively, they produced what remains a largely neglected pictorial record of the conflict from the view of the common soldier that now resides in archives across the United States. These archives are fraught with tension as individual soldier-artists sought to depict the totality of experiences associated with their war experiences. Each chapter of this thesis has examined a different form of visual media, highlighting that American soldiers, North and South, did not passively consume popular war imagery, but critiqued mainstream narratives and created a parallel record across a range of forms. They were in dialogue with popular creative forces, reinterpreting and reformulating the war's depiction in response to their own experiences. At best, historians of the Civil War have used soldiers' visual culture as illustrations to accompany analyses of soldiers' written accounts, though a handful have more recently included some visual analysis in their studies. At worst, they have been entirely ignored. But soldiers' relationship with wartime imagery lends historians new methods to revisit how ordinary American men represented and thought about their experiences. By considering this long-neglected war art, this study has paralleled other returns to the soldiers' war with an emphasis on a fresh body of evidence that urges an interdisciplinary approach and not only enlightens comprehension of how soldiers perceived and responded to the war, but how, as temporary

[161] Howells had written Abraham Lincoln's campaign biography in 1860, earning him a consulship to Venice during the Civil War. Susan Goodman and Carl Dawson, *William Dean Howells: A Writer's Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), xiii.

soldiers, they brought with them a familiarity with visual culture attained as civilians and applied and reformulated the components of this major cultural shift to the context of war.

Union soldiers in the early-war period consciously consumed and took behavioural cues from printed pictorial materials such as illustrated newspapers and patriotic stationery. They were a component of the barrage of patriotic rhetoric and appeals to manhood that helped fill the ranks in the early years, but they did not originate from the federal or state levels of government. Instead, as J. Matthew Gallman demonstrates in his study of home front popular culture in the North, Americans turned to familiar market forces that had been present in the antebellum era to inform their opinions about the war.[162] Men on the front were no different. In the South, a similar framework existed, but was distinct in that it centred on a uniquely Southern cavalier-like aesthetic visual. But a limited artistic precedent, conscription, and wartime restrictions and industrial necessities hindered the creation of a popular wartime narrative equal to the North's. Southern wartime print culture was so impacted by the war economy that Confederate soldiers bemoaned their inability to match Unionist propaganda efforts. But sometimes, in an illustration of the reach of the Northern press, white Southern soldiers relied upon Northern printmakers to satiate their appetite for visual culture. Engagement with print imagery was broadly a conscious consumer decision and an instrument of patriotic identification for Civil War soldiers. In addition, instructional recruitment broadsides and posters featuring visual symbolism, although not purchasable, were commonplace in Northern urban areas. This print culture was facilitated by technological developments in engraving and printing methods, which extended their reach and made them significant components in American wartime visual culture.

They were intended to be ephemeral. Newspapers would be discarded after reading and stationery after its use in correspondence, whilst broadsides would be removed after a regiment met its quota. Though newspaper illustrations shifted towards a more realistic depiction of the

[162] J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 251-2.

war, owing to presence of sketch-artists on the frontlines, they continued to circulate generally patriotic and positive representations of the war. All these forms disseminated a pro-war narrative and included didactic messages regarding acceptable male roles and behaviours in wartime. They were significant in elevating the idealised citizen-soldier figure; an overwhelmingly white, native-born type whose dominance pushed African Americans and immigrants to the side-lines of wartime representation. In 1861, war fervour and a sense of superiority in each section engendered the notion that these devoted citizen-soldiers might even be invulnerable to death. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth's undignified demise in 1861 illustrated that the mainstream media could immortalise military nobles in the American popular imagination, regardless of where and the way in which they fell. It was significant that one of the first representational challenges faced by wartime picture-makers was Ellsworth's death, for mortality became an ever-present spectre that was undoubtedly the greatest influence on Civil War visual culture.[163] This "new wartime cultural world," which saw familiar forms recast to meet the exceptional demands of war, at once attempted to direct, but was largely dependent upon, soldiers' individual choices.[164]

The soldiers' acceptance of these forms gradually waned as their depictions were exposed as fictive, and as idealistic patriotism gave way to a pragmatic willingness to endure hardship to see the war through.[165] By 1862, recruiting strategies, dependent in part on the circulation of pro-war print imagery, were not producing enough volunteers, and so both sides resorted to

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[163] More than two percent of the nation's inhabitants died as a direct result of the war, and this cost came to give meaning to the conflict. Drew G. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2008), 266-268. Civil War memory's career began well before the war ended, as the living were compelled to "find meaning in the dead," as they attempted to "create a new nation from the wreckage of the old." David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001), 7.

[164] Gallman, *Defining Duty,* 253.

[165] Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 133. Peter Carmichael's recent study of how Civil War soldiers coped with military service develops the notion of a pragmatic response to the war experience, concluding that it guided soldiers through the war. Soldiers did not typically abandon their initial idealism as Gerald Linderman argues in *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), but pragmatically adopted often divergent responses as the war blurred well-established binaries. Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War Armies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

conscription.[166] By 1863, in a demonstration of soldierly agency, commercially produced patriotic stationery was rarely used and illustrated newspapers were often met with mockery. Some soldiers became progressively disillusioned with the idealistic images featured in these propagandistic forms, whilst others were confident enough that service itself was the ultimate means of nationalistic expression, and so laying claim to patriotic symbols was no longer necessary. Troops took control of the creative process by producing their own newspapers and stationery to reposition the focus of these forms towards their own immediate experiences. Some soldiers straddled the divergent modes of war representation by portraying the soldiers' life in realistic terms but nevertheless omitted any references to graphic violence. Audience could dictate the themes that soldiers were willing to explore in their pictures. Self-censorship is consistently evident in soldier-artists' pictures, particularly those that moved through channels of correspondence. Despite their waning popularity, these more propagandistic forms are ever-present features of Northern soldiers' archival records, attesting to their enduring power as ideological and patriotic touchstones with which many volunteers associated their soldierly motivations with. Though existent in Confederate archival collections, it would not be until the postbellum years that Southerners, with their markets again connected to Northern printmakers and with Lost Cause ideologies in the ascendancy, enjoyed regular access to positive print depictions of their war experiences.

Patriotic association was also possible through photography, but the new form's emergence undoubtedly shifted popular war depiction away from idealistic representations with the rise of photographic conflict recording. However, photographers generally remained committed to the patriotic depiction of the war even with the camera's documentary lens. When explicit photographs moved in popular channels, it was rarely in their original photographic form. Alexander Gardner's *Dead of Antietam* series and the portraits of malnourished, skeletal

[166] Gallman, *Defining Duty*, 252.

prisoners-of-war of Andersonville reached their largest audiences as engravings in the illustrated newspapers, passing through the censoring process in which they were stripped of their most distressing details. For the most part, photographic portraits of celebrated statesmen and generals were circulated as personifications of patriotic virtues that soldiers should aspire to, images of Northern camps and industrial materiel emphasised Union superiority in conducting warfare, and when the dead were photographed, it was usually Confederate soldiers that were the subjects. However, despite the perceived truthfulness attained by the camera's lens, it was also anonymising. Extensive pictures of military scenes rendered soldiers as interchangeable parts in the Union war machine.

By contrast, portrait photography gave Northern and Southern soldiers their most effective tool for self-representation. Soldiers visited hometown studios and itinerant photographers made accessible by recent photographic developments to affirm their new martial identities as they departed for war's uncertainty. Through careful posturing and the inclusion of symbolic props, white native-born soldiers were able to emulate and lay claim to the celebrated figure of the citizen-soldier that was so widely circulated through the forms explored in Chapter One. African American and immigrant soldiers also seized upon the figure through their photographic performances. This at once demonstrated their claims to patriotic self-representation and individualistic martial agency, but also destabilised the figure by revealing that its supposedly exclusively white American composition was fiction. Though a focus on domestic symbols amongst photographic subjects appeared as a counter to the martial and masculine virtues so prevalent in traditional renderings of the American soldier, this very same reliance on domesticity was key to sustaining soldiers at the front.

Photography was established as a leading component in the management of the geographical divides between departed soldiers and absent kin. Soldiers' anxieties over their own mortality and their physical vulnerability urged the use of photographic portraits as tools of self-representation and familial connectedness. The photograph as a unique referent to original

bodies did most to elevate it to a prime position in the soldier's cultural arsenal. Death's immediacy urged soldiers to give meaning to, and ensure an afterlife for, their increasingly vulnerable lives in the context of war. Most wartime pictures produced by soldiers, whether in the heroic tradition or otherwise, and even those that avoided direct depictions of mortality, were nevertheless *memento mori* that attested to life's fragility in war. But this was most apparent with photographic portraiture, particularly due to its use as a memorial in the event of a soldier's death. Soldiers, particularly Confederates, might make non-photographic self-portraits, but to produce a portrait photograph was to capitalise on the indexicality of the form to self-represent with a degree of accuracy unattainable in iconic visual media. Soldiers viewed portrait photographs not only as representations but as imprints of their selves, owing to the physical relationship between the subject and the resulting likeness. The Civil War is rightly recognised for the representational challenges it posed to American picture-makers, but portrait photography offered an unsurpassed means for soldierly self-representation.

Traditional art by Union troops, in forms such as watercolours and sketches, most often depicted the war's participants and scenes such as camps, marches, and battles. Some of these soldiers converted their sketches into prints. These were much like ephemeral forms in their style and substance but were intended to live longer lives. Like newspaper illustrations, they were initially sketched drafts that went through a process of censoring and sanitisation in order to make them palatable for display to civilians. Despite obvious inaccuracies in such war-positive works, soldiers' prints were generally well-received by their comrades, who found that they affirmed their contributions to the war effort; even if they did not always depict the contest as they observed and felt it. Southerners bought into a similar culture of idealistic war depiction, even without the repeated patriotic cues to which Northern troops were exposed. Others rejected the imagery, instead focusing on the war's darker aspects.

It was in these undertakings that a small number were able to break furthest from the artistic conventions and traditions that dictated how war should be pictured. These soldiers were

free to focus on the war's violence and tedium in equal measure. Some soldiers obliterated the popular perception that battle could be glorious and destabilised the popular image of the heroic battlefield death. As soldiers grappled with anxieties surrounding mortality, death inevitably became as recurrent in their pictures as it did in their writings. In Southern terms, a minority offered more ambivalent and critical representations, which captured the transformative changes that the war wrought upon the United States, and one made pictures entirely estranged from the Confederate imagination. Most soldier-artists pursued the accurate depiction of war, but focused on ill-equipped and hungry veterans, extensive forced marches, and the monotonous tedium of camp life, rather than the traumatic violence of battle.

Civil War soldiers' approaches to wartime visual culture were framed by antebellum social, cultural, and ideological boundaries which were in turn impacted by the expectations demanded by military service and by the instructional cues disseminated by popular media. Ultimately, soldiers could not cope with the war through these established frameworks alone. American morality had hardly begun to confront the United States' rapid transformation inherent in industrialisation, which multiplied categories of knowledge and introduced behaviours more complex than traditional understandings of right and wrong. The Civil War accelerated this process and entirely upturned the binary, and yet conduct and thought remained subject to peacetime measures of behaviour.[167] Soldiers, as Peter Carmichael concludes, became pragmatic, as they were forced to respond spontaneously to unprecedented and previously unseen events. Pragmatism assumed "innumerable forms and permeated all aspects of military life." Experience came to ground soldiers' understanding of the war. Because of their direct encounters, they came to conclude that their visual culture, as well as their broader representation of the war letters, diaries, and other well-studied forms, were authoritative and unchallengeable.[168]

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[167] Linderman, *Embattled Courage,* 2.
[168] Carmichael, *War for the Common Soldier*, 303-4.

But as much as soldiers were invested in their representations, and as much as popular culture imagined a typical, homogenous figure of the citizen-soldier, every representation was as idiosyncratic as its creator. Soldiers' individual experiences during the conflict, varying by time and place, influenced their engagements with pictorial culture and attitudes towards different media. A volunteer in 1861 stationed in his respective capital might know a very different war to one occupying a Virginian trench in late 1864, and soldiers who spent the war years on garrison duty had experiences unlike those who saw extensive campaigning. Rather than fostering one singular patriotic envisioning of the war effort of their respective sections, soldiers North and South produced interlinking visions of the war that adopted and rejected popular pictorial themes, conventions, and stylistic strategies. A major theme of this thesis has been the disjunction between the heroic idealisation of warfare and soldiers' lived realities, but there was as much dispute within the broad categories of the real and the ideal representations. Soldiers were as much in a cultural war with their comrades as they were with the popular press. The soldiers' visual record is essential to an understanding of how individuals perceived the Civil War. It demonstrates not only what soldiers observed and experienced, but how they wanted to imagine those observations and experiences through their own individual cultural lenses. The way in which a soldier pictured conflict was vital to his ability to understand, withstand, and recall the Civil War.

A soldier might disavow a propagandistic popular print of a battle but take pride in his own idealistic photographic portrait. Others faced repeated hardship and yet sent a steady stream of positive war images to their kin. Another might abandon his romanticised conceptions of conflict after war proved itself to be ambiguous, unpredictable, and anonymising, but return to that same idealism to give meaning to his service in the postbellum years. The collective archive of soldiers' imagery considered in this thesis, and all of that which could not be, was produced by thousands of picture-makers from across the social and political spectrums. They shared in a broad realisation that antebellum imagery and patriotic wartime pictorial culture could be

deceptive, but there was no singular or formulaic response to this recognition. All understood the power of patriotic imagery. Some continued their support of the popular narrative, even after its deceptions were revealed. Others rejected it by upturning its most consistent themes, instead exploring cultural anathemas to depict their war experiences.

The soldiers' pursuit of a more accurate and organic representation of warfare was deeply significant, and yet has been obscured and neglected. This is because it was largely a clandestine effort which faded in the postbellum years almost as quickly as it had emerged during the war itself. The post-war movement to national reconciliation reaffirmed romantic depictions of the war and traumatised veterans reframed their service in positive terms.[169] The construction of a Lost Cause ideology furthered the idealisation of the Civil War whilst simultaneously pushing the institution of slavery's role in bringing about the conflict, and African Americans contributions in ending it, to the margins of popular understanding.[170] Before long, new American conflicts rejuvenated the heroic depiction of warfare, whilst limited mobilisation of volunteers and the distant nature of these wars reduced opportunities for realistic conflict representation on the part of ordinary soldiers. A mass of ordinary Americans, swept up in a titanic and transformative war, seized upon the new arsenal of pictorial media made accessible by antebellum technological development to picture the war on their own terms. The development of the realist aesthetic of citizen-soldiers, often ad-hoc and improvised, marginal and unofficial, and obscured by the reassertion of official narrative imagery in the immediate aftermath of the war, was nevertheless a representational strategy borne from modernity and mechanisation in the mid-nineteenth century, and intended to manage with these same forces in the midst of the Civil War.

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[169] Shortly after General Lee's surrender, Currier & Ives published a lithograph of General Lee's surrender at Appomattox that anticipated the reconciliationist framing of the war. It was plagued with "gross inaccuracies," so much so that if one did not know which side was victorious, "it would be impossible to tell from the image." It made a "visual equivalency" between those surrendering and those accepting the surrender. David Silkenat, *Raising the White Flag: How Surrender Defined the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 1.

[170] After the war, reconciliationist and white supremacist visions of Civil War memory linked together, and excluded the emancipationist framing of the conflict, to deliver the United States a "segregated memory of the Civil War on Southern terms" by the end of the nineteenth century. Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 2. Kirk Savage notes that "white society elevated the drama of fratricide into a myth… into a form of comforting narrative of reunification and reconciliation." Kirk Savage, ed., *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (New Haven: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 2.

The First World War, with its mass armies, accelerated mechanisation, and extensive government-led propaganda initiatives, saw the western world again experience a large-scale clash between heroic and directly realistic strategies of conflict depiction on such a prominent scale. Two later paradigmatic representations of violence and conflict in the twentieth century, the uncovering of the Nazi Holocaust in the Second World War and the televising of the brutality of the Vietnam War, further strained attempts to visually encompass and represent the horrors of warfare – and worse. Ordinary Civil War soldiers thus participated in a long tradition of direct conflict representation. The Smithsonian Institution recently widened its acknowledgement of direct conflict representation by exhibiting the work of several First World War American artists, identifying that artistic expression was transformed during that conflict.[171] But due to aforementioned disregard of those soldier-artists who participated in a similar aesthetic shift a half-century earlier, the origins of modern warfare representation are yet to be fully appreciated.

This study has reframed the scholarly debate over pictorial representation of the American Civil War to include the ordinary white volunteer's participation in, and reception of, wartime image making. Inherent in this is a contribution to our understanding of the conflicting martial cultures of Civil War America. No single study can adequately consider the experiences and perspectives of the whole host of diverse demographics that made up Civil War armies. This thesis has not only begun the work of recovering the visual archive of the Civil War soldier but has illuminated new directions that historians and critics should take.

Citizen-soldiers' artistic works produced during the American Civil War are not merely an illustrative accompaniment to established narratives about the social, cultural, and military course of that conflict. They form an invaluable archive in their own right, demonstrating the complexities and tensions between soldiers and society, and among the combatants themselves.

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[171] "Artist Soldiers," *National Air and Space Museum*, 13 January 2017, https://airandspace.si.edu/exhibitions/artist-soldiers (accessed 11/10/2018).

They highlight the importance of material form in shaping the content and impact of visual culture, from the ephemeral to the enduring. They offer an illuminating instance of citizen-soldiers' own expressive agency in interpreting their own wartime experience, and they highlight a broader cultural and aesthetic conflict between idealised and realistic depictions of the disruptive and violent reality of war itself. This thesis has offered a recovery and interpretation of these distinct features of this visual culture in their wartime context, in the hopes of stimulating further inquiry that will carry our historical understanding of the conflict and of American culture still further.

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4. Conference Panels

Zombek, Angela, Alexandre Caillot, Kelly Mezurek, and Lorien Foote. "Why Keep Up the Fight: Motivations and Perceptions of Service from Late-War Union Volunteers, USCT Soldiers, and Occupation Troops." Conference Panel at "Soldiers and Civilians in the Cauldron of War," the Society for Military History Conference 2019. Columbus, Ohio, May 10, 2019.