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## Hardtack and Sauerkraut Stew: Ethnic Tensions in the 154th New York Volunteers, Eleventh Corps, during the Civil War

History has not been kind to the Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac, the Union's chief fighting force in the eastern theater of the Civil War. Today, the Eleventh is commonly remembered as a heavily ethnic unit—composed primarily of German-Americans—that compiled a poor battle record when it was routed at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. This perception of the corps as a second-rate foreign outfit that collapsed in combat is much the same as it was during the war. Old prejudices die hard.

Historians have been more sympathetic than popular memory to the Eleventh Corps and its German soldiers. A. Wilson Greene, describing the corps' fighting at Gettysburg, has stated flatly, "The Eleventh Corps performed with honor on July 1, 1863, and deserves a better reputation." Regarding the rout of the corps by Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's famous flank attack at Chancellorsville on 2 May 1863, John Bigelow, Jr., in his classic history of the battle, wrote, "Such a disaster would have happened to any body of troops situated as the XI Corps was when Jackson struck it." Bigelow declared that to blame the defeat of the corps on its high percentage of German members was "preposterous." However, Bigelow added that "other men might have comported themselves with more dignity, or less ignominy, even while running for their lives." But Bigelow also noted that the German members of the Eleventh Corps were "more or less the product of American influences," and to impugn their courage would reflect to some extent on the American society that had nurtured them. In the end, Bigelow—writing in 1909—expressed puzzlement that the Germans, "who lead the world in the art and science of war, who have produced a host of commanders of the highest order, and have a long and glorious military history, should have furnished our country some of its poorest soldiers."<sup>1</sup>

As if in response to Bigelow, Wilhelm Kaufmann, the chronicler of German-Americans in the Civil War, wrote in 1911, "Among the innumerable English-language histories of the war, works are seldom encountered that give our compatriots their just due . . . but slanders and hateful attacks are often made." Modern historians, more understanding of the plight of the Eleventh Corps, have been kinder than their predecessors. John J. Hennessy has characterized the corps as "the army's stepchild" because of its outcast status. In his classic trilogy on the Army of the Potomac, Bruce

Catton portrayed the corps as “the Cinderella of the army, the unwanted orphan child.” Catton added that the Eleventh “was deeply aware of its own status. It seems to have felt, collectively, like a poor ignored wallflower at a high school dance.”<sup>2</sup>

The historians cited above—and others as well—have characterized the prejudice directed at the Germans as coming from outside the corps, even before the disasters that befell the Eleventh at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. “[Its] ethnic composition made the entire corps a natural target for persecution,” Greene wrote. According to Hennessy, the “strong prejudice against ‘Dutch’ regiments among the rest of the army . . . made the Eleventh Corps the target of countless derisive comments.” To Catton, the Eleventh Corps was “an outcast from the spirit and affection of the army.”<sup>3</sup>

That the rest of the Army of the Potomac denigrated the Eleventh Corps because of its largely German ethnicity has been well documented. Less has been written about ethnic tensions within the corps itself. This essay focuses on the outlook of members of one primarily native-born regiment, the 154th New York Volunteer Infantry, toward the German soldiers they served with in the Eleventh Corps. An extensive collection of surviving letters and diaries written by members of the 154th offers many comments on the subject. Those comments reveal that ethnic tensions were an internal problem as well as an external problem for the Eleventh Army Corps. While the soldiers of the 154th New York initially expressed no regrets about their assignment to the corps, and voiced admiration for its celebrated German commander, they soon were grouching about their forced association with the Germans. After the disaster at Chancellorsville, the bickering grew bitter, with many members of the 154th castigating the German troops for a poor performance in the battle. Only with the demise of the Eleventh Corps in 1864, and their consequent separation from the German troops, did the New Yorkers cease complaining about the Germans.

The 154th New York was raised in the summer of 1862 in the western part of the state, eight companies from Cattaraugus County and two from neighboring Chautauqua County. Its personnel was composed overwhelmingly of native-born Americans, primarily the sons and grandsons of pioneer settlers who had emigrated to the two counties from the central part of New York State and New England. A small minority, totaling 12 percent of the volunteers, were foreign born.<sup>4</sup>

Of 790 enlisted men of nine companies for whom birthplaces are recorded in the 154th New York’s descriptive books (Company G’s book was improperly filled out and omitted that data), 431 were born in Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, and 253 were born elsewhere in New York. One hundred and six were born in other states, a majority of them in Pennsylvania. Ninety-eight of the men were foreign born. Twenty-eight were natives of Germany (roughly 3 percent of the total); the same number were born in Ireland. (The others were born in England [11], Canada [9], Wales [9], France [5], Scotland [4], Sweden [2], Holland [1]), and an unspecified place in Europe [1].)<sup>5</sup>

The 154th New York was organized at Jamestown, Chautauqua County, where it was mustered in the service of the United States on 24 to 26 September 1862. On arriving at the Virginia front early in October, the regiment was assigned at random to the Eleventh Corps, commanded by Major General Franz Sigel. The Eleventh was

the most unique corps in the Army of the Potomac, set apart from the others by its ethnic makeup. Fifteen of its twenty-eight infantry regiments were composed primarily of German-Americans, enabling Sigel to refer to his corps proudly as "my German command." No other corps of the Army of the Potomac had such a high representation of a single minority ethnic group.<sup>6</sup>

The 154th New York was camped on Arlington Heights, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River opposite Washington, when word arrived that the regiment had been placed in Sigel's corps. Reaction was mixed, based primarily on Sigel's reputation as a general rather than on the ethnic composition of his corps. "It is said that we are to join General Sigel," Private William F. Chittenden of Company D wrote on 10 October 1862. "I hope it is so for he has the confidence of his superiors as well as the people we want a true and brave man and it would be better to [be worn] out [campaigning] than die in camp from inaction." The following day, an unidentified member of the regiment wrote, "Our camp is all excitement today on account of the report that we were signed over to General Seigels command some were glad and some are not for they well know that they would soon be obliged to go into action for he is known to be a man of war and not of pretention I was glad for one for I want to fight if we have gone so far."<sup>7</sup>

After a two-day march from Arlington Heights, the 154th joined the Eleventh Corps at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, on 13 October 1862, and was assigned to Colonel Adolphus Buschbeck's First Brigade of Brigadier General Adolph von Steinwehr's Second Division. The other regiments in the brigade were the German-American 29th New York and 27th Pennsylvania (Steinwehr's and Buschbeck's original commands), and the 73rd Pennsylvania, a regiment with many English, Irish, and native-born American soldiers augmenting a largely German core.<sup>8</sup>

Sigel's headquarters were in the dilapidated village of Fairfax Court House, and the soldiers of the 154th were now able to size up their new commander in person. Their opinions were favorable. "We 'fight mit Sigel' now and the boys are well satisfied with their General," wrote Second Lieutenant Alanson Crosby of Company A, quoting the famous poem and song that had made Sigel's name a watchword in the German-American community. Corporal Joel M. Bouton of Company C wrote, "We are in Sigels Corps where I had rather be than under any other division commander in the service, as I believe him to be the most capable." The men particularly approved of Sigel's reputation as a fighter. "We are under Gen Sigel now and I gess we shall have to fite," declared Private Oscar F. Wilber of Company G in a letter to his uncle. "You know that he is a man that will fite you know that he has been boxing with the Rebels for some time." According to Private Marion Plumb of Company D, "Seigle is a young man about 35 years old [Sigel was 37 at the time] but he is a smart man he is all around through the Camps The Rebels are afraid of the Flying Dutchman as they call him." (Germans were commonly called *Dutchmen* by native-born Americans.)<sup>9</sup>

At Sigel's first review of the 154th, on 20 October 1862, Private Barzilla Merrill of Company K approved of the general's plain uniform and gentlemanly manner. When Sigel rode up to the regiment on his black horse, Merrill noted, "he oncovered his hed and he done it nice." After their close look at Sigel, the men remained impressed

with him. "I have found out for certain now [Sigel] is the man that he said he was," Musician Charles W. Abell of Company E informed his parents, "and he has got . . . an Eagle Eye." "Gen Sigel is a very smart looking man is not very large but very active" thought Private John Dicher of Company B, one of the German-born members of the regiment. "We like him very much what we have seen of him."<sup>10</sup>

Some members of the 154th voiced no objections to their assignment to a largely German command. "Sigel has got lots of Dutchmen in his command," Charles Abell noted, but he added no negative comments about the situation. Writing to a friend from Fairfax Court House, Captain Lewis D. Warner of Company C declared, "We have as yet no reason to complain of the disposition that has been made of us; indeed we are all highly gratified and thank our lucky stars that, to use the Dutchman's phrase, we are to fight 'mit Sigel.'" Warner was perhaps exaggerating, and maybe was being sarcastic, when he reported that everyone in the 154th was "highly gratified" with the assignment to Sigel's corps. He added an anecdote that demonstrated the German idolization of Sigel. While innocent, the story nevertheless played on the stereotype of Germans as drinkers and mocked their accents: "This reminds me of what I heard on the streets of Washington. A battle-marked soldier was wending his way down one of its avenues, when he was accosted by a citizen (a Dutchman of course), in this wise. 'Say, soldier, you fight mit Sigel?' 'Ya.' 'Well den, you takes a trink mit me.'"<sup>11</sup>

Other members of the 154th were direct in revealing distaste for the Germans. Henry Van Aernam, surgeon of the regiment and a well-educated man, shared the good opinion of Sigel. "General Segel is one of the very best Generals this war has produced," he declared. But Van Aernam revealed some bias when he added that the general "looks dutchy and speaks quite broken." The surgeon also thought that Brigadier General Carl Schurz, commander of the corps' Third Division, had an "awful dutchy look" about him. When Corporal George A. Taylor of Company F returned to the 154th's camp from a tour of guard duty at General Steinwehr's headquarters, he exclaimed with relief, "I am at *home* and glad to be here. The place where I have been since Monday noon is in the midst of Dutchdom and although the finest place in Fairfax is not the place for me."<sup>12</sup>

In November, the Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax on a reconnaissance to Thoroughfare Gap, in the Bull Run Mountains. The 154th spent an otherwise uneventful week foraging and doing picket duty at the gap before returning to Fairfax. During the excursion, griping about the Germans continued. Corporal Newell Burch of Company E, who was detailed to serve as an orderly to General Steinwehr, noted in his diary on 15 November 1862, "On duty at Head Qrs this A.M. . . . Have my share of business, but dont like so much dutch." When a rumor drifted through camp that winter quarters might be established at the gap, Barzilla Merrill wondered if the German regiments were privy to inside information. "There is one dutch regiment in camp that are fixing up their tents nice," he observed, "and Seigle is a dutchman and it may be that they know about it."<sup>13</sup>

Back in camp at Fairfax after the movement to Thoroughfare Gap, Lieutenant Crosby notified his hometown newspaper, "We are surrounded completely by



Surgeon Henry Van Aernam complained that the “Dutch” elements of the Eleventh Corps “did behave like slinks” at the Battle of Chancellorsville. *Courtesy of U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA*



Sergeant Alexander Bird of Company G (pictured after his promotion to first lieutenant) was one of many members of the 154th New York who complained about German soldiers of the Eleventh Corps.

*Courtesy of William Welch collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute,  
Carlisle Barracks, PA*

Dutchmen who have come to 'fight mit Sigel.'" As he was writing his letter, Crosby heard a homesick member of Company A sing an impromptu song:

O, I'd better staid at home with the gal I love so much,  
Than be traveling round the Country with these dam Dutch.<sup>14</sup>

According to Joel Bouton, by the early part of December 1862 dissatisfaction with serving alongside the Germans led the commander of the 154th, Colonel Patrick Henry Jones (a native Irishman), to attempt to get the regiment transferred. "Our Col is trying to get us detached from this division," Bouton wrote, "as all of the rest nearly are dutch and the officers all dutch, and they are very partial to the German Regiments." The 154th men had to do more work than the Germans because of such favoritism, Bouton averred, citing an example: "Our Regiment has done more picketing than all of the other three Regts of our Brigade." Bouton indicated that Colonel Jones resented the extra burden his men faced because of the Germans' bias, and refused to tolerate it. "Col Jones is a man not to be run over by the Sour Krout," Bouton declared, using another common derogatory appellation for the Germans. No other documentation has been located regarding Jones's first effort to have the regiment detached—he would make the attempt again—but in any case nothing ever came of it.<sup>15</sup>

That December the Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax to Falmouth, arriving too late to take part in the Battle of Fredericksburg, and established a winter camp near the Rappahannock River. In mid-January 1863 the corps took part in the dismal Mud March, and the soldiers returned to their Falmouth camp soaked to the skin, slathered in mud, and deeply discouraged. In February the Eleventh Corps moved about ten miles and established a new winter camp near Stafford Court House. During the winter, expressions of scorn toward the German troops by members of the 154th continued. On discovering that some slabs of lumber he had cut for his winter hut had been stolen, First Lieutenant Marshall O. Bond of Company D instinctively blamed the theft on the Germans. "I lay it to the darned Dutchmen," he complained in his diary. "They are all around me, & Some Came along this forenoon & wanted to know if I was not used to chopping. Said they were brought up in a city." When the regiment built new huts after the move to the vicinity of Stafford Court House, Bond declared, "We have Slashed about 10 Acres of pine timber to day The 154th Regt will Cut more Timber in one day than the Dutch Regts Can in six. Thats So." Sergeant John F. Wellman of Company B concurred, bragging that the 154th "beat the Dutch in building some fine winter quarters. Our quarters were built in supurb stile, and we taunted our neighbors, the Dutch . . . because their quarters resembled a sty."<sup>16</sup>

On at least one occasion the language barrier resulted in a ludicrous situation. On a snowy day in mid-February, Newell Burch was puzzled and aggravated when he was assigned to command a picket force of the 27th Pennsylvania. Being unable to communicate with the Germans, Burch could only guess that his assignment was meant "to punish the 27th men for some indignities to . . . Bushbeck or Steinwehr."<sup>17</sup>

In certain cases, prejudice probably only aggravated tensions that would have occurred in any case. Marshall Bond recorded two run-ins he had with officious German officers. The first occurred in January 1863, as he and other 154th men were removing the wooden rafters of a stone grist mill on the Rappahannock. "Just as we got the last one almost off," Bond wrote, "Along came a dutch Officer that was on picket there, And asked us if we had got anny leave to tare down buildings on his post. we told him no." The officer then asked one of the group, Sergeant Horace Smith of Company D, what regiment he belonged to and where was his camp. "What did you say?" Smith replied, perhaps feigning an inability to understand the man's accented English. The officer repeated his questions, and Smith gave a noncommittal reply. "Up there," he said, but he neither looked in any direction nor made any motion. The officer ordered the group to leave the vicinity or he would report every one of them. The New Yorkers left, taking the rafters and boards they had cut with them to their camp. During the entire exchange, the German did not say a word to Bond or another officer of the 154th who was present—nor they to him.

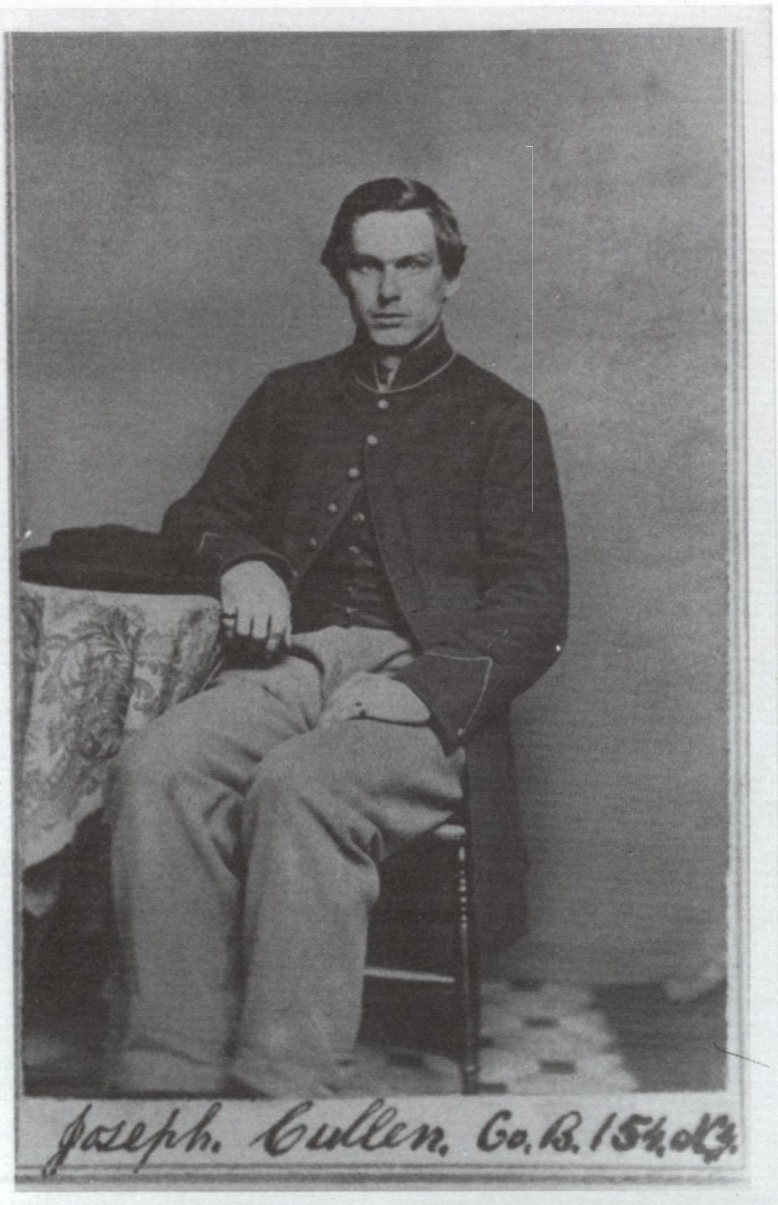
In March 1863, as a detail under command of Bond was returning to camp after a round of picket duty, Private David W. Travis of Company C discharged his musket. "One of the Dutch Officers Came up to us & tried to find out who it was but could not do it," Bond reported. "So he Said he Should hold me responsible for it, & he Said he would give me til Afternoon to find out who it was." After the officer left, Travis owned up to being the culprit, but Bond never turned him in, because the German "did not tell [me] where to report."

On other occasions, alcohol fueled antagonistic encounters between members of the 154th New York and the Germans. "Had some trouble with a Couple of drunken Dutchmen," Lieutenant Bond noted on 17 January 1863, "but they pulled out And left me." Three days later, the Eleventh Corps slogged along on the notorious Mud March. Bond noted some problems with a German officer, possibly a division or corps staff officer. "Started out with a Dutch Colonel or Captain That was drunk, & we got off the Road & got lost, & he staid behind And we were out all night in The rain. it was Cold & awful muddy." Ten days later, snug in a new winter hut, Bond reported, "Slept very well. Only the Dutchmen Close by us got tight & hollored most all night, & kept lots of [us] awake a good share of the night."<sup>18</sup>

It seems likely that ethnic tensions exacerbated an incident that occurred on the morning of 28 February 1863. Private Joseph Cullen of Company B of the 154th was cutting firewood from a log near the camp of the 29th New York when he was ordered to stop by one of the 29th's sentinels, Private Leonard Horstman. Cullen refused to obey Horstman's demand, and continued chopping when confronted by the 29th's acting adjutant, Eugene Hinley, and members of the camp guard. "I don't care for your arrest," Cullen exclaimed to Lieutenant Hinley. "I shit on your arrest." Cullen swung his ax at the guard as they approached with fixed bayonets, but they finally subdued him by force. He gave a false name when arrested, but his true identity was quickly ascertained. Cullen was eventually found guilty by court martial and sentenced to three months of hard labor.<sup>19</sup>

While in winter camp at Stafford, the German regiments of Buschbeck's brigade





Private Joseph Cullen of Company B was found guilty by a court martial after an antagonistic encounter with German soldiers. *Courtesy of Michael Winey Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA*

pinned a nickname on the 154th that stuck with the regiment to the end of the war and beyond. It happened when the western New Yorkers engaged in some unscrupulous dealings with the Teutons. According to Private Charles W. McKay of Company C, the members of the 154th were fond of hardtack; the Germans preferred coffee. The 154th boys began to dry their used coffee grounds, bag them, and trade them to the Germans for hardtack, claiming the coffee was fresh. On discovering the deception, the Germans nicknamed the 154th men "Hardtacks," and shouted the name whenever a member of the 154th passed by their camps. In return, the 154th men yelled, "Coffee!" Other members of the regiment recorded variations in the name-calling. "The 154 Regt is call[ed] the hard tack regt," Private Martin Van Buren Champlin of Company C informed his sister, "and we named the 73 [Pennsylvania] Regt [the] Whiskey Regt."<sup>20</sup>

According to Private George W. Newcomb of Company K, the bantering about nicknames had a sharp ethnic edge to it. "The Dutch Regts in our Brigade call our Regt the hard tack Regt and we call them the sour crout Regiments," Newcomb wrote. "They are all dutch in our Brigade except our Regt and they do not like us verry well We can hardly get any water to use but what some Dutchman has washed his ass in it." Newcomb's distaste for the Germans is evident, and it is hardly surprising to learn that the Germans reciprocated the feeling in the face of such prejudice.<sup>21</sup>

In general, contact between members of the 154th and the Germans seems to have been infrequent. If they went visiting, the Hardtacks shunned the nearby German regiments of their brigade; they preferred to walk to distant New York regiments to see hometown friends and family members from Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties. In more than 1,300 surviving letters by members of the 154th, not one instance of friendship with German soldiers was recorded. There was, however, one particular German soldier who attracted the interest of the Hardtacks. As Sergeant Stephen Welch of Company C noted in February 1863, "Having fortunes told seems to be the order now-a-days, as there is an old Dutchman in the 29th [New York] that is pleasing the army by telling them that they will be home in three months." Many members of the 154th visited the fortune teller. In the opinion of Corporal Peter P. Mount of Company B, he was uncannily accurate: "He told some of the boys fortunes and told [the] very same things that had passed for a year back." One of the 154th's German-born members, Private Adam Herberner of Company K, became "half crazy" after a visit to the fortune teller when the German told him that a stay-at-home townsman was being intimate with his wife. Herberner swore he would show the suspect "one of those six eyed fellows [a revolver] when he gets home again," noted George Newcomb. (A month later Newcomb observed that Herberner "thinks his wife is an angel now," after learning she had given birth to his baby boy.) According to Joel Bouton, the seer "caused so much excitement" among the men that "Sigel has stopped his telling fortunes."<sup>22</sup>

It was during the stay in winter camp that a momentous change occurred in the Eleventh Corps. General Sigel was discontented with the small size of his corps and displeased about serving under Joseph Hooker, who took command of the Army of the Potomac on 26 January 1863. Sigel consequently asked for and was granted a

leave of absence on 24 February 1863. He never returned to the Eleventh Corps. Twice Sigel requested to be relieved of command of the corps, but on both occasions no action was taken by the War Department. Sigel then changed his mind and decided to return to the corps, but by then it was too late—a new commander had been appointed.<sup>23</sup>

Sigel's replacement, Major General Oliver Otis Howard, took command of the Eleventh Corps on 2 April 1863. Newcomer Howard was a Maine native, a West Point graduate, and a recent division commander in the Second Corps, widely known as the "Christian soldier" for his deep piety. His bravery was undoubted—he had lost his right arm at the Battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, in 1862.<sup>24</sup>

Despite his seemingly sound military qualifications, Howard received a chilly reception by his new command. The German element was deeply dismayed at the replacement of their hero, Sigel, and took an instant dislike to the new commander. They particularly resented Howard's emphasis on religion. And notwithstanding the often rancorous feelings they displayed towards their German comrades, the men of the 154th New York had continued to admire General Sigel. Overall, they too regretted his departure and the advent of Howard. "I heard yesterday that Gen. Sigel had resigned," Private William Charles of Company F wrote soon after Sigel took his leave of absence. "For one I am very sorry for I believe him to be a very good General and one that wishes to put down this Rebellion." After sizing up Howard, Private Edgar Shannon of Company B declared, "I believe I'd rather have Sigel." Private Harvey Earl of Company H thought that Howard "ant as smart a looking man as Sigel is, he hant got but one arme." However, some soldiers were impressed by Howard's empty right sleeve, and the bravery it symbolized. Corporal John N. Porter of Company H noted of his first encounter with the general, "I saluted him and he took the reins in his teeth and returned the salute."<sup>25</sup>

In a letter to his brother, Private David S. Jones of Company K voiced both regret at Sigel's departure and satisfaction with Howard's appointment:

Yes the grand 11th corps has lost its idol. In looking over Seigl's [performance] and the acts of the corps it is impossible to find a place where the least might of fault can be attached. . . . You have seen much in the paper of the demoralization of the Potomac army [in the aftermath of the Battle of Fredericksburg and the Mud March]. that demoralization has never reached this corps, but admiring and idolizing its leader it has been ready for any duty or service. but Seigl is lost to us. You may judge of what Hooker thinks of us; for he has placed Gen. O. O. Howard in command of us, and who stands second to no officer in the army, and whose record is unblotted.<sup>26</sup>

Ten days after Howard's appointment, Buschbeck's brigade was ordered to prepare to move the following day. On 13 and 14 April 1863, Buschbeck's men marched from their winter camps near Stafford Court House to Kelly's Ford on the upper Rappahannock, where they remained for the next two weeks, picketing the riverbank,

foraging the surrounding countryside for pigs and chickens, and fraternizing with Confederate cavalry pickets on the opposite shore. During the stay at the ford, Sergeant Alexander Bird of Company G recorded several aggravating encounters with German soldiers in his diary. "Went out in the country," he noted on 21 April. "Dutch Sergt tries to arrest me I cant see the point." On 22 April, "Had Brigade drill by Col Bushbeck big thing but I could not see it." 25 April: "Another Brigade drill dont understand Dutch orders consequently dont mind very good rather slow to execute." On the night of 26 April 1863, Buschbeck formed his brigade in line of battle in response to an erroneous report that the enemy was preparing to cross the river. The colonel rode along the line and said some encouraging words to each of his regiments. Members of the 154th recorded Buschbeck's words to the Hardtacks in an approximation of his thick accent: "Now, poys, ven de enemy make de attack, you pe not afraid, but joost sthand prave und cool, und shoot 'em town joost like shickens."<sup>27</sup>

Making fun of German accents and carping about their forced association with the "sauerkrauts" seems like nothing more than petty behavior on the part of the Hardtacks. But the bickering between native-born and German members of the Eleventh Corps surely had a negative effect on the unit's esprit de corps and morale. Troops that one day would stand together to face the crucible of combat disliked each other, and that was an unfortunate state of affairs. The internal dissension worsened an already battered sense of unit pride. The Eleventh Corps was widely denigrated by the rest of the Army of the Potomac because of its large concentration of "Dutchmen," and because it was considered an outsider outfit that had never fought alongside the older troops. Consequently the corps was attacked by prejudice from the outside, and corroded by prejudice from the inside. Added to those factors was the negative reaction in the corps to the replacement of Sigel with Howard. The result was a poor state of morale.<sup>28</sup>

On the evening of 28 April 1863 the 154th New York spearheaded the movement of the right wing of the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock, paddling pontoon boats across the river at Kelly's Ford and scattering the Confederate pickets on the southern shore. Four days later, the Eleventh Corps met its fate at Chancellorsville.<sup>29</sup>

On 2 May 1863, the corps was positioned in clearings along the Plank Road, running east to west through a tangled forest aptly named the Wilderness. The Eleventh was stationed on the army's far right flank, where generals Hooker and Howard both believed it to be well out of harm's way. Hooker rode his white charger along the corps' line that morning, and was heartily cheered by the men. On returning to his headquarters at Chancellorsville, Hooker sent two dispatches to Howard cautioning him to be prepared in case of an attack from the west. Howard took no precautions in response to Hooker's warnings. During the day, Howard also ignored rumors and reports that a Confederate force was making its way westward beyond the thick screen of the Wilderness, headed for the corps' right flank. Howard was so unconcerned about a potential attack on his corps that he even left his headquarters at Dowdall's Tavern to accompany his largest brigade, the Second Brigade of Steinwehr's division, when it was ordered to support a distant probe by the Third Corps. The movement

was aimed at what proved to be the rear guard of a Confederate force commanded by Stonewall Jackson—the very force headed for the Eleventh Corps' right flank.

And so it happened that as afternoon waned, the men of the Eleventh Corps were cooking suppers, smoking pipes, playing cards, and lounging in general. Suddenly a tremendous racket erupted from the woods to the corps' west, and frightened deer, quail, and rabbits bolted from the forest and through the lines of the startled soldiers on the corps' far right. With an explosion of gunfire and the piercing keen of the Rebel yell, more than twenty thousand Confederates commenced the most famous surprise flank attack of the war.

Unprepared, unprotected, unsupported, and outnumbered by more than two to one, the Eleventh Corps was powerless to stop Jackson's juggernaut. The First Division, commanded by Brigadier General Charles Devens, Jr., was the first to be struck. It was soon shattered and sent reeling. Schurz's men—some of whom had been placed facing west by their wary commander—were able to offer more resistance, and when those two brigades were finally forced to retreat, many of the men rallied at the corps' final line, a shallow rifle pit stretched perpendicularly across the Plank Road near Dowdall's Tavern, defended by Buschbeck's brigade.<sup>30</sup>

The 154th New York anchored the left flank of the so-called Buschbeck line. Positioned to the regiment's right were the 73rd Pennsylvania, the 27th Pennsylvania, the 29th New York, and rallied elements of Schurz's and Devens's divisions. With artillery support, the Buschbeck line momentarily blunted Jackson's attack. But the small force of approximately four thousand men could not resist the overwhelming onslaught for long, and soon the outflanked regiments on the right of the line gave way and retreated. A few companies of the 73rd Pennsylvania, noticing the Hardtacks still standing fast on their left, remained to fire another round with the New Yorkers. Seeing the regiment was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy and captured en masse, Colonel Patrick H. Jones of the 154th, the highest ranking officer of the Eleventh Corps left on the battlefield, gave the order to retreat. The regiment then had to cross an open field about eight hundred feet wide to reach the shelter of some woods, and many fell in making the attempt.<sup>31</sup>

The Hardtack Regiment's stand in the Buschbeck line on the evening of 2 May cost it severely. Killed, wounded, and missing in the 154th totaled 240 out of 590 present for duty, a ratio of 40 percent. It was the highest loss among Eleventh Corps regiments, and the fourth highest Union regimental casualty count in the Battle of Chancellorsville. The entire Eleventh Corps lost 2,426 casualties, approximately 22 percent, in its futile efforts to stem Jackson's attack.<sup>32</sup>

Historians have agreed that no troops, as poorly placed and unprepared as the Eleventh Corps was at Chancellorsville, could have done much better in the face of Jackson's attack. Nevertheless, a storm of vituperation struck the corps in the aftermath of the battle, and much of it was directed at the Germans. Some of the abuse came from other corps of the Army of the Potomac. Other attacks came from the press. And while calumny rained on the Eleventh Corps from those sources, faultfinding erupted within the corps itself, and members of the 154th New York were quick to join in.

Many of the Hardtacks, describing the battle in letters to their home folk, mentioned the rout of Devens's and Schurz's divisions, and the unwillingness (for the most part) of those troops to rally on the Buschbeck line. "They run right back through our lines," declared Private Charles H. Field of Company B. George Newcomb accused Schurz's men of "running through us like so many frightened sheep." Many of the men also mentioned the early retreat of the rest of Buschbeck's brigade, with the exception of the few companies of the 73rd Pennsylvania that stood by the 154th. The 29th New York and 27th Pennsylvania "shamefully retreated," charged Private Isaac N. Porter of Company E. "The 29th N.Y. of our brigade ran like deer," Horace Smith wrote in his diary the night of the battle. Thinking about it a few days later he added bitterly, "How I would like to give them a volley of musketry from our guns." To a man, the soldiers of the 154th New York expressed pride in the regiment's stand, despite the overall disgrace of the Eleventh Corps. "Our regt fought like tigers," bragged Corporal Thomas R. Aldrich of Company B (who was wounded three times), "and were all cut to pieces. . . . I tell you we had a *hard* place in the fight. The [other Eleventh Corps] troops broke and run over us [as] we lay in the breast works." According to Surgeon Van Aernam, "Just now it is a reproach for a man to belong to the 11th Army Corps and the Dutch part of it did behave like slinks in the fight on the 2nd inst., but I am proud of the bravery, the heroism and the valor of the 154th!"<sup>33</sup>

Private Allen L. Robbins of Company K scorned the Germans in a letter published by his local newspaper back home, the *Gowanda Reporter*:

We as a corps are demoralized, and a disgrace to the army of the Potomac, or at least we are said to be. I, for one, don't relish the name, but I am forced to bear it being one of that body. . . . Had it not been for some of the Irish comprising three companies in the 73d Pa., together with the 154th, they had scarcely saved them [the reserve artillery of the corps]. Our battalion with the help of those brave sons of Erin, held the ground till every dutch 'sour krout' had retreated to the woods or fallen in the attempt. For my part, I have no confidence in the fighting qualities of the Dutch.<sup>34</sup>

Thirty years after the battle, Sergeant John F. Wellman of Company B composed an epic poem about Chancellorsville, and recalled the rout of Devens's and Schurz's divisions with sarcasm: "The flying Dutchmen, yelling mine Gott! / Ze whole Rebel army has got in our rear, / And if only Gen'l Fonz Seigle was here, / For we fights mit Ziegle, and runs mit Howard / And gives not a damn, if you call us a coward."<sup>35</sup>

Other members of the 154th looked beyond the Germans for the cause of the rout, and many decided General Howard was the culprit. (Howard himself, in a post-battle letter to his wife, admitted, "The Germans and the Americans are many of them against me.") "So confident were our Gens. that we were going to have a great victory," observed Private Dwight Moore of Company H, "they met at the Headquarters of Gen. Howard the day the battle began, and had a grand jubilee. . . . The criminal negligence of Gen. Howard was the cause of our defeat." Stephen Welch stated flatly,

"I shall never believe that there was anyone to blame at the Battle of Chancellorsville for the stampede, except the General of the Corps." Allen Robbins, in his letter published in the *Gowanda Reporter*, agreed that Howard was culpable. "I am quite sure there was a great lack of generalship in the battle of Chancellorsville on the 2nd inst.," he wrote, "and circumstances point strongly to Gen. Howard as one of the delinquents on that (to us) unfortunate day. . . . Curse such stupidity!"<sup>36</sup>

Responding to Robbins's letter with his own letter to the newspaper, Sergeant James M. Mathewson of Company K absolved Howard of blame, and attacked the Germans.

The faults were with the men, and not in their commanders. In the first place, they were mostly Germans, and were not satisfied because Sigel did not lead them; in the next place there were many of them two years men whose time was nearly out, and they did not like to be shoved into a hard fight.<sup>37</sup>

Reflecting on the battle in the postwar years, former quartermaster sergeant Newton A. Chaffee agreed that resentment by the Germans of Sigel's replacement by Howard was a factor in the Eleventh Corps' performance at Chancellorsville. "How much of this feeling of resentment entered into and had to do with the Spirit and actions of that Army Corps that day, no one call tell," Chaffee said. "But we always believed, and we still think it was a very unwise move, the changing of those commanders."<sup>38</sup>

At least one member of the 154th hesitated to assess blame in the wake of the rout. "You know that this Regiment belongs to the 11th corps," William Charles wrote to his wife. "And that is the corps that is so much blamed for Running a way from the Rebels instead of fighting them Somebody were very much to blame but who it is I will not pretend to say All I [will say] is this, that the Rebels came very near taking the whole of us, Supply trains and all!"<sup>39</sup>

While the Hardtacks were castigating the actions of their German comrades, their German commanders of brigade and division were praising the stand of the 154th in the battle. "Our [brigade commander] Bushbeck said that we fought the best of any new Reg't he ever saw," wrote Private James W. Washburn of Company C. "The 11th Corps have got a bad name for running except [for] Bushbecks Brigade," observed Corporal John N. Porter of Company H. "The 154th are in that Brigade. [Colonel] Bushbeck said this Regt stood longer than they had ought to but we did not know when we were outflanked and supposed one Brigade could whip Jackson's whole Army." Musician Thaddeus Reynolds of Company I recorded with approval comments made by General Steinwehr and Colonel Buschbeck after the battle:

A. von Steinweigh rode up to our Lieut Col [Henry C. Loomis] yesterday while on drill and says he your Regt. is not large any more Col. Loomis answered no they got badly cut up in the engagement Well says the Gen. you did well boys and you have my best respects and highest gratifications. .

.. Bushbeck thinks more of this Regt. now than any others in the brigade  
He is the finest dutch man that I ever saw He is not afraid to speak to a  
private and he thinks more of some privates than he does of one half of the  
shoulder straps.<sup>40</sup>

In his official report of the Battle of Chancellorsville, General Steinwehr claimed that Buschbeck "withdrew his small brigade in perfect order" after its stand in the rifle pit near Dowdall's Tavern. Surgeon Van Aernam sent a copy of Steinwehr's report to his wife, and contradicted the general's version of Buschbeck's stand. "The real fact is the 27th [Pennsylvania] and 29th [New York] both skedaddled without showing fight," Van Aernam wrote, "and all the fighting that was done by his Division was done by the 73rd Pa. and our own Regiment. Both these Regiments are worthy of great praise—much more than they get in the report."<sup>41</sup>

Van Aernam also alleged that the Germans were seeking Colonel Buschbeck's promotion to brigadier general, and voiced the opinion that Colonel Jones of the 154th New York was the officer most deserving of promotion. Jones had fallen wounded in the hip and been captured at the rifle pit on 2 May 1863, and had returned on parole ten days later to a hero's welcome by his regiment before being hospitalized. "It seems the 'Dutch' powers that be are determined to make a General of Col. Bushbeck," Van Aernam wrote. "That is all right and proper if it can be done with justice to other parties, but if any officer in the 11th Corps has earned a commission as General for anything that was done in that rout Col. Jones is entitled to the position." (As things turned out, Buschbeck never received a promotion. Jones was promoted to brigadier general in December 1864, after commanding a brigade—including the remnants of Buschbeck's command—during the Atlanta Campaign and the March to the Sea.)<sup>42</sup>

With Colonel Buschbeck absent sick, Colonel Charles R. Coster of the 134th New York (whose largely native-born regiment had replaced the discharged 29th New York) led the First Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg. On the afternoon of the first day of the fighting, 1 July 1863, Coster's brigade was ordered from Cemetery Hill, where Steinwehr's division had been held in reserve, to the northeastern outskirts of town to cover the retreat of the Eleventh Corps. The 73rd Pennsylvania was detached from the brigade near the railroad station, and Coster's other three regiments hurried out Stratton Street to John Kuhn's brickyard, where they took position behind a post and rail fence with the 134th New York on the right, the 154th New York in the center, and the 27th Pennsylvania on the left of the line. Two Confederate brigades immediately attacked Coster's position. Outnumbering the Yankees by more than three to one, the Confederates outflanked both ends of the Union line and sent it reeling. The 154th New York retreated to the left, attempting to reach the brickyard's carriage gateway, and found that the 27th Pennsylvania had already fled and the escape route was blocked by the enemy. The regiment was practically surrounded, and most of the men were captured. Casualties in the 154th totaled 205 out of 265 engaged in the fight, a loss rate of 77 percent.<sup>43</sup>

Extant letters written by the few Hardtacks that escaped the brickyard fight are



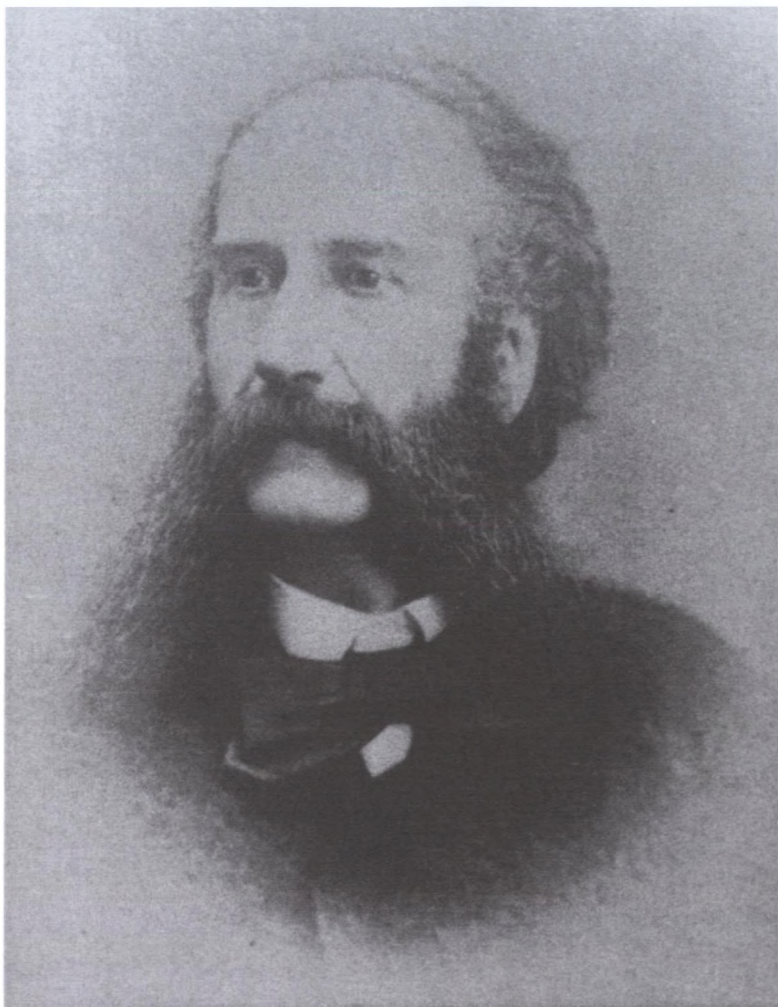
scarce. Consequently, comments by the men on the performance at Gettysburg of the 27th Pennsylvania (which reported a loss of 111 out of 324 engaged, a 34 percent casualty rate), and of the Eleventh Corps in general, are lacking. Nor are their observations available regarding the criticism that was leveled at the Eleventh Corps in the aftermath of the battle by the rest of the army and the press. And none of their remarks have been located regarding a proposition that emerged after the battle to break up the Eleventh Corps. Under the proposal, Steinwehr's division was to join the Second Corps, the First Division to join the Twelfth Corps, and Schurz's Third Division to become an independent command. Knowing their lack of respect for the German element of the Eleventh Corps, it seems safe to say that many of the members of the 154th would have approved of the plan.

Citing the widespread prejudice against the Eleventh Corps, General Steinwehr endorsed the proposal:

The officers and men of my division, although fully aware of the great injustice of this prejudice (particularly so far as themselves are concerned), yet feel its weight. Their consolidation with another corps, against which no such unfounded prejudice exists, seems, therefore, to me desirable and likely to affect them favorably. They have, moreover, the experience that even their gallant conduct at Gettysburg did not protect them against the repetition of these attacks from irresponsible newspaper correspondents, which unhappily influence and make public opinion.

Steinwehr was seconded by Buschbeck. "The unfortunate event at Chancellorsville," Buschbeck observed, "has cast a prejudice upon our corps which all subsequent efforts seem unable to destroy." Howard and Schurz also endorsed the plan. However, despite the approval of its leaders, the Eleventh Corps was not broken up. The corps nonetheless ceased to serve with the Army of the Potomac. Within a week after the Battle of Chickamauga in September 1863, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were detached from the army, placed under the overall command of General Hooker, and sent by rail to the relief of the beleaguered Army of the Cumberland in the western theater of the war. In October the Eleventh Corps played a key part in opening the famous Cracker Line that relieved the siege of Chattanooga, in November the corps took a secondary role in the smashing Union victory that drove the Confederates from their commanding positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and in December it was part of the force that marched to the relief of the siege of Knoxville.<sup>44</sup>

In Tennessee, far from the disapproval of the Army of the Potomac, the Eleventh Corps felt it redeemed its reputation. But new-found pride in the corps only went so far. Despite all they had been through together at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg and the Tennessee campaigns, the Hardtacks continued to gripe about their German comrades. In January 1864 the 154th was sent to Kelley's Ferry to unload boat loads of rations, and when they returned to Lookout Valley, they found their old camp occupied by another regiment. Many of them complained, as Private Henry A. Munger



Postwar Portrait of Colonel Adolphous Buschbeck. According to Private Thaddeus Reynolds of Company I, Buschbeck was "the finest dutch man that I ever saw." *Courtesy of War Library and Museum, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Philadelphia, PA*

of Company F did, of consequently having to inhabit "an other old dutch camp." The German-built huts, the men judged, were "not so good as the ones we built," according to Martin Bushnell.<sup>45</sup>

Continued dissatisfaction in serving with the Germans led Colonel Patrick Jones of the 154th to again seek to have the regiment transferred. According to Second Lieutenant Alonzo A. Casler of Company A, after the return to Lookout Valley from Kelly's Ferry, the 154th's new camp was separated from the rest of Buschbeck's regiments. "I think we are detached from our brigade at least I hope so," Casler wrote. He complained that the 154th New York and the 73rd Pennsylvania "always had to take the lead" instead of the "dutch commands," and "this is why we have always been cut up so" in battle. According to Casler, Colonel Jones had twice petitioned to general-in-chief Henry W. Halleck in Washington for the 154th to be relieved from Buschbeck's brigade. The first request had been relayed by either General Halleck or President Abraham Lincoln to General Howard, who had replied that the 154th could not be spared. The second request had brought a similar refusal. "So we have had to dutch it through," Casler stated.<sup>46</sup>

While they continued to "dutch it through," the Hardtacks never tired of making fun of Colonel Buschbeck's accent. Years after the war, John Wellman recalled an amusing incident:

In camp at Lookout Valley one of Co. G's boys could mimic Col. Bushbeck to perfection. One day he got on a stump and went through the orders for brigade drill, imitating the colonel, while the boys laughed and hollered. But while the fun was going on, down the path comes Col. Bushbeck from the rear, and coming softly up put his hand on the boy's shoulders and said; "Dot will do, boy, when I is far, far away!" Our comrade was so scared that he nearly turned a somersault to the ground, while the colonel walked on, laughing.<sup>47</sup>

On 11 March 1864, General Howard reviewed Buschbeck's brigade. "I wish you could have been present if for nothing more than to see and here our Brigade Commander command us," Martin Bushnell informed his parents. "He was one Dutcher. . . . His Regt will not reenlist and there time is out in May and I guess he will have to go home with them as he is not likely to be promoted to a Brig. Gen." Indeed, when the 27th Pennsylvania left the army in May 1864, Buschbeck returned to Philadelphia as a colonel. Despite his outstanding record as a brigade commander for the better part of two years, particularly at the battles of Chancellorsville and Chattanooga, Buschbeck never was granted a star, and even was ignored when brevet brigadier generalships were handed out wholesale at the end of the war. Similarly, Brigadier General Steinwehr's lengthy and commendable service as a division commander was never rewarded with promotion to the position's proper rank of major general, nor was he granted a brevet.<sup>48</sup>

The cycle of prejudice against the Germans in the 154th New York was broken only when the Eleventh Corps ceased to exist. Preparing for his spring campaign,

Major General William T. Sherman ordered the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth corps on 4 April 1864. The new organization was to be known as the Twentieth Corps, to be commanded by Hooker. The Eleventh Corps' crescent badge was dropped, and the Twelfth Corps' star adopted as the new badge, with no objections from the former Eleventh Corps men. In the reorganization, the German regiments were scattered throughout the new corps. Steinwehr, Schurz, and other Germans lost their commands in favor of native-born Twelfth Corps officers. Buschbeck was the only Eleventh Corps brigade leader to retain command (of the Second Brigade, Second Division), but less than a month into the spring campaign, he and his regiment left the army on the expiration of their term of service, and the purge was complete.<sup>49</sup>

The Hardtacks were at last free of the Dutchmen, of the tainted crescent badge, and of the belittled Eleventh Corps. Wearing the white star badge of Major General John W. Geary's Second Division, Twentieth Corps, they fought repeatedly during the Atlanta Campaign and marched to the sea and through the Carolinas to the end of the war and victory—all the while possessing outstanding morale. On 24 May 1865, the 154th New York paraded with pride past cheering throngs crowding the avenues of Washington in the Grand Review of Sherman's army. At the head of their brigade rode one of their own, their admired former colonel, Brigadier General Patrick H. Jones. Colonel Buschbeck and his comical accent, generals Steinwehr and Sigel and all the other Dutchmen, were nothing more than memories.

Providence, Rhode Island

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> A. Wilson Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill: O. O. Howard and Eleventh Corps Leadership," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The First Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992), 91; John Bigelow, Jr., *The Campaign of Chancellorsville* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1910), 479-80.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Kaufmann, *The Germans in the American Civil War* (Carlisle, PA: John Kallman, 1999, reprint), 2; John J. Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl: The Army of the Potomac on the Eve of Chancellorsville," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 23; Bruce Catton, *Glory Road* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1952), 172.

<sup>3</sup> Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill," 58; Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl," 24; Catton, *Glory Road*, 176.

<sup>4</sup> Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment: An Illustrated History of the 154th Regiment, New York State Infantry Volunteers* (East Brunswick, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 21-23. Information about the men's ancestry is found in scores of biographical sketches in William Adams, editor, *Historical Gazetteer and Biographical Memorial of Cattaraugus County, N.Y.* (Syracuse: Lyman, Horton and Co., 1893) and *Presidents, Soldiers, Statesmen, 1776-1898* (New York, Toledo and Chicago: H. H. Hardesty, 1899).

<sup>5</sup> Regimental descriptive books, National Archives, Washington, DC. The birthplace of one of the Germans was given as Prussia.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Dayton, OH: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1978), 318-20; John G. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1890), 201-3, 218; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 95-110; William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 76-77, 84-93, 101, 109; Augustus C. Hamlin, *The*

*Battle of Chancellorsville*, (Bangor, ME: published by the author, 1896), 37-43; Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 147.

<sup>7</sup> William F. Chittenden to Kindly remembered friends at home, 10 October 1862, author's collection; unidentified soldier to Dear Uncle and Aunt, in addendum to letter of Henry Cunningham to Absent friend, 11 October 1862, Cattaraugus County Memorial and Historical Museum, Little Valley, N.Y. Spelling and punctuation have been unchanged in quoting from soldiers' writings. Unless otherwise noted, the source first cited is the same for subsequent citations from the same soldier's letters.

<sup>8</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 31; Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, 101.

<sup>9</sup> Alanson Crosby, letter of 23 October 1862, published in the *Cattaraugus Freeman*, 6 November 1862; Joel M. Bouton to Friend Stephen, 26 October 1862, courtesy of Maureen Koehl, Town of Lewisboro (New York) Historian, South Salem, NY; Oscar F. Wilber to Dear Uncle Nathan Wilber, 14 October 1862, courtesy of Beverly Geisel, Hamburg, NY; Marion Plumb to My Dear Wife, 17 October 1862, courtesy of Kenneth F. Plumb, Vienna, VA.

<sup>10</sup> Barzilla Merrill to Well Ruba, 20 October 1862, courtesy of Doris Williams, Orange City, FL; Charles W. Abell to My Dear Dear Mother, 29 October 1862, courtesy of Jean Schultz, Westford, VT; John Dicher to Miss Sarah Frank, October 1862, courtesy of Scott Frank, Staunton, VA.

<sup>11</sup> Abell to My Dear Dear Mother, 29 October 1862; Lewis D. Warner to Friend Nelson P. [Wheeler], 21 October 1862, in *Pine Knots and Bark Peelers: The Story of Five Generations of American Lumbermen* (New York: Ganis and Harris, 1960), 64.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Van Aernam to My dear Dora, 15 October 1862, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA (hereafter USAMHI); George A. Taylor to Dear Ellen and Friends, 22 October 1862, Chautauqua County Historical Society, Westfield, NY.

<sup>13</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 34-36; Newell Burch diary, 14 and 15 November 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Merrill to Ruba, 15 November 1862.

<sup>14</sup> Crosby, letter of 8 December 1862, published in the *Cattaraugus Freeman*, 18 December 1862.

<sup>15</sup> Bouton to Friend Steve, 7 December 1862.

<sup>16</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 39-40, 43-44; Marshall O. Bond diary, 24 December 1862, 7 February 1863, courtesy of New York State Library, Albany; John F. Wellman, "Story of a Regiment's First Fight," poem courtesy of John M. Wellman, Jr., California City, CA.

<sup>17</sup> Burch diary, 17 February 1863.

<sup>18</sup> Bond diary, 8 January, 2 March, 17 January, 20 January, 30 January 1863.

<sup>19</sup> Records of court martial of Private Joseph Cullen, 27 and 28 March 1863, File no. LL274, Folder 1, RG 153, Judge Advocate General (Army), National Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Charles W. McKay, "Three Years, or During the War with the Crescent and Star," *The National Tribune Scrap Book* (n.p., n.d.), 125; Martin V. B. Champlin to Sister Louise, 21 February 1863, courtesy of Louise Crooks, Shinglehouse, PA.

<sup>21</sup> George W. Newcomb to Dear Wife, 6 March 1863, Lewis Leigh Collection, Book 36, no. 90, USAMHI.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Welch diary, 20 February 1863, courtesy of Carolyn Stoltz, Tonawanda, NY; Peter P. Mount to Dear Brother, 2 March 1863, courtesy of Evelyn E. Row, Willow Street, PA; Newcomb to Dear Wife, 1 March 1863, and 4 April 1863, author's collection; Bouton to Dear Steve, 3 March 1863. Bouton identified the fortuneteller as a member of the 74th Pennsylvania.

<sup>23</sup> Engle, *Yankee Dutchman*, 156-59; Dyer, *Compendium*, 318.

<sup>24</sup> Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1981), 237-38.

<sup>25</sup> William Charles to Dear Ann, 6 March 1863, courtesy of Jack Finch, Freedom, NY; Edgar Shannon to My dear Frant, 10 April 1863, courtesy of Alberta McLaughlin, Frewsburg, NY; Harvey Earl to Dear brother, 12 April 1863, courtesy of Marguerite Whitcomb, Great Valley, NY; John N. Porter to Dear Sister, 2 April 1863, courtesy of Francis N. T. Diller, Erie, PA.

<sup>26</sup> David S. Jones to My ever dear brother, 3 April 1863, courtesy of Clara Jones, Salamanca, NY.

<sup>27</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 50-51; Alexander Bird diary, courtesy of Janet Bird Whitehurst, Los Banos, CA.; Franklin Ellis, ed., *History of Cattaraugus County, New York* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1879), 110.

<sup>28</sup> Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville*, 23; Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl," 18; Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill," 58.

<sup>29</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 51-53.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Sears, *Chancellorsville* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 237-38, 245, 247-48, 262-81, 286; Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville*, 64-78; Bigelow, *The Campaign of Chancellorsville*, 295-305.

<sup>31</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 57-58, 60.

<sup>32</sup> The three regiments whose losses exceeded those of the 154th New York were the 12th New Hampshire of the Third Corps (317), the 27th Connecticut of the Second Corps (291), and the 121st New York of the Sixth Corps (276). Sears, *Chancellorsville*, 286, 475-90, 492.

<sup>33</sup> Charles H. Field to Dear Cousin Adrian, 8 June 1863, courtesy of Patrick Gallagher, Sunnyvale, CA, and Phil Palen, Gowanda, NY; Newcomb to Dear Wife, 9 May 1863, USAMHI; Isaac N. Porter to Friend Murray, 13 May 1863, State University of New York, College at Fredonia; Horace Smith diary, 2 and 5 May 1863, Mazomanie (WI) Historical Society; Thomas R. Aldrich to Dear Mother, 6 May 1863, courtesy of Patricia Wilcox, Fairport, NY; Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

<sup>34</sup> Allen L. Robbins, undated letter in *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping, Cattaraugus County Historical Museum, Little Valley, NY.

<sup>35</sup> Wellman, "Story of a Regiment's First Fight."

<sup>36</sup> O. O. Howard to Dearest, 26 May 1863, O. O. Howard Papers, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, ME; Dwight Moore to Dear Mother, 8 May 1863, Moore pension file, National Archives; Stephen Welch to My Dear Wife, 12 July 1863, courtesy of Carolyn Stoltz, Tonawanda, NY; Robbins, undated letter in *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping.

<sup>37</sup> James M. Mathewson to Eds. Reporter, 13 June 1863, *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping, Cattaraugus County Historical Museum, Little Valley, NY.

<sup>38</sup> Newton A. Chaffee, Decoration Day address at Versailles, NY, 1896, manuscript, Gowanda Area Historical Society, Gowanda, NY.

<sup>39</sup> Charles to Dear Ann, 11 May 1863.

<sup>40</sup> James W. Washburn to Absent Parents, 12 May 1863, Washburn pension file, National Archives; Porter to Brother Thorpe, 9 May 1863; Thaddeus Reynolds to Dear friends at home, 20 May 1863, Reynolds pension file, National Archives.

<sup>41</sup> U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901; cited hereafter as OR), Series I, Vol. 25, Part 1, 645-46; Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

<sup>42</sup> Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

<sup>43</sup> Mark H. Dunkelmann and Michael J. Winey, "The Hardtack Regiment in the Brickyard Fight," *Gettysburg Magazine*, No. 8, January 1993, 16-30; Mark H. Dunkelmann, "'We Were Compelled to Cut Our Way Through Them, and in Doing so Our Losses Were Heavy:' Gettysburg Casualties of the 154th New York Volunteers," *Gettysburg Magazine*, no. 18, 56.

<sup>44</sup> Warren W. Hassler, Jr., *Crisis at the Crossroads: The First Day at Gettysburg* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1970), 148; OR, Series I, Vol. 27, Part 3, 778, 779-80, 785.

<sup>45</sup> Dunkelmann and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 99; Henry A. Munger to Friend Cassius, 31 January 1864, author's collection; Bushnell to Dear Parents, 29 January 1864.

<sup>46</sup> Alonzo A. Casler to My Darling Wife, 29 January 1864, courtesy of Marjorie D. Hazen, Ashland, Ohio, and Clark Casler, Jamestown, NY. Copyright Marjorie D. Hazen and Clark Casler. Used by permission.

<sup>47</sup> John F. Wellman, "The Fun in Army Life: Laughable Occurrences in Camp," *Cattaraugus Republican*, 19 September 1902.

<sup>48</sup> Bushnell [to parents], 12 March 1864.

<sup>49</sup> New York State Monuments Commission, *In Memoriam: Henry Warner Slocum 1826-1894* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1904), 228-30, 232.