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“Not a Finer Body of Men”: The Turners of Madison, Wisconsin, and their Irish Drill Instructor at the Start of the Civil War

On St. Patrick's Day 1868 the local chapter of the Fenian Brotherhood hosted a “grand ball” at the Turner Hall in Madison, Wisconsin.¹ Founded in New York City in 1858 to support the Irish Republican Brotherhood in its violent struggles against Great Britain, the Fenians had quickly become the leading Irish American nationalist movement in the United States.² Just as over time the turner movement in America became less radical as turners themselves Americanized, a similar phenomenon happened with Irish immigrants so that by the 1860s, “many native-born Americans went so far as to tolerate, even embrace Fenianism.”³ The Turner Hall was Madison's largest “public” venue, so it is obviously possible the Fenians simply paid rent to use the space. But this belies a decade of interaction between Madison's Irish and German immigrant communities.

This essay will show how Madison's turners, and its German-speakers generally, were very integrated into the social and economic life of Madison. This was a function of Madison's small population and the high proportion in Madison of both German-speaking and Irish immigrants. The *Turnverein* was one of many organizations formed in Madison by its growing German community, and after they founded it in 1855, its members soon left a lasting imprint on the developing city. Madison's turners were generally conservative and less politically radical than turners in other American cities.

This is illustrated herein by their interactions with other Madison residents, especially Irish immigrants.

Scholars tend to assume that nineteenth-century American *Turnvereine* were politically radical and that members of such organizations were political activists who brought socialist ideas from Europe after the failed revolutions of 1848.⁴ “Political liberalism and radicalism have long been recognized as important elements in [the] history of the German-American Turner movement,” wrote Charles Reitz in 2010, “though much of this radical heritage tends to be played down in our contemporary historical understanding of the Turners.”⁵ Recent scholarship has continued to generalize American turners as politically radical and to conflate the movement with the so-called Forty-Eighters: “like their counterparts back home, the paramilitary *Turnvereine* never served simply as gymnastic societies,” writes Mischa Honeck, “especially the newer ones advocated a variety of controversial causes including socialism and free thought.”⁶ Certainly many Forty-Eighters facilitated the movement of liberal, even socialist ideas through turner organizations, but it is a bit hyperbolic to say that “the Turners never met for recreational purposes only.”⁷ Not all turners were Forty-Eighters and not all turner societies promoted radical ideas. For example, the *Turnverein* in Marysville, Kansas, was, according to Roberta Reb Allen, “strictly devoted to physical education and cultural events.”⁸ Such was the case with the *Turnverein* of Madison, Wisconsin. Anthropologist Cynthia Rolling has shown that the turners in Madison were more focused on physical training and athleticism than political issues and ideological advocacy.⁹ The Madison turners were not politically radical or activist. “In contrast,” Rolling writes, “they downplayed political agitation in favor of two other elements of their German heritage: love of exercise and high culture.”¹⁰ Location and personal networks played a part in individual immigrants’ political identifications.¹¹

Indeed, as Frank Baron reminds us, “the devil is in the details.”¹² Scholarly consensus refutes early assumptions about the influence of Germans, especially in Wisconsin, on the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln.¹³ In fact, most of the Madison turners were Democrats (as were most Wisconsin Germans). Unfortunately, as Jennifer L. Weber points out in *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln’s Opponents in the North*, “although a great many studies link ethnic and religious background to Copperhead beliefs, there is no broad scholarship on a link between class identity and the propensity to become a Peace Democrat.”¹⁴ Furthermore, Diana L. Dretske notes that “although most Northerners, whether native or foreign born, enlisted for the same reason—to preserve the Union—the stories of immigrant soldiers are largely unexamined.”¹⁵ This is particularly important when we look for immigrants’ motivations to volunteer to fight. Walter D. Kamphoefner wrote of Germans

in the Civil War that “in fact their record varied widely from place to place and among various subgroups of immigrants.”¹⁶ Damian Shiels, in *Green and Blue: Irish Americans in the Union Military, 1861-1865*, observes the same for Irish immigrants’ disposition toward the war: “the practical often held over the ideological when it came to life choices, and it complicates our understanding of who these people were and how they viewed themselves.”¹⁷ Local studies can help break assumptions and clarify misunderstandings.¹⁸ In response to President Lincoln’s first call for troops in April 1861 William Helm and five other Madison turners volunteered their service with the Madison Guard as Company E in the First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry.¹⁹ But this was not a newly formed turner unit. Rather, it was one of two militia units formed in Madison during the winter of 1857-1858. Moreover, the Madison Guard was a group of mostly Irish men. Helm was one of the founders of the Madison *Turnverein*, which became the center of Madison’s German-speaking immigrant community. Members of the Madison turners joined a variety of civic organizations, and when the time came many volunteered to serve their new country. But most did not espouse anti-slavery ideas or support Lincoln and the Republican party. They served out of a sense of American patriotism, however, and served alongside their neighbors. Because of Madison’s small size German immigrants interacted regularly with native-born Americans and other ethnic groups, especially the Irish. A brief look at that interaction will provide a fresh perspective on an important organization in German American history.

As in other cities throughout the United States, the Madison *Turnverein* formed once a critical mass of German speakers had settled in the area. Madison’s population was diverse and largely immigrant. Though there were proportionally fewer Germans in Madison than Milwaukee, the trend in Madison between 1850 and 1860 was the opposite of that in Milwaukee. Whereas Milwaukee’s native-to-foreign-born population stabilized to roughly 50/50 during this period, Madison’s foreign population grew to surpass a previously numerically dominant native-born population. Of roughly 6,600 residents of Madison in 1860, 15.4% were German and 13.5% were Irish.²⁰ By 1865, sixty-four percent were foreign-born or children of parents who were. Of those, forty percent were German and thirty-four percent were Irish.²¹ Because of this large influx of immigrants during the period, “the impact of nativism was limited,” according to historian Ryan W. Keating.²² In fact, “expressions of nativism appeared hand-in-hand with public support of the immigrant population.”²³ Of course it is also evident that Madison’s native-born residents dealt with immigrants because “merchants sought their dollars and politicians their votes.”²⁴ Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson makes the interesting assertion that “the fact that Wisconsin was advertising

for immigrants in both New York and in Europe also meant that nativists had no political clout in the state's politics."²⁵ Wisconsin actively promoted immigration to the state between 1852 and 1855 through its emigration commissioner, and the largest group of immigrants were those from German states.²⁶

During this period, Madison Germans established a variety of ethnic organizations and German language churches. But the *Vereinsleben* of Madison's Germans was more than a "counterresponse to the Madison cold shoulder," that is, of the native-born residents in the city, as suggested by Madison historian David V. Mollenhoff.²⁷ Madison's German residents were more integrated than Mollenhoff suggests. They were also regularly involved in other local civic organizations. As individuals and as an organization, Madison's turners were important contributors to the growth of Madison; they were so integrated into Madison's social, cultural, and political milieu as to be recognized as leaders of it.

Before the major influx of German-speakers later in the decade, some early arrivals began to form a German community in the early 1850s. Some formed a German Methodist church in 1850.²⁸ As in other cities across the United States, the first non-religious German organization in Madison was the *Gesang-Verein*, founded by Alfred P. Doerschlag, John G. Ott, Frederick Sauthoff, and Samuel Klauber in 1852.²⁹ In February 1855, Doerschlag, Ott, Sauthoff, and Klauber, with Leopold R. Roeder, Christian Hinrichs, William Helm, F. B. Huchting, and others founded the Madison *Turnverein*. By this time, German immigrants, in part led by Forty-Eighters, had established *Turnvereine* in dozens of American cities.³⁰ By April 1855, the Madison organization had around thirty members, "mostly men with very moderate means."³¹ These included grocers, brewers, saloon owners, clerks, merchants and wholesalers, newspaper editors, and book binders. F. B. Huchting opened a dry goods store with his brother in 1855. Fred Mohr was register of deeds. Simon Sekles ran the *Madison Demokrat*. Dominick Hastreiter was a silversmith.³² As in other cities like Milwaukee, whose "young merchants... were to play important political and economic roles in the growing settlement," these same men established a variety of organizations.³³

Though the group was "organized along the most democratic lines, ignoring all differences of faith and party politics" for some reason by October 1855 half of the now nearly fifty members either withdrew their membership or were expelled "on account of some difficulties among themselves," probably linked to abolitionism.³⁴ In March 1856, the original group voted against supporting Governor Barstow by force of arms in a disputed gubernatorial election: "We repel a union with the social Turn-Verein for said purpose with indignation."³⁵ The schism was apparently healed by 1857 when the reunified organization participated in the national *Turnfest* held in Milwaukee.³⁶

The Madison turners required their members to have declared their intent to naturalize, and they held classes instructing the English language. They also encouraged native-born Americans to seek membership early on. The editorial staff of the *Wisconsin State Journal* saw the potential benefits of such membership, hoping that by joining, Americans would "by judicious exercise develop their shriveled limbs into the robust proportions of genuine manhood."³⁷

Over the next few years, as many more German-speaking immigrants came to Madison, they established St. John's Lutheran church, Holy Redeemer Roman Catholic Church, and Gates of Heaven Synagogue. For the first few years, Jews in Madison, including turners Simon Sekles and Marcus Kohner, met in the home of fellow turner Samuel Klauber.³⁸ Kohner and Klauber, with Caspar Zwicky, Leopold Roeder, Christian Hinrichs and sixty-five other "leading Germans" founded Madison Engine Company No. 2, a volunteer fire company, in the summer of 1856.³⁹ The following year, some of the same men began Concordia Lodge No. 83, a German-language Masonic lodge.⁴⁰ Some of these organizations were in parallel and in response to those of the native born.⁴¹ But turners also participated in organizations that were not specifically German. For example, John G. Ott and Samuel Klauber, who both arrived in the early 1850s, were active members of Madison Lodge No. 5 and in 1854 Leopold Roeder was one of the founders of Hiram Lodge No. 50.⁴² In 1859 Madison turners John Rodermund, William Voight, and Dominick Hastreiter, along with W. H. Miller, were elected officers of the newly established Robert Macoy Commandery No. 3 of Masonic Knights Templar.⁴³

Madison turners participated in the creation of Madison's two militia units in the winter of 1857-1858.⁴⁴ These were the Governor's Guard, led by Lucius Fairchild, future governor and son of Madison's first mayor, and the Madison Guard, a group of mostly Irish immigrants, including George E. Bryant, Michael J. Cantwell, John B. Hyland, and Thomas Reynolds. Turners Fred Mohr and William Helm were among the founding members of the Madison Guard. Most of the Governor's Guard had prior military experience. Bryant and W. H. Miller, who had served in the British Army, first participated in the organization of the Governor's Guard before taking leadership positions in the Madison Guard.⁴⁵ Like native-born Americans, German immigrants joined these groups for social reasons and for business or political networking.⁴⁶ According to Frank L. Klement, in *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, "after the initial organization, the typical militia company seldom met for drill."⁴⁷ But over the next couple years, and as the possibility of war drew closer, both of the Madison guard companies would drill more frequently. The Madison *Turnverein*, though not an official militia unit,

drilled as well, as was typical of turner organizations across the country.⁴⁸ All three organizations maintained visibility in public civic events through the start of the war in 1861.

Since 1855, when the Madison turners first met on lots owned by a relative of Fred Mohr, the group had discussed erecting a building.⁴⁹ In the fall of 1858, now numbering over fifty members, they decided to build a hall under the supervision of August Kutzbock, architect of the Wisconsin capitol building.⁵⁰ The turners started the first free library in Madison and held classes and public lectures. The group's theater and gymnasium were used by German musical groups and other local organizations, and their own "performances won great favor with the German population of the town."⁵¹ By the time they incorporated in 1859, the Madison turners had amassed about one hundred members and were advertising their "Gymnastic School for Boys" to the public.⁵² From the beginning they sought to engage the wider public, for example by open invitation to their anniversary celebration in 1859.⁵³

Not only was their substantial building important for public events and social gatherings, but the turners themselves were integral to the city's social and cultural fabric. Some served on committees of the annual State Fair Ball with prominent men like Lucius Fairchild and John B. Hyland.⁵⁴ Other organizations were also interconnected at this time. For example, the Governor's Guard Band provided music at a festival for St. Raphael's Roman Catholic Church held at City Hall in January 1859 and at the Madison Guards' 1859 St. Patrick's Day ball.⁵⁵ Perhaps surprising is a "picnic and festival" held in June by the Madison Turners in conjunction with the *Maennerchor* at the farm of Irish immigrant Thomas Reynolds.⁵⁶ What's more, the *Wisconsin State Journal* advertisement for the picnic mentioned a hop by the (mostly Irish) Madison Guard to happen the same evening, "at which of course everyone will be present."⁵⁷ Turners played prominent roles in Madison's 1859 and 1860 Fourth of July celebrations, parading with both guard units, the Knights Templar, fire companies, Odd Fellows, and the *Maennerchor*. These events included a sailing match, fireworks, and a military ball.⁵⁸ This level of participation was a far cry from Columbus, Ohio's "Bloody Fourth" of 1855, which ended with twenty four Germans arrested and one American-born resident killed after a riot including members of the local turner society.⁵⁹ Though German and Irish immigrants cordially interacted in militia units and during city holiday celebrations, periods of conflict still arose, however, as when a fight broke out at William Voight's saloon after "some three or four Irishmen...got into some kind of political debate."⁶⁰

In another incident a fight broke out at the First Ward Democratic caucus that divided American-born and German Democrats against Irish Democrats.

Simon Sekles, editor of the *Demokrat* and Madison turner who was involved in the affair described it as "a screeching and tumult." A few days later he received a nomination for alderman.⁶¹ Turners John Rodermund, Martin Hinrichs, Ernest Doerschlag, and F. B. Huchting were among the Democrats who formed the Douglas Club of Madison, created to protect "the States of the Union and the union of the States." John G. Ott served on the executive committee with Lucius Fairchild.⁶² Other Democrats among the Madison turners included William Voight, Fred Mohr, Frederick Sauthoff.

Meanwhile, local Republican and Madison turner Leopold Roeder delivered campaign speeches with Lincoln in 1860.⁶³ He and other Republicans Samuel Klauber, Christian Hinrichs, and Dominick Hastreiter probably met with Carl Schurz on his visit in July 1859 to give the opening address at commencement on behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin.⁶⁴ Two months later, in September 1860, the Madison turners participated with the Madison Guard and the Governor's Guard and the fire companies in the reception of Republican Senator Seward during his visit to Madison in support of Lincoln's nomination.⁶⁵

The turners and the two militia companies remained sociable throughout the rest of 1860 with public balls and thanksgiving parties. For example, in the first week of November, the "Turners had a very pleasant ball the other night in their new Hall."⁶⁶ Turner Fred Mohr served on the committee on arrangements for the Madison Guard's Thanksgiving party, which was "free to military and firemen in uniform."⁶⁷ But all three groups also increased their drilling, especially after Lincoln's election. The Madison Guard and Governor's Guard met monthly and drilled twice a month. But they followed their drills with dances, "to which friends of the company are respectfully invited."⁶⁸ Other evenings, "citizens and strangers" were "respectfully invited to attend."⁶⁹ Meanwhile, throughout January and February, the turners were evidently quite busy hosting two masquerade balls, to which "friends of the company are cordially invited."⁷⁰ Those who were members of the fire company participated in festivities organized by that organization.⁷¹ Friends of the Madison Guard were "cordially invited" to a St. Valentine's Ball and both guard units participated in the city's observation of Washington's birthday.⁷²

Early in January 1861, both guard companies pledged their services to Governor Randall, "in case their services may be required for the preservation of the American Union."⁷³ The Madison Guard, for example, "resolved at once to put the company under the strictest drill and discipline."⁷⁴ Governor Randall visited President Lincoln in Washington after his inauguration on March 4, 1861, to "pledge his personal support of a policy of coercion."⁷⁵

In addition to relating social events, newspapers also "whipped up public emotion" about the possibility of war.⁷⁶ They collectively changed their tone

upon news of the surrender of Fort Sumter. Even the Democratic *Patriot* declared: "We now stand by the Government – right or wrong."⁷⁷ As the editors put it, "party is lost in the urgency of the times."⁷⁸ This change at the *Patriot* office "reflected more a rejection of secession" by Democrats throughout Wisconsin, writes Ryan W. Keating, "than an abandonment of party principles."⁷⁹ The *Patriot* apparently voiced the opinion of many when it declared that "it behooves every good citizen to stand firmly by the Union."⁸⁰

Madison residents learned of the surrender of Fort Sumter by telegraph on Sunday, April 14, and, as elsewhere, Madison residents held war meetings which "featured patriotic speeches, martial music, cheers for the Union, and resolutions which expressed the indignation of the people."⁸¹ On Monday morning Captain Bryant of the Madison Guard went to the armory instead of his office, noting that "Madison was alive that day with loyal men and brave women, many people coming in from the surrounding country."⁸² That afternoon both guard units paraded through town and toward the Capitol, where people had assembled to hear Governor Randall speak.⁸³ He called for "all good citizens and patriots" to "unite together in putting down rebels and traitors," declaring that "the time had come when parties and platforms must be forgotten."⁸⁴ That day, Madison residents read in the newspapers President Lincoln's proclamation that state governors were to supply 75,000 men for three months to put down what was considered a mere "insurrection."⁸⁵ Evidently, during their meeting that evening, the turners sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" in English.⁸⁶

On Tuesday, April 16, Governor Randall called on existing militia companies to supply ninety-day recruits: "All good citizens, everywhere, join in making common cause against a common enemy."⁸⁷ Wisconsin's share was one regiment of ten companies of seventy-eight men.⁸⁸ When the Madison Guard met that night to consider the governor's call, 2nd Lieutenant John B. Hyland, a carpenter, decided not to go, since he "had a wife and family who were depending on his support. He did not wish them to be left paupers."⁸⁹ However, Sergeant W. H. Miller, who had been drilling the Madison Guards "to the top notch of military precision and promptness," was "ready to go," so Hyland took over as "drill-master."⁹⁰ At a public meeting later that week, turners Fred Mohr, Marcus Kohner, and Samuel Klauber were among a crowd who collectively pledged over \$7,500 to support volunteers' dependents.⁹¹

By the end of the first week both the Governor's Guard and the Madison Guard were full. Both guard units raised more than the number of men required to meet the quota. In fact, leaders of so many militia units throughout the state communicated their readiness to Governor Randall that he asked Secretary of War Simon Cameron to allow him to send more.⁹² He was not the only northern governor to do so.⁹³ Randall lamented the fact that

Wisconsin was “not permitted to increase largely her quota, but her loyal citizens must increase patience till called for.”⁹⁴ The *Wisconsin State Journal* stated that the problem was not in lack of recruits but deciding “who shall be compelled to remain at home.”⁹⁵ Madison, in particular, put forth more volunteer recruits than other Wisconsin cities.⁹⁶

A week later the Madison Guard met for a dinner party at the St. Julien saloon to send off some of their members who would serve in Company E of the First Wisconsin, including turners H. Anschutz, A. Bartsch, F. E. Dietrich, William Helm, Rubrecht, and F. B. Huchting, who would be the regimental color bearer.⁹⁷ John B. Hyland and others who were to remain gave speeches and resolved to “drill for service, so that they can be prepared to follow their brave comrades at the call of their country.”⁹⁸ The following day, April 24, the turners and the fire companies escorted the First Wisconsin to the train depot as they set off for Camp Scott at Milwaukee.⁹⁹

Wisconsin Germans generally supported Lincoln’s early call for troops. This quotation from the Milwaukee *Banner und Volksfreund* sums it up well: “The Union above all! We must help the president as long as he does not act against the Constitution, even though he was elected by a party we don’t approve of.”¹⁰⁰ But an exchange in the newspaper reveals that the Madison turners were disappointed in Governor Randall for not appointing a German officer to lead a Wisconsin regiment.¹⁰¹ Their resolution, proposed by Christian Hinrichs, appeared in the Madison *Argus & Democrat* on June 5, 1861.¹⁰² An anonymous German going by the pseudonym “Justice” responded, saying that “had the Germans of this city or county formed themselves a German Regiment, we have no reason to doubt that the Governor would have appointed only Germans as regimental officers.”¹⁰³ Justice argued that an immigrant must “show himself worthy of being a citizen of a free country.” In his response, Hinrichs criticized Justice for waiting for a German regiment to form.¹⁰⁴

Regardless how they felt, the Madison turners were nonetheless prepared for war. Though turners themselves provided gymnastic training, they hired Lieutenant John B. Hyland of the Madison Guard to lead them in their drill instruction: “the Turners of this city, than whom there is not a finer body of men, are undergoing a course of drill under the instructions of Lieut. Highland. They frequently meet at their Hall, and they are making rapid progress in the tactics.”¹⁰⁵ That year’s Fourth of July celebration was understandably a complex production. Christian Hinrichs and Samuel Klauber served on the committee of arrangements and F. B. Huchting’s brother Arnold was the Assistant Marshal.¹⁰⁶ Two dozen militia units from across the state “made a very respectable show,” while the Madison turners “looked as well as they always do,” accompanied by “25 Turner friends, commanded as a military company by Lieut. Hyland.”¹⁰⁷

When the First Wisconsin Volunteer regiment returned the next month, on August 7th, they were the subject of a grand celebration and the “gallant Huchting,” who had been shot in the leg at the Battle of Falling Waters was considered a hero. The men of Company K, made of the Governor’s Guard which included Samuel Klauber’s brother and fellow turner Charles Klauber, presented their Lieutenant Wood with a sash and sword in appreciation for his leadership.¹⁰⁸ The *turners* also presented Lieutenant Hyland with a silk sash as a token of their appreciation “for his assiduity in forwarding and perfecting them in the drill.”¹⁰⁹

Most of those who had fought in the First Wisconsin re-enlisted.¹¹⁰ At the next meeting of the turners, Marcus Kohner and F. B. Hutching, were appointed to a recruitment committee.¹¹¹ Ultimately, half of the sixty members joined the Union army.¹¹² Dominick Hastreiter, Alfred P. Doerschlag, and other members of the Madison *Schuetzenclub* formed the Madison Sharp Shooters and went as Company F in the Ninth Regiment.¹¹³ The Sauthoff brothers joined the First Wisconsin Artillery.¹¹⁴ John Rodermund went with the Dane County Cavalry. Undoubtedly other Madison turners joined other units, like the Fifth Wisconsin, Company C, Turner Rifles, or the all-German Ninth and Twenty-sixth Infantry regiments.¹¹⁵ Some may have joined the mostly Irish Seventeenth, known as the Irish Brigade.¹¹⁶ Many of the Madison Guard, including now 1st Lieutenant Fred Mohr, joined the Twelfth Regiment after they petitioned Governor Randall to allow them to follow George Bryant when he was commissioned colonel of that regiment.¹¹⁷

The Madison turners were in some ways different from other American turner groups. As a group more conservative, their membership included avowed Democrats. They did not have a member who became famous as a Union general, though they did express their desire to have one of their rank as leader of a regiment. Most of them did not immediately serve in an all-German unit. But they were patriotic nonetheless and supported the Union effort. The conclusion that Wisconsin’s Germans “did not elect Lincoln, they did not support him, and they did not follow Carl Schurz and his liberal cohorts in fighting the war” is too general.¹¹⁸ One reason why the Madison turners did not create a turner unit was because there were more than enough volunteers at first. Indeed, Madison turned out proportionally higher numbers of voluntary recruits than other Wisconsin cities. Madison turners also supported the city’s two militia units. Because of their proportion of the population of Madison, German-speaking residents were well integrated with the larger populace. This is exhibited in their choice of Irish immigrant Lieutenant Hyland as their drill leader early in the war. They were also vocal in local and state politics and their interactions with native-born and Irish American residents contributed positively to the city’s development.

Notes

1. *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin), March 14, 1868. “Proceeds are to be forwarded for the benefit of political prisoners in Ireland.”
2. Timothy Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History* (Columbia University Press, 2005), 90, 250.
3. Christian G. Samito., *Becoming American Under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship during the Civil War Era*, paperback ed. (Cornell University Press, 2011), 120.
4. La Vern J. Rippley writes that the turners were “liberal in the extreme.” *The German-Americans* (Twayne, 1976), 118.
5. Charles Reitz, “Socialist Turners of New York City, 1853: Archival Materials Warrant Further Research,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 45 (2010): 95.
6. Micha Honeck, *We are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (University of Georgia Press, 2011), 21.
7. Mischa Honeck, “Men of Principle: Gender and the American War for the Union,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 1 (March 2015): 43.
8. Roberta Reb Allen, *Once We Were Strangers: A German Immigrant Family in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (University Press of Kansas, 2024), 325n29.
9. Cynthia Rolling, “The Madison Turners and the German Immigrant Community in the 19th Century,” *Journal of Historic Madison* 9 (1985-1986): 19-30.
10. Rolling, “The Madison Turners,” 20.
11. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, “German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis,” *Civil War History* 37, no. 3 (1991): 232-246.
12. Frank Baron, *Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters*, *Yearbook of German-American Studies* Supplemental Issue, vol. 4 (2012): 7.
13. Joseph Schafer, “Who Elected Lincoln?” In Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 46-61; Baron, *Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants*, 6-7.
14. Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln’s Opponents in the North* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 237n7. Likewise, “Fenianism has inexplicably been understudied,” writes Timothy J. Meagher, for “there is little or no probing of the social or economic backgrounds and social status of its members or donors at even a local, much less national, level.” Meagher, *Irish American History*, 205, 204.
15. Diana L. Dretske, *The Bonds of War: A Story of Immigrants and Esprit de Corps in Company C, 96th Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2021), 2.
16. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America: A Concise History* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 183.
17. Damien Shiels, *Green and Blue: Irish Americans in the Union Military, 1861-1865* (Louisiana State University Press, 2025), 8.
18. For example, the long-perceived separation between club Germans and church Germans was not as distinct as historians have thought. Walter D. Kamphoefner shows that in some cases “*Vereinsdeutsche* and *Kirchendeutsche* were not mutually exclusive.” Kamphoefner, “La Bahia Turnverein: Vereinsdeutsche in Kirchendeutsche Territory,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 57 (2022): 78. So also, among the Madison turners, there were protestant Christians and Jewish members.
19. At least six Madison turners served with Company E. There may have been more.

20. Cathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Harvard University Press, 1976), 14, table 1; Peter N. Laugesen, "The Immigrants of Madison, Wisconsin, 1860-1880," master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1966, 39, table 2.
21. David V. Mollenhoff, *Madison: A History of the Formative Years*, 2nd ed. (University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 79, Figure 3.3.
22. Ryan W. Keating, *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era* (Fordham University Press, 2017), 73.
23. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 73.
24. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 63.
25. Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson, *Selling America: Immigration Promotion and the Settlement of the American Continent* (Praeger, 2017), 26.
26. Ziegler-McPherson, *Selling America*, 23-26; Johannes Stroschänk and William G. Thiel, *The Wisconsin Office of Emigration, 1852-1855, and its Impact on German Immigrant to the State* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2005).
27. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 63. Rolling supports Mollenhoff's counterresponse idea (Rolling, 23).
28. Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 26.
29. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America*, 125.
30. Henry Metzner, *A Brief History of the American Turnerbund*, trans. Theodore Stempf-el, Jr., rev. ed. (American Turnerbund, 1924), 10.
31. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 27, 1855; "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.
32. "Handsome Badge," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 30, 1861.
33. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 167.
34. "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68; "A Correction," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 15, 1856; "The Germans of Madison Refuse to Sustain Usurpation, Forgery and Treason," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 14, 1856; Rolling, "Madison Turners," 20.
35. "Meeting of the Madison Turn-Verein," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 14, 1856.
36. Carl O. Gebhardt, "Brief History of the Madison Turnverein, 1855-1930," in *Diamond Jubilee of the Madison Turnverein*, 8. Madison Turnverein Records, 1855-1950, Wis Mss QQ/M94-374, Wisconsin Historical Society.
37. "Madison Turn-Verein," *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 11, 1855.
38. Sheila Terman Cohen, *Jews in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016), 15-16.
39. John B. Heim, "Relief Ass'n, Madison No. 2," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 69.
40. Jesse D. Chariton, "'Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves': The Continuation of a European Masonic Ceremony in Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 56 (2021): 26.
41. cf. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 167.
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43. "Knights Templar," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 27, 1859.
44. Bryant, "Minute Men," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 62.
45. *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 20, 1858.

“Not a Finer Body of Men”

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47. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9.
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49. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 27, 1855; “Madison Turn-Verein,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 11, 1855.
50. Gebhardt, “Brief History,” 6; “Turn Verein,” in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.
51. Gebhardt, “Brief History,” 7.
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53. *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 16, 1859. “The Turn Verein Association,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 1, 1859.
54. *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 1, 1858; “State Fair Ball,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 24, 1860.
55. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 19, 1859; “Anniversary of Saint Patrick,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 2, 1859.
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57. “Arrangements for Monday,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 10, 1859.
58. “Celebration of the Eighty-Third Anniversary of American Independence,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 2, 1859; “The Fourth of July in Madison,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 5, 1859; “Eighty-Fourth Anniversary of American Independence!!” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 30, 1860.
59. Adam Criblez, *Parading Patriotism: Independence Day Celebrations in the Urban Midwest, 1826-1876* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2013), 50, 66-67.
60. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 30, 1858.
61. *Daily State Journal*, February 23, 1858.
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64. *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 29, 1861; “University Commencement,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 23, 1859.
65. “The Reception of Sen. Seward Yesterday,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 12, 1860.
66. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, November 7, 1860.
67. “Thanksgiving Party,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 28, 1860.
68. e.g., “Drill and Hop,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 26, 1860; “Thanksgiving Party,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 28, 1860; *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 8, 1861.
69. “Governor’s Guard,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 15, 1861.
70. “Madison Turn-Verein Masquerade Ball,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861.
71. “Firemen’s Masquerade Ball,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 18, 1861; “Firemen’s Masquerade Ball,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861.
72. “St. Valentine’s Ball by the Madison Guard,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861; “The Birthday of Washington,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 21, 1861.

73. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 10, 1861; Bryant, "Minute Men," 62.
74. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 10, 1861.
75. Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 294; Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9.
76. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 10.
77. April 18, 1861, quoted in Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 86.
78. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 18, 1861.
79. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 74, 73.
80. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, January 5, 1861, quoted in Keating, *Shades of Green*, 73.
81. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 10-11.
82. Bryant, "Minute Men," 62.
83. "The Military Spirit of the People Aroused," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Monday, April 15, 1861.
84. "The Military Spirit of the People Aroused," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Monday, April 15, 1861.
85. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9-10; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, paperback ed. (Oxford University Press, 2003), 274.
86. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 85.
87. Quoted in Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 93; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 296; "Services Accepted," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Tuesday, April 16, 1861.
88. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 11.
89. Minutes of Madison Guard, April 16, 1861, WIS MSS 2Bx Frank H. Bryant Papers 1792-1905, Box 1, Folder 1. Wisconsin Historical Society; Walter S. Glazer, "Wisconsin Goes to War: April 1861," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 50, no. 2 (Winter 1867): 160.
90. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 20, 1861; Minutes of Madison Guard, April 16, 1861, WIS MSS 2Bx Frank H. Bryant Papers 1792-1905, Box 1, Folder 1. Wisconsin Historical Society.
91. "\$7,500 Contributed to Support Families of Volunteers," *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 19, 1861; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 297.
92. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 12.
93. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 275.
94. Alexander Randall, quoted in William DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion; A History of All Regiments and Batteries* (Church and Goodman, 1866), 211.
95. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 17, 1861, quoted in Mollenhoff, 86.
96. "On the basis of population Madison had turned out more than three times as many men as Milwaukee, almost twice as many as Fond du Lac, about 20 percent more than Kenosha and Beloit. Moreover, there were cities much larger than Madison, such as Racine and Janesville, that did not turn out a single company at this early stage of the war." Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 87.
97. "The Madison Volunteers," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 26, 1861.
98. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 26, 1861.
99. Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9, no. 2 (Dec. 1925), 132n5; Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 86; "The Departure," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 24, 1861.
100. *Banner und Volksfreund*, April 16, 1861, translated in Mary Demetria Meyer, "The Germans in Wisconsin and the Civil War: Their Attitude Toward the Union, the Republicans, Slavery, and Lincoln," MA diss., Catholic University of America, 1937, 28.
101. At one point, Randall explained his view that Wisconsin residents were "very sensitive as to being placed under the command of foreigners." Quoted in Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 363.

“Not a Finer Body of Men”

102. The resolution passed unanimously. Minutes of the Madison Turnverein, June 3, 1861, Wis MSS QQ B7 Vol2 Part 1, Wisconsin Historical Society.
103. “Letter from a German,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 6, 1861.
104. *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 7, 1861; Meyer, “The Germans in Wisconsin and the Civil War,” 45.
105. Minutes of the Madison Turnverein, June-September 1861, Wis MSS QQ B7 Vol2 Part 1, Wisconsin Historical Society; “Turners Drill,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, May 18, 1861.
106. “Fourth of July Meeting,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 11, 1861.
107. “Celebration of the 4th in Madison,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, July 5, 1861.
108. “The Reception and Welcome of the Madison Companies,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, July 5, 1861.
109. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, September 4, 1861.
110. W. G. Pitman, “Co. K in the Civil War,” in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 61.
111. “Turn Verein Enlistments,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, August 12, 1862.
112. “Turn Verein,” in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.
113. *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 7, 1861; Laugesen, “Immigrants of Madison,” 10.
114. Wild, “Chapters in the History of the Turners,” 132.
115. Metzner, “Brief History,” 21.
116. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 78-84; Laugesen, “Immigrants of Madison,” 12; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 308n16.
117. “The Madison Guard,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, October 5, 1861.
118. La Vern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston, Twayne, 1985), 42.

